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OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XXXVII

PHILADELPHIA:  
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OF  
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THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XXXVII.

1913.

No. 1.

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JOURNAL OF JAMES KENNY, 1761-1763.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

The original manuscript of the journal of James Kenny, "kept by him on his journey to Pittsburgh, and notes or remarks of what he judged worth taking notice of while he remained there," is preserved in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He had charge of the trading store established by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, of the Province, and his records of local, military and Indian affairs are valuable and of interest for their details. He describes the great freshet, which did so much damage to the new town; William Ramsay's experiments with a double section batteau, propelled by paddles worked by the feet; he accompanied John Bartram on his botanical excursions; his friendship with Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary to the Indians, and the movements of the Indian kings of Pennsylvania and Ohio tribes of Indians, will be found of especial interest.

James Kenny was a member of the Chester County family of the name residing at Kennett Square, and

being a Quaker, will explain many of his "remarks." The editor has made but few expurgations and has closely adhered to the original orthography. As a contribution to the early history of Pittsburgh, it will be read with considerable interest.

*Journal Begun y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>m<sup>o</sup></sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 1761.*

13<sup>th</sup>.—Went from Pottsgrove in Company with Ellis Hughs to North Wales Youth's Meeting, & after Meeting went to Philad<sup>a</sup>., having receiv'd a Letter (before) from Joseph Morris, on behalf of y<sup>e</sup> Commiss<sup>r</sup> for Indian affairs to assist at their Store at Pittsburgh, I agreed to goe.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Return'd to Pottsgrove to Settle my Accompts & get ready.

15<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup>.—Got ready after finishing my Bussiness there.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Went as far as W<sup>m</sup>. Beals in y<sup>e</sup> Valley on my way to Kennet to see my Mother & Bretheren, & Beal agree'd to go to Tuscorora with me, to have our Land Survey'd there; stay'd at his House that Night.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Went to Kennet to my Mothers, & stay'd there next Day, being y<sup>e</sup> first Day of y<sup>e</sup> Week.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Set off in company with my Brother Charles, y<sup>e</sup> neighest Road to Lancaster, overtook W<sup>m</sup>. Beale & Lodged that Night at Webs, at Canostoga Creek.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Got to Teafs Ferry or within a little of it, Lodg'd at y<sup>e</sup> Widow Wilkisons, an old acquaintance of Beals.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Came to Carslile, & stay'd that Night, it being Court time & Jno. Armstrong gone abroad, we could not get his deputy Surveyor to come with us to Tuscorora to Survey, not certain under two Weeks, & considering y<sup>e</sup> Hazard of being Inroach'd upon by others in our Land we were Necessitated to Wait.

23<sup>d</sup>.—It being Costly living at Carslile, we went to my Namesake Jam<sup>s</sup> Kenny's between Cannadagunit



Creek & y<sup>e</sup> Mountain; Swam our horses & went ourselves in a Canoe over y<sup>e</sup> Creek.

4<sup>mo</sup> 24<sup>th</sup>.—We all stay'd this Day at Jam<sup>s</sup> Kennys, being used very kindly.

25<sup>th</sup>.—My Brother Charles & W<sup>m</sup>. Beal & Johnathan Taylor set off to Tuscorora, but I stay'd at Kennys.

26<sup>th</sup>.—My Horse being in a field (with one of my brothers Horses) he jump'd out to some of y<sup>e</sup> Neighbours Creatures that came through y<sup>e</sup> Lane in y<sup>e</sup> Night & hunt'd by y<sup>e</sup> Dogs they went to some Neighbouring Houses but were likewise hunt'd away y<sup>e</sup> People describing mine exactly, but could not find him with y<sup>e</sup> said Horses; Mathew Kenny & I Rode about all y<sup>e</sup> Day Hunting him in Vain.

27<sup>th</sup>.—I set off & went back as far as Harris & Teafs Ferries but could not hear any acco<sup>t</sup> of him. Lodged at Tobias Hendricks that night.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Cross'd Cannadogunit low down & inquired all up y<sup>e</sup> Creek to no purpose.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Search'd y<sup>e</sup> Neighbourhood again, but could hear no account of him.

30<sup>th</sup>.—I went to Carslile & Wrote Advertisements & put up, biding Twenty Shillings for taking him up, & Mathew Kenny Went down along y<sup>e</sup> Mountain but no account of y<sup>e</sup> Horse. Having got Francis West to engage to pay y<sup>e</sup> Money if brought to him; I had Advertis'd it accordingly & so gave out searching.

5<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Set off for Tuscorora by myself, & Rid one of my Brother Charles' Horses, went along Sheerman's Creek Vally & lodg'd that night at Jn<sup>o</sup>. Black's at Buffaloe Creek by y<sup>e</sup> Tuscorora Mountain; was used very Civily.

2<sup>d</sup>.—Set up y<sup>e</sup> Mountain & met my Brother & Jonathan Taylor; my Brother turn'd back with me but Taylor set off home.

5<sup>mo</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>.—Got pretty soon in y<sup>e</sup> Day yesterday to my friend Wm. Bale at y<sup>e</sup> House that belong'd to W<sup>m</sup>.

Steward, he being kill'd by y<sup>e</sup> Indians; being y<sup>e</sup> first Day of y<sup>e</sup> Week we lay by & rest'd as well as we could.

4<sup>th</sup>.—We Rid about to see W<sup>m</sup>. Bales place & through some of y<sup>e</sup> settlem<sup>t</sup>.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Went to see my Place & my brothers; gather'd mountain Tea which we us'd commonly & likes it as well as bohea. Y<sup>e</sup> Surveyors came into y<sup>e</sup> Settlemt. this Night.

6<sup>th</sup>.—W<sup>m</sup>. Lion y<sup>e</sup> deputy Surveyor came to us to day & we set off to one Rennison's Place that joyn'd my Brothers & Run it out as also part of my Brother's, & mine, they lying in One Tract—y<sup>e</sup> Surveyor made me run out our Tract & he rid along.

7<sup>th</sup>.—We went to W<sup>m</sup> Beals & run it out & my uper Place; lost my seals & Key of my Watch, as I carried y<sup>e</sup> Chain seen many Deer. Taking y<sup>e</sup> neighest way toward home and y<sup>e</sup> night were hard set to get over y<sup>e</sup> Creek as we miss'd y<sup>e</sup> fordings.

8<sup>th</sup>.—This day y<sup>e</sup> Commissioner begins my year. This morning we went to run out my third year Place which join'd y<sup>e</sup> Tract that Armstrong wrong'd my brother John, & me out of, & after some contension, we run it as I lost none of y<sup>e</sup> Meadow Land, y<sup>e</sup> Surveyor offer'd me fifty Pounds for it but I would not take it.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Surveyor came to us on his way over Juniata & desirous to be paid, when I had ask'd him, I Paid him for Surveying for me Six Pounds & a Dollor & let him have Eight Pounds Twelve Shillings & Six Pence to purchase a Warrant for my Brother's Place, as it would be too much to return on my Warrant; we gather'd some mountain Tea & having sent Charles over y<sup>e</sup> mountain for Provisions we stay'd till he came it being Night.

5<sup>mo</sup> 10<sup>th</sup>.—W<sup>m</sup> Beal set off home (though it rain'd some in y<sup>e</sup> Morning) & my Brother having concluded to go with me to Pittsburgh & being so far on our way y<sup>e</sup> neighest Road, we conclud'd to keep up y<sup>e</sup> Tuscorora

Vally & Cross y<sup>e</sup> Mountain into y<sup>e</sup> Path Valley, which we did & many Miles had no path but got to one Parkers in y<sup>e</sup> Path Valley that Night.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Set off soon this Morning along y<sup>e</sup> Path Valley, pass'd many settle<sup>mts</sup> Jacob Peats Mill & Crossed y<sup>e</sup> Mountain to Fort Littleton, seen a quantity of Iron Mine where we assended y<sup>e</sup> Mountain; fed at Robert Elliot's,—being got into y<sup>e</sup> Wagon Road pass'd y<sup>e</sup> fort & Lodg'd at Jn<sup>e</sup> Elliott's sons at Aughwick Creek, ab<sup>t</sup> 25 miles.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Had to hunt our Horses a While in y<sup>e</sup> Morning, then set off got to y<sup>e</sup> Crossing of Juniata, Paid for our ferriage over, being about Noon got some refreshm<sup>t</sup>, & went near to Bedford, Lodged at one Thomas Urys—being a Covenanter as I suppose & thinking others much out of y<sup>e</sup> way, he signified y<sup>e</sup> Quakers had no religion, & upon asking him what he judg'd to be religion, he seem'd but weak & plac'd it much in Works of formality although he held Predestination in y<sup>e</sup> most Vulgar sense, I told him if things were predestinated as he held, all our works avail'd nothing & as to y<sup>e</sup> works of performing Voluntary Prayers & Singing, that it was not prudent to joine in such things but with such that we might be well assur'd their offerings was not abomination; but he would have it well done, altho by Hypocrites, I would allow him to go to heaven his way, but he would not allow I could my way.

5<sup>mo</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>.—Got to Bedford, wait'd on Cap<sup>t</sup> Oary for a Pass & untill he Wrote some Letters he sent by me to Pittsburgh, so procee'd to y<sup>e</sup> foot of the Alligania Mountain, made a fire and lay there that night.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Cross'd y<sup>e</sup> Mountain to Stoney Creek, being mostly, very bad road but some hills, y<sup>e</sup> finest Chestnut Woods I ever saw, so got to Leigonere, stay'd at Charles Brookens this night.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Set off soon, it being mostly good Land to Pittsburgh from here but Hilly, we got to Turtle Creek



within about Nine miles of Pittsburgh, where we overtook W<sup>m</sup> Knoxes Wife & y<sup>e</sup> Rest, with their Milch Cows, but could hardly get any rest for Muskeetose.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Came to Pittsburgh Pritty soon, & was soon ask'd where I delay'd so long. I went to Collonel Bouquet with my Pass & Cap<sup>t</sup> Ories Letters, he made me sit Down & said he was glad to see me.

17—21<sup>st</sup>.—These Days there was nothing remarkable happen'd. Trade very dull & our Store has lost a great part of what it had.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Mostly very Cool Weather & much Rain likewise.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Doctor Millen request'd me to goe out with him to y<sup>e</sup> Woods to shew him Some Plants What he knew not, so we went & gather'd some Sassaperalla Apico-coanna & Indian Ginger or Asserabana.

27<sup>th</sup>.—I & my brother & two other Men went to see y<sup>e</sup> Coal Pit on land in y<sup>e</sup> Mountain Side over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela; y<sup>e</sup> Mountain is so high & steep that its with Care & difficulty people gets up to it, but its easy got, as y<sup>e</sup> bank of it being dug away a Piece, its level ground from y<sup>e</sup> Cole & y<sup>e</sup> Coal is in a Bank fronting like a upright Wall in y<sup>e</sup> Hill side the' put it into bags & tumbles them down y<sup>e</sup> hill.

6<sup>mo</sup>.—We went over y<sup>e</sup> Mountain, I being desirous to see y<sup>e</sup> Land on y<sup>e</sup> other side & its rich on y<sup>e</sup> Mountain & down y<sup>e</sup> other side, we came to a Smart Run but bound'd with Hills & draughts Close to y<sup>e</sup> Run, its on this Run y<sup>e</sup> Saw Mill is built, we went down to it & it seems to look well, y<sup>e</sup> Men that lived at it inform'd us that at about three miles distance there begun a Body of fine Rich Land & pritty Level, that there was two Warriors' Paths took off there abouts—One toward Green Briar & y<sup>e</sup> other to Carolina or Cherokees, Shirtees Island or Point lies in sight of y<sup>e</sup> Run Mouth, & Straberries I have gather'd on a Hill in Sight of y<sup>e</sup> fort & some mountain Tea, but y<sup>e</sup> land is mostly to rich

for y<sup>e</sup> Tea—some Huckle Berris on one Hill up y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela. I Caught some fish with a Rod & Line, one Cat fish that Weigh'd Nine Pounds. I have seen One that Weigh'd fourty One Pounds & they tell me for Certain of some being Caught last Year that Weigh'd One Hundred Weight; they catch likewise a sort of young Alligators about a foot or fourteen Inches long, but I have been informed some battoe men has seen one y<sup>e</sup> matter of five or Six foot Long.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Some of y<sup>e</sup> Indians I was acquaint'd with before being come, was Glad to see me, one of which Call'd Jammy Willson had some Bundles of Skins & some fur, he dealt here; this man has Curled black hair & never went to War by report, but having obtain'd a White Woman & Boy, he kept y<sup>e</sup> Woman as his Wife, using her kindly; on finding she inclin'd to return to her own People he brought her & y<sup>e</sup> boy with y<sup>e</sup> Amount of his Estate to our Store & told y<sup>e</sup> Woman notwithstanding He Loved her, as she want'd to leave him, would let her go, so he divided his substance equally with her, giving half y<sup>e</sup> remaind<sup>r</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Boy & set them both free & went with y<sup>e</sup> Woman home giving her a Horse to Ride; an Instance of more self denial than many men of great Christian professions shews their poor Negros.

23<sup>d</sup>.—This Morning about One o'Clock John Langdale (y<sup>e</sup> Agent that was here this last year) is set off to Philadelphia & Cap<sup>t</sup> Clapham came to me to Day about y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Agent. Here has been Eight or Nine Men that were Prisoners amongst different Nations of Indians, (& set free by them at Detroit) came here some time ago, one of which that lived amongst y<sup>e</sup> Picks, inform'd me that that nation seem'd well affect'd toward y<sup>e</sup> English, but that there were very current reports amongst them of y<sup>e</sup> Massissippy Indians being set on by y<sup>e</sup> French to come to take some English place this way.

Frederick Post came here & stay'd with us about two Days and then set off to Beaver Creek in order to Preach to y<sup>e</sup> Indians and inform them of y<sup>e</sup> Principels of Christianity as y<sup>e</sup> Moravians do hold y<sup>e</sup> Same I hear since; he was made Welcom by y<sup>e</sup> Indians and is gon to y<sup>e</sup> Beaver's Town Tuscorawas. Being hunting in y<sup>e</sup> Woods for a Horse y<sup>e</sup> Agent lost here, Glad of y<sup>e</sup> oppertunity to Ride out. I been a considerable way all about between these two Rivers & y<sup>e</sup> fork of Land is much Narrower then they are draught'd; seen many Human Sculls & bones that lies about y<sup>e</sup> whole belonging to a Body in Places except some of y<sup>e</sup> smallest—I have took some time to fitt them together.

Being got much in faviour with y<sup>e</sup> Doctor, as he recons me a Great botanest I goe with him sometimes to Vissit y<sup>e</sup> Sick & see him Dress sores.

7<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Here came sundry Expresses from Detroit with accounts that y<sup>e</sup> Indians were about attacking that Place Presque isle & this, last Night or this night all by storming y<sup>e</sup> places. This News came here some days agoe & caus'd such Hurries here that y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers were set to work to make up a part of y<sup>e</sup> fort bank that was but very low, strict orders against Selling any Powder or Lead to Indians were Issu'd.

4<sup>th</sup>.—All y<sup>e</sup> Powder in y<sup>e</sup> Stores taken into y<sup>e</sup> fort & put into y<sup>e</sup> Magazine; Orders Issued by Collon<sup>l</sup> Bouquet Proclaim'd & Posted in Writing for all y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants here, Merchants, Traders, Sutlers Artificcers &c., that were Able to bear Arms should meet at appoint'd Places, give in their Names to be form'd in Companys under officers in order to keep out gaurds & help to defend y<sup>e</sup> Place, & they that did not do so must desert y<sup>e</sup> Place in two Days time;—which some expect'd would be my lot or else to bear Arms, on which occasion I wrote y<sup>e</sup> following lines & sent out Sam<sup>l</sup> Dean to y<sup>e</sup> Collon<sup>l</sup>.

MAY it please Collonel Bouquet, as thy orders is



general for all y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants here to bear Arms, which I cannot do without the abuse of my Conscience & Principles, y<sup>e</sup> consequence of which is to leave this place in two Days time, bepleas'd to let me know, whether thou wilt take y<sup>e</sup> Province Goods under thy care and allow me time to get a Horse, if thou wilt not exempt me from bearing Arms.

from thy Wellwisher,

J. Kenny.

When y<sup>e</sup> Collon<sup>l</sup> reiceiv'd these Lines, being at Dinner, & carrid in by y<sup>e</sup> Lad that wait'd on y<sup>e</sup> Table, he got up & came out & Told Sam<sup>l</sup> Dean I should not trouble myself at all for he did not mean me & as he had no pen & Ink there he desired I should come to him y<sup>e</sup> next Day, which I did, he bid me sit down & spok very civile, telling me he left me to my own freedom, I acknowledged his kindness & came away. Sam<sup>l</sup> Dean knowing this Indulgence to me delay'd going to his muster with y<sup>e</sup> rest untill they sent a Corporal for him, which affronted Cap<sup>t</sup> Crafford, which they had chose over them in this end of y<sup>e</sup> town, being an old trader, that he swore much he would have his master out on y<sup>e</sup> Parade y<sup>e</sup> next evening but Dean affirm'd he would not & agravat'd Craford so that he was going to send him to y<sup>e</sup> Guard House, (y<sup>e</sup> other requesting he should) but did not. I understood y<sup>e</sup> next day that y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>l</sup> had let Crafford know that I was exemp'd from any Millitary service, which made y<sup>e</sup> new Cap<sup>t</sup> I believe not appear that evening himself at their muster tho his Lieut<sup>t</sup> sent a Corporel for me, but I told him I had no bussiness with them & he went with out me. This might be much occasion'd by y<sup>e</sup> conduct of y<sup>e</sup> Agent that was here last going by y<sup>e</sup> name of a Quaker & not disown'd amongst Friends, & was not only Principled to fight but had fought here in my sight, I heard him use bad words, which I think brought a great reproach on y<sup>e</sup> name he went by here.

7<sup>mo</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Doctor inform'd me that y<sup>e</sup> Officers liked me much y<sup>e</sup> better for standing true to my Principels, —Notwithstanding I have been so foolish in Days past, as to give cause of reproaching y<sup>e</sup> name I went by, yet my understanding was mightly darken'd in some respects & its been ever cause of Sorrow & repentance to me when I think of my folly.

Here was y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King & Killbuck with me at Breakfast & I cannot find out by them when they think to goe to the Treaty to Philadel<sup>a</sup> although White Eyes & Wingenum after their return from there seem'd mightly Pleas'd, Signifying that they would go there to hold a Treaty in about one moon & a half, & White Eyes signified to Collo<sup>i</sup> Bouquet that he was willing to be made a Prisoner in y<sup>e</sup> fort, & after default of bringing in y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners & y<sup>e</sup> Stolen Horses, even from y<sup>e</sup> Shawanes, that y<sup>e</sup> Collon<sup>i</sup> might do what he pleas'd with him.

6<sup>th</sup>.—I am jealous that Killbuck used endeavours with y<sup>e</sup> Beaver to frustrate or prolong their going to this Treaty, as he told me that there had been a Sum of money offer'd for killing him in y<sup>e</sup> War time & sent round y<sup>e</sup> frontiers in private Letters by subscription (which I had never heard), and that y<sup>e</sup> Indians told him frequently that as sure as he went toward y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants he would be Kill'd; he is very subtile & Politick. I endeavour'd to remove all these Scruples leting him know that y<sup>e</sup> Men amongst us in authority would be for hanging any White man now that would Murder an Indian that was at peace with us; he confess'd that was y<sup>e</sup> old Law, & he is Imploy'd now at a Doller Day to go with Cap<sup>t</sup> Callender to Sandusky with amunission for Detroit, which pleas'd him much.

Some time agoe there was a Mingo Indian kill'd by Lieut<sup>t</sup> Piper of y<sup>e</sup> Provincials for Stealing their Horses; as he came here he brought y<sup>e</sup> Sculp to this Place but y<sup>e</sup> Scalping was not aproved of here.

7<sup>mo</sup> 7<sup>th</sup>.—I have seen Letters come to this Place, giving Account that General Amherst is to be at Nighagara very soon on his way coming here & they think he will procee'd from here down y<sup>e</sup> Ohio, to y<sup>e</sup> Massissippy.

8<sup>th</sup>.—An express from Detroit but no bad News, had some Trade.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Last Night, after many of y<sup>e</sup> People were gone to Bed there was Eight or Nine Guns went off at y<sup>e</sup> uper end of y<sup>e</sup> Town by the Monongahela, which caus'd such an alarm that all y<sup>e</sup> People Hurried for their Lives; y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers & Milita got under Arms expecting y<sup>e</sup> Enemy was realy come to attack y<sup>e</sup> Place; y<sup>e</sup> Women & some Men Carrying bundles of their goods into y<sup>e</sup> fort. We got up being in bed & My Brother & two other men that was in y<sup>e</sup> house was for going into y<sup>e</sup> fort. I walk'd toward y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela & back to y<sup>e</sup> House, hearing no more Shooting, I told my brother as I had at first, I did not believe there was any Enemy, so we sat down by y<sup>e</sup> Door & seen y<sup>e</sup> Hurry, untill in about half an hour we heard it was men desarting & they fired on them kill'd one & Wound'd another; y<sup>e</sup> one that was kill'd is said to be one that rob'd a Store here lately & came back, kept hiden & was now going with more of y<sup>e</sup> Provincials; I hear since he was not kill'd.

10<sup>th</sup>.—It's said that y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes were Invit'd here to a Treaty by some strings y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>l</sup> delived some of them here in order to Apease y<sup>e</sup> Relations of him that Lieu<sup>t</sup> Piper kill'd for stealing Horses, & a Prisoner told me that an Old Delaware Squa told y<sup>e</sup> Indians over y<sup>e</sup> River, that there was a Great Number of Mingo Indians lying up y<sup>e</sup> River & Charg'd them not to tell y<sup>e</sup> white People of it.

7<sup>mo</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>.—I think Drunkenness & feighting is much abated in this end of y<sup>e</sup> Town to what it was & some of y<sup>e</sup> Ordinary Houses is moved from here, Nine Train

draught'd away & Hudly gone Six Shill<sup>s</sup> in Langsdales Debt. A great fresh in y<sup>e</sup> River.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Being y<sup>e</sup> first Day of y<sup>e</sup> Week, I find but few to converse with that is agreeable, Only my Brother & Benjamin Elliot, both of them keepink very reserv'd; got something indispos'd this Day.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Dream'd last Night I seen a Harbour having several Vessels lying in it of small seize, & seen more of a small like Squair Boats w<sup>t</sup> Squair Sails come in amongst y<sup>e</sup> rest with good order.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Gorden, y<sup>e</sup> Enginere, came here this Day. An Indian call'd John Armstrong who talks some English being about here I had a deal of discourse with him; he seems to harbour jealousies of y<sup>e</sup> English, having revenge or some advantage in view against y<sup>e</sup> Indians, on Acount they keep making fortifications, now after they have beat y<sup>e</sup> French, & he knew not y<sup>e</sup> reason why y<sup>e</sup> White People wanted back y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, seeing they were satisfied to live with y<sup>e</sup> Indians. So y<sup>e</sup> first I let him know that in Case y<sup>e</sup> English did not keep Garisons out here they expect'd y<sup>e</sup> French would come again & set y<sup>e</sup> Indians on to kill y<sup>e</sup> White People & that y<sup>e</sup> Traders would not venture out with Goods to suply y<sup>e</sup> Indians otherwise, & as for y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, that their fathers & Mothers & friends longed to see them & was not satisfied without seeing them; he also quired why Frederick Post went out now to Preach amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians, seeing y<sup>e</sup> White People had not used such endeavours amongst them before; I let him know that such endeavours had been us'd before in some places, & now that it had been requested by y<sup>e</sup> Indians at a Treaty at Easton, that I did not know that y<sup>e</sup> White people had sent Post now on that ocation, but that he was a Good Man & lov'd y<sup>e</sup> Indians & that good men often tell y<sup>e</sup> White People that if they will not refrain from their evil ways that y<sup>e</sup> Good Spirit will leave them, & seek some other people & as y<sup>e</sup> Good Spirit



made y<sup>e</sup> Indians as well as us, that he was willing to do them good & might send Good men amongst them on that account let him know that y<sup>e</sup> bad Spirit was y<sup>e</sup> author of Wars because it made people hate one another, as also of all other vices. He acknowledg'd he knew y<sup>e</sup> Principels of Friends were such & that they were y<sup>e</sup> best People.

15<sup>th</sup>.—A Cousen of Delaware Georges, a Young Man born at Oley, had some Trade here, seemed very good Nature'd & having no English Name I gave him my Name which he said he would keep, went out a Hunting. I took a Vomit being unwell in my stomach & seems much better.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Spent most of this Day in Posting what dealings I had since Jn<sup>o</sup> Langdale went away. I hear y<sup>e</sup> Genaral is gone to Detroit.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Jn<sup>o</sup> Armstrong, mentioned y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Inst, being going to y<sup>e</sup> Woods to Hunt over Alligany with his Squa, request'd some Lines under my Hand as a recommendation least meeting White men that might have had Horses Stolen from them, they might suspect him & so be in danger of being Shot, which I did.

The Trade runs so now at this Place that all Secams Subtilty can Invent is used to draw it & y<sup>e</sup> Master piece of gaining it now seems to be in Trusting y<sup>e</sup> Indians with Goods so this brings their Custom to such Stores & pleases them much that they are so much in Credit, of which y<sup>e</sup> Store that is kept by Trent & Levy here (Franks being Concerned & its thought Croughan) ventures much on trust, being some of Croughan's Polliticks & he & all his Instruments endeavours to draw all y<sup>e</sup> Custom to that Store; this is a Point they have y<sup>e</sup> advantage of the Province Store in at cent.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Came an Indian call'd John & another Young fellow who had a Pair of little Buffellow Horns fix'd to his Cap. John was recommend'd to me by Philip Powel,

one of my former Acquaintance, receiv'd about fourty Pounds worth of them in Peltry.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Millitia Mustering is drop'd now, only on y<sup>e</sup> first Days of the week.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> strict orders against selling or giving y<sup>e</sup> Indians Strong liquors, they frequently get too much of it amongst y<sup>e</sup> Traders & sutlers, some treating them with Punch to draw their custom & I was told by Indian Jn<sup>o</sup> above mentioned, that Levy y<sup>e</sup> Jew had sold y<sup>e</sup> Beaver's son two Ceggs of Rum today at 20/ Gallon & told John to acquaint y<sup>e</sup> Indians at Moosekinggum that he would sell them Rum if they came to him & this Jew endeavours to set y<sup>e</sup> Indians against me as Jn<sup>o</sup> told me, this Jew and Langdale that was Agent here, fought.

21<sup>st</sup>.—The Young Man that is hired with me, Sam<sup>l</sup> Dean, running after our cow to bring her home this morning has cut his foot so bad that he keeps an Intire Cripple & I am oblidge to do all that is to be done partly myself—this store I think was never so distitute of hands before. I apply'd some time since to y<sup>e</sup> Collon<sup>l</sup> to allow me one of y<sup>e</sup> Provincials to assist in this Store as both General Standwix & Moncton alow'd of it, but, his Answer was that they were so necessiat'd for to get y<sup>e</sup> fort put in better order & to have work done, there could not a Man be spair'd, & I think they are very deligent y<sup>e</sup> Drum beats as its light in y<sup>e</sup> morning to set all to Work & holds it untill y<sup>e</sup> Gun fires late after sun Down. Mostly y<sup>e</sup> works going on are y<sup>e</sup> fort Banks raising higher, a fine large Stone House, a Building in y<sup>e</sup> S. E. Corner of y<sup>e</sup> fort for a Governor's House, Stone quarring & Squairing for the House, quarrying for Lime & Burning y<sup>e</sup> Same, Making & Burning Brick, & farming & Gardening, having a fine Incloasure under Indian Corn & divers things, Mowing & Haymaking abroad up both Rivers.

22<sup>d</sup>.—No more acco<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Generals coming here.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Going after our Cow this Morning, getting my feet wet in y<sup>e</sup> Dew, got something of y<sup>e</sup> Ague.

25<sup>th</sup>.—There's been much Rain toward y<sup>e</sup> Heads of y<sup>e</sup> Aligania River as it has rose very High in y<sup>e</sup> night.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Here is much Rain. I went over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela & gatherd some Ginsang, but rained heavy before got back.

8<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—There has nothing Material happen'd this Week past, only I heard of one of y<sup>e</sup> Lieut<sup>ts</sup> belonging to y<sup>e</sup> Train who went from here having Shot a Man below Bedford some Miles, only for striking his dog that was feighting y<sup>e</sup> Mans dog & stuck both in parting them, for which he first Horse Whipt y<sup>e</sup> Man & then shot him through y<sup>e</sup> Head with a Pistol. Doctor Millen being sent for from this place to try to Cure y<sup>e</sup> Man but too Late.

Last night Collon<sup>l</sup> Bouquet had a large Sum of Money Stolen out of his Room in y<sup>e</sup> fort while he was out at y<sup>e</sup> Mess House about ten o'Clock at Night, has Advertised Two Hundred Dollars for y<sup>e</sup> discovery of y<sup>e</sup> thieves, and Pardon to any One of them that will discover of y<sup>e</sup> Rest; y<sup>e</sup> Sum is said to be y<sup>e</sup> Matter of One Thous<sup>d</sup> Pounds Stole.

George Croughan is gone toward Detroit with White Wampum to endeavour to settle y<sup>e</sup> Nations there as there has been a Plot discover'd amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians, in which they had propos'd to attack, that place & this & Niagara all in one Night, by storming y<sup>e</sup> Places or geting in Sliely & then destroying y<sup>e</sup> People with Tomhocks. As it is said they are not settled yet, they keep Robing People betwen Venango & Presque Isle, such times causes exercise of minde & some dread which proceeds from weakness as I can die but once & my peace being made, while I keep it, what need I fear y<sup>e</sup> Sting of Death as I feel no guilt in my Soul.

2<sup>d</sup>.—There has been £100 of y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>l</sup> Money found in

one of y<sup>e</sup> Great Guns & there has been much searching for y<sup>e</sup> Rest, but did not search our House.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—I hear that y<sup>e</sup> Mingo has request'd Lieut<sup>r</sup> Piper (who kill'd y<sup>e</sup> Indian for Stealing Horses some time ago) to be deliver'd up to them, upon which acco<sup>t</sup> he is sent away from this Place.

An Indian came here from Tuscorowas Town where y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King Lives, informs that y<sup>e</sup> Beaver's family gets Rum at this place frequently & carries home by which y<sup>e</sup> Indians frequently get Drunk pawning their Clothss Wampum & all they have for it; that two Mohaks Indians got Drunk there, & y<sup>e</sup> One kill'd y<sup>e</sup> other in fighting, him self being much wounded, & that the Mohacks were not pleas'd with y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King about it; its commonly said that Levy y<sup>e</sup> Jew sells Rum to y<sup>e</sup> Indians & some publickly by y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>ls</sup> mission, especially to y<sup>e</sup> Beaver's family.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Levy's Negro run away with y<sup>e</sup> Indians last Night. A young man Call'd W<sup>m</sup> Ramsey has made two little Boats being squair at y<sup>e</sup> sterns & joined together at y<sup>e</sup> sterns by a Swivel makes y<sup>e</sup> two in form of one Batoe, but will turn round shorter than a boat of y<sup>e</sup> same length, or raise with more safty in falls & in case of striking Rocks; he has also made an Engine that goes with Wheels inclose'd in a Box to be worked by one Man by sitting on y<sup>e</sup> end of y<sup>e</sup> Box & treding on Traddles at bottom with his feet setts y<sup>e</sup> wheels agoing which works scullers or short Paddles fixed over y<sup>e</sup> gunnels turning them Round y<sup>e</sup> under ones always laying hold in y<sup>e</sup> water will make y<sup>e</sup> Battoe goe as if two men Rowed & he can steer at y<sup>e</sup> same time by lines like plow lines.

5<sup>th</sup>.—I hear y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King is gone with Croughan toward Detroit & that Collen<sup>l</sup> Johnson is to meet them to Hold a Treaty there & that y<sup>e</sup> Indians had deliver'd y<sup>e</sup> War belt up, to y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> there which they made.

6<sup>th</sup>.—I receiv'd a Letter from Frederick Post dated



y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> of last month at Tuscorawas Town, in which he informs me that the Indians are not all willing to deliver up y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners as yet & that he has hard living amongst them any Provisions they have being to dear—a Bushel of Corn being forty Shillings, one quart Milk two Shill<sup>s</sup> & Six pence, One Pound Butter Ten Shill<sup>s</sup> & for washing one Shirt Two Shill<sup>s</sup> & Six Pence, & Venison 7 pence, he also adds that he hopes of being of Service amongst them & signifies that he was in fear some time ago when y<sup>e</sup> Beaver took Six Ceggs Rum there & they were Drunke Six Days; that they talk of going to Philad<sup>a</sup> soon to hold a treaty there.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Had some little Trade to Day tho, trade is very dull here now.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Was Invited to a Barbacue of Tortle this Day by Levy y<sup>e</sup> Jew & Crafford y<sup>e</sup> Trader, but had no appetite for y<sup>e</sup> feast, being held on y<sup>e</sup> Island & they came over about Dusk like so many Drunken Indians.

9<sup>th</sup>.—My Namesake Indian returned from his Hunt last Night, having brought thirty Skins with him & dealt them with me. This Day, had I once more of some Shawanas being brought to me by Jn<sup>o</sup> Owen, who is desirous to serve y<sup>e</sup> Commiss<sup>r</sup>.

10<sup>th</sup>.—The Indians that deal at our Store, often want to stay in y<sup>e</sup> House at Nights while they remain here, & often want Victuals; they also want to bring their Squas to lie with at Night, which I Object against, letting them know that they shall bring none such to Sleep in our House, & having shut out two Squas last Night, they kept throwing Stones on y<sup>e</sup> House & Door after we went to bed, untill we went out & threaten'd them away. So many Roberies Committed here at Nights that all Noise tends to keep me from Sleep & y<sup>e</sup> fleas together, that I get but little Sleep.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Several Hunters that lodg'd here are going out this Day to hunt & leaves all their best Cloths & things in my keeping. I am Indispos'd w<sup>t</sup> a kind of Desentery.

13<sup>th</sup>.—I have been Poorly all this Day; had some Trade, receiv'd a Bill of Lieut<sup>t</sup> Meyer on Cap<sup>t</sup> Harry Gorden on Acc<sup>t</sup> some Wine I sold him belonging to Alex<sup>r</sup> McMullen; he is going with a command of Men & some Bullocks & pack horses to Build a Block House at Sandusky.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Had some conversation with Delaware George in which he informs me that y<sup>e</sup> Indians cannot settle matters amongst themselves so as to Go to hold a Treaty this year at Philad<sup>a</sup>, & that White Eyes & Beaver did not let him know when White Eyes went to Philad<sup>a</sup>, that their Nation are subject to three Heads, Viz y<sup>e</sup> Beaver, himself & White Eyes which all be consulted.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Receiv'd some Lines from Frederick Post, in which he says that things about them at Tuscorawas is Still & quiet, y<sup>e</sup> Indians being gone to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty at Detroit; but that he is in a Suffering Condition for want of Proviss<sup>n</sup> & requests of me to send him some y<sup>e</sup> first opertunity.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Receiv'd y<sup>e</sup> first Letter from Joseph Morris signifying of Jn<sup>o</sup> Langdale haveing Resign'd y<sup>e</sup> Agency, & Josiah Devenport & I, & some others being return'd to y<sup>e</sup> Governor he gave Devenport y<sup>e</sup> Commiss<sup>n</sup> to be Agent here, & that Langdale comes with him to Deliver up y<sup>e</sup> Store.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Having sent Sam<sup>l</sup> Dean over y<sup>e</sup> River with y<sup>e</sup> Battoe for an Indian with a Load of Skins, who came, & as we began to Deal for them Crafford y<sup>e</sup> Old Trader came to y<sup>e</sup> Store after them bringing some Indians with him, whom he had set on to draw y<sup>e</sup> man with y<sup>e</sup> Skins away from our Store which they effected, by teeling y<sup>e</sup> Indian that was about Dealing, that our Stillards was too light, & having sent for Ormsbey's Stilliards I wey'd y<sup>e</sup> Skins with them & there was about One Pound more by them in about one Hund<sup>r</sup> W<sup>t</sup> tho I told y<sup>e</sup> what I could & had an Interpreter, yet they took them to

Crafford & I am very Suspicious he keeps two Pee's to his Stilliards.

18<sup>th</sup>.—I am inform'd that several Prisoners gives Account that y<sup>e</sup> Indians are generally of opinion, that some of them can hurt y<sup>e</sup> others, by some bad Acts as Witchcraft &c but that they cannot hurt y<sup>e</sup> White people & that y<sup>e</sup> Indians endeavored both at Legoneer & this Place to hurt white people to no effect, that at Legoneer they with much difficulty Put some thing in y<sup>e</sup> water in hopes to Hurt y<sup>e</sup> People but to no effect, which gave them a Strong opinon of y<sup>e</sup> White People.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Ordered Philip Boyle (he being going to Sanduskey with flour a Suttling) to supply Frederick Post with what Flour he wanted.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Josiah Devenport Ariv'd here, having left Jn<sup>o</sup> Langdale Sick near Fort Loudon, with orders to sell off y<sup>e</sup> goods as soon as we can.

22<sup>d</sup>.—The Traders seem'd to expect y<sup>e</sup> Province Goods to be Sold at Vandue or at y<sup>e</sup> first Cost, but disappointed.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Jn<sup>o</sup> Langdale's not coming hinders our taking an Inventory of y<sup>e</sup> Goods, but I keep Trading with what offers.

25<sup>th</sup>.—The pres<sup>t</sup> Agent seems in great faviour with y<sup>e</sup> officers and Collo<sup>t</sup> Burd has offer'd his Service in being sent at taking y<sup>e</sup> Inventory of y<sup>e</sup> Goods in case Langdale do not come.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Matter of twenty odd of y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers in y<sup>e</sup> Guard House for desertion & neglecting their work at y<sup>e</sup> quarries & y<sup>e</sup> Criminals thats in y<sup>e</sup> dungeon for sundry crimes, canot have a trial until some higher officer comes.

28<sup>th</sup>.—My Brother Charles taken sick with a shivering & Chilliness turn'd to a nervouss fever, Bled & tooke a Vomit; this day Jn<sup>o</sup> Langdale came here.

31<sup>st</sup>.—Began to take acco<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Goods y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> when Jn<sup>o</sup> Langdale came.

9<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Kept taking an Inventory of y<sup>e</sup> Goods.

14<sup>th</sup>.—About y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Bartram y<sup>e</sup> botanist & Member of y<sup>e</sup> Royal Society came here, who I was glad to see & well receiv'd by Collo<sup>t</sup> Bouquet & y<sup>e</sup> officers. About this time one of y<sup>e</sup> most reserv'd men in appearance amongst y<sup>e</sup> officers call'd Jam<sup>s</sup> Miller, Chirugen of y<sup>e</sup> Garrison, Cut his own throat at Night in his Room with two Rayzors, which affect'd y<sup>e</sup> People very much in General; he had been at times Hipt or Lunatick.

16<sup>th</sup>.—About this time Jn<sup>o</sup> Bartram, Cap<sup>t</sup> Gordon & me went over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela looking for Curiosities in Plants & having shewn Bartram a Vine, that I looked on as rare, we pull'd of its fruit, being long like Cucumbers which he reckons a great rarity or new Genus, if it proves not to be Aristolochia, not being ever found in these parts before; also a fine Violet in Blossom which is a rare thing in y<sup>e</sup> fall.

Bartram desirous that he & I should go out by ourselves, we did another Day going to y<sup>e</sup> Saw Mill & up y<sup>e</sup> Run from thence y<sup>e</sup> South of y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela Mountain in order to go to y<sup>e</sup> French Lime Kiln & y<sup>e</sup> Coal Mine which lay on a Branch of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Run, but we keeping y<sup>e</sup> Main Run it lead us some Miles wrong to y<sup>e</sup> South & coming on Rain, we set by Gess a Course y<sup>e</sup> nighest way through y<sup>e</sup> woods & came right opposite to y<sup>e</sup> fort; have observ'd some Curiosities.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Having propos'd to go down y<sup>e</sup> Ohio to y<sup>e</sup> Oyle Spring & desirous of my company, we Set off this Day in company with Cap<sup>t</sup> Bryen of y<sup>e</sup> Provincials, being also bread a Friend, & four of his men to work y<sup>e</sup> Battoe, also Hugh McSwain for an Interpretor, y<sup>e</sup> Colonel having furnish'd us with a tent & Provisions, also Liquor plenty. I tooke y<sup>e</sup> Courses of y<sup>e</sup> River as we went, by a Good Pocket Compass having several Islands & from Pittsburgh to y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Beaver Creek will be very near a North West Course. Not having many Crooks we first put ashore in a long Island below



Shirtees Island, got some Plumbs—Jn<sup>o</sup> Bartram found a Sort of Sun flower or else a New Plant, that he had not seen y<sup>e</sup> like before, having Stalks 5 or 6 foot High & Squair & hollow bearing allways two long small Leaves together oposite sirrounding y<sup>e</sup> Stem like through stem y<sup>e</sup> Blossoms were fell. Next we went a Shoar at y<sup>e</sup> Log's town, there being no inhabitants now, but above 100 Acres I supose Clear'd Land being on y<sup>e</sup> North Side y<sup>e</sup> River & very thin Soyle y<sup>e</sup> Adjasant Hills but poor. Some of y<sup>e</sup> men like to have poyson'd them selves here Eating y<sup>e</sup> Indigo Peas, whilst we were walking out to y<sup>e</sup> woods. Prosee'd down to Beaver Creek about 8 or 10 Miles from y<sup>e</sup> Logstown & 30 Miles from Pittsburgh, where only lives Gray Eyes or Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson so call'd, one of y<sup>e</sup> Heads of y<sup>e</sup> Delawares, but he was gon to y<sup>e</sup> treaty now held at Detroit, some Women & Children being at home. He has a Good Shingled House & several Stables & Cow houses under one Roof Built by y<sup>e</sup> General's ord<sup>r</sup>s. We Pitch'd our Tent near y<sup>e</sup> House & made us a fire when W<sup>m</sup> Turnum & another Ind<sup>a</sup> man about dusk came in from Hunting; they sat with us some time & we gave each some Bread and a Dram, Turnum talks English well & being observing y<sup>e</sup> Stars he could shew us y<sup>e</sup> North Star & y<sup>e</sup> Great Bear & says y<sup>e</sup> Indians knows them & y<sup>e</sup> Plannets by Particular Names, very well & observes their motions but they could not inform us of y<sup>e</sup> Oyle Springs.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Set off very early this morning down y<sup>e</sup> River, being very foggy; y<sup>e</sup> River seems here to make a Right Angle y<sup>e</sup> Course from y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of Beaver Creek being very near South West, with some Island & seems not much wider than at Pittsburgh but about 7 or 8 foot Deep in places.

Kept down y<sup>e</sup> River untill about 11 o'Clock having judg'd we went near 20 miles below Beaver Creek, being told that y<sup>e</sup> Oyle Spring was at y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Little Beaver Creek about 8 miles from y<sup>e</sup> former on same

side y<sup>e</sup> River but no such Creek could we find in this Distance, so we put on Shoar on y<sup>e</sup> Point on an Island, y<sup>e</sup> River apear<sup>ing</sup> to turn more Northward round y<sup>e</sup> Point of a Hill just in sight here we Dined, View'd y<sup>e</sup> Island, many pieces of Stone Coal lying amongst y<sup>e</sup> small Stones washed down withe y<sup>e</sup> River, so we went no further down but having y<sup>e</sup> wind fair hoist'd Sail & Row'd along shore up again; put a Shore on y<sup>e</sup> South side, at y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Creek where was very rich Bottoms. Bartram y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & I often walk'd along Shore & in y<sup>e</sup> evening being got very near y<sup>e</sup> mouth of y<sup>e</sup> Creek we left this morning, walking along a Path on high Land above y<sup>e</sup> River came to a Town (abo<sup>t</sup> a Mile below Gray Eyes) where was near to 20 well made, (but small) Stone Chimneys & several frame Buildings, some of which had no Shingles or Clapbords on; y<sup>e</sup> Houses were mostly Burn'd or destroy'd that belong'd to y<sup>e</sup> Stone Chimbneys. There was like one or two Chapples with Immages of faces cut on y<sup>e</sup> Posts, but marks of Tom-hocks struck in y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> faces, & one y<sup>e</sup> nose cut off. I am informed since that this town was where y<sup>e</sup> French had intised y<sup>e</sup> Shawanes to come & settle, to be more handy to go to war against y<sup>e</sup> English. We walk'd up to y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Beaver Creek, but y<sup>e</sup> men being tyred put ashore & Incamp'd a little lower, so we return'd to them, & stay'd there all night, McSwain going to Gray Eyes & on his return told us he eat some Good Butter which Gray Eyes had made while he was there.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Set off soon this morning & came to Logstown but went ashore on y<sup>e</sup> South side y<sup>e</sup> River opposite to where y<sup>e</sup> town was, where was very Rich Land & we judg'd about 100 Acres Clear'd growing with high Weeds & Briars, here they us'd to Plant Corn. Search'd y<sup>e</sup> Ajesent Woods for y<sup>e</sup> Horse Chestnut Trees, but could not find them, y<sup>e</sup> Children at Beaver Creek having strings of them about their necks, they grow on an Island below Shirtees, but we did not land

on it to see them; lay this night by y<sup>e</sup> River side on long Coarse Grass.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Came up y<sup>e</sup> next Day to Pittsburgh & walking along y<sup>e</sup> River side found Pieces of Putrid stuff made into Stone but y<sup>e</sup> Shapes of Shells in places, in other places y<sup>e</sup> shapes & bulk of Hickary Nuts with y<sup>e</sup> fair Husks on, opening in four Points & quarters in y<sup>e</sup> top of y<sup>e</sup> Nutt. Jn<sup>o</sup> Bartram calls them Shells, but I call them nuts; walk'd this evening out about Grant's hill & view'd some of Mens Bones that lies about yet.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Jn<sup>o</sup> Bartram set off to Redstone Creek up y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela on his way to see y<sup>e</sup> Warm Springs in Virginia & it rain'd for two Days. Y<sup>e</sup> Inventory of y<sup>e</sup> Goods been all taken, only y<sup>e</sup> Househould Furniture before I went down y<sup>e</sup> River.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Here has been acco<sup>t</sup> from Delaware George to y<sup>e</sup> Coll<sup>t</sup> that a Party of Mingoos being at Beaver Creek in liquor signified their Intention of laying wait about y<sup>e</sup> Garden at Pittsburg in order to Kill y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>t</sup> or some officers which ocassioned orders to be Issued that none of y<sup>e</sup> officers should walk out in y<sup>e</sup> Garden alone & unarm'd, nor to be out after y<sup>e</sup> Gun fired in y<sup>e</sup> evening—there has been latter orders also to reinforce y<sup>e</sup> Guards at night & y<sup>e</sup> Militia Cap<sup>t</sup> Crafford reviews his Watches at night in y<sup>e</sup> way of a Town Watch; he has summon'd Josiah Davenport and Cap<sup>t</sup> Trent to join y<sup>e</sup> Militia & stand Sentries, but they dispute y<sup>e</sup> point thinking themselves above it.

10<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Croughan is returnd from y<sup>e</sup> Treaty at Detroit & information is made to us by Leu<sup>t</sup> Ralph of y<sup>e</sup> Royal Americans, that y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>t</sup> has had a Copy of Johnson's Journal, which gives account that y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King held a Counsel with y<sup>e</sup> other Nations (before Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson arriv'd) telling them that they were mislead as he & his people were by the French, & that since he was better acquaint'd with y<sup>e</sup> English than many of them were he assur'd them that they would find them a

people much preferable to y<sup>e</sup> French & that they might do what they judged best, but that him & his Nation would always hereafter joine with y<sup>e</sup> English; its also said, that he confess'd at y<sup>e</sup> following Treaty, that this Summer y<sup>e</sup> War Belt and Hatchet was brought from y<sup>e</sup> Six Nations, & offer'd to him & his Brother Shingass, but that he threw it against y<sup>e</sup> Wall & would not except of it, its said also that y<sup>e</sup> three Heads Men of y<sup>e</sup> Wyondot Nation all agree'd not to except it but seiz'd it & deliver'd it to Cap<sup>t</sup> Camble at Detroit. The Conclusion of Collo' Johnson's Treaty is said to be that he has cast off y<sup>e</sup> Onandago Yoke (of y<sup>e</sup> Six Nations) from y<sup>e</sup> Delawares, Shawanas, Wyondots, Picks or Tweetwees, & others to y<sup>e</sup> Westward which makes those Nations a Seperate Power Independ<sup>t</sup> of the Six Nations & that both Powers has seperately join'd in aliance now with y<sup>e</sup> English, both offensive & defensive, on which some Hundreds were set off against y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees & that y<sup>e</sup> Prisinors that wants to leave them may come away, but they that do not or cannot drive them away.

6<sup>th</sup>.—A Species of Violets, now very thick in Blossom over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahe<sup>la</sup> & several of y<sup>e</sup> Common Blue Violet in Blossom which I judge must be y<sup>e</sup> second Blossoming this Summer, one plant of which I have remov'd to y<sup>e</sup> Garden thinking to carry it down Home & y<sup>e</sup> Seeds of y<sup>e</sup> other also y<sup>e</sup> seeds of y<sup>e</sup> Aristolochia & a fine rare Rassberry Plant like y<sup>e</sup> Nine Bark wood.

7<sup>th</sup>.—The late Agent let me know that y<sup>e</sup> Commiss<sup>s</sup> or some part of them were so Indulgent toward me that if at any time I rather chus'd to be relased from y<sup>e</sup> Service to let them know & they would do it, which I take very kind & has wrote to them about two weeks ago to be pleas'd to send another in my room, which I hope soon now will arrive.

8<sup>th</sup>.—There is a Proclamation from Collo' Johnson Posted up here for all y<sup>e</sup> Indian Traders to Adhere to, y<sup>e</sup> Prices of y<sup>e</sup> Goods that is now fix'd at a more bene-



fishal profit than here before; all y<sup>e</sup> Traders to have a Pass from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson or George Croughan Esq<sup>r</sup> else y<sup>e</sup> Commanding officers at each Post are forbid to let them Trade.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Frederick Post came here from Tuscorawas & having a meeting with y<sup>e</sup> Indians there, before they set off (to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty) at Detroit, he let them know that the good Spirit had sent him amongst them in order to do them good & inform them in y<sup>e</sup> Christian Principels, to which they answer'd that they were very willing of his living amongst them, but not on them tearms, as they seen no better fruits or works amongst Christians than amongst themselves, but he told them that y<sup>e</sup> good spirit was with him, when he came to them in y<sup>e</sup> War time & that they had no reason to repent of his coming amongst them that time, and that now if they did not receive him on y<sup>e</sup> tearms he mentioned y<sup>e</sup> Good Spirit ordered him to leave them, and go to some others, having made them as y<sup>e</sup> head men of that Nation y<sup>e</sup> first offer & call'd for his Horse to be gone, but they would not consent to let him go, so he is now prepairing materials in order to build a House to live in, & keep School, & instruct them as far as he can or they will receive, but tells them that their hearts are not prepair'd to hear the gosple.

12<sup>th</sup>.—About this time y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King & Shingas came here & held a small council w<sup>t</sup> Geo. Croughan, & y<sup>e</sup> Beaver told me they would go to Philad<sup>a</sup> next Spring to Confirm their alliance with our Province.

15<sup>th</sup>.—About this time I went to get Coal over y<sup>e</sup> Mountain South side of y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela about 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  Miles from y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> River with four men & 3 Horses caried them in bags to y<sup>e</sup> River & bro<sup>t</sup> home at night in a flat abo<sup>t</sup> 40 Bushel fine Coal being dug out before. I kill'd a Turkey.

16<sup>th</sup>.—One Agness Miller, being a Captive amongst y<sup>e</sup> Shawnes, was delivered up here as also two other

little Girls, Daughters of Charles Steward & Jam<sup>s</sup> McBride, taken from y<sup>e</sup> Coves, one of them being taken by Shingus & belon'd to Pisquition. Langdale had orders from Israel Pemberton to advance £20 for redeeming Agness, but she being deliver'd up cost nothing.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Langdale left this place and set off home, after leaving a Protest in Writing with me (as he was just going) being against all Josiah Davenports & my Actings in y<sup>e</sup> Store since y<sup>e</sup> Day he left it in order chiefly, as he told me, to clear himself if any thing happen'd in y<sup>e</sup> Goods which he said was only matter of form, as he never alledg'd any dishonesty to any of us. One Blaine y<sup>e</sup> officer which Commands at Ligonier came here. I have had no Answer as yet from y<sup>e</sup> Commiss<sup>s</sup>, which gives Frederick Post some encouragem<sup>t</sup> (if I am set at liberty) to go to see him to Tuscorawas.

11<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—The Shawana Chiefs came here & Held a Treaty of Peace with Geo. Croghan where none was admitt'd but Croghan's Assistant, (Tho<sup>s</sup> Hutchins) & himself & Indians I heard they promis'd to keep in friendship with y<sup>e</sup> English for ever & blam'd y<sup>e</sup> French for drawing them away from y<sup>e</sup> English Intrest.

9<sup>th</sup>.—This Day my Brother Charles hired with us at our Store for y<sup>e</sup> Winter Quarter at Three Pounds p<sup>r</sup> Month—y<sup>e</sup> ninth 11<sup>mo</sup> 1761 & Samuel Dean went off.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Many Traders gone with Goods to Trade at y<sup>e</sup> Indians Towns. One Tho<sup>s</sup> Cape that was Prisoner amongst y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas, being taken from Cape Capen in Virginia, being set free, we have taken him to live with us.

16<sup>th</sup>.—I am inform'd by Tho<sup>s</sup> Cape, that when y<sup>e</sup> Indians Kill a Deer in y<sup>e</sup> Woods & being in haste to follow y<sup>e</sup> Game, they leave a Cap or some part of their Clothing on y<sup>e</sup> killed Game untill they return, which hinders y<sup>e</sup> Buzzards & Vermin to Eat it, also that if they intend to leave it all night where its kill'd they Bark or Blase

3 or four Trees round it & then wets some Powder in their Hand untill it is dissolved then dips their finger in it & Sprinkles it on y<sup>e</sup> Blaszes, which in y<sup>e</sup> Night will look like Sparks of fire all round, & no Vermin would touch y<sup>e</sup> Carcase untill it would rot there.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Butter is brought here by y<sup>e</sup> Cask @ 14<sup>d</sup> & 13<sup>d</sup> and 1 Shilling p<sup>r</sup> lb, Turnips for one Dollor p<sup>r</sup> Bushell, being raised here.

19<sup>th</sup>.—The Fort Banks here is very near raise'd, which makes it look much Stronger than it was in times of more danger by accounts, y<sup>e</sup> front next y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants being of Brick and Corners of y<sup>e</sup> Angles of Hewn Stone, about [?] foot High y<sup>e</sup> Back part next y<sup>e</sup> Point where y<sup>e</sup> two Rivers Meets being of Earth & soded all so that it grows thick of long Grass that was done last year & they have Moov'd y<sup>e</sup> Bank several times this Summer its four Squair with a Row of Barracks along each Squair three Rows of which are Wooden frame work & y<sup>e</sup> Row on y<sup>e</sup> Bank side next y<sup>e</sup> point is Brick also a large Brick House built this summer in y<sup>e</sup> South East Corner of y<sup>e</sup> Roof being now aputing on, having fine Steps at y<sup>e</sup> Door of Hewn free Stone, a Cel-  
lar all under it, at y<sup>e</sup> Bank Side of y<sup>e</sup> Barracks opens ye Doors of y<sup>e</sup> Magazines Vaults & Dungeons lying under y<sup>e</sup> Great Banks of Earth thrown out of y<sup>e</sup> Great Tranches all Round in these are kept y<sup>e</sup> Strores of Amunition &c & Prisoners that are to be tried for their Lives, in these Vaults are no light but as they carry Lanthorns, on y<sup>e</sup> South East Bastion stands a High Poal like a Mast & top Mast to Hoist y<sup>e</sup> flag on which is Hoisted on every first Day of y<sup>e</sup> Week from about Eleven to One o'Clock & on State Days &c there are three Wells of Water wall'd in y<sup>e</sup> fort, & a Squair of Clear Ground in y<sup>e</sup> inside of about 2 Acres.

20<sup>th</sup>.—I have been Inform'd by a Young Man that was order'd by y<sup>e</sup> Commanding Officer, Collonel Bouquet, (this Sumer) to Number all y<sup>e</sup> Dwelling Houses without

y<sup>e</sup> Fort marking the number on each Door that there was above one Hundred Houses but y<sup>e</sup> Highest number I have seen by beter acco<sup>t</sup> there is 150 Houses, to take notice of I think was Seventy Eight, these being y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants of Pittsburgh, where two years ago I have seen all y<sup>e</sup> Houses that were without y<sup>e</sup> Little Fort they had then, thrown Down, only One, which stands yet, also two that was within that little fort is now standing being y<sup>e</sup> Hospital now, all y<sup>e</sup> rest being Built since, which if y<sup>e</sup> Place continues to Increase near this manner it must soon be very large, which seems likely to me.

21<sup>st</sup>.—As to y<sup>e</sup> Government of y<sup>e</sup> Place at p<sup>r</sup>sent y<sup>e</sup> Chief Laws have been Out by y<sup>e</sup> General's Orders, which are Viz 1<sup>st</sup> That all Subjects may by applying to y<sup>e</sup> Chief Enginear Build Houses, but none to Sell or Rent any; that no person shall buy of y<sup>e</sup> Indians, Horses nor Bells, &c.

11<sup>mo</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>.—To Sell no Rum or Strong Liquor nor give to Indians on Pain of having their Houses pull'd Down, & y<sup>e</sup> Transgressors being banished the place. There was also some time ago, restrections about Selling the Indians Powd<sup>r</sup> & Lead to exceed five pounds for one man at Once of Each & that there must be no dealing in Trade after y<sup>e</sup> Evening Gun is fired after Sun Down. Some people have had their Houses pull'd Down for y<sup>e</sup> Brech of some of these Laws & themselves Banish'd.

25<sup>th</sup>.—This Day y<sup>e</sup> Provincial Soldiers Time expired, but are not discharg<sup>d</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>l</sup> waiting for an answer whether they shall be continued over y<sup>e</sup> Winter.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Provincial Soldiers disarts without a Discharge & seems to be as willing to return, many of them as they were to List being kept to Constant Labour here at Building y<sup>e</sup> Banks of y<sup>e</sup> fort quarring Stone & Cutting Wood, which they perform'd as expeditiously as any that has work'd here & I heard that the Colo<sup>l</sup> should say they done an emense sight of work for y<sup>e</sup> time, so



that our province has no small Share in raising y<sup>e</sup> Banks of Fort Pitt.

30<sup>th</sup>.—We have been very Busey in getting Home a Stock of fire-wood being Cut about a Mile up y<sup>e</sup> Alleg-heny & 150 Yards from y<sup>e</sup> River side some we haul'd with a Cart to y<sup>e</sup> River & some Carried & brought it home with a Battoe.

12<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Many of y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants here have hired a School Master & Subscrib'd above Sixty Pounds for this Year to him, he has about Twenty Schollars, likewise y<sup>e</sup> Soberer sort of People seemes to Long for some publick way of Worship, so y<sup>e</sup> School Master Reads y<sup>e</sup> Littany & Common Prayer on y<sup>e</sup> first Days to a Congregation of different Principels (he being a Prisi-terant) where they behave very Grave (as I hear), on y<sup>e</sup> occasion y<sup>e</sup> Children also are brought to Church as they Call it.

5<sup>th</sup>.—The Provincials are discharged & Marches off with Coll' Burd, this Place having but few Soldiers left in it.

Here is about 51 of y<sup>e</sup> Sennica Nation Warriors, with a Steady big Old Man, their Head, going to War against y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees. They have made a Speech at their Coming that we should not think hard of them Concerning y<sup>e</sup> Conspiracy they began this last Sumer, as that matter was Settled & they intend to live in peace with us for y<sup>e</sup> futor, & being in need of some necessaries they hop'd we would supply them as they were going against y<sup>e</sup> common Enemy to us as to them. This Nation are Said to be y<sup>e</sup> most against y<sup>e</sup> English of any of y<sup>e</sup> Six Nations.

7<sup>th</sup>.—It has snow'd for two Days (y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup>) but no frost of any Value being in y<sup>e</sup> Earth, & y<sup>e</sup> weather Not very Cold, much of it has melt'd; it was about 2 foot deep on y<sup>e</sup> Plains in other places deeper; it continues mostly Cloudy & Spits some little snow, freezes, & this day there is much Snowy Ice driving in y<sup>e</sup> Rivers; y<sup>e</sup>

Sennica Warriors have got y<sup>e</sup> last provissions allow'd them this Day with orders to go being Supply'd with all they ask'd, they are very troublesome by crowding into y<sup>e</sup> Houses & thronging our fire Places, but behaves Civell y<sup>e</sup> Indians in General being so theevish that we are under y<sup>e</sup> necessity to watch them with y<sup>e</sup> utmost care & must be loosers after in some things unless we had as many spyes as they have thieves; this makes them fare y<sup>e</sup> worse amongst us, as we are affraid to let them Sleep in our Houses, or indulge them to tarry any longe time, but many of them are so good natured that they wont be affronted readily.

12<sup>mo</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>.—The Head Sennica Warrior dealt Seven large Bucksins with me, when many of them Croud'd in y<sup>e</sup> Store being very Theivish (y<sup>e</sup> Agent being out) y<sup>e</sup> Warrior seem'd not easy pleas'd with his full Pay which he took in Powd', so I gave him a Loaf of Bread which was satisfactory to them; one of them bringing a small Skin want'd Brass Wire for it, but could hardly please himself amongst a variety of sorts, telling me to hand more, which I looked upon it as a Stratagem to keep me bussie that y<sup>e</sup> others might have oppertunity to Steal something. Several of 'em want'd to get behind y<sup>e</sup> Counter but I always turn'd em back & all they got was a Handful of salt. One took out a kegg that stood behind y<sup>e</sup> door, whilst my Brother just step'd out, so I turn'd them all out & y<sup>e</sup> Hindmost stop'd by y<sup>e</sup> door & begg'd for a Little Salt, so I gave him a Handfull he being disappoint'd in Stealing of it.

9<sup>th</sup>.—It set to Snowing yesterday & continues snowing a little yet, but is not very cold, nor has not fell much. Y<sup>e</sup> Ice drives in y<sup>e</sup> Allegheny, only I am inform'd by a Prissoner that y<sup>e</sup> Shawanes set free here, that y<sup>e</sup> Head Man Call'd Manacotootha (signifying y<sup>e</sup> Scy) set off from y<sup>e</sup> Lower town to come to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty they Held here, but had not come far until his own heart smote him so with Guilt (it seems) he was for

turning back & having come y<sup>e</sup> Most of y<sup>e</sup> way after did come here nor did not let his son come saying y<sup>e</sup> English would imprisson them, & y<sup>e</sup> whole Company would have turn'd back, only for the Perswasions of One Leading Man Of y<sup>e</sup> Nation Call'd the White Horse, who carried his arguments with such force & reasons that they must unavoidably come at Last to y<sup>e</sup> English Terms, so brought y<sup>e</sup> Majority along, but before they reach'd here, Strictly Charg'd y<sup>e</sup> Prissoners when they got amongst y<sup>e</sup> English not to tell any Lyes of them & y<sup>e</sup> Women not to tell their usage. Guilt often needs no accuser!

10<sup>th</sup>.—Very smart Frost, y<sup>e</sup> Ice drives thick in y<sup>e</sup> River, these Warriors are not yet gone nor can they get them away. This Evening Teaf's Goods gone over y<sup>e</sup> River in a Batoe; they are to set off tomorrow to Beaver Creek with them down y<sup>e</sup> River, tho it seem'd with much difficulty they got a Cross to y<sup>e</sup> Island for Ice; they propose to go to y<sup>e</sup> Miammi Country amongst y<sup>e</sup> Tweetwees.

11<sup>th</sup>.—The Monongahela shut up last night & y<sup>e</sup> People Crosses on y<sup>e</sup> Ice; to Day y<sup>e</sup> Hunters comes in with their Skins & plenty of meat.

14<sup>th</sup>.—It Rains & y<sup>e</sup> 51 Warriors is set off down y<sup>e</sup> River in three Large new Canoes, shouting as they go.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Stormy weather Cloudy & Spitting Snow, people keeps coming in here from y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants & some going notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> Weather.

16<sup>th</sup>.—It broke up y<sup>e</sup> Ice last night in y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela so that with y<sup>e</sup> flood that is in y<sup>e</sup> Rivers; some Batoes are drove away & y<sup>e</sup> Guard stop'd several that was broke loose & agoing though—there is plenty of Snow still remains.

17<sup>th</sup>.—I am inform'd by our Servant, Tho<sup>e</sup> Cape, who was Six Years Prisoner amongst y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas, that they have much regard for y<sup>e</sup> Great Eagle, they use y<sup>e</sup> downey feathers of his Tayle stuck in their hair, also when they Shoot one of them, that they immediately

cut out his tongue & his heart & hide them in some rotten Log & hangs up y<sup>e</sup> Body for two Days, then bring it home, use y<sup>e</sup> wings, (took carefully off & join'd with some piece of white Linnen at y<sup>e</sup> Roots) to raise wind, as he says, which he has seen done, goes in some private place & fands with y<sup>e</sup> wings Singing some song all y<sup>e</sup> time for y<sup>e</sup> Space of near two Hours or more, when y<sup>e</sup> wind Will Raise ready to blow down y<sup>e</sup> Houses, y<sup>e</sup> downey long feathers of y<sup>e</sup> Tayle they keep laid up in Saele Skin, which they purchase of y<sup>e</sup> Cannada Indians whether being Heathen Idolaters they Realy can Act any Cunjuration Divination or Witch Craft I know not, but that they have many such Imposters amongst them I believe.

18<sup>th</sup>.—This Day it Clear'd & pretty fine Day, y<sup>e</sup> snow about 15 Inch deep. I am inform'd that y<sup>e</sup> Shawana head man got some Wheat sow'd that they had carried from some of y<sup>e</sup> frontiers during y<sup>e</sup> War which grew well, saved seed of y<sup>e</sup> Crop which they sow'd again part of it they Pounded in a mortar to Meal which they made Bread of, this Tho<sup>s</sup> Cape says, that y<sup>e</sup> Head Man of y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas was heard to say, that in Case of a War breaking out again with y<sup>e</sup> English they will never make it up again.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Here was a little Old Delaware Man & family, he is call'd James Mokeson, & his Cossen a likly young man, they dealt about £100 worth peltry with us. Y<sup>e</sup> young man Could Cast up his own peltry & knows what they came to by his head; behav'd very steady, we using all means in our power to please them; they promis'd to come to us again in y<sup>e</sup> Spring, being very well pleas'd. Had hard work to put them over y<sup>e</sup> River, y<sup>e</sup> Ice drove so thick.

21<sup>st</sup>.—I heard by one of Teafe's Men (that went down to Beaver Creek with his Goods), that Three men that set off to go down there, by Land, only one arive'd there when he came away & it was supos'd y<sup>e</sup> other two was



perishe'd in y<sup>e</sup> Snow, having parte'd from that one he did not know how.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Its Less or more Snow every Night & generally dull Weather. I understand by Josiah Devenport who was lately up at Clappam's place that y<sup>e</sup> Old Collonel Lives like some Prince, keeps many Hands at Work; rais'd many Hund<sup>rd</sup> Bushell Corn this Sumer, but y<sup>e</sup> Turkeys like to destroy much of it, they were so thick about in his Corn fields, that they Shot a Heap of them —y<sup>e</sup> place situate at y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of Sweekly Creek on Foxnigani.

24<sup>th</sup>.—It snow'd last night & to day so that y<sup>e</sup> Snow was in y<sup>e</sup> plains I think above Two foot deep & in other places a yard. Yesterday Tho<sup>s</sup> Flemming arriv'd here w<sup>th</sup> a packet; he brot some Letters from y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners where they mention that I must not leave my bussiness here until my time is expire'd or at lest until they send one to supply my place. Many of y<sup>e</sup> Indians have been inquiring when Christmass would come & one young Man a Cossen of Delaware George's ask'd me something y<sup>e</sup> Reason of it. I told him what y<sup>e</sup> white people took notice of y<sup>e</sup> time on account of what hap-pen'd, then that y<sup>e</sup> Son of y<sup>e</sup> Good Spirit came in y<sup>e</sup> form of a Man & liv'd many Days amongst y<sup>e</sup> people, done Many Maricles & suffer'd the Jews to put him to death, shewing Men by his example that they should not War nor fight but suffer as he did, & on y<sup>e</sup> third Day that he rose & assend'd, he having power over Death, Men, &c., & would also raise good men again;—at which he seem'd much Affected & some others in y<sup>e</sup> Company.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Two of y<sup>e</sup> Royal American Soldiers, in their Sporting Last night Shot their Drum Major & Shat-ter'd his knee to pieces; they say they Shot only Powd<sup>r</sup> at him, but they are put in y<sup>e</sup> Guard House & y<sup>e</sup> Doctor says y<sup>e</sup> Mans Leg must be Cut off & it will be Mortal. A Young Man, Cossen of Delaware Georges, tells me

he Gave or is to pay Levy y<sup>e</sup> Jew 10/ for a pair of white plain Half thick Legons 1½ y<sup>ds</sup> & large French Blankets is got to 24/ amongst them y<sup>e</sup> others 20/ which gives me reason to believe when this Store is at an end y<sup>e</sup> Indians will be much impos'd upon—they make them commonly pay More then White people. Deep Snow & now like for hard frost. A young Indian Man brought us four Turkeys saying he was recommend'd by severals of his acquaintance to come to y<sup>e</sup> Quaker who would use him very well & having bought them, & paid him Six Shillings Cash besides Victuals & drink, he going out heard of a better Market so came back & got the Turkeys delivering y<sup>e</sup> Money again, but his second Chap not pleasing him in dealing he brought them back to us & had his money again, but he said Dam it several times at y<sup>e</sup> Second Chap.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Frederick Post came here on his way to Philad<sup>a</sup> having a Message from y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King & Shingass to y<sup>e</sup> Governor signifying that they had confirm'd y<sup>e</sup> Peace with y<sup>e</sup> Western Nations.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Oliver McConaughty & Alex<sup>r</sup> McMullen came from Sandusky having all their horses dead & out of Eighty Horses belonging to Cap<sup>t</sup> Calend<sup>r</sup> but three left some time ago able to go to see y<sup>e</sup> rest adying in y<sup>e</sup> Snow; a percil of Soldiers came in that was going beyond y<sup>e</sup> lake their feet frozen.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Receiv'd a Letter from John Bartram Botinest to send him some seeds of y<sup>e</sup> Sweet Vine.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Frederick Post tells me that y<sup>e</sup> Nanticoke Tribe of Indians are reconed by y<sup>e</sup> others to have first supply'd y<sup>e</sup> Indians w<sup>t</sup> poison, as they report that it was made known first to them by some infernal Spirit who was found at first in a House as an Infant which y<sup>e</sup> Squa kept & fed untill in time it grew of a short & thick size, took to kill y<sup>e</sup> others Children, so that they put it to many Deaths but till it became alive again, so at last came on conditions with them that if they would obey

it & serve it it would learn them how to do mighty things which they agreed to, then it shew'd them a Root which being Eaten by one of them poison'd him directly & upon Eating of another Root (which they have since lost y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of) was Cured directly.

30<sup>th</sup>.—In y<sup>e</sup> Message from y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King & Shingass to y<sup>e</sup> Governor of Penn<sup>a</sup> they say that as soon as they receiv'd his message for Peace 3 Years ago they immediately made their Warriors desist in making any more attempts against y<sup>e</sup> English, and has since been endeavouring to bring all y<sup>e</sup> other Nations in their Alience into y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> friendship which now they have affect'd, since which there's Seven of their Flesh & Blood kill'd by our foolish young men which they d<sup>o</sup> hide und<sup>r</sup> a Cover from y<sup>e</sup> other Nations & their own Young men, having Spoak so much good of y<sup>e</sup> English to y<sup>e</sup> rest they are ashamed to mention this.

31<sup>st</sup>.—I tho't I felt a Shock of an Earthquake in y<sup>e</sup> night.

1762 1<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—The Weather Continues very moderate.

2<sup>d</sup>.—W<sup>m</sup> Ramsey from some part Maryland dy'd here; he told me he had a birthright amongst Friends: he sent for me some time before he dy'd, seem'd very penitent but was concern'd most for his Wife & 2 Children, he came out here after some runaway Servants & to shun a Debtor that he was not able to pay untill he Earn'd w<sup>t</sup> he ow'd him.

4<sup>th</sup>.—A young Delaware Man (Call'd William or Indakaughill) whom I trust'd last Summer abo<sup>t</sup> 50/ came here & own'd y<sup>e</sup> Debt s<sup>d</sup> he would pay me.

5<sup>th</sup>.—This Day Frederick Post gone for Philad<sup>a</sup>. Ramsey's Goods Sold to day at Vendue amo<sup>t</sup> £18:13.0.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Having Rain'd to Day & thaw'd, so that y<sup>e</sup> Ice broke up this Evening & y<sup>e</sup> Rivers Rose very fast; we had haul'd y<sup>e</sup> Batoe before as we tho't far enough up y<sup>e</sup> Bank, but y<sup>e</sup> Increse of y<sup>e</sup> flood caus'd us to tend her

almost all night, y<sup>e</sup> Water got round her & y<sup>e</sup> Rivers drove thick & rugged all over with Ice.

9<sup>th</sup>.—This Morning y<sup>e</sup> flood increasing still we had y<sup>e</sup> Bato up to y<sup>e</sup> Door, by Noon y<sup>e</sup> Street fronting our door und<sup>r</sup> water; many People bro<sup>t</sup> Goods to us for preservation; got going with Canoes between y<sup>e</sup> Houses & Batoes, I set to work & got all our peltry up stairs & y<sup>e</sup> Wollings &c up about Dusk y<sup>e</sup> Water got to power into our Celler increasing with y<sup>e</sup> Same progress as at first y<sup>e</sup> Celler having no Wall but mud banks we conclud<sup>d</sup> to shut all y<sup>e</sup> Doors fast & make our escape, y<sup>e</sup> Ice driving thick between us & y<sup>e</sup> Fort—some fellows waiting with a Canoe gave umbrage to us so that Josiah return<sup>d</sup> out of y<sup>e</sup> Batoe & stay<sup>d</sup> some Houres but fell out twice & had to swim till taken up several Ind<sup>as</sup> stay<sup>d</sup> till I went then went out having difficulty to get thro y<sup>e</sup> Ice.

10<sup>th</sup>.—I got into Col<sup>l</sup> Burd's House (with my Brother & Jam<sup>s</sup> McMullen) on y<sup>e</sup> Hill without y<sup>e</sup> fort where y<sup>e</sup> School is kept; this morning went with a batoe from y<sup>e</sup> Hill round y<sup>e</sup> fort & into y<sup>e</sup> Gate where Col<sup>l</sup> Bouquet, Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gord<sup>n</sup>, Ensign Price got in with us, they being walking on y<sup>e</sup> Bank, so row<sup>d</sup> them thro y<sup>e</sup> fort to their quarters. Seen our House standing y<sup>e</sup> Water up to y<sup>e</sup> Window shutters; something geting against y<sup>e</sup> Door could not get it open. Josiah stay<sup>d</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> fort. Toward Noon y<sup>e</sup> Water began to abate & at Dusk I & my Brother & a Lad came to our house in a Canoe, got y<sup>e</sup> Kitchen Door open<sup>d</sup> run in y<sup>e</sup> Canoe to y<sup>e</sup> Stairs gave Each of them Choice to goe & take y<sup>e</sup> Canoe back or sleep up stairs, they chusing y<sup>e</sup> Later I took y<sup>e</sup> Canoe back & stay<sup>d</sup> this night left them in y<sup>e</sup> House; found our Bitch & Pups safe up stairs & y<sup>e</sup> Racoon below.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Came Josiah to call me up soon this morning to go to our house not knowing I had plac<sup>d</sup> lodgers in it last night, so we went, in a boat round from y<sup>e</sup> fort Gate to y<sup>e</sup> House, got in, made two fires in y<sup>e</sup> Hearths



& got to Cleaning y<sup>e</sup> House, y<sup>e</sup> Celler full Water & y<sup>e</sup> Bank much fallen in. Befor evening y<sup>e</sup> Water fell that y<sup>e</sup> Street got bare. Many Houses drove away & y<sup>e</sup> New Banks of y<sup>e</sup> fort Broke down very low. Many Goods wet & Damaged, y<sup>e</sup> Water geting into ye Magazines has I believe Wet all y<sup>e</sup> Amunition & our powd<sup>r</sup> also.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> River falls still but we have much trouble to get y<sup>e</sup> Celler drain'd & Several things Dried that we left Down Stairs, none believing y<sup>e</sup> Water would raise so high. I here of none being Drowned yet, it Rose in about 32 Hours 38 foot very near.

13<sup>th</sup>.—I was inform'd some time ago by some Pack Horse Men that was at Tuscorawas that y<sup>e</sup> Indians there spoke very well of me (to <sup>th</sup>em) & some Young Delawares that was here signified that was report'd amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians that all y<sup>e</sup> Traders here would Cheat them but me & John Hart.

14<sup>th</sup>.—I think our Store recovers some of y<sup>e</sup> faviour it Lost last year amongst y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>ns</sup> as I think we are now on a Par or excells y<sup>e</sup> rest here, except John Hart & he seems too Old for us having y<sup>e</sup> Languages.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Ind<sup>n</sup> Peeter sent some Turkeys from Redstone, but y<sup>e</sup> bearer kept 'em. Alex<sup>r</sup> McMullen turn'd back from Ligonier hearing that many People was Drowned here w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> flood, one of his Brothers having stay'd here, his feet being frozen.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Inform'd that often some Old Men amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians after Eating Victuals lifts up thire Hands in a very Solmn Manner & returns Thanks to y<sup>e</sup> Great Creator of all Things but not Vocally.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Abo<sup>t</sup> 30 Mingo Warriors came here in Two Cannoes fired Three Rounds when in sight up y<sup>e</sup> River, Request was made to us to find house room for some of em (as it Rain'd) so the Cap<sup>t</sup> & 9 more stay'd with us this night.

38      *Journal of James Kenny, 1761-1763.*

18<sup>th</sup>.—They behav'd very Civile & is mov'd to Day over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela.

19<sup>th</sup>.—The Bushes abo<sup>t</sup> Grant's Hill Clad with wet Goods & Peltry.

20<sup>th</sup>.—I brought several Mingoës Incamp'd up y<sup>e</sup> River with their Peltry who dealt 'em with us.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Some more of y<sup>e</sup> Mingoës afforesaid procur'd a Keg Rum I know not where but were Drunken all night & some fought.

22<sup>d</sup>.—My old friend (as he calls me) Heecaise, having brought in his Hunt, I invited him home with me he having got Drunk & got sick he consent'd, so sent y<sup>e</sup> Battoe for him; he sent y<sup>e</sup> Peltry but did not come himself.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—The Mingo Warriars being in readiness to set off against the Cherokees, kill'd a Cow of Marcus Hulings (that was over y<sup>e</sup> River) rost'd her & Carried y<sup>e</sup> Pieces of Meat off for their jurney, altho' they had Bread allow'd them every Day they stay'd but could have no poud<sup>r</sup> so much being damag'd.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Tho<sup>s</sup> Hutchins sent a String Wampum to y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> of these Warriars wanting to speake with him, but he return'd y<sup>e</sup> string (which is very unusual in friends to do) sent word he would come present<sup>ly</sup> but they went off & came not.

25<sup>th</sup>.—As report was made that they got Liquor amongst y<sup>e</sup> rest killing y<sup>e</sup> Cow was Imput'd to that & y<sup>e</sup> Collo<sup>l</sup> having threaten'd to make them Confess who Isued y<sup>e</sup> Liquor that they should be punish'd I told Tho<sup>s</sup> Hutchins that I judg'd some Old Trader had supply'd y<sup>e</sup> Mingoës with y<sup>e</sup> Rum & finding they were in danger of being discover'd had such Influence amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians as to get y<sup>e</sup> Warriars to set off, which he thot to be very likely.

26<sup>th</sup>.—We bought y<sup>e</sup> Warriars Canoe, being abo<sup>t</sup> 30 foot Long for 5 Strouds & p<sup>r</sup> Legons.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Some Snow & Rain Jam<sup>s</sup> McCrary set down y<sup>e</sup> River to go to y<sup>e</sup> Shawans Town.

28<sup>th</sup>.—We have been busy getting fire Wood down y<sup>e</sup> River this two Days past, & this Day rec'd Keecaise Skins & a nothers, to y<sup>e</sup> Amo<sup>t</sup> of abo<sup>t</sup> 30 pounds worth.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Most of y<sup>e</sup> Houses Carried off by y<sup>e</sup> flood is Mash'd to Pieces on y<sup>e</sup> Point on an Island below Shirtees Rock abo<sup>t</sup> 7 miles down.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Has fell as much snow these two Days past that its above a foot Deep in Common but blown in Heaps. I finished my Peltry Acco<sup>t</sup> (or made a Peltry Book).

31<sup>st</sup>.—Keecaise set off this Day w<sup>th</sup> his Cossens toward the head Branches of y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela; he left of y<sup>e</sup> Price of his Peltry in our Hands till he returns again £3..11..0, 1 Beaver Trap Bell & Collar & did not so much as ask what y<sup>e</sup> Ballance was, but that he would leave the rem<sup>r</sup>.

2<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Been very Cold & spitting snow; were very busy in mending up y<sup>e</sup> Cellar Banks that broke in, in y<sup>e</sup> flood.

2<sup>d</sup>.—This Day Leu<sup>t</sup> Moyer of y<sup>e</sup> Train, ariv'd back from Sandusky after building some Blockhouse there.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—By Lieu<sup>t</sup> Moyer's Acco<sup>t</sup> it appears y<sup>e</sup> Indians seem'd uneasy at his Building a Blockhouse at Sandusky & fretted him much, wanting Gifts, Provisions &c which he had not to give them & I hear he says he would sooner be discharg'd then go on such Bussiness again.

4<sup>th</sup>.—It's been two Days of fine, thawing, Sunshine, I have a Pet Racoon a Pet Raven & a Young Spannale Puppy come of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Moyer's Bitch which he gave me, I having sav'd them in y<sup>e</sup> time of y<sup>e</sup> Deluge or Inundation.

Prices of y<sup>e</sup> following Goods here Current: Flour in fall 35/ p<sup>r</sup> cwt now 40/ p<sup>r</sup> cwt; Loaves Bread 2<sup>lb</sup> 1/; fresh Beef p<sup>r</sup> lb 7<sup>d</sup>; Mutton in fall 6<sup>d</sup> & 4<sup>d</sup>; Veal do; Butter in

Casks 1/ & 1/1<sup>d</sup> & 1/2 & fresh Butter 2/ in sum<sup>r</sup> & fall to 2/6 p<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>b</sup>; Milk in Sum<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> q<sup>t</sup> & now 8<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> q<sup>t</sup>; plenty Deers Meat & Beans @ 2<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>b</sup> & Turkeys 1/6 to 2/6; Deers Tallow & Buffeloes 3<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>b</sup>; Bears Oyle 4<sup>d</sup>; fall Deer Skins 1/6; Sum<sup>r</sup> 1/10; Ind<sup>a</sup> Dress'd 3/; Beaver 1 Doller; foxes 2/ & Cats; Otters & Bears, 6/ each; Elks ditto; Racoons 1/6; Fishers 3/.

Frederick Post says that y<sup>e</sup> Indians are Voide of Reason, but I find that in many cases they will hear to reason & allow it to be right, many of them will have theire Peltry too wet, its like some on purpose & others by accident, & to reason with most of them in that case to make a reasonable allowance in w<sup>t</sup> they will grummel much & be for carrying them to some other Trader, but it's easy to make a reasonable allowance & not tell them of it all will go smooth enough, & scarcely any of them but may be easily Cheat'd, which I doubt they too often meet with.

5<sup>th</sup>.—This Day we had Thund<sup>r</sup> & Rain, being very warm, Cap<sup>t</sup> Clappum Came here from his farm on Youhogheny, had a Shawana Man w<sup>th</sup> him, call'd y<sup>e</sup> Cub, made a Complaint to Coll<sup>o</sup> Bouquet that there was several Cabbins Built by white people up y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela & about Clearing Land, So got orders to burn them all as he told me he lives on a Part of Geo. Croghans Tract it seems.

6<sup>th</sup>.—It seems as if I was some Obstruction to y<sup>e</sup> Progress of Satan's Govinen<sup>t</sup> or Kingdom at this place, since none of his Temptations has effect to draw me into y<sup>e</sup> Practices that are too common here he sets some of his Instrum<sup>ts</sup> to raise Lyes of me.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Fine moderate weather, y<sup>e</sup> Rivers midling high; purposes tomorrow to set off for Bushey Run at y<sup>e</sup> Block House.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Got to And<sup>r</sup> Buyerly's at Bushey Run abo<sup>t</sup> 25 Miles down y<sup>e</sup> Road in quest of Indians that was s<sup>d</sup> to have many Peltry there abo<sup>t</sup>, I only met y<sup>e</sup> Wolfe who



ow'd us for a Match Coat who p<sup>d</sup> me in Cash, having his Skins abo<sup>t</sup> 20 Miles off.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Being inform'd several of them lay near Legonier I went there, it Snow'd Most y<sup>e</sup> Way, went off y<sup>e</sup> Road at y<sup>e</sup> Nine Mile Run down it where their Cabins were but they were gone, got into y<sup>e</sup> old road, & Got to Legonier before dark, put up at y<sup>e</sup> Bakers.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Last night a Corporal came to ask me to wait on Commanding officer to have my Pass Sign'd, so I went to Day let him Know I was going no further, & had no pass, so he sent for me after to Dine with him which I Did, his name is Blaine, had no Company but me at Dinner; he Lives very Moderate from Excess, spent y<sup>e</sup> Evening in y<sup>e</sup> Garden.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Return'd this Day back to Brushey Run, ye Snow abo<sup>t</sup> a foot deep, but trod by some pack horses, that carried Skins back from our Store.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Got back home this Day having seen many Deer & Wolfe Tracks.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Begun to journalise y<sup>e</sup> Books, Fleming Express came, bro<sup>t</sup> letters wherein y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners wants to Know whether I Incline to stay Longer then this year.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Bro<sup>t</sup> Several Shawanas over y<sup>e</sup> River w<sup>th</sup> Meat & Turkeys; bo<sup>t</sup> 9 Turkeys & 4 Racoons @ 1/6 p<sup>r</sup> piece.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Busy journalizing. Came another Company of Mingo Warriors going against y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Came Jn<sup>o</sup> Armstrong & a nother young Delaware that lodg'd here several Nights, bro<sup>t</sup> abo<sup>t</sup> 100 Peltry.

20<sup>th</sup>.—This Day we dealth for y<sup>e</sup> whole & receiv'd one White Deer Skins being a Young Buck. Much Trouble we have had w<sup>th</sup> Armstrong he wanting Liquor & upon geting' a little amongst y<sup>e</sup> Sutlers he's more urgent for more knowing we have some.

21<sup>st</sup>.—The above young man Informs that y<sup>e</sup> Company of Warriors that Kill'd Huling's Cow here some

time ago is only gone as far as his Hunting Cabbin abo<sup>t</sup> 20 miles off & there they are hunting for their suport.—very smart frost now but y<sup>e</sup> Snow almost all gone here.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Men that Were Confined Last fall for forgery (being Soldiers) were tried by a Coart Marshall & judged to receive 1000 Lashes each.

23<sup>d</sup>.—This Day y<sup>e</sup> Mohack Warriors gone down y<sup>e</sup> River Singing as they went. Y<sup>e</sup> weather more thawing & spiting Snow.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Smart frost & as Cold as we had this Winter, & it is y<sup>e</sup> Hardest Winter y<sup>e</sup> Indians say they have seen here.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Coldest weather we had yet this Winter, note that y<sup>e</sup> Coldest Winds Blowing here, do not come from y<sup>e</sup> North-West nor from y<sup>e</sup> Lakes, tho' we are within 200 Miles (or Less) of Lake Erie bears North but y<sup>e</sup> Cold weather Comes from betwixt y<sup>e</sup> West & South West.

27<sup>th</sup>.—John Armstrong, an Indian born in y<sup>e</sup> Jerseys as he says & talks English, Informs me that several years ago there Came some Strange Indians to some of y<sup>e</sup> Delaware Towns out here being near as black as Negros with very Long Hair, stay'd some Considerable Time & took three Squas for Wives with them when they went off. Their Information of their Contry (by a Spaniard that they brought for an Interpreter which could Talk some of our Ind<sup>n</sup> tongues) was that it Lyes a Vast Distance over y<sup>e</sup> Mississippi near y<sup>e</sup> Sea being all Sandy Hills & Pine Woods, Chiefly Very Hot Climate; ye Inhabitants goes Naked, Raisses no Corn, but lives all on Meat & fish; Uses only Bows & Arrows, have no dealings nor Connection with any White People, (owing to thire remoat liveing from them, as I take it) that their Contry has Many very Large Horses in it which never lyes down to Sleep but leans against a Tree for that purpose, I have been of opinion that this Continent Produces Eliphants, as large Teeth have been found

in a Lick down y<sup>e</sup> Ohio between 4 & 6<sup>lb</sup> weight, one of which I seen Weigh'd, which Weighed 4<sup>1</sup><sup>lb</sup>.

3<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Yesterday Morning y<sup>e</sup> Rivers were froze y<sup>e</sup> Most they been this Winter, being & now is in places quite across, but y<sup>e</sup> Weather is alter'd this day being Moderate.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—We got our Garden finish'd pailing, that was swept away with y<sup>e</sup> flood. Some Pack Horses come up with Flour, Rum & Butter.

4<sup>th</sup>.—This morning Snow again. I hear Cap<sup>t</sup> Bassat goes down in y<sup>e</sup> Contry to Imploy Artificiers.

5<sup>th</sup>.—In regard of y<sup>e</sup> Prices of Peltry Advertized at this Place last fall by Ord<sup>r</sup> of S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson B. H., the Indians which was at the Treaty of Detroit says that they Heard no mention Made of any such thing there & they disapprove of y<sup>e</sup> Same.

6<sup>th</sup>.—As Treaties Held with y<sup>e</sup> Indian Nations is a Matter of such great Importance to y<sup>e</sup> Publick, & especially to these Collonies, notwithstanding there be Agents appoint'd to hold such Treaties, yet I think they should not be held in Private but so as any well affect'd Subjects, Protestants, should have a free access to heare y<sup>e</sup> same which at this place we are mostly deprived off;—here being no publick House for that purpose nor to Accommodate y<sup>e</sup> Indians, but stray into private Houses, where they can in y<sup>e</sup> Coldest Weather.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Killbuck was here lately & brought acco<sup>t</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas had Kill'd some White people in Virginia, which is confirm'd by some Traders now come up, saying they bro<sup>t</sup> in three Scalps & ten Horses which y<sup>e</sup> Head Men Disapproves very much & used y<sup>e</sup> Traders well.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Through Mercy we were deliver'd last night, y<sup>e</sup> House having catch'd fire in y<sup>e</sup> Logs & was blasing up y<sup>e</sup> Clabbords & thro y<sup>e</sup> Upper floor touching y<sup>e</sup> Roof when I Awak'd & heard it, so was happily Extinguish'd without allarming y<sup>e</sup> Neighbours. This Day a flock of

Swan flew by but Much Ice remains in y<sup>e</sup> Rivers shut in places.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Got our Garden pail'd in & now setting about Building a Counting House.

11<sup>th</sup>.—This Day Capt. Ramsly is come here from Philad<sup>a</sup>, bro<sup>t</sup> News that y<sup>e</sup> King of Prusia had Beat Count Dacino's Army & that y<sup>e</sup> English Land'd in Martineco.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Tho<sup>s</sup> Kinton come here with Pack Horses, who Informs us that on y<sup>e</sup> Allegheni, Mountain & Laurel Hill y<sup>e</sup> Snow is near three foot deep, & there is Snow all the way till they came here almost, but its mostly gone here.

13<sup>th</sup>.—It Snow'd all Day yesterday for y<sup>e</sup> most part is Cloudy to Day but Moderate. Ind<sup>n</sup> Corn from 10 to 12/ p<sup>r</sup> Bushell, flour 37/, Butter 13<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> <sup>lb</sup>. Sent 12 Horse Load Skins down with Kinton; set to snow this evening.

14<sup>th</sup>.—The Chimney that caught fire some nights since we have thrown Down so now we have but One fire Place y<sup>e</sup> weather as Snowy & Winter Like as at any time since fall. This being y<sup>e</sup> first Day, & y<sup>e</sup> Agent Principaled against going out on that Day, & I myself on none y<sup>e</sup> Days goes a Vissiting nor to Sit in our Neighbours Houses at any time We Spend y<sup>e</sup> first Day in Reading & sometimes reasoning on things in Scripture, & when y<sup>e</sup> Weather suits I walk out toward the Woods or along y<sup>e</sup> River or across them in a Canoe or boat.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Its been Advertis'd here again Neither to Sell or give Strong Liquor to y<sup>e</sup> Indians, & its said that y<sup>e</sup> Commanders at Each Station has orders to Seize all Liquors that Carriers may bring or carrying from here.

16<sup>th</sup>.—This Day Dyed here Cap<sup>t</sup> Mather of y<sup>e</sup> Greni-deirs, & George Croghan is return'd from Phila<sup>a</sup>. Jn<sup>r</sup> Bard I hear informs, that most of y<sup>e</sup> Time he was at y<sup>e</sup> Lower Shawana Town y<sup>e</sup> Indians were Drunk.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Thund<sup>r</sup> & heavy Rain. As Chick-og-o-nick-an an Ind<sup>n</sup> got a Deed from William Penn for a Tract of Land



on y<sup>e</sup> West Branch Brandywine & after in some manner Sold by Old Newlin of Concord, now call'd Newlin Township, Neemakcollen, son of y<sup>e</sup> above Indian, says he got Drunk & lost y<sup>e</sup> Deed & that some of y<sup>e</sup> white People Cheated him of his Land, it might be well to have it search'd into & know how Newlin came by it. Cap<sup>t</sup> Mather Buried with much form. I am inform'd that y<sup>e</sup> White Mingo found a great num<sup>br</sup> of Doe Skins & many Thousands of Wampum that belong to Ephraim Blaine in y<sup>e</sup> House about Eight Miles down y<sup>e</sup> River, being drove ashore there in y<sup>e</sup> Great flood.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Inform'd by Tho<sup>s</sup> Kinton that before y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>ian</sup> War, he being out here at a Town a little way up y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny, where the Indians found a Rat & Kill'd it, at which y<sup>e</sup> antians of them seem'd Concearned & told him that y<sup>e</sup> French or English should get that Land from them, y<sup>e</sup> same prediction being made by their Grandfathers' on finding a Rat on Delaware before ye White People Came there.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Some time ago here was some Indians that Traded at our House & One of them having some Bread Cut it in Several Pieces & gave y<sup>e</sup> others each a Piece, a Shawana Man & Women coming in, each got a Piece of Bread, on which y<sup>e</sup> Woman having y<sup>e</sup> Bread in her hand, Cross'd her self with same hand before she Eat it.

21<sup>st</sup>.—This being y<sup>e</sup> first Day y<sup>e</sup> Week, I may say, that y<sup>e</sup> People regard every Day so much alike that y<sup>e</sup> Shop keepers Sells more I think on that Day to y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants then on Week-Days.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Had a fine Walk yesterday after a Horse (y<sup>e</sup> Agent has on Trial), he stay'd out 2 days & I found him about 2 Miles off.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—Caught a Cat fish this Evening; the Weather very Variable w<sup>th</sup> Snow Showers & Hail; got Logs down y<sup>e</sup> River to Build a Counting House.

26<sup>th</sup>.—I set off to Andrew Buyerlys at Brushey Run on some bussiness relateing to our offairs. Met Col'

Airs there & Fleming y° Express. I went a little from y° house to Gather Mountain Tea, & y° Col<sup>l</sup> came to me to see what it was, an being told by Fleming it was Tea, he asked me which were y° best Roots for Purging y° Blood, so I told my oppinnion.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Came back this Day in Company with y° above.

28<sup>th</sup>.—We were prevail'd on to Trade with some Indians that came up y° River this Day although y° first Day of y° Week.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Wet Weather, I have at sundry times Bled several Indians that apply'd to me & this Day Canostogo Will's Brother calls himself Cap<sup>t</sup> Lead.

31<sup>st</sup>.—I went up to Croghan's Place with a Horse which I left there & Walk'd across from the Allegheny to y° Monongahela thro' y° Woods, being about three Miles scarcely across & about three & a Half from Pittsburgh point.

4<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Went up y° Monongahela to get joyce Raffters for our Counting House, & while y° Men was Cuting & Loading them I & Alex<sup>r</sup> McCaskey went over y° Mountain on y° South side to find a better Road to the Coal Pitt, which I did find.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—Frederick Post return'd here from Philad<sup>a</sup>, bro<sup>t</sup> me a Letter & Silk Map from Israel Pemberton, Enjoyning me to use my best Influence with y° Ind<sup>ns</sup> to bring y° Prisoners down to y° Treaty.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—Wrote an answer by one Millican, also Wrote to My Brother and Humphry Marshall.

4<sup>th</sup>.—A fine Day, sow'd Sallad & Red Beets & Cabbage yesterday. This Day Tho<sup>s</sup> Hutchins set off to go to Detroit Miammi & Michelemackanak & home by y° Shawana Town. I wrote to Ens<sup>a</sup> Jam<sup>s</sup> Gorrel Com<sup>r</sup> at y° Bay to send me account or keep it at least till he came of all Curiossities.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Frederick Post set off to Tuscorawas last Night, he & I had some Argument, he having often been carping a little about Friends Principles Signifying that

they are not Always Subject to y<sup>e</sup> Governm<sup>t</sup> where they Live, & they that resist y<sup>e</sup> Power of y<sup>e</sup> Legislator shall receive Damnation, hinting that when they have suffer'd, (as I took it in New England) they cry out perscution, which they bring justly on themselves, also as a law was made to pay Tithes they should do it; I Object'd & Argued that if he made it his fix'd Principles to Obey all Laws that were made in any Govern<sup>t</sup> where he might Come, he might be Guilty of Idolatry & of consequence he must think y<sup>e</sup> Legislators Infallible to fix such a Principel, all one as y<sup>e</sup> Church of Rome, thinks their Church but this Stall'd him & he gave out.

6<sup>th</sup>.—John Hart's Rum was Carried into y<sup>e</sup> Kings Magazine by y<sup>e</sup> Col<sup>ls</sup> order, Croghan having complain'd that he Sold Rum to y<sup>e</sup> Indians. Its tho't y<sup>e</sup> General will send orders to have all y<sup>e</sup> Houses in this Bottom pull'd Down.

(To be continued.)

## JACOB EICHHOLTZ, PAINTER.

BY HON. WILLIAM U. HENSEL.

[The PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY is indebted to the courtesy of Hon. William U. Hensel, for the privilege of using the following selections from his address on "Jacob Eichholtz, Painter," delivered at the opening of an exposition of "The Evolution of Portraiture in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania," under the auspices of the Lancaster County Historical Society and the Iris Club, on November 22, 1912. These selections will be found of value and helpful in connection with the list of the portraits and miscellaneous works of this distinguished Pennsylvania artist, which Mr. Hensel collected from authentic sources and added to his address.]

In the "good old days," when taverns were known by good old names, and were kept by people of the best social rank, Lancaster borough, as early as 1765, had fifty-three licensed inn-keepers and quite a number of others had judicial permission "to sell rum by the small." In the former class was Catharine Eichholtz, widow of Jacob, lately deceased, who, in that year, opened the "Bull's Head," where later the "Exchange" long stood, at the southeast corner of East King and Christian Streets. Her husband, Jacob, was one of the earliest settlers in Lancaster and was assistant burgess 1750-52. He purchased this site for the hotel; and for seventy years the "Bull's Head" tavern was never out of that excellent family, proud enough of their German origin and name not to transform it into the English "Oakwood."

Jacob Eichholtz was descended from that German immigrant whose nativity, marriage and decease are thus recorded in the records of Old Trinity Lutheran Church.

"Here lies buried John Jacob Eichholtz. He was born in Europe at Bischoffsheim the 22d of March, 1712. He lived in marriage 22 years with Anna Catha-



rine, born Reichert, and departed the 26th of July 1760. His age, 48 years and 4 months."

June 24, 1795, twenty-four years after Leonard, first son of Catharine, became landlord of the "Bull's Head," our old Masonic Lodge No. 43 held the festival of St. John at this tavern, and here its lodge room was located for some years. Leonard, second, succeeded his father, dying in 1817; and after the younger himself died, in 1828, his widow Charlotte and, in turn, his son Henry, in 1834, perpetuated the Eichholtz proprietorship. The original building was torn down in 1850. Leonard Eichholtz, Jr., who had been a highly esteemed and universally respected citizen of Lancaster, to the time of his death, at sixty-seven years of age, was a conspicuous member and elder of Trinity Lutheran Church; and was assistant burgess of the town, 1799-1802, and again 1807-12.

Eichholtz's patriotic self-gratulations that he was born soon after the Declaration of 1776, and therefore never was a British subject, no doubt were heightened by the fact that his father and two brothers fought on the side of the Colonies in the war for Independence. One of his uncles was a coppersmith by trade; but long before his father committed him to that apprenticeship, young Jacob Eichholtz had delineated figures in red chalk on the household garret and was picking up the art of lettering and shading from a local sign painter. His first color master's suicide, because of an unrequited love passion, discouraged his early ardor. He kept at his completed trade of coppersmith for some years after he had married Mrs. Catharine Michael Hatz, a widow with two children, and started raising a family of his own. He none the less steadily cherished his artistic purpose and nursed his aspirations to be a portrait painter. When at last chance brought to Lancaster an artist who gave him friendly recognition, his future was determined.

Henceforth let his brief autobiography tell its own story:

"Previous to the arrival of this painter, I had made some rude efforts with tolerable success, having nothing more than a boot-jack for a palette, and nothing in the shape of a brush, for at that time brushes were not to be had, not even in Philadelphia. At length, I was fortunate enough to get a few half worn brushes from Mr. Sully, being on the eve of his departure for England, [1809]. This was a feast to me, and enabled me to go on until others were to be had. About this time I had a family with three or four children, and yet had not the courage to relinquish the coppersmith and become a painter. To support my family as a painter was out of the question. I divided my attention between both. Part of the day I wrought as coppersmith, the other as painter. It was not unusual for me to be called out of the shop and see a fair lady who wanted her picture painted. The encouragement I received finally induced me to relinquish the copper business entirely. About this time a Mr. Barton, whose memory I will ever gratefully cherish, strongly urged me to visit the celebrated Stuart of Boston. I went, and was fortunate enough to meet with a handsome reception from that gentleman, through the co-operation of the late Alex. J. Dallas and his son, George, who were at Boston at that time, and he felt a lively interest in my success. Previous to my visit to Boston I had painted a portrait of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, President of the U. S. Bank, and as it required, in visiting Stuart, that I should have a specimen of skill with me, in order to know whether I was an imposter or not, Mr. Biddle very politely offered me the picture I had painted for him, and which was well received by the great artist. Here I had a fiery trial to undergo. My picture was placed along side the best of his hand, and that lesson I considered the best I had ever received; the comparison was, I thought, enough, and if I had vanity before I went, it left me all before my return. I must do Stuart justice to say that he gave me sound lectures and hope. I did not fail to profit by them.

"My native place being too small for giving scope to a painter, I removed to Philadelphia, where, by an incessant practice of ten years and constant employment, I have been enabled again to remove to my native place, with a decent competence, and mind still urging on for further improvement. Having but now, at this period of my life just conceptions of the great difficulty of reaching the summit of the fine arts, I look forward with more zeal than ever. It is a fire that will never quench, and I hazard nothing in saying that I fully believe that the freedom and happiness of the citizens of this free country will one day produce painters as great, if not greater, than any that have embellished the palaces of Europe."

Some side lights are thrown on these passages by a letter of Sully himself. He writes:

"When Gov. Snyder was elected [1808] I was employed by Mr. Binns to go on to Lancaster and paint a portrait of the new chief magistrate of the state. Eichholtz was then employing all his leisure hours, stolen from the manufacture of tea kettles and coffee pans, in painting. His attempts were hideous. He kindly offered me the use of his painting room, which I gladly accepted, and gave him during my stay in Lancaster, all the information I could impart. When I saw his portraits a few years afterwards, (in the interim he had visited and copied Stuart) I was much surprised and gratified. I have no doubt that Eichholtz would have made a first-rate painter had he begun early in life, with the usual advantages."

So many of the early pictures of Eichholtz and those of his contemporaries are undated that it becomes important in tracing his art development to locate this Nicholas Biddle portrait which is the first he records as having painted. There are many Nicholas Biddles and some of them marked unknown. One of these, viz., the original of a familiar engraving with the United States bank in the background, it is believed by those in a position to know, Eichholtz did not paint until 1836. It is certainly not the one referred to in his autobiography, as Biddle was not associated with the bank at the time referred to in the letter, nor was he the mature man that engraving represents. There is, however, late the possession of Mrs. James S. Biddle, Philadelphia, a daughter of Nicholas Biddle and widow of his nephew, now deceased, a rather crude and early portrait of her father, of which she has always been especially proud. It is immature enough to have been an early Eichholtz and has been ascertained to have been his work in 1811. Another picture that Eichholtz certainly did paint about that time is a beautiful portrait of Jane Margaret Craig, wife of Edward Biddle, shortly before Sully had painted her. It helps to fix the date of Eichholtz's earliest creditable and surviving work in Philadelphia, at approximately 1816.

Dunlap, in his "History of the Arts of Design in America," says:

"In my intercourse with Eichholtz I have admired in him a man of frank, simple and unpretending manners, whose conversation marked his good sense, and whose conduct evinced that propriety which has led to his success and ultimate independence. Mr. T. B. Freeman informs me that, in 1821, he saw at Harrisburg a portrait, by Eichholtz, which excited his curiosity; and going to Lancaster, called upon him and invited him to Philadelphia, where the first portrait he painted was Freeman's and soon afterwards Commodore Gales."

Cash payments were not so much the rule in Lancaster a hundred years ago as now. Luxuries, such as portraits, then as now, generally awaited on necessities; and grocers, tailors and publicans usually were paid before artists. But since the earliest of the charges made in Eichholtz's ledger are about 1817, it is to be presumed he did little work before that for which he received any considerable pay. From the time that Sully, on the eve of his departure for Europe, gave him his "half-worn brushes," until he painted Henry Shippen's portrait, and charged him for the same, on May 31, 1817, the sum of \$10 for the picture and \$7 for the frame, he may be considered an amateur. His next recorded patron, Grace Hubley, paid him, soon afterwards, \$20.

Portrait painters, however, like lawyers and poets, must take their streaks of fat with the lean; and so later we find him sign painting for Henry F. Slaymaker's tavern at \$10 per day, and lettering a \$6 board for Conrad Swartz. By the time he came to paint John Hoff's portrait in 1817, he got \$30 for it. Thenceforward his prices varied. October 1, 1818, for the portraits of George Graeff and wife, he was to get \$30 each—deducting \$10 for the family double order. Their daughter Maria was painted later; and the work had far more value to him, for the well authenticated story is that he did it gratuitously because she used her kindly offices to introduce him to and favor his suit with his second wife, Catherine Trissler. The dates of his first wife's death and his second marriage fix the time of Miss Graeff's portrait at about 1822. In the



case of two parental portraits shipped by Mrs. Susan Mayer to her daughter Susan in Baltimore there was a discount; and George Louis Mayer "settled" for a portrait of Mrs. Mayer on the same terms. Mrs. Dorothy Brien—that second daughter of General Edward Hand, who married Edward Brien, of Martie Forge, in 1802, and herself lived until 1862—ordered a portrait from Eichholtz and paid him, April 1, 1819, \$30 for the picture and \$15 for the frame.

Thenceforth follow numerous ledger records of portraits painted by him, though much of his work was not thus charged and recorded and traces of it are to be followed through many channels—sometimes utterly lost. There was a portrait for George B. Porter, Esq., (Territorial Governor of Michigan, brother of Governor David R. Porter, of Pennsylvania), of his father-in-law and mother-in-law, Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Humes; of John Burg and George Eichholtz; of Mrs. Sarah Hamilton Porter, now owned by Miss Sarah S. Long; two for Joseph Cloud; small pictures for George Mayer and larger and lesser for the widow, Susanna Mayer.

Decorative designs were, however, not below his artistic standards, and the design for the City Guards, which he executed in 1820, must have been quite ambitious, as he got \$35 for the painting and \$1 extra for the millinery. His more ambitious ventures in this line, I shall recur to later.

Jacob Eichholtz's patronage among the people of consequence in Lancaster thence steadily strengthened. William Jenkins, for whom he painted a portrait in 1820, was the eminent lawyer, and ancestor of the Fordney-Reynolds families; Robert Coleman, to whom Eichholtz boxed "Sarah's picture," the same year was the father of the fiancée of Rev. Dr. W. A. Muhlenberg. Three notable works of Eichholtz are Judge Jasper

Yeates, his wife, who was Sarah Burd, and her brother, Edward Burd.

The fame of Eichholtz reached Baltimore. He spent weeks at a time in that city and painted numerous families, in groups and singly. Many of these are dispersed through the South and cannot be located. The Slaymakers, Reigarts, Frazers, Seners, Bethels, Mayers and other Lancaster families continued and increased their substantial encouragement. The portrait of his wife, charged to George H. Bomberger in 1821, is that of the mother of the late Rev. Dr. J. H. Bomberger, the noted Reformed divine, and is in possession of the granddaughter of its subject, Mrs. Jessie Schaeffer. John B. Roth has the John Bomberger portraits of about the same period. Adam Reigart paid \$42, April 24, 1821, for the portrait of his wife, Maria, and the frame. Mrs. Cassandra Stump, of Maryland, for whom he painted a portrait, was of the famous Stump and Forward families conspicuous in Maryland for a century.

About this time (1821) the entries in the Eichholtz ledger indicate that he had again begun work in Philadelphia. His autobiography speaks of a residence there for ten years. His visit to Gilbert Stuart, in Boston, was after he had painted Nicholas Biddle, the former president of the United States Bank. That he made a distinct impression on Stuart is evidenced by the fact that this noted artist himself painted and no doubt presented it, a portrait of Eichholtz, which hangs on the walls of the South Lime Street homestead. Eichholtz, was already on terms with the Dallases—Alexander J. and his son, George. In his ledger there is no record of the Nicholas Biddle portrait; but on September 30, 1822, George M. Dallas, later Vice President in Polk's administration, paid him \$20 for the portrait of "his son George"—and the Stockers, Montgomerys,

Craigs, Tatnalls, Morgans and Periees (Pierie) were apparently Philadelphia patrons, or from its environs.

The Steeles, long a leading family of Lancaster County, were among his most lavish patrons. After Archibald Steele had ordered a single portrait, General John Steele ordered fourteen—that is, seven sets of himself and wife, one for each of their seven children. Judge and Mrs. Wm. Clark Frazer were his patrons. He kept on painting originals and replicas for the Duvals and Tevises, Keims and Rookers, the Reaves and Meades, the Hunters and Wetherills, at from \$30 to \$50 each.

Lancaster people who move to Philadelphia are apt to find each other out. In no department of Philadelphia life has Lancaster County so impressed itself as in medicine. Witness names like Atlee, Girvin, Agnew, Deaver, Musser and Slaymaker. Long before any of these went down there to the practice of the healing art, Dr. John Eberle had Eichholtz paint his own and his wife's portraits. For these he was paid the highest price he had received up to that time—\$60 for a full length of Dr. Eberle, and, two years later, a like amount for his wife.

About this time Eichholtz came into what was to him, pecuniarily, his harvest tide. He had evidently attracted some attention from dignitaries of the Episcopal Church, to be seen from his portraits of Rev. William C. Meade, Bishops Onderdonk, Bowman, Ravenscroft, and DeLancy, numerous originals and frequent copying for Rev. Dr. W. A. Muhlenberg, and commissions from many prominent laymen. He began to grade his rates according to the extent of his canvasses. Full length portraits commanded higher prices, and the "kit kat" size appear on the ledger in smaller figures. Of this size Eichholtz painted a portrait of Rev. W. DeLancy in 1829. Later his patrons wanted a larger portrait of DeLancy. He painted it and his first DeLancy

portrait is still at the Lime Street home. Another noted in his ledger is of "daughter Serena" (Mrs. Thomas E. Franklin) for her father, George Mayer, in 1833. Mr. Mayer also ordered a portrait of himself and "three elegant frames." Later Eichholtz painted a Washington for Mr. Mayer; and he received \$5 about this time, his book shows, for "altering or rather removing a hat from Serena's picture."

The Bohemian life of artists and literary men was even more the vogue in Philadelphia eighty years ago than it is now. Hence it happened that among Eichholtz's familiar friends at that time of his sojourn in the City of Brotherly Love, was George H. Munday, an erratic street preacher, known as the "hatless prophet." He had some of Sully's pictures. So in 1833, he pledged to Eichholtz, for a debt, pictures of Byron, Lafayette and Napoleon. From Sully's "Byron" our Lancaster artist made several copies, one of which he sold to George W. McCallister, of South Carolina, for \$20. The Sully "Byron" is still at the Lime Street house, and has been there for seventy-five years. Eichholtz made a variation of Inman's Chief Justice John Marshall, which is still in the Lime Street house and has much merit and value. Another portrait of Marshall is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. His largest single charge for a picture occurs April 17, 1830, when Rev. Edward Rutledge paid him \$300 for a portrait of John Stark Ravenscroft, Bishop of North Carolina.

For one Victor Value, Eichholtz painted "a family picture," for which he was paid \$135; although at the same time he was painting small portraits for \$10 and making copies of famous men of the day, like the actor Edwin Forest, for from \$20. to \$30. per order.

Among his Philadelphia patrons was the eminent merchant and president of the Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania, Charles Macalester (1765-



1832), for whom he painted a portrait 25 x 29, which has been lithographed.

The Eichholtz portrait of Mrs. William Sergeant is of the same size. She was Elizabeth Morgan, daughter of General Jacob Morgan. His portrait of Mordecai Lewis Dawson, and the oval picture of Susan, daughter of Clayton Earl, made in 1825, has been frequently exhibited. Mr. Alexander Biddle, of Philadelphia, has in his possession the portrait of Mrs. Lyndford Lardner, who, when it was painted, was Miss Elizabeth A. Wilmer, daughter of James Wilmer. An anonymous miniature of her father, also owned by Mr. Biddle, is very likely also an Eichholtz. Mr. Birch, of Pottsville, accompanied a commission for his own portrait with one of his deceased wife. The Keiths, Divers, Lennigs, Edgars, Backuses, Nices and other notable Philadelphia families were his patrons, and their portraits are widely dispersed among their descendants and richly cherished.

Part of the second time he painted in Philadelphia the Eichholtz family lived near the corner of Ninth and Sansom Streets, next door to John Sartain, the famous engraver; who was the artist's warm personal friend and engraved many of his portraits.

The records here show that Eichholtz acquired title to the South Lime Street home in 1831, where he lived the remainder of his life. It was bought from Phillip Wager Reigart.

The ten-year sojourn of Eichholtz and his experience in Philadelphia seems to have terminated about the beginning of 1832; for at that time Lancaster commissions again became frequent, and recur in entries on his account book. Christian Bachman, who was a business man of note, had two portraits painted and elegantly framed early in 1833. "Dave" Miller was one of the foremost citizens of Lancaster County for a long time in our local history. He was sheriff, trans-

porter and hotel proprietor. He married Eichholtz's daughter and perpetuated the artistic line. There was not much going on here that Captain David Miller did not take a hand in; and it must have been quite an artistic flag for his company which he had Eichholtz paint in 1833. The silk, bought at Hager's, for \$3.37, was sewed by Miss E. Trissler for a dollar, and the artist's work commanded \$20. Where is that standard now? Not a few of its kind must have been produced in those days when the spirit of military and political display ran high. A collection of the old silk and painted military and political banners would make a notable historical show.

In his decorative work especially Eichholtz displayed a taste for and knowledge of the allegorical and mythical; and he illustrated wide reading and classic study. He made a notable painting for the Union Fire Company, Lancaster, as a decoration for a hose carriage. It was painted in oil, on metal, size 32½ inches by 24½ inches. The interesting feature of this work is that instead of representing an ordinary fire scene with engines and hose playing upon a fire, which would have been picturesque enough, Eichholtz demonstrated that he was a man of broad culture by painting an allegorical representation of water, portraying Venus seated on the back of a dolphin and attended by Neptune with his triton, two water nymphs and a merman. The scene is at sunset, the coloring pleasing and altogether the theme of the composition is one which an Italian of the Renaissance might have conceived. Another instance which brings out this same characteristic of the artist is the introduction on canvas of the portrait of himself, by himself, in a picture which resembles in style the work of Correggio, or Italians of the same period.

There are other and more ambitious works attempted and executed which attest Eichholtz's proficiency in

drawing and figure painting, as well as in portraiture. Members of his family in Pittsburgh have a large painting by him containing some sixty figures, representing Mark Antony delivering his (Shakespearean) oration over the dead Caesar.

Most notable, perhaps, of his work of this class is a "Crucifixion" (33 x 47). It is a beautiful and refined single figure of Christ on the cross. The background is a dark, almost black, sky, with the blood red sun barely discernible through the clouds. A flash of lightning parts the clouds in the distance, and its glare reveals a temple and some city walls. A scroll at top of the cross contains some blurred lettering and "Rex Judaeorum." The picture is not signed.

A large group picture, is "Washington and His Generals," and it illustrates an incident in the life of General Lee, of the Revolutionary Army. Washington had invited a number of his generals to a supper at a roadhouse kept by a rather buxom landlady. Lee arrived early at the place selected, and asked a maid to give him something to eat, as he had had no dinner. He was ragged and unkempt. The maid told him that they were all too busy to attend to him, as they were preparing "a supper for General Washington and his friends." "And who are his friends," said Lee. The maid gave him the names, his own among them. "And who is Lee?" he asked. "He is the ugliest and the craziest man in the army" she replied, all unconscious of the identity of her questioner, and simply repeating what she had heard. "Well," he said, "I am really very hungry and I must have something to eat." She retreated into the house, but reappeared in a moment with a bucket and pitcher. "If you will pump the water for us, I will give you a cold bite in the kitchen," she said. Lee took the bucket, and, while he was busily pumping, Washington and the others rode up. Washington of course recognized Lee and called him by

name, to the great consternation of the maid, who dropped her pitcher and turned to flee.

The picture is about six feet long and five feet high. On each side of the canvas is a house with autumn trees. In the centre is Lee at the pump with Washington and his generals grouped about, on horseback. On the ground lies the broken pitcher and the maid, a very pretty one, is poised for flight. There are people in the windows of the houses, and an old woman stands on the porch (right). The background is a beautiful evening sky, turquoise blue with grey-brown clouds. The men figures are about eighteen inches high. The picture is signed "J. Eichholtz, 1831."

Portraits of James Hopkins, the leader of the Lancaster bar in his day, and his son, Washington, were painted soon after their deaths. Theophilus Fenn, who ordered three Eichholtz portraits in 1836, was the well-known journalist, first of Harrisburg and later of Lancaster. The elder Jacob Gable paid \$25 for an Eichholtz portrait of his wife and their mother, in 1836.

The Muhlenbergs, Brenners, Leamans, Montgomerys, Reigarts, Overholtzers, Ellmakers, Hagers, Seners, Albrights, Fahnestocks, Michaels, Steinmans, Porters, Shenbergers, Clarkes, Shearers, Jefferies, Strines and Humes, the Fordneys and Lightners, of Lancaster, the Jacobs of Churchtown; Elders of Harrisburg, and Keims of Reading, continued to patronize our Lancaster artist. It was only when his fellow townsman, the late Hon. Thomas H. Burrowes, became conspicuous in State politics and the Secretary of the Commonwealth under Governor Ritner, that Eichholtz got his right place as painter at "the Republican Court" in Harrisburg. Shortly preceding Christmas, 1836, Mr. Burrowes appears as giving him a large commission, including a portrait of his Executive Chief, Joseph Ritner, separate portraits of Mr. Burrowes' father, mother and uncle—which are still in possession



of the Burrowes family. Prior to this he had painted Governor John Andrew Shulze, who, it will be remembered, died in Lancaster. This portrait is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There is in possession of Albert Rosenthal, an Eichholtz portrait of Admiral David R. Porter.

Eichholtz also painted a notable portrait of the illustrious Chief Justice, John Bannister Gibson, which has become a standard model of that great jurist's best portraiture. It is the property of the Law Association of Philadelphia.

In 1837-8 a second generation of Lancastrians appear as his patrons. Thomas E. Franklin obtained two portraits and two landscapes from him. Thomas Elder, of Harrisburg; Amos Ellmaker, his wife and brother Nathaniel, the family of the late Charles Hall, the Potters and Shearers, and the elder Dr. John L. Atlee, were among his patrons. That even art work in those days occasionally was "taken out in trade" is shown by the fact that Benjamin Shearer's "one portrait and frame, \$40" were "paid in coal."

The date of the numerous Long pictures, many of which are today in the Henry G. Long "Asylum," is about October 1, 1838, when he painted portraits of Jacob, Catharine and Peter Long. He went to Flushing, Long Island, to do painting for Dr. William A. Muhlenberg, and again to Philadelphia to paint the portrait of Dr. Wiltbank's wife and of his father. Mr. William Forepaugh, Mr. Russell, Rev. William A. Muhlenberg with three more portraits, E. F. Shenberger, all appear between 1840 and July 30, 1841. Judge Henry G. Long, Catharine Long, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Long, Jr., were subjects of his art at that time; and Dr. Herrington, for portraits of his daughter and her son, paid him in 1841. Almost the last entry in his book comprises four portraits of himself and brother,

and Prof. William M. Nevin, which were painted at Mercersburg for the late Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D.

The wife of Robert Jenkins—master of Windsor Forges and our Congressman 1808-12—hangs in the Eichholtz portrait gallery.

Benjamin Champneys, lawyer, Attorney General, Judge and Senator, and his wife and his father, Dr. B. Champneys, are perpetuated in Eichholtz portraiture; likewise Ann Witmer; daughter-in-law of the projector and builder of Witmer's bridge and founder of the Ann Witmer Home. The portraits of Judge Alexander L. Hayes and his wife are a distinct contribution to the historical and art side of Lancaster life; while the Bomberger, Graeff, Leaman, Hager, Sener, Muhlenberg, Long, Albright, Michael, Steinman and other sets and single pictures attest his local vogue and popularity.

Some time between the Shulze and the Ritner administrations, it must have been, Eichholtz painted the familiar portrait of Thaddeus Stevens, which was given great vogue by the Sartain engraving of it. This picture is in the possession of the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg. The Eichholtz portrait of Mr. Buchanan, as a Congressman, passed under the will of Harriet Lane Johnston to the nucleus of the National Portrait Gallery in the Smithsonian Institution. Redmond Conyngham, Esq., is the owner of a recently discovered portrait of Lydia Smith, the colored woman who was Stevens' famous housekeeper during a large part of his life and who shared the bounty of his will.

Another of the notable Eichholtz portraits is that of Eliza Jacobs, one of the daughters of the famous Churchtown family.

A ripe sheaf of the Eichholtz harvest remains at the quaint South Lime Street home of the artist and of his children after him. His studio, into which only his ghost has entered for three score and ten years, long

the workshop of his expert sons, stands back from the building line and constitutes the north wing of the main building. It is built of fine old English brick and within hang several masterpieces. The Sully "Byron" is still there, and Stuart's portrait of Eichholtz himself; there is the completed Marshall, materially different in style, but not much inferior in quality, to the Inman. There are incomplete sketches like the "Peri Outside the Gates of Paradise," and the combat of the Christian and Saracen. There is a landscape in Wales, an Italian sunset, and a copy of an Italian Magdalen. But the most charming pictures there are of the children. The portraiture of real children like childlike literature is characteristic of modern art. To the fine family instinct of his race we are indebted for Eichholtz's tribute to his father in a small portrait of him; a most attractive boy, his brother Rubens, "with shining face" shaded by a straw hat. There is a replica of this in Boston. The three boy heads in a single picture, now owned by George Ziegler the son of Robert Eichholtz's second wife, Vice President of the Reading Railway Company, is an attractive composition of the artist's three sons, Henry C., Lavallyn and Robert, aged about five, seven and nine. A portrait of the late Robert Eichholtz as a lad of about seven, presented by his father to a family friend, came back to him from her before his death, and it is one of the treasures of his household. In the home of Mrs. C. W. Walker, a great-granddaughter, near King of Prussia, there is a beautiful portrait of her mother, a Lindsay, later Mrs. Coppuck, as a girl with a dog.

The largest single holding of Eichholtz portraits is that of Miss Adelia Leaman, daughter of the late Henry E. Leaman. His mother was an Eichholtz.

There are outstanding several authenticated portraits of Jacob Eichholtz himself. One of these is the Stuart already referred to. Another is an auto por-

trait regarded as the best, owned by his daughter, Mrs. Angelica Smith, of Intercourse. Another, in the possession of his son, Henry C., in Baltimore. Other portraits by himself are in Pittsburgh in the family of his daughter Rebecca, intermarried with Jacob Hubley, of the Lancaster family of his name. Mrs. Walker, of Montgomery County, has portraits of Jacob Eichholtz and his wife. Wm. H. Worden, of Germantown, recently acquired a supposed auto-portrait of Eichholtz.

Among all his family portraits none is more exquisite than that of his daughter, Mrs. Maria Catharine Lindsay, about the time of her marriage. It is owned by her daughter, Mrs. Ireland, of Philadelphia, who has a later Eichholtz portrait of her mother; also of her father, a juvenile and an usually good landscape of an Italian lake view. Other of his pictures are dispersed among the Hubley, Demuth and different branches of this numerous family.

Mrs. Gunn, of Richmond, Va., besides the Eichholtz portrait of her grandfather, Gen. David Miller (1833), has an Eichholtz of his first wife, Catharine Carpenter; and one of Mrs. Gunn's great-grandmother, who was Catharine Martin—the last he ever painted; he died before finishing the shawl.

Jacob Eichholtz was born November 2, 1776, and died May 11, 1842. The children of him and first wife, Catharine Hatz, were: Caroline, who died an infant; Catharine Maria, who married Robert Lindsay; Rubens Mayer, who died at thirty, and Margaret Amelia, who married Emanuel Demuth. The children of his second marriage to Catharine Trissler were: Edward, who died young; Anna Maria, who married David Miller; Elizabeth Susanna, who died a spinster; Benjamin West, who married and died without issue; Angelica Kauffman, who is the widow of Dr. H. A. Smith; Rebecca, who married Jacob Hubley, and left



issue living in Pittsburgh; Henry C., now living in Baltimore; Robert Lindsay, the second, who married Mrs. Ziegler; Lavallyn Barry, who died at fourteen years of age.

*Partial List of the Portraits and Miscellaneous Works  
of Jacob Eichholtz.*

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date.*</i>
Albright, William,		
Albright, Mrs. William,		
Armat, Thos.	Germantown.	1825.
Ash, James,		1828.
Atlee, Dr. John L.,		1838.
Arundel, R. J.,	Philadelphia Lawyer.	
Arundel, Mrs.	Both owned by A. Rosenthal.	
Bachman, Christian,	Owned by D. F. Longenecker, Philadelphia.	
Bachman, Mrs. Christian,	Owned by D. F. Longenecker, Philadelphia.	
Backus, Mrs.,	Philadelphia.	1835.
Barclay, Anthony,	Georgia.	1824.
Barton, Dr. J. Rhea,	Philadelphia.	
Bayard, Andrew,		
Beates, Rev. W.,	Misses Sprecher.	
Beates, Mrs.,	Misses Sprecher.	
Bethel, Mrs.,	2 profile portraits.	1820.
Biddle, Nicholas.	Mrs. James Biddle.	1811.
Biddle, Nicholas.		1831.
Biddle, Mrs. Nicholas,	Edward Biddle.	1836.
Bomberger, John,	J. B. Roth.	1821.
Bomberger, Mrs. John,	J. B. Roth.	1821.
Bomberger, Mrs.		
Bomberger, Geo. H.	Mrs. Schaeffer.	1821.
Bowman, Rev. (Bishop) Samuel,		
Brenner, John,	Miss Julia Brenner.	
Brenner, Mrs. John,	Miss Julia Brenner.	
Bray, Mrs.		1821.
Brien, Mrs. Edw.,	Hand.	1819.
Brough, Mrs. Anna Christina		1821.
Buchanan, James,	Smithsonian Institution.	
Bull, Rev. Levi,	John H. Alricks, Harrisburg.	
Bull, Mrs. Levi,	John H. Alricks, Harrisburg.	
Burd, Edw.,		

\* In some cases approximated.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date.*</i>
Burg, John,		1819.
Burrowes, Dr. Isaac B.,		
Burrowes, Mrs.,		
Byron, Lord,	Copy of Sully's.	
Carey, Chas.,	Portrait of Son.	1826.
Chamberlain, Mrs.,		
Champneys, Dr. B.,		
Champneys, Hon. B., Jr.,		
Champneys, Mrs. B., Jr.,		
Clarke, Edward,	H. C. E.	1833-4.
Clarke, Mrs.		1833-4.
Clay, Wm.,	Clerk in Penn bank.	1825.
Clay, Mr.,	Georgia to Geo. W. McAllister.	
Clay, Mrs.,		
Cloud, Joseph,	2 portraits.	1819.
Cohen, Mrs.,		1824.
Coleman, Sarah,		1819.
Curcier, Mr.,	Kit-Kat.	1827.
Dallas,	Geo. M. Dallas.	1822.
Davies, Edw.,		
Davis, Gabriel,		1836.
Davis, Mrs. Gabriel,	Susanna Rowland.	1836.
Davis, Susanna Barton,	W. W. Davis, Sterling, Ill	
Dawson, Mordecai Lewis,	Owned by the Collins Family.	
DeLancy, Rev. Wm.,	Full length.	
DeLancy, Rev. Wm.,	Kit-Kat.	
Diver, Mr.,	Philadelphia.	
Diver, Mrs.,	Philadelphia.	
Doyle, Mr.,		1838.
Doyle, Mrs.,		
Duchman, Jacob,		
Duvall, Mr.,	5 portraits.	1826.
Earl, Mrs. Susan,	Acad. of Fine Arts.	
Eberle, Dr. John,		1828.
Eberle, Mrs.,		
Edgar, Robt.,	Philadelphia.	1834.
Eichelberger, Col. Fred.,		
Eichelberger, Mrs. Fred.,		
Eichholtz, Jacob,	Auto portraits.	
	One owned in Baltimore by H.	
	C. Eichholtz.	
	One owned in Intercourse by	
	Mrs. A. K. Smith.	
	One owned in Montgomery Co.,	
	by Mrs. C. W. Walker.	

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\* In some cases approximated.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date.*</i>
	One in possession of Wm. H. Worden, Germantown, Pa.	
Eichholtz, Mrs. Jacob,	Cath. Trissler, owned by Mrs. C. W. Walker.	
Eichholtz, Edward,	H. C. E.	
Eichholtz, Mrs. Jacob,	H. C. E.	
Eichholtz, Mr. Jacob,	H. C. Eichholtz, Baltimore	1819.
Eichholtz, Leonard,	Father of artist, Baltimore.	1829.
Eichholtz, Mrs. Leonard,	Mother of artist, Baltimore.	1829.
Eichholtz, Miss Mary,	Sister of artist, Baltimore.	
Eichholtz, Lavallyn H. C. and R. L.,	In group.	
Eichholtz, Rubens,	Juvenile in straw hat.	
Eichholtz, H. C.,	Juvenile.	
Eichholtz, Edward,	Full length boy, son of artist.	1804.
Eichholtz, Leonard, Jr.,	H. C. E., Baltimore.	
Eichholtz, Rebecca,	Artist's daughter—owned by Mrs. Jos. Jones, Pittsburgh.	
Eichholtz, Lavallyn,	Son of artist—owned by Mrs. Gleffer, Pittsburgh.	
Eichholtz, Benjamin,	Artist's son—owned by Mrs. Norden, East Orange, N. J.	
Eichholtz, Rubens,	Artist's eldest son—owned by Mr. Geo. Demuth, Philadelphia.	
Eichholtz, Mrs. Cath. Maria.	Wife of artist—owned by Mrs. Ireland, Philadelphia.	
Eichholtz, Mrs. Cath. Maria and child Marguerita,	Mr. Geo. Demuth, Phila.	
Elder, Thos. E.,	Harrisburg, 4 portraits.	1838.
Ellmaker, Amos,	Owned by Miss E. E. Ellmaker.	
Ellmaker, Mrs. Amos,	Owned by Miss E. E. Ellmaker.	
Ellmaker, Nathaniel,	Miss E. E. M.	
Fahnestock, Dr. Samuel,	Mrs. W. R. Martin.	
Fahnestock, Mrs. Samuel,		
Fassit, Thos.,	Phila., four family portraits.	
Fenn, Theophilus,		1836.
Fenn, Mrs.		1836.
Fenn, Miss,		1836.
Forepaugh, William,		1840.
Forepaugh, Mrs. William,		1840.
Fordney, Miss Mary,		1837.
Forest, Edwin,	Copied for S. P. Wetherill.	
Franklin, Thomas E.,	2 portraits.	1838.
Frazer, Reah,	Owned by Miss Frazer.	
Frazer, Hon. William Clark,	Owned by Miss Frazer.	

\* In some cases approximated.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date.*</i>
Frazer, Mrs. William Clark,	Owned by Miss Frazer.	
Freeman, T. B.,		1821.
Freeman, Mrs. T. B.,		
Freeman, Mr., Sr.,		
Gable, Mrs. Jacob,		1836.
Gales, Commodore,		1821.
Getz, Major John,		
Gibson, C. J., John B.,	Law Assocn. Phila.	
Graeff, George,	W. C. Hager.	1818.
Graeff, Maria,	W. C. Hager.	1818.
Grant, Rev. John L.,	11th St. Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.	
Hager, C.,		
Hager, Christopher,		
Hager, Mrs. Christopher,		
Hayes, Hon. Alex. L.,		
Hayes, Mrs. Alex. L.,		
Hall, Charles,	Deceased, for his widow.	1836.
Hall, Mrs. Chas.,	Salome LeRoy.	
Hall, Mrs. Marie Salome,	LeRoy.	1816.
Halbach, Arnold,		1826.
Halbach, Mrs. Arnold,		1826.
Hand, General Edward,		
Harrington, Dr. David,	Dentist.	
Harrington, Miss,		1842.
Harrington, Master,		1842.
Hauckel, Mrs.,		1828.
Heath, Miss,		
Heath, Charles,		
Heath, Joseph,		1828.
Heckewelder, Rev. John E.,	Academy F. A.	1823.
Helfenstein, Mrs. Albert (Rev.),		1819.
Hemphill, Jos.,	Prest. Judge Phila. Courts.	
Holbrook, Marcus, D.,		
Hopkins, Mrs. James,		
Hopkins, James,	Mrs. Emma Gardiner.	1833.
Hopkins, Washington,	Mrs. Emma Gardiner.	
Hoff, John,	John Hoff Baumgardner.	1817.
Hoff, Mrs. John,	John Hoff Baumgardner.	1817.
Hubley, Miss Grace,		1817.
Humes, James,		
Humes, Mrs. Samuel,	Edward S. Sayres.	1819.
Humes, Samuel,	Edward S. Sayres.	
Hunter, Captain (Jacob?)		1828.

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\* In some cases approximated.



<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date.*</i>
Jacobs, General Harrison		
Bentley,	Owned by John H. Jacobs.	
Jacobs, Eliza,	Mrs. Molton C. Rogers.	
Jefferies, Miss,	Jac. Shearer.	
Jenkins, William,	Owned by Miss Nevin.	1819.
Jenkins, Mrs. Robert,	Catharine Carmichael.	
Kauffman, Mrs. Ann,		
Kauffman, Col. Andrew B.,		
Kauffman, Jacob,		
Keffer, Mrs. Henry,		1821.
Keffer, Mrs. Henry,		1838.
Keffer, Mr. Henry,		1838.
Keim, Mrs. Juliana,	Large and small, and small portrait of son Jacob.	
Keim, George M.,		1827.
Krug, Mrs.,	E. F. Shenberger.	1849.
Kurtz, E.,	Baltimore.	1819.
Keith, Washington,		1827.
at 16, with gun and dog.	Owned by Sydney Keith, Philadelphia.	
Laguerenne, Mr.,	3 portraits.	1826.
Leman, Mrs. Jacob,	Nee Eichholtz.	
Leman, Caroline,		
Leman, Margaret,		
Leman, Susan,		
Leman, Joseph,		
Leman, Henry E.,	Portrait.	
Leman, Henry E.,	Miniature.	
Lennig, Nicholas,	Philadelphia—3 portraits.	1833-4.
Lewis, Mrs.	3 portraits.	1827.
Lightner, Mrs.,	For her son Nathaniel.	
Lindsay, Robert,		
Lindsay, Mrs. Robert,	Catharine M. Eichholtz, at 35.	
Lindsay, Mrs. Robert,	Catharine M. Eichholtz, at 30.	
Lindsay, Miss,	Juvenile, later Mrs. Coppeck.	
Lindsay, Misses Elizabeth and Cecelia,	Owned by Mrs. Ireland.	
Long, Mrs. Catharine,	Long Asylum for Women,	1838.
Long, Jacob,	Long Asylum for Women,	1838.
Long, Mrs. Jacob,	Long Asylum for Women,	1838.
Long, Jacob, Jr.,	Long Asylum for Women,	1839.
Long, Hon. Henry G.,	Long Asylum for Women,	1838.
Long, Mrs. Henry G.,	Long Asylum for Women,	1839.
Long, Peter,	Long Asylum for Women,	1838.
Longenecker, Mr.	Owned by Mrs. Newell, Wil- kinsburg, Pa.	

\* In some cases approximated.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date. *</i>
Longenecker, Mrs.,	Owned by Mrs. Newell, Wilkinsburg, Pa.	
Marshall, Chief Justice John,		
Marshall, C. J. John,	Hist. Society of Penna.	
Mayer, George,	Numerous portraits.	
Mayer, Mrs. George,	2 portraits.	
Mayer, Mrs. George Louis,		1819.
Macalester, Chas.,	Miss Fanny Hopkins.	
M'Lhany, J. A.,	For R. J. Arundel.	1828.
Mayer, Mrs. Susannah,	4 portraits.	1818.
Mayer, Miss Susannah,		1818.
Mayer, Mrs. Susannah,	2 portraits.	1826.
Mayer, Jacob,		1819.
Mayer, John,	$\frac{1}{2}$ size.	1819.
Mayer, Lewis,		
Mayer, Serena,	Mrs. Thos. E. Franklin.	
Mayer, Margaret,	$\frac{1}{2}$ size.	1819.
Meade, Rev. W. C.,	portraits.	1827.
Michael, John,		1810.
Michael, Mrs. John,		1810.
Miller, Captain David,	Owned by Miss Cath. Gunn,	
Miller, Mrs. David,	Richmond, Va.	
Montgomery, James,		
Morgan, Benj. R.,	2 portraits.	1822.
Muhlenberg, Gottlieb Henry Ernst,	Copy.	1823.
Muhlenberg, Fred. Aug. Hall,		
Muhlenberg, Rev. Dr. W. A.,		1836.
Muhlenberg, Rev. Dr. W. A.,		1838.
Muhlenberg, Rev. Dr. W. A.,	Copies.	
Musser, Mrs. George,		
Nevin, Rev. Dr. John W.,	Copies.	1840.
Nevin, Dr. Wm. M.,		1840.
Nidliet, Mrs.	Mother of Wm. Nidliet, Philadelphia.	
Nice, Jacob,	Nicetown, Philadelphia.	
Onderdonk, Rt. Rev. Bishop,	For Rev. Meade.	1828.
Overholtzer, H. D.,		1835.
Owings, Mrs.,	York Road, Baltimore, Co., Md.	
Pierie, Mr.,	Germantown, 4 portraits.	1822.
Porter, Mr.,	From near Pottsville.	
Porter, Admiral David D.,	A. Rosenthal.	
Porter, Sarah Hamilton,		1819.

\* In some cases approximated.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date.*</i>
Porter, Andrew,	Hist. Soc'y of Penna.	
Pryor, Mrs. E.	Dr. Graf, Phila.	
Ravenscroft, Rev. Bishop,	Painted for Edw. Rutledge.	
Reaves, Miss,	For her father, Phila.	
Reigart, Adam,		
Reigart, Mrs. Adam,		
Reigart, Adam, Jr.,		
Reigart, Emanuel,		
Reigart, Mrs. Emanuel,		
Reigart, Susan,		
Reigart, J. Hamilton,		
Reigart, Henrietta,		
Reynolds, John,	Father of Gen. John F. Reynolds.	
	Owned by Col. J. F. Reynolds	
	Landis, U. S. A.	
Rine, C.,		
Ritner, Governor Joseph,	One for Thos. H. Burrowes and one for self	1836.
Ritter, Abraham,	2 portraits.	
Rooker, Rev. James,	3 portraits.	1827.
Russel, Mr.,		1840.
Russel, Mrs.,		
Shulze, Gov. J. Andrew,	Hist. Soc'y of Penna.	
Schaeffer, Mrs.,	Baltimore	1819.
Sener, Frederick K.,		
Sener, John,		
Sergeant, Mrs. Wm.,	Elizabeth Morgan.	
Shearer, Benjamin M.,		1838.
Shippen, Henry,		1816.
Sheaff, John A.,		
Sheaff, John S.,		
Slaymaker, Henry G.,		
Slaymaker, Mrs. Henry G.,		
Slaymaker, Henry, Jr.,		1820.
Slaymaker, Mrs. Susan R.,		
Smith, James,		
Smith, Mrs. James,		
Smith, Mrs. Lydia,	Redmond Conyngham.	
Steele, Robt. B.,		
Steele, Archibald,		1824.
Steele, Gen. John,	Seven sets.	1824.
Steele, Mrs.,	Seven sets.	
Stevens, Hon. Thaddeus,	Pennsylvania College.	1830.
Stocker, Mr.,	2 portraits.	1822.

\* In some cases approximated.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>Date.*</i>
Strine, Rev. Jno. J.,	Mrs. Al. McGlinn.	
Strine, Mrs.,		
Strine, Mrs. Cassandra,		1821.
Swedenborg, Emanuel,	Copy for Hy. Keffer.	
Tams, Wm.,	Of son.	1823.
Tatnall, Mrs.,	For Jas. Craig.	1823.
Tevis, Mrs. Benj.,	Kit-Kat.	1820.
Tevis, Mrs. Joshua,		
Tilghman, Miss,		
Unknown Man,	Owned by Gilbert Parker.	
Unknown Woman,	Owned by Chas. H. Hart.	
Value, Victor,	Family group.	
Waln, Robert,		1827.
Washington, George,	Copies for George Mayer, John H. Shenberger, Fr. Cooper et al.	
Wetherill, Chas.,	2 portraits.	1819.
Wetherill, Charlotte,		
Wilmer, Miss,	Alex. J. Biddle Estate.	
Wilmer, Miss Elizabeth A.,	Later Mrs. Lyndford Landner.	
Wiltbank, Rev. Dr. Jas.,	Rev. Dr. Jas. Robbins.	1838.
Wiltbank, Mrs.,	Mrs. H. V. Allien.	1838.
Wiltbank,	Father of Dr. Wiltbank.	1838.
Wiltbank, Miss Sarah,	Mrs. R. S. Hunter.	
Witmer, Mrs. Ann C.,		
Yeates, Hon. Jasper,		
Yeates, Mrs. Jasper,	Burd.	

#### MISCELLANEOUS PAINTINGS.

A scene from one of Shakespeare's plays—Unfinished, Lime street.

Robbery of a stage coach—Unfinished, Lime street.

A scene in Wales—Unfinished, Lime street.

An Italian Sunset—Unfinished, Lime street.

A Magdalen (after Bettoni). Unfinished, Lime street.

Scene from Moore's Lallah Rook—Unfinished, Lime street.

The Crucifixion. W. H. Miller.

Eichholtz had on exhibition in Lancaster, for the benefit of the poor, three paintings—The interior of a Capuchin Chapel, the Lord's Supper and the Death of Abel. It is not known who purchased them.

Large painting of Mark Antony delivering an oration over the dead body of Caesar; over sixty figures represented. It is now in Pittsburgh, Pa., owned by Mrs. J. P. Jones, granddaughter of the artist.

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\* In some cases approximated.



Washington and His Generals—Large composition, numerous figures, owned by Mr. Mullen, of Upsal, Pa.

The landscape painted for Mr. Potter. The landscapes painted for Hon. Thos. E. Franklin.

A landscape representing an Italian lake in the mountains, owned by Mrs. Ireland, of 3903 Walnut street, Philadelphia, a granddaughter of the artist.

"Dorothea," a figure, owned by Mrs. Angelica K. Smith, of Inter-course, a daughter of the artist.

A scene from "The Pilot"—a figure and interior, owned by Mrs. Smith.

"Ecce Homo"

H. C. Eichholtz.

Painting of Union Fire Co., on metal, for decoration of hose carriage.

Allegorical representation of water, including figures of Neptune, Venus, mermaids and mermen mounted upon and disporting with dolphins. Property of Union Fire Co.

One of the most famous full length pictures of George Washington by Stuart was almost obliterated and was repainted by Eichholtz in 1814. It was for many years in Wilmington, Delaware, and may still be there. Another notable commission given to Eichholtz by the Delaware Legislature was for a portrait of Gen. John Gibson, in 1829. It was to portray him in action at Erie. It hangs in the State capitol at Dover, Del.

### ADDENDA.

Since the foregoing compilation was made I have discovered that Eichholtz exhibited three pictures at the first annual exhibition of the Society of Artists in the United States, in Philadelphia, in 1811. Two of them were entitled "Portrait of a Gentleman," and one undoubtedly was the original Nicholas Biddle. Who was the subject of the other I have not been able to discover. The third was entitled "Innocence" and the subject was in all probability one of the artist's own children.

The widow of Leonard Eichholtz, who was a nephew of the artist, has a portrait of Henry Eichholtz, a brother of the artist. It is in Denver, Colorado, and was painted in 1820. In the possession of J. Lane Reed, of Dayton, Ohio, there are three Eichholtz portraits. The subject of one is George Ford, a brilliant

member of the Lancaster Bar, born 1773, died in 1843. The other is of his widow, Mary Ann Elizabeth Hall Ford, b. 1770, d. 1845. The third is Henry Robert Reed, and was painted in 1816.

Edward S. Sayres, of the Philadelphia Bar, a great-grandson of Samuel Humes, has five Eichholtz portraits, as follows: Samuel Humes (the elder), of Lancaster, sitting, facing left; Mary Hamilton Humes, his wife, daughter of James Hamilton, of Leacock; John Humes, of Philadelphia, merchant and Register of Wills, born in Lancaster; son of Samuel and Mary Hamilton, sitting, facing left; Jane McPhail Humes, wife of John Humes, with babe in arms, and her daughter. She was a daughter of John McPhail, merchant, of Philadelphia; and Ann Mackenzie, his wife, sitting, facing left; Ann McPhail, wife of John McPhail, born Ann Mackenzie, mother of Mrs. Jane Humes, sitting, facing left.

Miss Hamilton, of St. Paul, a kinswoman of the Humes family, has four Eichholtz portraits, viz., of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Humes; of Dr. Humes, a son; and of another son, William Humes, who married Miss Harriet Church, of Philadelphia, and was a member of the Company of State Fencibles in the War of 1812, commanded by Hartman Kuhn, a Philadelphia descendant of Adam Simon Kuhn, a conspicuous figure in Old Lancaster and foremost in Old Trinity.

Referring to the Eichholtz portrait of Col. Gibson, painted to the order of the Delaware Legislature in 1829 and still hanging in the State house at Dover it seems, according to the Delaware Legislative Journal, a joint resolution to have this portrait painted was adopted by the General Assembly February 6, 1822. The subject was suggested by the fact that Colonel James Gibson was a native of Delaware, and fell in defence of his country at the memorable sortie at Lake Erie, September 17, 1814. The committee appointed

under the resolution was somewhat tardy and the matter was renewed on February 16, 1829, when a new committee was appointed and \$120 appropriated for the purpose. No further record is made of the committee's work or report, but the picture was procured and paid for. The portrait is three-quarter length, in uniform with sword, and is in fairly good condition. Gibson was born in Sussex County, Delaware. He joined the regular army and was absent from his native Commonwealth most of his life.

### HOW THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS ESTABLISHED IN PENNSYLVANIA.

In January 1882, Hon. J. P. Wickersham, formerly Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania, having in contemplation the preparation of his work subsequently published under the title of "History of Education in Pennsylvania," sent out a circular to the "Friends of Education" in the State asking for contributions of materials in aid of the work. In response the late Dr. George Smith, author of the "History of Delaware County," who had been a member of the State Senate from that County at the time when the agitation in favor of and against the establishment of a common school system was at its height, wrote the following letter to Mr. Wickersham giving his recollections of the genesis of the first "workable" school law enacted by the legislature—that of June 13th, 1836.

Dr. Smith died March 10th, 1882. He had served as a School Director in his district for many terms, and later as the first Superintendent of Schools in Delaware County, and always took an active interest in promoting the common school system.

In view of the elaborate school code recently enacted, the vast State appropriations now made in support of public education, and moreover the legislation in force for compulsory attendance at school, this letter is not only interesting as a historical statement of the facts related, but also as illuminative of the great change which has taken place in the attitude of the public respecting the system of educating children at public cost—a proposition at one time denounced as the epitome of civic injustice and the harbinger of rank socialism.



February 15th, 1882.

J. P. WICKERSHAM, ESQ.,

RESPECTED FRIEND:—

It had been a concern resting on my mind for some time past to note down some of the facts and circumstances which resulted in the establishment of our common School System when your circular came to hand. I am not aware that there is any other person now living who took a very active part in this great work, or who can be familiar with the facts and incidents connected with the passage of the School law. Credit has been given to some persons for services never performed, while it has been withheld from others whose early advocacy of a general School law was fully appreciated by the friends of such a law at that period. Among the latter was Governor Wolf, who was among the earliest, the most earnest, and most consistent advocates of a Common School law during the entire period of his administration.

The establishment of our School system was not the work of a day. Even as early as the year 1824, an act was passed entitled “An Act to provide more effectually for the education of the poor gratis, and for *laying the foundation of a general System of Education throughout the Commonwealth.*” This Act in a measure provided for what the latter part of its title indicated, or rather it made provision for the inhabitants of any locality in the state to establish public schools, in which all children should be admitted and taught alike without any distinction. The establishment of such schools was entirely voluntary within the bounds of any township or borough, but whether any such schools were established I have not learned.

Up to the Session of the legislature of 1833-4 Governor Wolf in his annual messages had continued to urge the establishment of a general School system, but prior to that session nothing had been done except

the diversion of a portion of the income of the state as a nucleus for a school fund, which seems to have been loaned to the "Internal improvement fund" and could not have become available before 1843. This was rather a hopeless investment when we consider the condition of our internal improvements at that time, and the burden they were to the state.

At the commencement of the Session 1833-4 on motion of Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia County, a joint committee was appointed "for the purpose of digesting a system of general education for this Commonwealth." The House of Representatives very cordially united in this project and a Committee was accordingly appointed. The members of the Committee on behalf of the Senate were Samuel Breck, Charles B. Penrose, William Jackson, Almon H. Read and William Boyd, and on behalf of the House, were Samuel Anderson, William Patterson, James Clarke, John Wiegand, Thomas H. Crawford and Wilmer Worthington.

The first movement of this Committee was to obtain all the information possible from persons engaged in the business of education as well as from official sources in other states, where a common school system had been in operation. The replies received to the circular of the joint committee furnished but a small amount of valuable information. The responses from the officials of other states went to show how much their systems of common schools had been overrated. (*See Senate Journal 1833-4 Vol. ii p. 373 &c.*)

The bill reported by this joint committee was generally regarded as correct in principle, and as most of the members in either house were alike inexperienced, it was not much discussed, but was passed by unanimous vote in the Senate and with but one dissenting vote in the House.

Samuel Breck, of the Senate, chairman of the joint committee was undoubtedly the author of the bill. He

was a highly educated gentleman past the meridian of life, who had never mixed with people living in country districts. Hence we cannot wonder that the main fault of this law—perhaps its only material fault, was the great amount of machinery required to carry it into effect. This defect, if not seen at the time, became fully developed wherever an effort was made to establish schools under its provision.

The real friends of the law viewed these defects as a temporary evil which could be easily remedied, while by its enemies they were greatly exaggerated. They could see no remedy short of the total repeal of the law.

At the commencement of the Session of 1834-5 Governor Wolf in his message endeavored to excuse these defects of the School law and speaks encouragingly of its future. But the real friends of a common school system in the legislature could not but feel that it had encountered a check that would not be easy to overcome.

Five hundred and eighty petitions signed by 31,989 citizens were presented in the House of Representatives asking for a repeal of the law, while but 2,083 signed remonstrances against a repeal. Under these unpropitious circumstances it was determined to sustain the law if possible, and the committee on education in the Senate through their chairman Almon H. Read, reported a supplement with that view. The opposition though really in a majority, were not united as to their plans, and with several there was some aversion to vote squarely against any common school law. Some wished a postponement for five years and others till the year 1843. This was only to stave off the question. The larger number of the opposition advocated an absolute repeal of the law and the restoration of the old law providing for the education of the poor gratis.

After many unsuccessful efforts to amend the law had been made by its friends, and votes taken for its

suspension at the instance of those not prepared for an absolute repeal, the last mentioned faction succeeded in carrying a substitute for the whole bill which was in fact a restoration of the old law providing for the education of the poor gratis, except [that] the plan of having directors embraced in the law of 1834 was retained, the object being the seeing after the interests of the poor children to be educated under it.

This pauper bill passed over to the House as an act complete in itself without any reference to the School law of 1834 except a clause for its repeal, while undoubtedly there was not a majority in the House favorable to the school law of 1834. Still there was not a majority willing to return to the old pauper system which provided only for the education of the poor as such. The title of the bill sent over from the Senate clearly expressed that this was its object.

After a considerable amount of parliamentary tactics practised by the enemies of the School System on the one side, and its friends on the other, it was at length molded into the shape of a supplement of the act of 1834 embracing but a few sections. It was at this session of the legislature and on the passage of this bill that Thaddeus Stevens, made his great speech. He had not given his attention very closely to the details of the law of 1834, but the emergency of the existence of the common school system being at stake, the powers of his mind were called into requisition, and this great speech was the result. In my judgment it saved the bill and consequently the school system from being defeated.

The majority in the Senate had no alternative but to agree to this House bill, for if they had refused it, it would not have restored the pauper bill which the Senate sent to the House, but would have left the act of 1834 unrepealed and without amendment.

By this supplement only a few of the objectionable



features of the law of 1834 were removed. Still its passage inspired hopes and at the meeting of the legislature of 1835-6 the reliable friends of a Common School System were determined, if possible, to secure its complete establishment. The committee on education in the Senate of that year were George Smith, Almon H. Read, David Middlecoff, Meek Kelly and James Paul, and in the House, Joseph Lawrence, Bela Jones, George Mayer, Thomas Atkinson, Charles B. Trego, Charles McClure and Robert Stinson. With the object I have mentioned these committees held a joint meeting, and agreed that with respect to the School law the committee would act jointly and that but one bill should be prepared, which should be reported simultaneously in each house.

Mr. Lawrence, chairman of the House committee being an elderly gentleman with much legislative experience and having been a member of Congress was appointed to draw up the bill, which by an unexpected change of circumstances fell to my lot.

Under the constitution of 1790, the State Treasurer was elected by the Legislature. Before Mr. Lawrence had taken any steps towards framing a school bill, it became noised about that he would be a candidate for the office of State Treasurer, which soon became a fact well known. The election did not take place till the 13th of January, and up to that period in the Session no progress had been made in preparing a school bill, and it was not till some days after the election of Mr. Lawrence as Treasurer, that the Committee of Education of the two houses were called together. It was not 'till this meeting that I was appointed to draw up the bill—a duty from which under the circumstances I could not well escape. It was now late in the Session and the bill had to be drawn up hurriedly without consultation with anyone. The bill when prepared was immediately submitted to the committees of the two



houses acting jointly, who accepted it without the change of a single word. On the 25th of January it was reported in both houses—by myself in the Senate and by Mr. Jones in the House.

The bill was first considered in the Senate, where it met with considerable opposition, which was mostly exhibited in the shape of proposed amendments, which were mainly of a kind calculated to injure or destroy the object or effectiveness of the bill. One of these came in the shape of a proposed substitute for the whole bill far more complicated than the act of 1834, which only failed of being adopted by a tie vote, although the bill on a final vote was carried by 17 yeas to 11 nays. In the House the amendments to the bill were very numerous, but the larger proportion of them were non concurred in by the Senate or were adopted after being amended. To effect this understandingly was a great labor for the chairman of the committee. The disagreement between the two houses resulted in a Committee of Conference. The report of this committee shows how very sensitive the members were lest the non-accepting districts would lose a share in the State appropriation. But for the extra Session I doubt whether the School law could have been passed that year.

If this letter had been written some years earlier it would have been done better. Having entered my 79th year, I must crave allowance for the infirmities of age and declining health.

Very respectfully,

GEO. SMITH.

GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS IN GREAT  
BRITAIN.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

ROBERTS. Mark Roberts was in Pennsylvania about 1740. Indications pointed to the northern part of Flintshire as his birthplace. This supposition is confirmed by will of Peter Roberts of Newmarket, dated 5 June, 1747; proved at St. Asaph, 1748, wherein the testator, a man of wealth, who died without issue, cuts off with a shilling his brother Mark Roberts, then "abroad." A tradition as to the emigration of Mark Roberts and others from this neighbourhood, survives. Richard ap Thomas, or as he was sometimes called, Richard Thomas, whose connection with the first settlement of the Province is well known, was a near kinsman of Richard ap Robert, father of Mark, and was born in the adjoining parish of Whitford. The will of Richard ap Robert, otherwise Richard Roberts, of the parish of Newmarket, Innkeeper, is dated 5 April, 1720, and was proved at St. Asaph, 22 November, of the same year. The testator mentions his sons, Robert, Peter, Richard, and Mark Roberts; daughters, Jane, Mary, and Emme; grandson John (son of Richard Roberts). Wife Barbarah (*sic*), executrix. The family claimed descent from Black Madog of Cop'r Goleuni, whose son, Gruffydd, did homage and fealty for his lands here, to Prince Edward (as Earle of Chester), 1301.

CALDWELL. The name of David Caldwell appears, about 1747, in Pennsylvania, and, unless I am mistaken, a little later in Virginia, in company with other settlers from the North of Ireland, and of Scotch-Irish descent. Will of James Glen of Boyturn in the county of Tyrone and Barony of Strabane, farmer. Dated 13 September, 1740; proved 23 May, 1747.

The testator desires to be buried in Ardstraw. He bequeaths to his son John "the half of the farm I now live in"; and to his (testator's) son William Glen, a heifer. The other half of (testator's) farm is bequeathed to wife Jean, and children Betrick and Fransus (*sic*). Testator's son John and wife Jean are to plough, sow, and labour the daughter's portion of the land for the latter's maintenance. Executors, *David Caldwell* "my step-son," and Mathew Patrick. Witnesses: James Modey, David Patrick, and Mathew Patrick.

This will was proved, as above, by Mathew Patrick, *the other executor, David Caldwell, being absent abroad*. It has been proved that William Glen (or Glenn), son of the testator, and the half-brother of the above David Caldwell, removed to Pennsylvania, where he died without issue. John Glen, the other son of James probably also emigrated to the Province.

JOHN (otherwise Jones)<sup>1</sup>. Evan John (sometimes called Evan Jones, and Evan Johns), was in Chester County, Pennsylvania, about 1720, or earlier. In later years we find Evan John associated with Welsh settlers of Chester County who came from Cardiganshire, several of whom lived near Llanddewi Brefi (formerly written Llanddewi brevi, Llanddewy brevi, and similar variants). In common with quite a number of those who removed to the Province, some of these Cardiganshire Welsh came via Barbadoes.

The Will of John Philip of the parish of Llanddewy brevy in the county of Cardigan, gentleman, was proved at Carmarthen, 15 May, 1713 (filed will). The testator mentions that Evan William of said parish (then alive), has devised a bequest to his (testator's) son Philip John. The testator leaves bequests to his "reputed" children, David John, and Margaret John, and to their mother, Mauld David; also to sister, Mar-

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<sup>1</sup>By courtesy of Foster C. Griffith, Esq., of Trenton, N. J.

garet Philip; godsons John Selby and John George; niece Margaret William. The testator bequeaths unto his daughter Jonet John, all those lands called Cae [? garn glioyden] in Llanddewi Brefi; and to daughter Mary John, those lands called Ddôl duy Evan William, on the south side of the river Teifi. Also lands called y Ddôl Issa, and Tir y Wern. David Rees David Jenkin of Gorwydd mentioned.

The testator makes certain provision against the possible return to Cardiganshire of his son *Evan John* "who is long since gone beyond Seas and as I understand, by letters lately received from him lives in the Barbadoes." The will of Evan William, above mentioned, was proved at Carmarthen, 7 August, 1716. It is interesting as giving the testator's pedigree for five generations, and disposes of considerable land.

PLYE. That Robert and Nicholas Pyle, who were early in Pennsylvania, were sons of Robert Pyle of Stanton Bernard, in the county of Wilts, is amply proved by deeds and powers of attorney recorded at Philadelphia. Robert Pyle of Stanton Bernard, yeoman, died intestate, 1694, and letters of administration were granted to Martha, his widow, 24 December, 1694. His personal estate amounted to £464.10 (Archdeaconry Court of Sarum). He left sons, Robert, Nicholas, and Ralph.

Robert Pyle, the eldest son, was, before his removal to Pennsylvania, of Horton, Wilts, and is described as malster. He married, first, 9 mo. 16, 1681, Ann, daughter of William Stovey of Hilperton, Wilts; and he married, secondly, Dorothy Turner, widow. William Stovey was born at Aberry, and lived for a time near Trowbridge. He died 7 mo. 4, 1705, and was buried in Cammersel. His will, dated 30 December, 1705, was proved 20 August, 1706. His wife was named Eleanor, and she survived her husband.





son of Thomas Brinton of Nether (or Neither) Gournall, Sedgeley, and Ann, daughter of William Biddle, or Biddulph, of Sedgeley. Thomas Brinton and Ann Biddle were married 27 June, 1631. Thomas Brinton was baptized at Sedgeley, 19 July, 1607 (being son of Thomas and Ellin), and was buried 14 August, 1687. He lived at Nether Gournall. The elder Thomas Brinton was baptized at Sedgeley, 31 May, 1562, and married, 25 September, 1605, Ellin, daughter of Thomas Mason, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Robert Grazebrook of Shenston, of a very ancient family of Staffordshire. The last Thomas Brinton was son of a third Thomas, buried at Sedgeley Church sometime before 20 October, 1612. This last Thomas was son of John Brinton, born *circa* 1490-1500; died about 1560. The name occurs very early in Staffordshire. The Brintons were landowners, and farmers. The Masons were engaged in mining.

William Brinton, the Pennsylvania settler, married, in 1659, Ann, daughter of Edward Bagley of Sedgeley. The first of these Bagleys of whom I have found any record is Edward Bagley of Sedgeley, named in a Fine, 40 Elizabeth. His wife's name was Ann, and he had issue John Bagley of Oulde Park and Coseley, Sedgeley, who died 1635. This John Bagley, gentleman, with Robert Dudley, gentleman (illegitimate son to Edward, Lord Dudley), and George Guest (who married an illegitimate daughter of Lord Dudley), had a lease from Lord Dudley of Oulde Park and Connigree. Elizabeth Tomlinson, the favorite mistress of Edward Lord Dudley, by her nuncupative will declared 3 July, 1629, left to Edward Bagley, Dudley Bagley, Thomas Bagley, and Robert Bagley, sons of the said John Bagley, bequests amounting to £60, and more.<sup>1</sup> This will was contested by Dudley Dudley, the eldest son of Elizabeth Tomlinson, on the ground that the said Elizabeth was

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<sup>1</sup> Equal to about £400., or over, of our money.

incapable of making a will, and that the bequests to the Bagleys was the work of Lord Dudley. It is supposed, and there is a tradition to the effect that the wife of John Bagley was an illegitimate daughter of Lord Dudley; but not necessarily by Elizabeth Tomlinson.

Edward Bagley, second son of John, and brother of Dudley Bagley, was father of Ann, wife of William Brinton.

## A FORGOTTEN VICTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Sydney George Fisher, in what is probably the best History of the American Revolution, brings out the fact, too often ignored in our school-books, that during the last few years of the war, Great Britain was opposed by half the world. After December, 1780, she was fighting five nations in arms: the Americans, the French, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the Hindu Muhammadans. Besides these, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, as "The Armed Neutrality," were ready to declare war at any moment, to resist the "right of search"; while Prussia and Austria joined them in 1781; Portugal and Turkey in 1782; and Naples in 1783.

But while Fisher insists upon the important rôle of India, he omits the battles. The one to be presently described is kept quiet by English school history-makers and unknown to American ones. When the English in 1778, moved upon the French settlements in India, the battles there fought were just as much a part of the American Revolution as those of Monmouth and Yorktown. Like the French and Indian struggle, the Revolution was a world-war. Not only did the Delaware and the Thames resound with the din of arms, but the Essequibo, the Guadalquiver, the Rhine, the Seine, and the Ganges.

A very good example of the provincial treatment of this great world-war is that of Professor James A. Woodburn's edition of Lecky's chapters on the American Revolution. (N. Y. 1898.) In Lecky's fourteenth chapter no less than twenty-six pages are omitted by Professor Woodburn. These pages relate the follow-

ing events, all immediately connected with the Revolutionary War:

The battle of Cape St. Vincent between the English and the Spaniards (America's allies) January, 1780.

The victory of Guadaloupe, 1780.

The Armed Neutrality of Russia, Sweden and Denmark, 1780.

The Dutch war with Great Britain, 1780-1783.

The Siege of Gibraltar, 1779-82.

The capture of Pensacola by the Spaniards, May, 1781.

The capture of St. Eustatius from the Dutch by the English, 1781.

The victory of Conjevaram by the French and the Hindu Muhammadans over the English, 1780.

Forty English ships captured near the Azores by France and Spain and taken to Cadiz, summer, 1780.

Fourteen English ships captured off Newfoundland by American privateers.

The battle of Porto Novo, gained by the English, 1781.

Consequently when the Indiana professor takes up the narrative at the words, "The exhaustion of the war was now felt very severely by all the belligerents in Europe," they convey but little meaning, for the narrative of the exhaustion has been suppressed.

We have said that the battle to be described has been kept quiet in English school-histories, and so it has, but an historian like James Mill describes it in detail, while in lesser works, an obscure allusion occasionally escapes. Thus, James Rennell, in 1788, talks about Haidar Ali's "success in cutting to pieces Colonel Baillie's detachment." So also, in the same year, William Gordon: "Some of their troops (i. e. The East India Company's) were afterward attacked and defeated." (History IV. 79.) Even the voluminous Lord Mahon merely says: "On the 10th of September

the troops of Baillie were overwhelmed and cut to pieces."

But none of these writers care about the life of Colonel Baillie. The Dictionary of National Biography gives the meagerest details, and indicates that the facts were collected with difficulty. William Baillie's birth-date is unknown. His name is purposely suppressed in lists of Anglo-Indian officers, but manuscript records declare that he entered the army of the old East-India Company in 1759 as infantry lieutenant at Madras, and in 1775 had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was in command at Pondicherry when the French works there were destroyed in 1779, while, in 1780, we find him leading a detachment of about 150 Europeans and 200 Sepoys. In July of that year the Muhammadan king of Maisur, Haidar Ali, who sided with the French, marched against Madras with 100,000 men. Colonel Baillie defeated a division of the Muhammadans under the famous prince Tipu Sahib. This was near the village of Perambākam, and Sir Hector Munro, who was fourteen miles off with the main English army, sent a small reinforcement to Baillie. These troops were Highlanders and Sepoys under Colonel Fletcher. Fearing to leave his stores, Munro had not sent enough, and when the battle was joined near Conjevaram,<sup>1</sup> on September 10, 1780, these two detachments were confronted by Haidar's whole army. During the fight, two tumbrils (or caissons) blew up, and there was a general stampede of native camp-followers.

This threw the Anglo-Indian ranks into confusion, and the Sepoys could not be rallied. Then Colonel Baillie on foot posted a British square of five hundred

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<sup>1</sup> Conjevaram is the ancient Kāñcipuram, the name being nearly identical. The former is in our barbarous spelling, the latter scientific. *Puram* is cognate with the Greek *polis*, a city. Kāñcipuram was a famous literary center some two millenniums ago, and commentaries on the Buddhist Scriptures were composed there.



and fifty, upon a rising sand-bank, and fought with desperate valor. Again and again did the Muhammadan cavalry charge the little square, while in the intervals between the charges, masses of infantry attacked. An eye-witness says, that Colonel Baillie raised a white handkerchief and surrendered, calling upon his men to do the same. They did so, but the enemy returned to the charge. Out of five hundred and fifty, two hundred and twenty-five were killed on the spot, and three hundred and twenty-five were captured. All would have been massacred, says Mill, but for the intervention of the French officers of the Muhammadans. Of the captured, two-thirds were wounded. The officers fared no better, only sixteen out of eighty-six escaping without wounds or death. The prisoners were carried to Seringapatam, where Baillie, badly wounded, died in 1782.

This civilized Muhammadan monarch ordered French surgeons to attend the wounded, and behaved with great politeness. He bore the victory without elation, as if quite used to the fact. Four days later he sent poor Baillie a thousand rupees for the prisoners and clothes to cover their nakedness. Such are the statements of a British eye-witness.

The defeat was retrieved by Sir Eyre Coote in the battle of Porto Novo, July 1, 1781, another forgotten battle of the American Revolution.

Some of these facts I have rescued from very small print in London *Notes and Queries* for 1861. Others may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography and in Volume IV. of James Mill's *History of British India*, in beautiful type (Ed. 4: London, 1840).

Early in the same year as the battle of Conjevaram, a clergyman named Walker addressed a public meeting in the north of England, attacking the expenses of the war. At the other end of the island, in the ancient city of Exeter, a similar meeting was held, and the contem-

porary pamphlets describing both are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania collection<sup>2</sup>.

The Mansfield meeting is the more interesting of the two, for examples of "graft" are given. Thus, an inspector-general of the forces in the West Indies draws three pounds a day and never leaves Great Britain, while a superintendent-general of the hospital of the Grand Army does the same. The political parson exclaims: "The piety of the superintendent-general recollects that Heaven is the best comforter of the sick. To Heaven therefore he leaves the care, he quits not the English shore."

In like manner does Sir George Otto Trevelyan record the case of an envoy-extraordinary to the court of Savoy who "left a secretary at Turin, while he enjoyed his friends and his bottle in London".<sup>3</sup> The disclosure of facts like these did much to disgust the English with the fivefold war; and it is to be hoped that our future historians will give due place to these interesting by-paths of the American Revolution.

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<sup>2</sup> 1. Speech of Rev. Mr. Walker at Mansfield, N.p., 1780. (Printed by the Society for Constitutional Information.)

2. *The Rights and Principles of an Englishman Considered.* Exeter, 1780.

<sup>3</sup> *George III. and Charles Fox.* (London, 1912, I. 217.)

## FROM LONDON TO PHILADELPHIA, 1742.

The following account of the experiences which befell the first Moravian colony sent from London to settle on the estates of that church in Pennsylvania has been compiled from the journal (in German) of John Philip Meurer, one of the colonists, who was born near Buchsweiler, Alsace, March 25, 1708. He was ordained by Zinzendorf December 9, 1742, at Tulpehocken, and served first there as teacher and then as minister, and later at Donegal, Lebanon, Swatara, York, Macungy, Oley and Allemaengel. His wife, Christiana Kraft, born January 6, 1718, died March 17, 1756, after which he returned to Bethlehem, where he died April 15, 1760.

The "Catherine" in build was a skow, and was purchased by Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, in the Spring of 1742, for £600., and placed in command of Captain Thomas Gladman. After the colonists were disembarked at Philadelphia, her ship-stores were disposed of and finally the vessel sold for £400.

The first Moravian colony for Pennsylvania, left London in March, and arrived at Philadelphia in June 1742. Count Zinzendorf had preceded them about six months before, and partly some preliminary arrangements for their reception had been made, and their arrival was anxiously looked for.

The responsible task of fitting out and organizing the colony had been intrusted to Bishop Spangenberg, then residing in London, and the selection could not have fallen upon a more suitable individual, for to his other qualifications he joined that of personal experience. Seven years before he had fitted out the first Moravian colony which went to Georgia, had himself accompanied it across the Atlantic, had spent four years in Georgia,

Pennsylvania and the West Indies, and had made several voyages between those colonies, some of which were attended with more than ordinary privations and dangers. He was now, after Zinzendorf's departure for America, at the head of the affairs of the church in England, but applied himself to his new duty with his accustomed devotedness, alacrity, foresight and attention to details.

The majority of the colonists consisted of Germans, many of whom had been refused admission by the government of Denmark, and now proceeded to America.

The party arrived in London, February 24th, 1742, and met with the kindest reception on the part of the English Moravians. Lodgings had been provided for them in three different houses in Wild street. The following two days were spent in receiving visits from their English friends, who omitted nothing that might impress the strangers with the feeling that they were sincerely welcome.

On the 27th of February the party was formally organized as a colony. For this purpose they met in the chapel in Fetter Lane, where they were joined by some three hundred members of the London congregation. After the services and Bishop Spangenberg had addressed the meeting, the appointments to the various offices were made.

On March 8th, the single men left their lodgings and proceeded on board the ship "Catharine," Capt. Gladman, which was to transport them to America; and the Rev. Peter Boehler, their chaplain, entered upon his duties.

March 15th, the married couples and the English colonists went on board, and next evening the ship dropped down the river Thames, and proceeded slowly to Gravesend. Spangenberg and his wife were on board, helping to make final arrangements.

Total number of members was 56, and the crew consisted of the captain, two mates and six sailors. At Gravesend anchor was cast, and a lively intercourse with the shore continued for more than a day, for thither many of the London friends had repaired to bid a last adieu. Once more called on deck by Spangenberg, on the morning of March 19th, he commended them to the protection of the Lord in a fervent prayer, and then bade them farewell. As soon as he had left the ship, anchor was weighed, the sails were spread, and the wind being very favorable, the ship soon entered the British Channel.

Navigation at that time was hazardous in the extreme for an unprotected British vessel, on account of the war between England and Spain, assisted by France, in addition to the dangers of the deep, the risk of meeting with French or Spanish men-of-war, or privateers, which were infesting the sea, was to be feared.

The passage down the British Channel presented no difficulties. Soon after leaving Deal, where they had touched, the Captain took a southwest course, and they lost sight of land, March 23d. But the mountain-waves of the Bay of Biscay caught their little bark, and tossed it up and down, like a nutshell, and at the same time, nearly all of them were prostrated by sea sickness. When they encountered a dreadful storm, the rudder had to be secured by ropes, the vessel drifted before the wind, and the waves dashed upon and into the vessel, completely drenching everything. On one occasion, when a sudden squall struck the ship, and the sails and the tackling became entangled, those colonists who could stand on deck, rendered valuable service, by assisting the sailors at the ropes. The captain repeatedly declared himself surprised at, and gratified with the equanimity and courage of his passengers.

Twelve days after the coast of England had disappeared from view, the mountains of the island of



Madeira hove in sight, and about the same time a vessel under press of sails was discovered standing directly towards the ship—but, before approaching near enough to become a subject of uneasiness, her progress was checked, and both vessels found themselves becalmed, and unable to move. Next morning the two ships had lost sight of one another. On this day, April 7th, all hands having recovered from sea sickness, they entered the port of Funchal. Scarcely had they done so, when they were boarded by two English ship captains, who informed them that the vessel which had approached them the day before, was a Spanish privateer. The port of Funchal presented a lively aspect. There was a great display of national ensigns, the flag of Portugal on the ramparts, that of Great Britain on more than ten men-of-war, and a captured Spanish crusier, besides those of merchant vessels of different nations.

The empty water casks were here replenished, and a live ox was taken on board. Some of the colonists improved the opportunity to make a short excursion on shore. They were delighted to find vineyards in a most advanced state, and barley fields ripening at this season of the year. For the first time in their lives they saw orange, and lemon, and palm trees in the open air, and near to them fields of rice and sugar cane, whilst the air was soft and balmy, resembling in temperature that of the summer evenings in Germany.

On the 10th of April, towards evening, the appearance of two strange sails created much excitement in port. There was firing of cannons, hailing with trumpets, beating of drums, and a diversity of noises. Amid this general turmoil, the ship Catharine glided gently out of port, and henceforth kept her head steadily northwest towards her final destination. The wind was favorable, and the boisterous commencement of the voyage was now succeeded by halcyon days, only

the more enjoyable from the contrast they formed to their first experience of the sea.

On April the 18th, toward evening, the monotony of these blissful days was interrupted by the sickness of one of the Sisters, who had a stroke of paralysis, the attack proved to be of only a slight character. April 23d, was the anniversary of David Wahnert's birth day, and, feeling under many obligations to him as their ever faithful and reliable attendant during the hours of sickness, they each composed some congratulatory lines expressive of the gratitude they felt.

This placid course of life was interrupted toward the end of the month by a boisterous sea, in consequence of which some passengers suffered from a second attack of sea-sickness. Hitherto, not a glimpse had been had of the dreaded Spanish privateers; in fact, no ships at all had been encountered, till now, when two vessels were seen sailing in company. This unexpected meeting (April 14th) caused at first considerable alarm on both sides, each party suspecting the other to be Spaniards. Afterwards, when the mystery had been cleared away, an interchange of civilities and presents took place. The vessels being English, and coming from St. Kitts, sent some West India produce, which was responded to by a sack of peas, and an English cheese.

Again, on the first day of May, before morning prayers, a sail was discovered ahead of our voyagers, directly in the ship's course. She soon attracted attention, and created suspicion by strange movements to the right and to the left, without pursuing any definite course. After a while the stranger was noticed to crowd all sail, and coming up directly toward the ship. This dispelled all doubt as to what she was. The captain and crew at once recognized a Spanish privateer of the most formidable class. What a prospect was now before the colonists,—capture, spoliation, personal

abuse, suffering, perhaps death in some dreadful shape. Although from the outset they were in a manner prepared in their minds for such an event, yet now, when the evil was upon them, they did not yield to despair. The captain had no choice as to the course he should pursue. Escape was out of the question, the Catharine, in comparison with the rakish Spaniard, being a dull and heavy sailer. Defence was also out of the question, since there were no arms on board. All that remained was to keep on the ship's course with as much apparent unconcern as possible. Accordingly, neither sails nor helm were shifted and when the vessels had approached so near that everything that was taking place on the one could be plainly seen from the other, the captain ordered all the male passengers up on the deck, with their hats on, thus presenting a spectacle of forty-nine hats on as many heads, unshaken by fear. It was conjectured that a sight which had unnecessarily alarmed the two British vessels a few weeks ago, would have some effect upon the Spaniards. At the same time these men were disposed around the masts in such a manner that all the sails, at a given signal, could be lowered in an instant. The idea was to surrender upon receiving the first shot from the privateer, as it would have been worse than useless to provoke the animosity of the Spaniards by a different course. Slowly the moments of suspense wore away, whilst the most profound silence was observed on deck. The men stood at their posts showing no sign of trepidation. The Spaniards did not move, nor did they fire a single shot. Now the culminating point of danger seemed to be reached, and now, after some moments of agonizing suspense, to be past. The distance between the two vessels was apparently increasing. At length they ventured to breathe freely, and to realize the fact that they were out of danger.

Fervent thanks were offered up to Him who had saved them, when safety appeared an impossibility! The scenes of the morning seemed now like a horrible nightmare, which had happily vanished, but the events of that first day of May, 1742, remained indelibly fixed in the memory of those who had been on board the Catharine. The experiences of this day produced one practical effect in common upon all, namely, that henceforth they held all dangers that might seem to threaten them, of little moment. Nor were opportunities wanting to test the strength of this sentiment, for, during the remainder of the voyage, many severe storms were experienced, some of them accompanied by awful thunder and lightning, and on the 17th of May a strange sail, supposed to be another privateer, hove in sight and gave chase. But after a while, the deck of the Catharine having once more been crowded by all the men on board, the stranger desisted from pursuit, and turned back. This happened when the ship was already in soundings, for on casting the lead, bottom was found at the depth of 35 and 30 fathoms.

The following day, May 18th, early in the morning, land was seen, and in the evening the houses and churches of Long Island were plainly distinguished. The passage from Madeira to within sight of land had lasted thirty-eight days. On the same day a mess of 250 large and palatable fish were caught.

May 19th, was a cold day; a thick fog covered the sea, and prevented communication with a vessel coming from shore, by which the precise direction of New London might have been learned, of which the captain was ignorant. In the evening a violent gale drove the fog away, and the ship out to sea. It was not before the morning of May 23d that a sloop was met, the mate of which was willing to pilot the ship into port. About noon on that day, New London was reached, being the fifth day after the first sight of land had been obtained.



During the late gales the ship had suffered considerably, hence a stay at this place was found necessary, in order to make some repairs before proceeding further.

Not long after the arrival of the vessel, the skipper of the sloop made his appearance on board. He proved to be a native of Germany, had been seventeen years in America, and expressed his surprise at the healthy appearance of the passengers and crew after such a long passage, and gave an account of the miseries often endured on board of emigrant ships, especially when ship-fever broke out on them. He also mentioned, that not long before, Spanish privateers had captured fifteen English vessels, in the neighborhood of the place where the Catharine had had its last sight of one of them.

Next day, about sunrise, the remains of a child, born on board, were buried on shore directly opposite the ship. To mark the little grave, a stone was placed over it. In the afternoon, and on the following day, companies of colonists visited the town. They were kindly received, and Chaplain Boehler preached twice to numerous audiences. Among the hearers was the clergyman of the place. Their visits on shore were reciprocated by a number of the people of the town, with their minister.

Meanwhile the ship's repairs did not advance as rapidly as might have been wished; and the prospect of still further delay was increased by three of the sailors leaving the ship, and taking up their quarters in the taverns of the town. Under these circumstances, the skipper made an offer to take part of the passengers on board his sloop and carry them to New York in advance of the ship. This offer was accepted by twenty-six men. The sloop started the same day (May 26), but meeting with adverse winds and calms, did not reach New Haven before the 28th. "When the people on shore," Meurer writes, "discovered so many men on



deck of the sloop, they became alarmed, thinking we were Spaniards, come to sack the town; but perceiving their error after we had landed, a concourse of all manner of persons gathered around us in the streets, requesting us to preach to them. There is a small University at this place, the students of which came to us with the same request. We discoursed with them as well as we could. Afterwards some of them, together with many other persons, came on board and crowded the deck of the sloop. Those of our company who could speak English, had each of them around him a knot of eager listeners and interrogators, who put their heads together. The students were not satisfied until they had induced some of us to accompany them to the College building.

On the 29th, early in the morning, the sloop resumed her voyage and proceeded as far as New Greenwich. Here the New Haven scenes were enacted over again, with even more intensity of feeling. The first demonstration was alarm, then so deep a distrust that the people would not even sell us bread and milk.

The next morning seven of the English brethren left the company to travel on foot the rest of the way to New York. On the first day of the voyage, during the passage from London to Gravesend, one of the ship's crew had been seized and carried on board a man-of-war, to be impressed into the King's service. His release had speedily followed, yet the men, remembering the occurrence, preferred to avoid the British man-of-war, stationed near the port of New York. The sloop set her sails, and after having safely passed the dangers of Long Island Sound, and of the guard-ship, reached the harbor of New York. What was the astonishment of all to discover here amongst the shipping their own vessel, the Catharine, which four days before they had left at New London. The joy at meeting again was great on both sides; and the passengers of the sloop

lost no time in returning to their former quarters and their old friends. These had made the passage from New London to New York in twenty-four hours, whilst the sloop had spent four days on the same route.

Still the passengers of the sloop did not regret the part which had fallen to their lot. Their accommodations had been rather inferior to those of the ship, but they had proved by experience that a man, healthy as to body, can sleep in the open air, or on the bare ground as well as under more comfortable circumstances; and, besides, they had gained more knowledge of the new country than they could have done if they had remained all that time in one spot.

Those who had remained on board of the Catharine (May 26,) had made frequent visits on shore, and were received with kindness and invited into houses. Captain Gladman, meanwhile, with what assistance he could get, continued the work at the ship with great energy, and on the 28th finished the repairs so far that she was in a condition to proceed on her voyage. When this was discovered by the three sailors who had deserted, and who had imagined the repairs would take a long time, they sent a letter of apology to the captain begging his permission to return on board. The captain, being a very kind-hearted man, agreed to receive them again, and paid their bill at the tavern. He also granted their request to be put on shore before coming in sight of the man-of-war, that they might escape being impressed into the King's service. Humble and penitent they now stepped up to the captain, one by one, and asked his forgiveness.

Everything being arranged, the ship left New London, May 29th, and arrived at New York, as just stated, on May 30th, where they were soon visited by friends.

Some of the late sloop party now went to meet the seven English men, who had left them near New Green-

wich, and conducted them on board. Their arrival completed the reunion of the whole original party.

It might be supposed that with the arrival of the colony at New York, their navigation of the sea had come to a close, but for some unknown reason, this was not the case. On the 31st of May the sails were once more spread to the wind, and the ship left New York for Philadelphia. The passage of the ship was in the highest degree tedious and dangerous, because the captain hugged the shore as closely as possible, probably for fear of privateers. On the fifth day of the passage (June 4th) the ship entered Delaware Bay, and received a pilot on board, but was greeted by the Delaware with a tremendous thunder storm. In the following night great danger awaited the ship. One of the night-watch had separated from the rest, and, with the intention of pursuing his meditations undisturbed, had seated himself on the windlass of the anchor cable. About midnight he arose to seek another place, better protected from the wind, and in rising he accidentally disarranged the machinery of the windlass. The consequence was, that the cable began to unwind, finally snapped, and the ship drifted at an increasing rate towards the unseen lee-shore. As soon as the alarm had brought the captain on deck, he had a second anchor cast overboard, but, the windlass being now entirely out of order, it was with the greatest difficulty that the crew, assisted by many of the colonists, succeeded in securing and fastening the cable in a proper manner. Next day, June 6th, many hours were spent in searching for and recovering the lost anchor and cable.

This was their last trouble. The following morning they were agreeably surprised at the arrival on board of some former German friends residing in Pennsylvania, who had heard of their arrival in Delaware Bay, and had taken a boat at Philadelphia to meet them. At ten o'clock on the morning of Thursday, June 7th, the

colony landed at Philadelphia, having left Gravesend on March 19th, 1742.

According to the old style of reckoning, this was May 27th, and Ascension Day. Count Zinzendorf had just closed a service in the Lutheran church; Christian Henry Rauch, Missionary at Shekomeko, and Gottlob Buettner, minister at Tulpehocken, were the first to make their way from the church to the ship. Great was the joy on both sides to meet and to embrace one another. Meanwhile a crowd of persons was seen gathering on shore, in expectation that the newly arrived immigrants were to be exposed for redemption-sale, according to the usage of the times, in the same manner in which the ship's company of an Irish vessel, lying alongside of the Catharine, had but a short time before been disposed of.

Next day, June 8th, (n. s.) all the members of the colony repaired to the court house, Captain Gladman leading the way. Meurer describes the scene as follows: "When we entered the court house, we found the government already assembled. We were told that this country belongs to the King of England, that we were required, in the first place, to take an oath of allegiance to the King and his successors, meaning that we would conduct ourselves as good and faithful subjects, not revolt against his Majesty, nor settle on lands not our own. In the second place, we were required to abjure all allegiance to the Pope. One of the members declared in the name of all, that we were ready to promise all this, but would take no oath. Thereupon the members of the government talked a little to one another. At length one of them said, that the oath would be dispensed with, but that he was now going to read something, which we must all repeat after him with a loud voice. To this we had no objection, and we repeated his words with a will, since all our life time we have been good subjects, and intend to be so in future, and, as to



the Pope, we cared as little about him as he cared about us. Finally we had to sign our names to two different papers, one of which belongs to the King of England, and the other to the Government of Pennsylvania. This done, they wished us good success, and dismissed us."

The married colonists were provided with lodgings in town and left the ship. Some Indians strolling through the streets, the first of their nation seen, impressed them with feelings of compassion; but next day (June 9th) Zinzendorf brought Tschoop, the first Indian convert, on board, who had been baptized by C. Henry Rauch. He spoke German and Dutch, as many New York Indians do.

On Sunday, June 10th, the colonists attended service in the morning in the Lutheran church at Philadelphia, in the afternoon at Germantown. On both occasions Zinzendorf preached farewell sermons, previous to setting out on his travels into the interior of the state, and the Indian country.

On Tuesday, June 12th, the seventh Synod of the attempted union of all denominations of German Protestants, was opened at the house of Mr. Evans on Race street. The arrival of the colony was officially reported by the Syndic, and its members were introduced to the assembly. The Synod extended a hearty welcome to all, and accepted an invitation to visit the ship; more than one hundred and twenty attended.

In the course of this and the following week, its former members left Philadelphia in small parties, taking an affectionate farewell of Captain Gladman.

As they reached the banks of the Lehigh, they found themselves opposite a forest-clad hill, on which, overhung by shady trees and concealed by the thick undergrowth, were standing the few log houses, called Bethlehem. Once more they intrusted themselves to a frail craft, such as navigated the Lehigh in those times, ascended the hill, and received a hearty welcome amongst the people who formed the infant settlement.



SOME OF THE ALLEYS, COURTS AND INNS OF  
PHILADELPHIA, 1767-1790.

BY JAMES G. BARNWELL.

The following lists give the names and locations of certain alleys, courts and inns in the City of Philadelphia, between 1767-1790, which were compiled for the use of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell when writing "The Red City."

*Alleys and Courts.*

APPLE-TREE ALLEY.—E. & W. from 4th to 5th St., between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

BAKER'S ALLEY.—N. & S. from Vine to Elm St., between 2d and 3d St.

BENNER'S ALLEY.—N. & S. from Vine to Elm St., between 2d and 3d St.

BIDDLE'S ALLEY.—S. from High St., between 2d and 3d St.

BROOKE COURT.—W. side of Front St., between Sassafras and Vine St.

CARPENTER ST.—E. & W. from 6th-7th St., between High and Chestnut St.

CARTER'S ALLEY.—W. side of 2d St., between Chestnut and Walnut St.

CAUFFMAN'S ALLEY.—S. side of Cherry St., Nos. 14 & 16, between 3d and 4th St.

CHANCERY LANE.—N. & S. from Mulberry St. to Coombes' Alley, between Front and 2d St.

COATES'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d St., between Vine and Sassafras St.

COOMBES'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d St., between High and Mulberry St.

CRESSON'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from 5th to 6th St., between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

CRESSON'S COURT.—between Cherry St. and Cresson's Alley.

CROWN ST., (or Pennington's Alley)—N. & S. from Sassafras to Vine St., and continued in the Northern Liberties, between 4th and 5th St.

DRINKER'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to Second St., between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

DRINKER'S COURT.—N. side of Union St. between 2d and 3d St.

ELBOW LANE.—S. from High St. between 2d and 3d St., and turning W. into 3d St. between High and Chestnut St.

ELFRITH'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

ELM ST.—E. & W. from 2d to 3d St. between Vine and Sassafras St.

ETRIS'S ALLEY.—W. side of 5th St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

FEARIS'S ALLEY.—W. side of Front St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

FETTER LANE, (or Watkins's Alley)—E. & W. from 3d to Bread St., between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

GEORGE ST.—N. & S. from Gaskill to Cedar St. between 2d and 3d St.

GRAY'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d St., between Chestnut and Walnut.

GROFF'S ALLEY.—N. side of Sassafras St., between 2d and 3d St.

HOFFMAN'S ALLEY, (1795, Between Cherry and Race St., between 5th and 6th St.)—S. side of Sassafras St. between 4th and 5th St.

JACKSON'S COURT.—N. side of Sassafras St., between Front and 2d St.

KEY'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to Second St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

LAUREL COURT.—N. side of Spruce St., between 2d and 3d St.

• LITTLE WATER ST.—N. & S. from Willing & Morris' wharf to Cedar St.

• LODGE ALLEY.—W. side of 2d St., between Chestnut and Walnut.

• LOWNES'S or ELMSLEY'S ALLEY.—W. side of 2d St. between Walnut and Spruce St.

• McCULLOUGH'S ALLEY.—W. side of Front St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

• MAYER'S ALLEY.—E. side of 3d St., between Sassafras and Vine St.

• MIFFLIN'S ALLEY.—W. side of 2d St. between Walnut and Spruce.

• MULBERRY COURT.—W. side of 6th St., between High and Mulberry St.

• NORRIS'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d St., between Chestnut and Walnut St.

• NORTH ALLEY.—E. & W. from 5th to 6th St. between High and Mulberry St.

• PATTON'S ALLEY.—W. side of 4th St. between High and Chestnut St.

• PEAR ST.—E. & W. from 2d to 3d St. between Walnut and Spruce St.

• PENN ST.—N. & S. from Pine to Cedar St. between Front St. and Delaware.

• PETTY'S or GREENLEAF'S ALLEY.—W. side of 4th St. between High and Chestnut St.

• PEWTER-PLATTER ALLEY.—W. side of Front St. between High and Mulberry St.

• PRIEST'S ALLEY.—on the W. side of Front St. between High and Mulberry St.

• PRUAN ST.—W. from 4th St. between Walnut and Spruce St.

• QUARRY ST.—E. & W. from 3d to Bread St. between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

• RAWLINSON COURT.—E. side of Second St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

RELIEF ALLEY.—E. & W. between Front and 2d St., and Lombard and Cedar St.

SASSAFRAS ALLEY.—N. & S. from Sassafras to Scheibell's Alley between 5th and 6th St.

SAY'S ALLEY.—E. side of Water St. between High and Mulberry St.

SCHIEBELL'S ALLEY (or Schievely's Alley).—E. from the E. side of 6th St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

SHEPHERD'S ALLEY.—W. side of 3d St. between High and Mulberry St.

SIMS'S ALLEY.—E. side of Water St. between High and Chestnut St.

SMITH'S ALLEY.—N. & S. from Dock St. to Carter's Alley between 2d and 3d St.

SOUTH ALLEY.—E. & W. from 5th to 6th St. between High and Mulberry St.

STEINMETZ'S ALLEY.—E. side of 4th St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

STERLING ALLEY.—N. & S. from Sassafras to Cherry St., between 3d and 4th St.

STORY ST, (or New St.)—E. & W. from 3d to 4th St. between Sassafras and Vine St.

STYLES'S COURT.—S. side of Mulberry St. between 2d and 3d St.

SUGAR ALLEY.—E. & W. from 6th to 9th between High and Mulberry St.

TAYLOR'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d St. between Chestnut and Walnut St.

TROTTER'S ALLEY.—W. side of Front St. between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

UNION ST.—E. & W. from Front to Fourth St. between Spruce and Pine St.

WHALEBONE ALLEY.—S. from Chestnut St. between 3d and 4th St.

ZACHARY'S COURT.—N. side of Walnut St. between Front and 2d St.

COOPER'S COURT.—N. side of Mulberry St. between Front and 2d St.

GRINDSTONE ALLEY.—N. from High St. between Nos. 81 and 83.

WHITE HORSE ALLEY.—N. & S. between Nos. 70 and 72 High St.

FRANKLIN'S COURT.—S. from High St. between Nos. 106 and 108.

CLYMER'S ALLEY.—S. from High St. between Nos. 210 and 212.

OLD FERRY ALLEY.—E. from N. Water St. between Nos. 43 and 45.

KER'S ALLEY.—E. from between Nos. 99 and 101 N. 3d St., to Moravian Alley.

FOURTEEN CHIMNEYS.—N. 5th St., between Nos. 130 and 146.

BEARSTICKER'S COURT.—W. side N. 6th St. between Nos. 68 and 70.

JOHNSON'S COURT.—E. side of 8th St. between Nos. 41 and 49 N.

FROMBERGER'S COURT.—between Market and Arch Sts. near Christ's church.

LOXLEY'S ALLEY.—N. from No. 115 Arch St.

WAGGONER'S ALLEY.—S. from Race St. to Cherry W. of 7th St.

STAR ALLEY.—N. & S. from Cherry to Race St. between 5th and 6th St.

PEARSON'S COURT.—From E. side of N. 7th St. between Market and Arch, runs east then north towards Sugar Alley.

KNIGHT'S YARD.—S. from Race St. No. 130 between 4th and 5th St.

NICHOLSON'S COURT.—Cherry to Race between 6th and 7th St.

ELDER OR ZANE ST.—Between 7th and 8th St., between High and Mulberry St.



WOOD ST.—From the York to the Ridge Road, between Vine and Callowhill St.

GILBERT'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d between Arch and Race St.

TURNER'S COURT.—Running N. & S. from Market to Chestnut between 6th and 7th Sts. [i. e. Decatur St., now S. Marshall St.]

LETITIA COURT.—N. & S. from Market to Black Horse Alley, b. Front and 2d St.

BLACK HORSE ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d between Chestnut and Market St.

BREAD ST.—N. & S. from Mulberry to Sassafras, between 2d and 3d Sts. (Some time called Moravian Alley.)

CHURCH ALLEY.—E. side of 3d, between High and Mulberry St.

STRAWBERRY ALLEY.—N. & S. from High to Chestnut St. between Second and Third Sts.

WILLING'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from 3d to 4th between Walnut and Spruce St.

CHERRY ALLEY.—E. & W. from 4th to 6th between Mulberry and Sassafras St.

FARMER'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from 6th to 7th, between High and Mulberry St.

MINOR ST.—E. & W. from 5th to 6th, between Chestnut and High St.

TWIN ALLEY.—Near 51 S. Water St.

CRAB ALLEY.—From opposite 145 Cedar to 2 Oak St.

PLUM ALLEY.—From 320 S. Second to Fifth, between Shippen and German St.

MORAVIAN ALLEY.—N. from Arch to Race between 2d and 3d St.

HUDSON'S ALLEY.—From Chestnut to Harmony Court between 3d and 4th St.

STAMPER'S ALLEY.—E. & W. from 2d to 3d between Pine and Lombard St.

ALMOND ST.—From the Delaware to 2d between Shippen St. and Mead Alley.

VIDAL'S ALLEY.—W. of Second St. between Chestnut and Walnut St.

COXE'S ALLEY.—West side of Front between Catherine and Almond St.

GEORGE ALLEY.—E. & W. from Front to 2d b. Sasfras and Vine St.

MARGARETTA ST.—E. & W. from Front and 2d, N. of Callowhill St.

*Inns.*

CROOKED BILLET.—Market St., near Court House.

BULL'S HEAD.—Benj. Davis, 3d St.

KNIGHT'S BEER HOUSE.—Letitia Court.

THREE TWINS.—Chestnut between 2d and 3d; later Fountain Inn, Jos. Yates.

INDIAN KING.—Market St., John Biddle,—then Dan'l Grant.

HARP AND CROWN.—3d St. bet. Church Alley and Arch St.

LONDON COFFEE HOUSE.—Bradford's, S. W. Cor. Front and Market St.

WHITE HORSE.—by Israel Jacobs.

SALUTATION.—Water St.

WM. PITT (Lord Chatham).—Widow McCall, on Front between Arch and Race St.

INDIAN QUEEN.—4th St., kept by Alex. Sage. (also Market St.)

ST. GEORGE'S.—S. W. Cor. Arch and 2d St.

BLACK HORSE.—Market St. N. side above 4th St. Barthol Baker.

ANGEL.—Race near Third St.

WM. WHITEHEAD'S.—2d St. ab. Christ Church.

QUEEN'S HEAD.—Water St., Samuel Francis.

WHITE LAMB.—Jacob Barge.

WIDOW STRIKER'S.—Northern Liberties.

QUEEN OF HUNGARY.—Front St.

BOATSWAIN & CALL Drawbridge in Front St.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE.—Sutton.—Strawberry St.

BUNCH OF GRAPES.—3d St.—Formerly Bull's Head.

GOLDEN FLEECE.—2d St.

SHIP'S HERO.—Front St., kept by Widow Malady.

SUN.—Race St.

CROOKED BILLET.—Wharf above Chestnut St.

WHITE HORSE.—Market St., kept by Jacob Israel.

RAINBOW.—Northern Liberties.

INDIAN KING.—Market E. of 3d, north corner of an alley.

SHOEMAKER'S ARMS.—Opposite Sugar House.

PEWTER PLATTER INN.—Cor. 2d and Jones's Alley.

WHITE SWAN.—Race west of 3d St.

CROSS KEYS.—N. E. cor. Chestnut and 3d St.

EWE & LAMB.—Southwark.

HARP AND CROWN.—E. side 3d between Market and Arch St.

BUCK.—2d north Race St., west side.

BEAR.—Market St.

OLD BEER HOUSE.—N. side Chestnut w. of Front—so called early part of eighteenth century; then Kouli Kahn and last Turk's Head.

LEOPARD.—Cor. Union and 2d St.

TURK AND GALLEY.—Water b. Race and Vine St.

GEN. WAYNE.—5th between Walnut and Spruce St.

BATTLE OF THE KEYS.—Water between Race and Vine St.

CORK ARMS.—Water between Walnut and Spruce St.

BLACK HORSE.—Market between 4th and 5th St.

PLOUGH.—3d between Market and Arch, and Market between 7th and 8th St.

CORDWAINER'S ARMS.—Walnut between 2d and Front St.

BUCK.—Race between 3d and 4th St.

ST. TAMMANY.—Arch between 2d and Front St.

COCK.—Front between Walnut and Spruce St.

SAILOR'S RETURN.—Cor. Walnut and Water St.

DR. FRANKLIN.—Cor. Race and 2d St.

BEAR.—2d between Race and Vine St.

GREEN TREE.—Race between 2d and 3d St.

BLUE BALL.—Elbow Lane near 3d St.

HARP AND CROWN.—3d between Market and Chestnut St.

DUSTY MILLER & WHITE HORSE.—Chestnut between 2d and 3d St.

THE STRUGLER.—Water between Vine and Spruce St.

THE SALUTE.—3d between Chestnut and Walnut St.

KING OF PRUSSIA.—Race between 2d and 3d St.

SPORTSMAN.—Water between Walnut and Spruce St.

RED LION.—Race between 4th and 5th St.

BLACK HORSE.—Second between Vine and Callowhill St.

SEVEN STARS.—Cor. Race and 4th St.

FOUNTAIN.—Cor. 2d and Lombard St.

GOLDEN FLEECE.—Cor. 4th and Lombard St.

NOAH'S ARK.—Front near Pool's bridge.

LEOPARD.—Arch between 6th and 7th St.

BIRD IN HAND.—Cor. Penn and Pine St.

FAITHFUL IRISHMAN.—Strawberry Alley between Market and Chestnut St.

GOLDEN SWAN.—3d between Arch and Race St.

MASON & YORK ARMS.—Water between Chestnut and Market St.

EWE AND LAMB.—Front between Vine and Callowhill St.

OLLEY WAGGON.—3d between Vine and Callowhill St.

STRAP & BLOCK.—Arch St. wharf.

THE ROSE.—Race between 5th and 6th St.

GEN. WASHINGTON.—Front between Arch and Race St.

BUTCHER'S ARMS.—Newmarket between Callowhill and Vine St.

AMERICAN SOLDIER.—South Alley between 5th and 6th St.

RED COW.—Water between Race and Vine St.

SAMPSON & LION.—Vine and Crown St.

HARP & CROWN.—Front between Market and Chestnut St.

MERMAID, 2d between Pine and Lombard St.

JOLLY SAILOR.—Cor. 2d and Lombard St.

CONESTOGA WAGGON.—Market between 4th and 5th St.

HEN AND CHICKENS.—Spruce between Front and 2d St.

JOLLY TAR.—Water between Arch and Race St.

ORGAN.—Spruce between 4th and 5th St.

WILKES & LIBERTY.—Market St. Wharf.

SHIP CUMBERLAND.—Front near Pool's bridge.

THREE JOLLY IRISHMEN.—Cor. Water and Race St.

THE LAMB.—Market between 5th and 6th St.

KING OF POLAND.—Vine between 5th and 6th St.

WHITE HORSE.—Market between 6th and 7th St.

CITY TAVERN.—2d between Chestnut and Walnut St.

GEN. WAYNE.—Cor. Penn and Pine St.

HORSE AND GROOM.—6th between Market and Arch and Strawberry Alley b. Market and Chestnut.

SHIP.—Water near Chestnut St.

DRAGON AND HORSE.—Walnut between 2d and Front St.

TURK'S HEAD.—Chestnut b. 2d and Front.

FOX AND LEOPARD.—Cor. Pine and Penn St.

EAGLE.—3d between Race and Vine St.

RISING SUN.—4th between Race and Vine St.

UNITED STATES.—Water near Spruce St.

DARBY RAM.—Church Alley between 2d and 3d St.

CROSS KEYS.—Race between 6th and 7th St.

MOON & STARS.—2d between Vine and Callowhill St.

RISING SUN.—Market between 2d and Front.

HARP & CROOK.—Water near Spruce St.

ST. TAMMANY'S WIGWAM.—Bank of the Schuylkill near Race St.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

VALLEY FORGE HEADQUARTERS.—The following extracts from the account book of Thomas Yorke, son-in-law of Thomas Potts, the Ironmaster, and in 1760 a merchant in Philadelphia, which book is now in my possession, shows to some extent the furnishing and manner of life in the house at Valley Forge occupied by Washington as his headquarters in the Winter of 1777 and 1778. At the time these articles were supplied the building of the house had just been completed.

	2 mo.	1st, 1760.
	John Potts, Jun.	to Sundry Accounts.
To Thomas Yorke for a piece of White Russia Sheetting £5		
To cash for		
A large Copper Sauce pann	15	shillings
A small Do.	8	shillings
A pr. Brass Candlesticks	15	shillings
A pair Rose Blanketts	46	shillings
6 China Bowles	23	shillings 6 pence
A pr. of Snuffers	2	shillings 6 pence
A Brush	2	shillings 9 pence.
A pr. Iron Candlesticks	2	shillings
2 China Bowles	5	shillings
3 Saucers	2	shillings 3 pence
A Looking Glass	54	shillings
A dozen Knives & Forks	7	shillings
6 yds of Draper	11	shillings
A Blankett	14	shillings
6 pewter Dishes	52	shillings
A dozen Plates	32	shillings
6 hardmettle porringers	15	shillings
A dozen spoons	6	shillings
A trunck	18	shillings
A Cotton Counterpane	57	shillings
½ dozen Chairs	40	shillings
3 Galls. of Spirit	22	shillings
3 silver spoons	66	shillings 10 pence
A Bedsted	40	shillings &
Fire Shovel and Tongs	10	shillings.
Sent By Borick Pickell to Mt. Joy Forge.		
14 of 2 Mo. 1760		
John Potts Junr. to Cash		
For 4 pewter Dishes wt. 15 ct. 3 oz. at 2 shillings	1-10-5	
A dozen Hardmettle plaites	1-10	

SAML. W. PENNYPACKER.

LETTER OF GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO HON. JAMES WILSON.—  
New York March 2nd. 1786

DEAR SIR:—

Since my arrival here nothing of any moment has been upon the carpet, and if there had been it could not have been proceeded in as we have not at any time had more than seven States and in that case one dissenting voice stops all proceedings so that your

absence has been of no consequence. I wish however it was convenient for you to come on now without loss of time. New Jersey has flatly refused to comply with the requisition until New York and Pennsylvania shall apply the product of the impost to Federal purposes, and there seems to be a disposition to consider this as a breach of the Confederation, and in order that there might be some chance of going on with the business it was proposed that Dr. Johnston who it seems is at no great distance should be sent for to make up the representation of Connecticut. That however I parried, but we certainly shall have eight States in a few days, and I would wish you to be here when this matter is agitated. I have not time to write to Dr. Rush at present but will this week, but as our Assembly are now at work I wish you would request him to tell me what they are about. Please to present my compliments to Mrs. Wilson and believe me

Dear sir

Your very humble servant,

A. ST. CLAIR.

**HYNES FAMILY DATA**—While browsing through a collection of Americana about to be sold at auction in New York City some time ago, I found the following record of births on a blank page in the body of a copy of the "Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, beginning the Fourth Day of December, 1682. 2 parts in 1. Folio, unbound. Phila.: Printed and sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall at the New Printing Office, near the Market, 1752."

William Hynes was Born the 11<sup>th</sup> Day of March A. D. 1750.

Elizabeth Hynes was Born the 6<sup>th</sup> Day of June A. D. 1753.

John Hynes was Born the 22<sup>nd</sup> Day of May A. D. 1772.

Isaac Hynes was Born the 4<sup>th</sup> Day of October A. D. 1773.

Jacob Hynes was Born the 1<sup>st</sup> Day of September A. D. 1775.

Elizabeth Hynes was Born the 14<sup>th</sup> Day of July A. D. 1777.

Samuel Hynes was Born the 21<sup>st</sup> Day of July A. D. 1779.

Martha Hynes was Born the 20<sup>th</sup> Day of January A. D. 1782.

Ann Hynes was Born the 25<sup>th</sup> Day of April A. D. 1784.

Sarah Hynes was Born the 28<sup>th</sup> Day of October A. D. 1786.

William Hynes was Born the 31<sup>st</sup> Day of December A. D. 1788.

Hannah Hynes was Born the 11<sup>th</sup> Day of January A. D. 1792.

Prescilla Hynes was Born the 12<sup>th</sup> Day of April A. D. 1796.

On the margin of the page on the right hand were the following figures placed opposite the following seven names, as if to indicate the age of the persons so marked at the time of their deaths. This is mere speculation however: William Hynes (father) 80; Elizabeth Hynes (mother) 77; John Hynes, 75; Elizabeth Hynes, 65; Ann Hynes, 74; William Hynes, 64; Hannah Hynes, 69.

JAMES B. LAUX.

**CAPTAIN JOHN HEWSON.**—Captain John Hewson was the son of Peter Hewson, a Woollen draper of London, by his wife, Catherine, a woman of great beauty said to have preserved her faculties and her charm till the age of 96. Descended from Colonel John Hewson, the Regicide, sometime Governor of Dublin and a Member of Cromwell's House of Peers, he early imbibed the extreme political views of his celebrated ancestor and was a source of considerable anxiety to his family, who strongly recommended his migration to the Colonies.

He was a Cotton-spinner and Calico-printer of considerable means, and Benjamin Franklin, while on a visit to one of Mr. Hewson's relatives, hearing of his Republican tendencies and the family's anxiety concerning them, urged upon him the claims of Philadelphia as the best place to establish a factory and introduce his industries into the New World.

Dr. Franklin had recently been engaged in the surveys relative to the changing of the Point-to-point Road on the estate of Mr. Wm. Ball at Richmond, and offered to use his influence to secure a lease from him of a good house and sufficient land abutting on Kensington for the erection of a factory. Mr. Hewson accepted the suggestion and emigrated to Philadelphia in 1774. The village which sprang up around the factory was called "Balltown." The factory was subsequently used for Dyott's Glass Works and Morris' Iron Foundry, and is now incorporated in the Cramp Company Ship Yards.

At the outbreak of the War of the Revolution, Mr. Hewson raised a Company of Volunteers in Kensington, principally from his own workmen, and served with some distinction, having a price set on his head and his property confiscated. He was twice married, his first wife, Mary, dying a few months after his arrival in America. In 1775 he married Zebiah Smallwood of Gloucester Co., N. J., whose mother was Margaret Cheesman, a sister of Captain Cheesman who fell with his commander while acting A.d.c. to General Montgomery at the storming of Quebec. His eldest surviving daughter by his second marriage, Esther, married Joseph Ball, nephew and heir of Wm. Ball of Richmond Hall, mentioned above.

Captain Hewson was a great favourite of General Washington who was a frequent visitor at his house, and Mrs. Esther Ball, who died in 1863, and who was some twelve years of age when the General and his wife last dined with her father, had a fund of personal reminiscences of them, which she used to relate with considerable gusto.

Portraits of Captain John Hewson and his wife are in the possession of Mr. Samuel Van Dusen of New York.

John Hewson Son of Peter and Catherine Hewson of London was born in England in 1747 and married in 1766—Mary—by whom he had five children:

John, b. 13 Oct. 1767 at Westham, Essex.

Sarah, b. 26 Jan. 1769 at Westham, Essex. m. Mr. Wm. Alcock.

James, b. 3 Apl. 1771 at Crayford, Kent.

Mary, b. 12 Feb. 1773 at Bromley, Middlesex, m. Mr. Labrie.

Jonathan, b. 7 Oct. 1774 at Kensington, Philadelphia, d. 27 July 1776.

Mary Hewson died three days after the birth of this child, aged 29.

In 1775 John Hewson married Zebiah Smallwood of Gloucester County, N. J., and by her had 12 children.

Peter, b. 13 Jan. 1776, d. 2 Aug. 1779.

Catherine Washington, b. 15 Nov. 1777, d. 20 July 1778.

Esther, b. 23 June 1779 (born after her father's return from captivity) m. 1<sup>st</sup> Thomas Connell, and 2<sup>nd</sup> Joseph Ball, d. 25 June 1863.

Ann, b. 1781.

Peter, b. 13 Jan. 1783, d. 1790.

Catherine, b. 26 Dec. 1785.

Zebiah, b. 1 Feb. 1787.

Robert, b. 10 Feb. 1789.

Margaret, b. 17 Feb. 1791, m. 1<sup>st</sup> Mr. Van Dusen, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mr. Sturdevant.

Priscilla and Phoebe, b. 1794, d. 15 days after birth.

William, b. 22 Oct. 1795.

R. BALL DODSON.

SCHUYLER.—George W. Schuyler in "Colonial New York" makes the statement that "No. 242 Janet Schuyler born June 20 1776 married Thomas Machin and was the daughter of No. 201 Aaron Schuyler & Ann Wright." Several correspondents, in the N. Y. Hist. & Genealogical Register, Vol. 5—P. 110 and Vol. 5—P. 159, have been trying to make this statement agree with the family records of Jennet Schuyler who married Dr. Wm. Annan.

The facts are as follows:

Jennet Schuyler who married Thomas Machen was the daughter of Charles & Rhoda Schuyler & not Aaron Schuyler and Ann Wright. This is proved by a tombstone in St. Marys P. E. Churchyard, Burlington, N. J., which reads as follows:

In  
Memory of  
Janet A.  
Wife of  
Thomas Machen  
and daughter of  
Charles and Rhoda  
Schuyler.  
Born Nov. 10—1796  
Died Nov. 29—1870  
Aged 74 years & 19 days.  
Blessed are they who die in the Lord.

Jennet Schuyler, daughter of Aaron Schuyler & Ann Wright was born June 28 1776, married May 4th—1797 Dr. Wm. Annan (son of Rev. Robert Annan, D.D. & Margaret Cochran, Dr. Wm. Annan died Oct. 4—1797 in Philadelphia of Yellow fever), on Nov. 15—1800 Jennet Schuyler Annan married Capt. Turpin Kilby and she died Sept. 18—1834 and is buried Lot 316, Old St. Peters Churchyard, Phila., her tombstone reads as follows:

Sacred  
To the Memory  
Capt. Turpin Kilby  
who departed this life  
January 4—1812 in the  
40th year of his life.  
"I know that my Redeemer liveth  
and that He shall stand at the  
latter day upon the earth: and  
though after my skin worms de-  
stroy this body yet in my flesh  
shall I see God whom I shall see  
for myself and mine eyes shall  
behold and not another."  
Job XIX 25, 26, 27.

also of  
Mrs. Jennet Kilby  
relict of Capt Kilby  
born 28 June 1776  
died Sept. 18 A. D. 1834.

That this Jennet Schuyler was the daughter of Aaron Schuyler and Ann Wright is proved by a petition for partition of the real estate in Burlington, N. J., belonging to Aaron Schuyler deceased intestate (letters of administration were granted Sept. 29—1798 to Wm. Norcross & Daniel Hancock, his widow Esther (Dey) Schuyler renouncing her right, Trenton Wills liber 30, P. 59, Burlington File No. 11257.) February Term 1801, decree of May 1800 (Minutes of



Orphans Court, Burlington Co., N. J., recorded at Mt. Holly, N. J., Book No. 1 Page 335.) and in this petition the following are named as heirs of Aaron Schuyler:

Genetta Annon  
Sarah wife of John Sutton  
Aaron Schuyler  
John Schuyler  
Theunis Schuyler  
Peter Schuyler

four of the above being minors under 21 and the land in question is described as land below Burlington Island at Junction of Delaware River and Assiscunk Creek.

Jennet Schuyler had a posthumous child by Dr. Wm. Annan named Margaret Annan born Phila. April 8 1798, died April 16 1826 and buried under chancel of St. John's P. E. Church, Norristown, Pa. She married Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, rector of "Gloria Dei" Old Swedes Church, Phila., St. John's, Norristown and Old Swedes, Upper Merion.

Jennet Schuyler as Jennet Kilby made a will March 6—1833 which was probated Sept. 29—1834 (Phila. Wills Book No. 11 P. 283) In it she divides her estate between her three grand children,

Emily Clay  
Ann Clay  
Julia Frances Clay.  
Rev. Jehu C. Clay, Executor & Guardian of Children.

The three grand children married as follows: Emily Clay married Wm. Pollock Oct. 5—1841, Ann Clay married Joseph Potts March 3—1846 and Julia Francis Clay married Dr. John Frick Evans July 8—1847 and have left a number of descendants some of whom at least I feel sure will be glad to have this proof of their descent from the New York family of Schuylers.

W. NELSON MAYHEW.

PENN COMMISSIONS JAMES HARRISON "STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD AT PENNSBURY," 1684.—

[SEAL] William Penn Proprietary & Govern<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Province of Pennsylvania and y<sup>e</sup> Territories thereunto belonging,

To my Trusty & Loving Friend James Harrison, one of y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Provincial Council—Greeting!

Reposing, singular Confidence in thy Care, Wisdom & Faithfulness, I do hereby constitute & appoint thee my chief Steward over my private, personal & Domestic Affairs; Hereby giving thee full power to employ & order my Servants in their respective Services, to demand, receive & pay, to sue, recover, release & discharge in all things relating to my Estate, to my use & behoof, Giving account thereof to y<sup>e</sup> Commission<sup>rs</sup>, of my Rents & Revenues according to Instruction. This Commission to continue from y<sup>e</sup> Date hereof till further Order. Given at Lewes y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup>, 1684.

W<sup>m</sup> PENN.

APPOINTMENT OF JOHN ROSE, AS SURGEON 5TH PENNSYLVANIA LINE 1777.—Reposing confidence in his Patriotism Skill & Industry I appoint Dr. John Rose Surgeon to the 5th P. Regiment under Col. Greer.

W. SHIPPEN JR.,  
Dir. genl. Hos.

Headquarters  
June 12, 1777.



MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—Biographical information is asked, or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.

## CLASS OF 1827.

Anderson, William C.	Va.	Mechlin, Joseph, Jr.	Dist. of Col.
Barton, Samuel A.	Pa.	Merrick, Charles	Pa.
Battell, Peregrine Brown	Del.	Mosby, Joseph	Va.
Bedinger, Daniel	Va.	Myers, Mordecai Cohen	S. C.
Belt, John Singleton	Va.	Nicholson, John Edmunds	Va.
Blaine, Ephraim M.	Pa.	Noble, Charles	Pa.
Bonner, William	Tenn.	Nollner, Bernard	Va.
Bowie, Samuel Watt	S. C.	O'Sullivan, John J.	Va.
Boyd, Charles H.	Va.	Parker, George H.	Vt.
Briggs, William	Va.	Penn, George	Va.
Cocke, Peyton Short	Va.	Potter, Thomas F.	S. C.
Coffman, Isaac Z.	Pa.	Price, Isaac Mitchell	Del.
Creagh, Edward Bivin	Ala.	Richardson, Samuel B.	Va.
Dakin, Rockefeller	Ohio.	Sankey, Richard T.	Ga.
Davis, Rodger	Pa.	Sargeant, Albert	N. J.
Day, William W.	N. J.	Saussy, Joachim R.	S. C.
Deupree, Elijah	Ga.	Shaw, Joseph Ford	Md.
Drish, Wilson J.	Va.	Sims, James S.	Ga.
Du Bose, Alfred B. C.	S. C.	Smith, Albert Gallatin	Va.
Dupuy, Joel Watkins	Va.	Smith, Sidney William	
Evans, Jenkins L.	Pa.		Dist. of Col.
Fearn, Richard Lee	Ala.	Southerland, Samuel M.	N. C.
Finley, John Knox	Ohio.	Springer, Lewis	Del.
Freeman, Isaac P.	N. C.	Summerill, Lewis	Pa.
Gardiner, Thomas	Dist. of Col.	Swain, Edward	Pa.
Griffin, James F.	S. C.	Taliaferro, William T. W.	Va.
Hardaway, John Peterson	Va.	Talley, Zachariah	Va.
Haynes, William Powell	Va.	Taylor, John Richard	Va.
Herndon, John Rhodes	N. C.	Thomas, Nicholas L.	Va.
Hicks, James Henry	N. C.	Thrift, George	Va.
Horn, Josiah R.	N. C.	Trego, Watson P.	Pa.
Houston, Pugh	Ala.	Triplett, Philip R.	Va.
Houston, Samuel A.	Pa.	Turnbull, Robert H.	Va.
Jackson, Thomas	Pa.	Turner, Robert Randolph	Va.
Jefferson, George	Va.	Ward, Amos	Ga.
Johnson, Thomas	Va.	Ware, George N.	Ga.
Knight, Allen	Pa.	Wessels, Frederick	Md.
Lancaster, Morris	Pa.	Whitall, Joshua	N. J.
Lewis, William	Va.	Whitehill, John Flavel	Pa.
McAden, Henry	N. C.	Whitelaw, Hobson O.	Va.
Maclin, Benjamin W.	Va.	Wood, John	Md.
Macon, Henry Isham	Ga.	Wootten, Edward Bivins	Del.
May, Henry	Va.	Wydown, James Lewis	Va.
		Zorns, Jacob S.	Pa.

## CLASS OF 1828.

Aitken, Henry L.	Pa.	Barclay, James T.	Va.
Alexander, Richard B.	Va.	Bass, Thomas Watkins	Va.
Amacker, Evans L.	S. C.	Batte, John	Va.
Anderson, John Wallace	Md.	Bessonett, Charles H.	Pa.
Bailey, Stephen	Ga.	Bettner, George Shonnard	N. C.
Barclay, Andrew	Va.	Blackwood, Benjamin W.	N. J.
		Blumhart, William	Canada
		Bonsall, Jesse Kersey	Pa.

Boyd, James T.	Va.	Morton, Robert	Pa.
Braden, Robert	Va.	Palmer, Gideon Gilpin	Pa.
Bridges, Robert	Pa.	Pearson, Charles	Pa.
Byrd, Samuel Powell	Va.	Perry, Harwood P.	N. C.
Chandler, Edward	Pa.	Peters, Jehu G.	Pa.
Collins, William	Va.	Raiford, John M.	S. C.
Comer, Nathaniel Moore	N. C.	Reese, John W.	Pa.
Cowles, John A.	Ala.	Reynolds, Alexander Will-	
Dick, John Brisbane	Pa.	iam	Del.
Dorsey, John Lawrence	Md.	Reynolds, Reuben Y.	Ga.
Ellis, Charles, Jr.	N. J.	Robinson, Joseph H.	St. Croix
English, Charles Green		Rodrigue, Aristide	Pa.
(A.M.)	Dist. of Col.	Slade, Edwin E.	N. C.
Fenimore, William M.	N. J.	Smith, Israel T.	Pa.
Finney, William, Jr.	Va.	Spackman, George	Pa.
Fowler, Charles G.	N. Y.	Spence, John	Va.
Goodman, Nathaniel B.	Pa.	Spencer, Thomas E.	Va.
Gray, Joseph G.	Va.	Staples, Edward	Mass.
Gregory, Francis Roger	Va.	Stones, Samuel, Jr.	Pa.
Gregory, James Herbert	Va.	Stouch, Adam R.	Pa.
Hall, Benjamin Harrison	Ky.	Strong, Robert N.	Tenn.
Haller, Joseph	Canada	Stubblefield, George	Va.
Harrison, Frederick Will-		Sturdivant, Joel B.	Va.
iam	Va.	Temple, Solomon	Pa.
Hazlewood, James Elisha	Va.	Thornton, Jacob P.	Pa.
Heiskell, Henry Lee	Va.	Tinsley, George Wythe	Va.
Hoopes, Enoch P.	Pa.	Tobey, Samuel Boyd	R. I.
Huhn, George	Pa.	Tomlinson, Benjamin Chew	Pa.
Hunt, John Wilson	Ky.	Turf, John B.	N. J.
Hunt, Robert Armstrong	N. J.	Unsted, Henry	Pa.
Peter, Henry M.	N. C.	Urquhart, John A.	Ga.
Johnson, William J.	N. J.	Van Horn, William L.	Pa.
Jones, James	Dist. of Col.	Vernon, James Jordan	S. C.
Leckie, James F.	S. C.	Walker, James B.	Ga.
Lewis, Phocion P.	Del.	Ware, Edward R.	Ga.
Long, Reading Stephens	N. C.	Warrington, Joseph, Jr.	N. J.
Maclin, James B.	Va.	Watson, William B.	Pa.
Maclin, William T.	Va.	Whelan, William, Jr.	Pa.
Meade, Theophilus	Va.	Willing, Charles	Pa.
Micks, William G.	Va.	Wright, John Lewis	N. C.
Montgomery, Hughart S.	Va.	Wynn, Littlebury G.	Va.

LETTER OF GEN. HORATIO GATES TO ROBERT MORRIS.—

4<sup>th</sup>. Sep<sup>r</sup>. 81

DEAR SIR,

This Letter will I hope find you Happily returned to Mrs Morris, & that very Beneficial Effect has resulted from your Eastern Tour.—Paper Money has no Circulation here, or next to none. The Continental Currency being at 600 for One, & will only pass at that Rate for a few Home made Articles; for Foreign Manufactures, at The Taverns or for Labour, it will not pass at all; have you read the protest of Certain of the Members of the Legislature of Virginia against the Late Tender Law; If you have, you will think, after all allowance is made for Party Spirit, that Avarice and Fraud have got a Severe Rap upon the Knuckles:—Your Obliging Letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> June was Six Weeks finding its way to me, & I even then recovered it by mere chance—Neither Congress, nor General Washington, have condescended to Answer the Letters I wrote them upon My leaving Philadelphia; is a sword to be kept continually hanging over my

head, and the Hand that holds it to remain forever unseen; Conscious that I deserve to be Generously dealt with by Our Rulers, why am I so Barbarously Used—can you answer me these Questions—In regard to General Lee I must refer you to the Bearer who knows full as much of Him as I do.—Ever since I read of the Capture of the Trumbull, I have been in pain for your sons; as I think you told me they were to go with Mr. Ridgely to France in that Frigate: Mrs. Gates requests you will make our Compliments Acceptable to Mrs. Morris;—My letter to Mr. Peters which I desire him to shew to you only; furnishes good Reasons for my saying, I know not when I shall be out of your Debt, but of this be assured, I will pay you the moment I am Able.

I am Dear Sir

Your much obliged

Humble Servant

HORATIO GATES.

Honble: R. Morris Esq.

LETTER COL. S. BAYARD TO GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE.—

FORT PITT April 15, 1783

DEAR GENERAL

I thank you for your kind favor by Major Rose since my last by Express the Indians have done no more mischief but signs have been discovered and the Country people are yet prodigiously scared and say they will make another soon, as they swear they'll be revenged on the Frontiers be it Peace or be it War. The Retired officers seemd greatly disgusted and Dissatisfyd at receiving no Cash by Mr Rose as they are in Debt have no money nor Credit and have a great way to go home their case is really hard and they are to be pitied but you'll say that is Cold Comfort I have not made up my mind fully on the Question you were good enough to put to me but Incline as soon as Peace is Established to lay aside the Tomhawk and Scalping Knife—and return to Private life,—however on this and many other Interesting Subjects I shall always Pay a great Deference to your advice. The Soldiers have said as soon as Peace was concluded they would Immediately go home as they considered themselves free men. I have not heard them say so nor spoken to them on the subject but dare say shall be able to keep them together till further Orders. Duncan is not yet arrived. I hope to have the pleasure of a line from you by him.

In the mean time I remain with every sentiment of Esteem Dear Sir Your

Faithful Friend and Serv<sup>t</sup>,

S. BAYARD

I hear the Virginians are making Improvements over the Ohio from Bever Creek, to the Muskingum Doct<sup>r</sup> Rodgers has his respectful Compliments to you.

S. B.

LETTER OF M. LACASSAGNE TO GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.—

PHILA. Sept<sup>r</sup>. 26 1783

SIR

My first care at my arrival in Phila. was to Enquire about; I intend'd at the Same time to take the liberty of writing to you My Wishes with respect to the first have been fully satisfied; as to the Second business has deprived me of it till now, as Major Rose whom I have requested to remember me to you may have told you Thinking myself Bound in gratitude to you for the many kindnesses you have shown me I hope you will accept of this apologie; Give me

leave to accompany it with a New assurance of my respect & friendship which equally composes the Sentiments you inspire me with & which I bear you.

The 10<sup>th</sup> of April last, we Started from fort Pitt down the river Then pretty high with an extraordinary fine weather In Seven days reached fort Nelson without any accident, Except the loss of our Anchor at Deeker's fort. After two days Stay at the falls we proceeded upon our Voyage 40 odd miles above the mouth of the Ohio A Gentleman from the Illinois with a par<sup>ty</sup> of Indians whom when we found we could confide in him we permitted to come aboard He then acquainted us of one Colbert with a large party of men. Being quartered at the Chickasaus bluff, intercepting & taking all boats going down the river: In consequence, when we came near that place, we went night and day in order to pass them in the night. But fate had determined that I should be the Prey of a Pirate after having got over a series of misfortunes, Where of you have being partly witness to—By an incursion that Colbert had been making at the Arkansas, he happened to be three miles (3 m.) below the river St francis & not at the Chickasau bluff The second of May between Two o'clock in the afternoon, at the turning of a point we perceiv'd a Smoke a Shore and at the same time English Colours flying; we heard immediately a drum beating & saw a great deal of people repairing in to boats; having prepared ourselves for an engagement we hailed them but no answer upon which & rowing towards us we fired a swivel a second and a third with a great deal of trouble. Our Crew being Scar'd In that situation of things an strong brisk and Constant firing at us Soon Spread the Consternation among our hands & Silenced us; Being then within 10 or 15 yards from them we could plainly view their number, week as we ware, we judged that any further resistance would be imprudence & our obstinacy would be sacrificing ourselves; we surrendered then ourselves to James Colbert. 70 odd men strong (10 of which Indians) Well armed and in three boats. Assembled by crime & United for Pillage which strenge'd their resolution One of our men 10 in number M<sup>rs</sup> Tardiveau & me included, was wounded in the thigh—our Treatment during our Captivity was as good as could be expected from people in their Situation & the greatest respect Shew'd to us on every occasion—After Eleven days they had kept us prisoners in the Woods They gave us one of our own Canoes with which we arrived at New Orleans in the End of the Same month of May. There overwhelmed by Chagrin, I got very sick for 20 odd days went from there to Havanna, where after having made a stay of two weeks I embarqued for this place.

M<sup>r</sup> LACASSAGNE.

Gen W<sup>m</sup> Irvine.

INTERESTING DOCUMENT OF THE REVOLUTION, in the Manuscript Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—

T<sup>is</sup> his Excellency General Howe's express Orders that no Person presume on any account to molest or injure Isaac De Cow in his person or property.

By order of his Excellency,

HENRY KNIGHT

Aid de Camp.

Head Quarters Princeton Decem<sup>r</sup> 8th 1776

It is also countersigned for Col. Donop, at Trenton on the same date, "v. Heister, aide de Cam."



LETTER OF MRS. TRACY LENOX, wife of Major David Lenox, of Philadelphia, to Robert Lenox, Esq., New York, in relation to the erection of the memorial to the memory of Major Lenox in the cemetery attached to the Old Pine Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. The inscription prepared by General Cadwalader reads as follows:

"Sacred to the Memory of Major David Lenox, of the Revolutionary army, who died April 10, 1828, aged 74 years. The Presidencies of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati and of the Bank of the United States were testimonials to the higher sense entertained of his gallant bearing as a soldier and of his distinguished virtues as a citizen. Generous, sincere and affectionate in the relations of domestic life; brave and intrepid in the field, he closed a long and honourable career in the care of his family and friends and in the distinguished regard of his country."

BRISTOL, July 23d, 1828.

I received your kind letter in Philada. where you advise us to go to Bristol—it seemed at first, like too great an effort to make, but at last I took resolution and determined if I could accomplish the monument I had begun over the remains of your Brother in time I would leave the City, I had the advice and assistance of Gen<sup>l</sup> Cadwalader and Major Jackson, the Gen<sup>l</sup> wrote the epitaph and it is all his most enthusiastic friend could wish and very beautiful—I will send it to you as I am sure it will gratify you and your children. We have visited it often, this last sad duty performed I feel more tranquil and your advice to remove has been most beneficial to me, I sleep well and am comfortable through the day. Your church (after paying for the Grounds) has charged 70 Dol. for permission to erect the monument, as this last is the last sad tribute, I feel gratified no expense has been spared. I hope you will visit it and drop a tributary tear to the Brother *that loved you*. I hope all your family have recovered from the Whooping Cough; some are absent no doubt forming the Gay Circle at the Springs. I have some things for you when I see you, pray write to me, the well known hand brings a thousand affectionate recollections I fear you cannot read this. My love to Mrs. Lenox; believe me ever yours

T. LENOX.

LETTER OF EPHRAIM DOUGLASS TO GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE, 1783.—

DETROIT, July 6, 1783.

DEAR SIR

For the purpose of writing to the Honorable the Secretary at War as well as to give you the information of my safe arrival at this place I have caused W Elliot to return by the nearest way to your Post, and am happy to communicate to you that though I have not yet been able to answer entirely the expectations of the public I have found the Indians highly disposed from the pains which had been taken with them before my arrival, to cease from further hostilities against the inhabitants of the United States, provided that on their part they show the same disposition to avoid the offer of every cause of just complaint and particularly to confine themselves to that side of the river which neither finance nor the laws of the country forbid their entrance

I expect to depart tomorrow for Niagara where I am encouraged to hope such instruction will shortly arrive as the officer commanding the district will find duty and inclination conspire to promote effectuate the business of my mission At present the want of official information induces Col De Peyster, the Gentleman commanding here to think it incompatible with his duty, as it is repugnant to his opinion to suffer the messenger of the United States to be delivered, before he is possessed of such authenticated accounts of the Treaty as will justify his concurrence with me



Excuse the reason I have already mentioned I have yet another which I am very earnest to make known to you—The possibility that curiosity—the desire of visiting their relations, or the confidence of an hospitable reception might lead some of the Indians to Fort Pitt while our reception in their country was still unknown and that some injury might in consequence be offered to them by unthinking populace all bid me to advertise you of their friendly disposition, from the opinion that you will see the justice and necessity of affording them protection and suitable assistance In this case I am well assured that whatever humanity and good policy could suggest you would order to be done if our *fate* was *not* so entirely connected with theirs

Let me beg you will excuse the liberty of offering to trouble you with the enclosed

I am with great respect and esteem, Dear Sir

Your most obedient and most humble servant

Honorable

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS

Brigadier General Irvine

### Queries.

SOUTH PENN DISTRICT HALL.—Do any of your readers, know of any picture of the old South Penn District Hall which stood at the N. E. corner of Master and 10th Sts. where there is now a police station? The City History Society of Philadelphia would be grateful for any information of any painting, drawing, photograph or engraving that could be copied for its records.

WM. J. CAMPBELL.

### Book Notices.

CELEBRATION OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING OF WILLIAM PENN IN PENNSYLVANIA, held at the Washington House, Chester, Pa., Saturday, October 26th, 1912, by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania in association with the Swedish Colonial Society. 8vo, pp. 42. Illustrated.

The Colonial Society of Pennsylvania has published an account of their celebration, in association with the Swedish Colonial Society, of the 230th anniversary of the landing of Penn in Pennsylvania. The meeting and banquet was held in the Washington House, located a short distance from the actual spot of landing, and the same building in which Washington wrote his report of the battle of Brandywine. The papers read and addresses made are printed in full.

THE STANDARDS, FLAGS AND BANNERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Philadelphia, 1913, 8vo, pp. 48. Illustrated. Published by the Society.

The Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution possesses a collection of flags and banners that are accurate reproductions of the originals most prominently identified with the Revolution, and used by the forces on land and sea. These copies are printed in colors, and the descriptive text compiled with care. The book is very attractive.

THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, has issued to their members Vol V. No. 2, containing "Inscriptions from Tombstones in burial ground of the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia;" "Bible records of the families of Jaggard, Bee, Lodge, Leonard, Lawrence, Smith, Marshall, Hopkins, Thomas, Gabitas and Middleton, of New Jersey," by Alfred Cramer, Jr., M.D.; "Ashbridge Bible Records," by Oliver Hough; "Tombstone inscriptions from Northumberland County, Penna.," by William A. Wilcox, and "Abstracts of

Philadelphia Wills, from Administration Books, 1746-1812." The twenty-first annual report is appended.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA for the Years 1910, 1911, 1912. Vol XXVI. Philadelphia 1913. 8vo. pp. 316. Illustrated.

The Numismatic Society of Philadelphia, the first Society of the kind in the United States, was founded December 28, 1857, and in 1865 its name was changed to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. Among the papers read before the Society are the following: The Court of Star Chamber under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts, by Prof. E. P. Cheyney; A Talk on Tapestry, by Prof. Charles E. Dana; Fundamentals in the Building Art, by Dr. W. P. Laird; George Cruikshank; Trial by Battle, by Alfred I. Phillips; Recent Excavations in Palestine, by Prof. G. A. Barton; Abstract of a Paper on the Babylonian-Assyrian Birth Omens and History of Monsters, by Prof. Morris Jastron, Jr.; The Tile Architecture and Maiolica of Mexico, by Dr. Edwin A. Barber; A Talk about Paper Money, by John Story Jenks; Forms of Jewish Ceremonial and Worship, including the "Reading of the Law," by Charles J. Cohen, and "What my Coins have taught me," by John T. Morris.

THE LIFE OF THADDEUS STEVENS. A study in American Political History, especially in the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. By Prof. James Albert Woodburn. Indianapolis. Bobbs-Merritt Co. 8vo. pp. 620. Illustrated.

The period of the Civil War and the Reconstruction of the Union, has been the subject of more historical inquiry than has any other in American history. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, was the dominant figure in Congress during this notable period and no more masterful leader ever directed the politics and legislation of the House of Representatives. His career there and his speeches throughout the bitter period of the war and the more bitter strife that followed offer a study that no historian can neglect. The work of the "Great Commoner" in directing the policy of the war and in dealing with the money stringency; the rapid, unprecedented increase in the national debt, the various schemes of relief, and the final issue of greenbacks, is described with accuracy and justice. The author makes a strong case in favor of the wisdom, the patriotism, the farsightedness and the humanity of this detested and adored leader, who often found himself defeated and frustrated in the ends that he wished to accomplish. This biography is a contribution to the study of an important period and character in our history, and for clearness, carefulness, fullness and conciseness, the author's work leaves nothing to be desired.

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By Prof. Charles A. Beard. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1913. 8vo. pp. 330. Price, \$2.25 net.

Contents: Historical Interpretation in the United States; a survey of Economic Interests in 1787; the movement for the Constitution; property safeguards in the election of delegates; the economic interests in the members of the convention; the Constitution as an economic document; the political doctrine of the members of the Convention; the process of ratification; the popular vote on the Constitution and the economic conflict over ratification as viewed by contemporaries.

This work is designed to suggest new lines of historical research rather than to treat the subject exhaustively and to encourage students to turn from barren political history to study the real economic forces which condition great movements in politics.

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### BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of The Historical Society, bound by Hyman Zucker, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for \$3.75 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of 75 cents per volume and the postage.

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
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ORDERLY BOOK OF HARRISBURG VOLUNTEER  
COMPANY OF ARTILLERY, CAPT.  
RICHARD M. CRAIN, 1814.

Egle's History of Dauphin County, Penna., contains the following itinerary of the Harrisburg Artillerists, during its three months' campaign in the vicinity of Baltimore, but not the Orderly Book of Capt. Crain.

"Mem. of the marches of the Harrisb. vol. Artillerists in their Campaign in defense of their country against the British from Sept. 2d, 1814, to Dec. 8th, 1814.

"*1814, Friday, Sept. 2d.*—The Harrisburg vol. artillerists, Richard M. Crain, Capt.—Joel Bailey 1st lieutenant—Geo. Carothers 2d lieutenant.—This day marched from Harrisburg on their route to Balto.—halted at Middletown for the night, having marched 9 miles.

"*Saturday, 3d Sept.*—This day marched to York sixteen miles, and halted there; it being the place appointed to rendezvous and organize the army. Remained encamped at York until—

"*Friday, 16th.*—This day, the army being organized,



130 *Harrisburg Volunteer Company of Artillery, 1814.*

Struck our tents and marched toward Balto 14 miles and halted at 'Doudel's' and pitched our tents for the night.

"*Saturday, 17th.*—This day struck our tents and marched to Stone Tavern, 2 miles and pitched our tents for the night.

"*Sunday, 18th.*—This day struck our tents and marched 8 miles to Govan's Tavern and pitched our tents for the day and night.

"*Monday, 19th.*—This day struck our tents and marched three miles, and pitched our tents on Camp Fairfield, within about a mile of Balto.

"*Monday, 26th.*—This day at 1 o'clock p.m., struck our tents and marched 9 miles to Elk Ridge landing, on our route to meet the British on the Patuxent. Pitched our tents for the night.

"*Tuesday, 27th*—This day struck our tents and countermarched to Balto. and pitched our tents on Camp Springfield, adjoining the city of Balto. on its eastern boundary. Here we remained encamped until

"*1814, Sunday, Dec'r 4th*, when we struck our tents and marched towards Home, about 20 miles and encamped for the night.

"*Monday, 5.* Struck our tents and marched about 18 miles and pitched our tents for the night. It snowed about four inches deep during the night.

"*Tuesday, 6.*—Struck our tents and marched about 8 miles to York, where we had quarters for the night.

"*Wednesday, 7th.*—We received our discharge; and then marched to Middletown (16 miles), where we had quarters for the night.

"*Thursday, 8th.*—Left Middletown. Arrived at Harrisburg about 1 o'clock p.m. and dismissed."

Camp Springfield was located near Baltimore.

Richard Moore Crain, the son of Joseph Crain and Mary Moore, was born November, 1777, in Hanover township, Lancaster County, Pa. He filled the office

*Harrisburg Volunteer Company of Artillery, 1814.* 131

of Deputy Secretary of the Land Office for forty years, and then moved to Cumberland County, from which district he was sent a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1837. During the War of 1812-15 he commanded a company of volunteer artillerists from Harrisburg, and was subsequently commissioned colonel in the Pennsylvania militia. Col. Crain died at Harrisburg, September 17, 1852, aged seventy-five years. He married Elizabeth Whitehill, daughter of Robert Whitehill and Eleanor Reed, born 1771, died October 2, 1848.

*Orderly Book.*

Camp Springfield. Sept. 27th 1814.

*Division Orders.*

The Commandants of Regiments will cause the Troops under their command to parade every morning, at 10 o'clock, and have them drilled by Batalion for two hours. They will assemble their men on the same spot every morning in order that the men may know the ground to meet on in case of alarm. It is expressly ordered that no officer or soldier leave the encampment to go into the City or elsewhere without permission from the officer of the day. One o'clock is the hour such officer of the day commences his duty. He will be informed of his appointment by the officer on duty preceding him. He must immediately call on the Major Gen'l to receive his instructions or orders.

(Signed) By order of Major Gen'l Watson,  
B. Shippen. A.D.C.

*Additional Division Orders.*

Camp Springfield. Sept. 27th, 1814.

In pursuance of orders just received from Headquarters it is ordered that the description of the discipline of the division will be continued two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon in Batal-

132 *Harrisburg Volunteer Company of Artillery, 1814.*

ions and Regiments. The Officers will be drilled at eight o'clock in the morning; the privates must practice in squads in the manual exercise at intermediate hours. The Rolls must be carefully called morning and evening, and every man must return to rest at tattoo beat, and the guards so placed as to prevent all from leaving the Camp without leave.

The example of the officers will be followed by the men

The Captains of Companies are particularly charged to prevent the firing of guns; to let their men either in or out of Camp; every man who disobeys must be put under guard instantly for one hour.

(Signed) By order of Major Gen'l Watson,  
B. Shippen.

*Muster Roll of the Harrisb'g Vol. Artillery.*

Remarks.

Rich M. Crain, Captn.

Joel Bailey, 1st Lieut.,      Appointed Adjutant the 17th  
Sept 1814

George Caruthers, 2nd. ditto.

Alexr. M. Piper, 1st Sergt.      Elected 1st Lieut.  
the 4th October 1814.

Rich T. Jacobs, 2nd, ditto.

I. R. Boyd, 3rd. ditto.

Joe C. Lavielle, 4th, ditto.

John Benjamin, 1st Corp'l      On furlough,—died  
31st October 1814

George Taylor, 2nd, Corp'l      On furlough,—died  
24th Sept. 1814.

Jacob Elder, 3rd, Corp'l      Rejoined the Camp  
at 10 o'clock, Camp  
Springfield, 5th Novr

John Walborn, 4th Corp'l      On furlough—died  
11th Octr. 1814

David Krouse— Drummer.

Jacob Poole, Fifer.

*Harrisburg Volunteer Company of Artillery, 1814.* 133

No.

*Privates.*

1. John Whitehill
2. Francis R. Shunk. App'd Assistant Inspector the 8th Sept. 1814.
3. I. M. Willis
4. Elisha Brotherton
5. John Wilson
6. Perry C. Nabb
7. John Beisel
8. Henry C. Scheirman
9. John Kellar
10. Richd. T. Leich Elected Lieut. the 17th Sept 1814  
Resigned, and returned home the 4th Oct. 1814.
11. John B. Thompson
12. John Rodney
13. Jacob Gleim
14. William M. Carson
15. George Eichholtz
16. John Shanning
17. Thomas White.
18. George Myer
19. Thos. Barnett
20. W. Barnett
21. Nichos. Hitzelberger
22. H. A. Leake
23. Peter Krum Appt'd Corp'l Oct. 11. 1814
24. I. D. Heister
25. Joseph Wallace Appointed First Sergeant the 5th Oct. 1814
26. Henry Smith
27. Luther Reiley Appointed Surgeon's Mate, 7th Sept
28. Henry H. Burr Remaining sick in York; on furl since 19th Sept.

134 *Harrisburg Volunteer Company of Artillery, 1814.*

29. William George

30. M. Dougherty

31. Thos. S. Mitchell

32. Wm. S. Findlay

Appointed Corporal the  
11th Octr. 1814.

33. Sam'l Shoch

34. Nathaniel Ewings

35. George Gongaware

36. John M. Barnett

37. Andrew Van Corkirk

38. George Adams

On furlough for 12 days  
from the 8th November.

39. Joseph Youse

40. Samuel Harris

41. John Shrier

42. Samuel Weinman

43. James Murphy

44. Robert Graham

Appointed Corporal 1st  
Novr. 1814.

45. Michael Leb kicker

46. John Search

47. John Conner

48. Jacob R. Stine

49. Samuel Boyer

50. Alexander Graydon Jr.

51. Marcus Vanderslice

52. Matthew Ferguson

53. Henry Blake

54. John Smith

55. Jacob Knepley

Discharged on furlough  
the 6th Sepr. 1814

56. John Sweyer

57. Jacob Kunkle

58. Wm. Robertson

59. Thomas Brown

60. John Lebo

Died 1st Octr. 1814.

61. Charles Kimble



*Harrisburg Volunteer Company of Artillery, 1814.* 135

62. John Keighler

63. Truman Bostwick

64. Samuel Capp

65. John Fleck

66. Jacob Hoyer

Discharged on furlough  
the 12th Septr. 1814.

67. William Newell

Entered into the service  
of the U S: the 5th Nov.  
1814.

68. William Boyer

69. William Reiley

70. George Cochran

71. Thomas Curtz

Id. the Company at  
York the 12th Sept 1814.

72. John Weiser

On extra duty from the  
5th Septr. 1814

*A List of members who have quitted the company:*

Bailey on extra duty

F. R. Shunk on extra duty in Camp

L. Reiley           “   “   “

Burr on account of ill health

Knepley       “       “       “

Hoyer       “       “       “

Corporal Taylor on account of health.

Leech on extra duty in state affairs

Corporal Elder Without leave.

Lebo. Dead.

*Orders.*

Baltimore, Septr. 22nd, 1814

ALL the Troops under my command will hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. The necessary arms and equipments will be furnished to such companies as have not received them previously to marching.

Nathaniel Watson,  
Major Gen'l Com.

136 *Harrisburg Volunteer Company of Artillery, 1814.*

Camp Fairfield,  
near Baltimore, Sept. 26th 1814.

*Regimental Orders.*

The Troops composing the 1st Reg't 1st Brigade Penna. Militia will hold themselves in readiness to march at five minutes' notice at any time after nine o'clock this morning. The Searg'ts of the respective Companies will attend at my quarters at eight o'clock this morning to draw cartridges for their companies. The Captains of Companies will attend at my quarters at half past seven o'clock to draw their stationery.

Maxwell Kennedy, Col.

Camp Springfield. Sept. 30th 1814.

*Division Orders.*

Each Brigade will furnish a Lieutenant's Guard, detachment of two non commissioned officers and ten men to be sent immediately into the City and suburbs to take up all non commissioned officers and privates who are absent without leave, and bring them to camp to be put under guard.

(Signed) N. Watson, Major Gen'l, Penn Militia.

*Brigade Order.*

The first Regiment will furnish one seargeant, and four privates. The 2nd Regiment 1 Corporal and 3 privates; and the 5th Batalion 3 privates to proceed immediately to execute the above general order to meet on the Grand parade grounds.

(Signed) Jno. Forster, Brig Gen'l.

Camp Springfield Ocober 4th, 1814.

*Division Orders.*

The Major Gen'l of the Division has received the following orders from Major Gen'l Smith which must be punctually attended to by the officers and men of the Division.

Head Quarters, Baltimore October 4th 1814.

*Gen'l orders:*

Admiral Cochrane has gone to Halifax with a few ships Admiral Cockburn to Bermuda; their avowed object is by their presence to expedite reinforcements for the Army on the Chesapeake. Admiral Malcom has concentrated the whole of the remaining vessels with all the Troop ships in the Mouth of the Potomac, from whence he can, when reinforcements shall have arrived, proceed to Baltimore, and land the troops in twenty-four hours. It is therefore incumbent on all to be prepared. The deficiencies of the camps must be reported without delay, and, if any, be completed. Rigid discipline must be maintained, the training be continued—no relaxation in preparation must be countenanced.

Major Gen'l Watson will form the Rifle men in his division into a separate Corps, under intelligent officers; they will march with guides two or three days each week into Patapsco Neck, as far as the battle ground; the mouth of Bear & Coligates Creeks that the officers and men may be made acquainted with the ground on which they have to act, on the approach of the enemy. The proper officers will be punctual in calling for orders at the Adjutant Gen'l's office daily at 11 o'clock A.M.

By Command of Major Gen'l S. Smith.

Wm. Bates.

Ass't Ad't Gen'l D.M.M.

Head Quarters Baltimore October 4th 1814

*General Orders.*

The Commanding General learns with regret that many outrages have been committed by the soldiers on the property of individuals about the Camp in robbing of Hen Roosts—digging potatoes—carrying off apples—destroying fences—and other petty larcenies,—dis-

graceful to those assembled for the protection of this City and defence of the liberties of our Country. To prevent any future depredations of this sort, it is enjoined on the Commanding Officers of Divisions Brigades and separate Corps to establish strong guards about their respective Camps, and prevent any soldier from passing out of Camp, after sunset without a written pass from his Commanding Officer. Any soldier or individual belonging to the Army found guilty of such disgraceful practices shall be immediately arrested and punished as the Rules and Regulations governing the Armies of the United States have expressly directed for such offences.

(Signed) By order of Major Gen'l Smith  
W. Bates Ass't Ad't Gen'l D.M.M.

In pursuance of the foregoing orders the Rifle Companies of the Division are ordered to parade before the Major Gen'l's Quarters at ten o'clock to-day under the command of Senior Captain Wm. Hammondton, the whole Batalion of Riflemen will in Camp in a point of Wood fronting the Hospital, when they are so stationed the Commander will make return of the number of men and any deficiencies in their equipments to the Major General.

(Signed) By order of Major Gen'l N. Watson.  
C. Spayd, Ass't Adj't Gen'l.

Camp Springfield 10th October 1814

*Gen'l Orders:*

Tomorrow being the day for holding the general election of Penna. Militia in the service of the United States, being entitled to hold the election in Camp, the training of Battalion and Regiment will be dispensed with in order that the Captain and Men have an opportunity of exercising their privileges. No spirituous liquors will be permitted to be sold by the licensed suttlers or others on the day of election.

Molton C. Rogers Esq. has been appointed Aid de Camp to Major Gen'l Watson—Major James Patterson has been appointed Major of the Battalion of Riflemen. The officers of the day are directed to call regularly at nine o'clock at Head Quarters to receive their instructions.

The Commandants of Regiments are expressly enjoined to prohibit the selling of spirituous liquors in or adjoining Camp except by persons regularly licensed by the Major Gen'l Watson. They will be considered answerable for the due execution of this order. One Suttler will be licensed for each Regiment.

Ass't Adj't Gen'l Spayd will call at eleven of the clock every day on Ass't Adj't Gen'l Bates for the Parole and Countersign and deliver them to Major Gen'l Watson by 12 o'clock.

The Gen'l has observed with regret that card playing has been permitted within the precincts of the Camp. The officers of companies and field officers will see that this practice is promptly suppressed. The Gen'l expects that the officers will set the example to their men.

(Signed) Nathaniel Watson  
Major Gen'l Penna. Militia

Camp Springfield 12th October 1814

*Brigade Orders.*

The Adjts of the 1st Brigade will furnish the Brigade Major with a complete Roll of each Company and also a consolidated Regimental or Battalion Roll with marginal notes exhibiting a true statement of each Company of such as are fit for duty—absent, with or without leave—sick &c. In the Company Roll the names will be required and the remarks opposite the names by the Captain or the Commanding Officer and also a Regimental Roll of the Staff with the Col's remarks opposite each name. The Commissioned officers of the



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Brigade not on duty will meet on the 14th of this instant at 10 o'clock A.M. in front of the General's Quarters for the purpose of being drilled as directed by him and every other day at the same hour and place. Regimental or Battalion Training on the morning of that day will be dispensed with for the present.

John Forster, Brigadr. Gen'l

Camp Springfield 14th October 1814.

*Division Orders.*

In consequence of general orders received an order from the Secretary of War 12th inst. directed a report to be made to that department of the whole Military force now at Baltimore designating the Brigades, Regiments and Corps as well as the term each has yet to run has been received by the Commandr. Gen'l

Therefore ordered that the commanding officer of Divisions Brigades and Regiments and separate Corps do without delay make report that will enable the Ass't Adj't General to make a return in conformity with the above mentioned order.

By order of Major Gen'l Watson

G. Spayd. Ass't Adj't Gl

Camp Springfield 10th October 1814

*Camp Orders:*

For the better organization of the Company in Camp the Company shall be divided into squads each to be under the particular charge of a Seargeant or Corporal whose duty it shall be to pay particular attention and see that the men keep their quarters arms, and persons clean; That they promptly attend at every stated Roll Call or Muster of the Company and have them ready at the place and time appointed to go on any duty for which they have been warned. The Divisions of the Company for the present shall be as follows; viz:

Mess; No. 1 under charge of Searg't Wallace

No. 2 & 13 under Corporal Benjamin

3 & 12 " Searg't Jacobs

4 & 11 " Corporal Findlay

5 & 10 " Searg't Boyd

6 & 7 " " Laveille

8 " Corp'l Walborn

9 " " Krum.

(Signed) Richd. M. Crain, Captn.

*Brigade Orders.*

Camp Springfield October 18th 1814.

The Brigade Major commencing his duty of inspecting the troops under my command on the 21st inst. at 10 o'clock A.M. The Commandants of Regiments &c. will direct the necessary preparations to be made. It will be necessary that the men appear on parade properly armed and equipped. Attention to their dress is expected.

(Signed) Jno. Forster Brig. Gen'l

*Division Orders.*

Camp Springfield.

Octr. 13th 1814.

In consequence of General orders received Dr. Pendergrast Hospital Surgeon of the United States Army has reported himself as principal surgeon and director of the Hospital of the 10th Military District; his head quarters are at present at Gadsbeys. The Staff and Regimental Surgeons will report to him, and receive their instructions. All requisitions for medicine and Hospital stores must in future be countersigned by him

(Signed) By order of Major Gen'l Watson

Molton C. Rogers, Aid.

Head Quarters 13th Octr. 1814.

*General Orders:*

As it has been recommended by the Rev. Clergy of Baltimore that the 20th instant be set apart as a day of

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thanksgiving and prayer for the recent deliverance of this city from a hostile fleet and army; and, as it is the duty of all soldiers and citizens to reverence with lively sentiment of gratitude the mercies of the Almighty Being who governs and directs all things: the major general commanding,—orders that the day aforesaid be observed by all officers and soldiers under his command with becoming respect; and recommends that they unite in celebrating the praises of the Most High for the signal instance of his goodness.

(Signed.) By order of Major G'l Smith  
Wm. Baits Ass't Adj't Gen'l.

Camp Springfield 21st October 1814

*Division Orders.*

In consequence of general orders received Officers commanding Divisions Brigades or Regiments are cautioned against permitting their men to straggle beyond the limits of the Camp, so Patroles are ordered to scour the neighbourhood and take up all persons belonging to the Army who may be found one mile from Camp without passes signed by the proper officer. Passes must be signed by the officers commanding the Company and countersigned by the Commandants of particular Regiments and Corps. Persons thus apprehended for improper conduct are to be reported to their commanding officers whose duty it will be to cause them to be confined in their own quarter guards. Mr. Maximillian Godfrey the Engineer employed in laying out the works for the protection of this city has leave to pass all guards when in the performance of his duty and will be duly respected in that character.

By order of Major Gen'l N. Watson

Molton C. Rogers Aid De Camp.

Camp Springfield. October 24th 1814

*Regimental Orders:*

The Commanding officers of each Company of the 1st Regiment 1st Brigade Penna. Militia will have or cause

to be erected in front of the encampment on the ground staked off by the Quarter Master a sufficient number of kitchens for the accommodation of their respective Companies.

Maxwell Kennedy Col.

Adj't General's Office

Head Quarters 22nd October 1814.

*General Order:*

The Major General Commanding finds it necessary to inform some of the principal officers under him in the direction of Washington that it is perfectly irregular in them to correspond with the War Department on subjects of duty. All applications for arms accoutrements or ammunition for Camp equipage, pay, subsistence, or other wants of the troops within the District must be made direct to the Commanding General or the principal officers of the General Staff at Head Quarters.

Besides the monthly returns which must be dated the last day of every month a weekly report of the strength and state of corps will be addressed to the Ass't Adj't Gen'l Officer—Head Quarters on every Monday by the Corps and detachments stationed in the District of Columbia.

At Leonard Town—Annapolis and on the Road leading from Baltimore to Washington.

The troop within the neighbourhood of Baltimore will be reported daily as heretofore.

(Signed) By order of Major Gen'l Scott

R. G. Hite, Ass't Adj't Gen'l 10. M.D

Adjut. General's Office 24th Octr. 1814

The Militia called out en masse of Foreman & Stansbury's Brigades will be mustered by the proper brigade Major on the 27th inst. preparatory to a final discharge

The Muster Rools will be prepared according to law. The Brigade Majors will be careful to appoint the officers to the number of men according to the Regulations of the War Department and all supernumerary officers will be mustered for payment on separate Regimental Rolls.

The residue of the troops within the District will be mustered and inspected on the last day of the present month for the purpose of being paid.

Orderly hours are at twelve o'clock at which time Majors and Adjutants of separate Corps are required to give a punctual attendance on Ass't Adj't Gen'l at his office—after that hour no orders will be given out but in extraordinary cases of which due notice will be given; those however on whom it is incumbent will be held strictly responsible for their due promulgation. Capt'n Lee's Corps of Estofettes having been mustered it is entitled to an honorable discharge and is hereby discharged from the service of the United States accordingly. The Gen'l offers to Capt'n Lee his officers and men his thanks for their zeal and fidelity in the discharge of their duties required of them and their patient endurance of the privations and inconveniencies inseparable from the life of a soldier he wishes them a happy meeting with their families and friends. The Court Martial of which Lieut. Col. Jos. Sterret is president after having completed the unfinished business now before it is hereby dissolved. The patience manifested by the Court in the tedious investigation on which it has been employed reflects upon it the highest credit; and the impartiality with which it has dispensed justice and awarded punishments is not less honorable to itself than to its Country.

It being again represented to the Commanding General that the provisions tendered by the Contractors for delivery are of an unsound or unmerchantable quality Capt'n Cook of the 5th Regiment is ap-



pointed on the part of the United States to meet such persons as may be named by the Contract or to inspect or examine the same and to report their opinion to head quarters without delay in case of a different opinion, an umpire will be chosen The Quarter Master General and the Division Inspector will select a suitable building within the City for a Provost. In the meantime, prisoners will be received by the Commanding Officer of Fort McHenry and be obliged to work on the fortifications.

By order of Major General Scott,  
R. G. Hite Ass't Adj't Gen'l  
10th Military District.

Adj't Gen'l Office

Head Quarters Octr. 25th 1814.

Lieut. Col. Hutchings Jessup's and Kember's Regiments and the Companies of Captns Darbing, Knox and Fowler of Major Randall's Rifle Battalion designated on the report of the 15th inst. for a tour of three months duty when intended to be included in the number of the en masse Militia which, by the order of yesterday are to be mustered and inspected on the 27th inst. preparatory to a final discharge—they will be mustered and inspected accordingly—so much of the order of yesterday as directed the residue of the corps will be mustered on the last day of the present month is not to have effect upon the troops that were mustered on the 19th inst. or any time during the present month.

Col. [Paul] Bentalow, the Quartermaster Gen'l will, on the requisition of the Hospital Surgeon procure a house or houses for the accommodation of the sick of the General Hospital and will furnish to the requisition of the Hospital Surgeon, bunks and every species of hospital furniture.

R. G. Hite Ass't Adj't Gen'l,  
10th Military District.

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*After Orders.*

Adjutant General's Office. 25th Octr. 1814.

The guard for head quarters will be until further orders detailed in the 5th Reg't Maryland Militia attached to Brigr Stucker's Brigade.

By order of R. G. Hite Ass't Adj't Gen'l.

*General Orders.*

Adjutant's General's Office      Headquarters

26th Octr. 1814.

*Parole and Countersign.*

The whole of the Virginia Militia in service within the district consisting of the brigades of Brigadiers Gen'l Leftwick, Breckenridge, Douglass and Madison will be organized into one division by Major General Pegram of that state whose orders will obey The Major General will select a suitable scite for an encampment in the neighbourhood of Snowden's on the Washington Road and collect his division. The regular troops under Brigadier Douglass will remain attached to his brigade and subject to the orders of Major Gen'l Pegram Instead of the persons heretofore appointed on the part of the United States for the purpose of surveying and reporting the state of the provisiuous furnished to the troops. Adj't Cheston of the 5th Reg't Maryland Militia is requested to perform that duty in conjunction with the individual to be named by the contractor and report accordingly. The Quarter master General will immediately appoint a Forage Master for the troops stationed in the neighbourhood of Snowden's whose duty it will also be to furnish fuel and straw.—

By order

R. G. Hite Ass't Adj't Gen'l

*Regimental Orders.*

Camp Springfield 6th Novr. 1814.

The Captains of the several companies will take notice that a report is to made out and handed to the

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Surgeon of the Regiment at the Adjutant's Quarters by 8 o'clock A. M. every morning stating the number of sick, and where such may be found; And hereafter no person be removed to a private house without a certificate from the Surgeon. Further a commissioned officer from each company shall examine into the situation of the sick of his company at least twice each day and if they find anything wanting that they make report to the commanding officer of the Regiment

Maxwell Kennedy, Col.  
1st Reg't 1st Brigr Penna ma.

*Brigade Orders.*

Camp Springfield 8th Nov. 1814.

The Captains or Commandants of Companies will immediately return to the Brigade Major a statement of the number of men discharged deserted and dead and enlisted from their respective companies during the month of October last

(Signed,) John Forster  
Brigadr Gen'l

Camp Springfield 20th November 1814.

Brigadr Gen'l Forster has for some time observed a great relaxation of duty in the guards particularly the officers whose duty it is to be vigilant and attentive. He regrets that he cannot from circumstances that have lately occurred within his own observation make so favorable a report as has been done by the officers of the day. A want of knowledge will not in future be received in extenuation; officers of the day as of guards and also sentinels neglecting their duty must be punished with rigor. He has likewise observed a great want of attention in some of the field officers in their frequent absence from Camp duties and Regimental training. It will be painful to him hereafter to notice them personally in Brigade orders. The evident inat-

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tention of many of the Company commissioned officers must also be attributed to the evil example they perceive in the command of regiments &c. It is therefore ordered that all officers not reported sick or on duty attend the regimental and battalion training in their uniforms as directed in gen'l orders; the Field and Company Officers and Regimental Staff who quarter out of Camp are to remain in Camp from 9 o'clock A.M. till Tat Too beating unless absent by permission and except the time necessarily required at meal. Field and commissioned company officers are not to pass the line of sentinels without exhibiting their permits to an officer of the Guards or Officer of the day who alone is authorized to grant them. All officers and privates will be permitted to pass and repass the sentinels for water or to visit the privies without permits. Captain Spangler Acting Brigade Major will be allowed to pass the sentinels at all times without a permit. Officers of the day on their permits are not to allow more than five officers of any regiment to be absent from Camp at the same time. Quarter masters—Forage masters—waggoners—surgeons—paymasters and their assistants are at liberty to pass and repass at any time

By order of Jno. Forster, Brigadr Gen'l

Amos Ellmaker, Aid.

Camp Springfield, November 23rd, 1814.

*General Orders.*

The Captains of the different companies will have the arms of their respective companies collected and cleaned and take charge of them until delivered at York Town in Pennsylvania—also all other Camp equipage delivered to them at different periods. The officers in command will be held responsible for any deficiencies in the foregoing

By order of N. Watson Maj. Gen'l.

C. Spayd,—Ass't Adj't Gen'l.

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety have requested me to express to the officers and soldiers of this Division their grateful acknowledgment for the services rendered by the different corps in the erection of the fortifications and breastworks around the city and request the further assistance of the Division in completing the same.

The Major General having made arrangements in the name of the Brigadiers, other officers & men to assist in so laudable an undertaking orders that the different regiments turn out in the following manner under the orders of their respective commandants as follows; viz: The first Regiment of the 2nd Brigade commanded by Lieut. Col. [Jeremiah] Shappel on tomorrow (Thursday) Lieut. Col. [John] Lutz on Friday; Lieut. Col. [William] Hamilton on Saturday; Col. [Maxwell] Kennedy on Monday; Lieut. Col. [Adam] Ritcher on Tuesday; Lieut. Col. [John] Lefevre on Wednesday; in case of bad weather the officers will receive instructions how to act.

The Major Gen'l expects every man to do his duty.

N. Watson M.G.

C. Spayd A.A.G.

Adj't Gen'l Office.

Head Quarters 28th Novr. 1814.

*General Orders:*

The Division of Penna Militia under the command of Gen'l Watson will be mustered for final discharge as follows;—The 2nd Brigade on the 2nd day of December next; and the 1st Brigade together with the Division Staff on the day following.

The Ass't Inspector Gen'l will muster the Major Gen'l and his Staff Each brigade as soon as mustered and paid will be marched to York in Pennsylvania and there discharged under the orders of the Major General. The Troops will be paid and subsisted by the



United States up to that period allowing them two days from the time of muster to reach York

Muster—Pay; & Rect Rolls will be previously prepared so that the troops may receive the whole sum due them and reach York in the time limited. The arms, ammunition, accoutrements, medicine, Hospital store and Camp equipage together with all other public property the Division has in its possession and which was received from the United States or the state of Maryland must be carefully turned over to the Public agents in this place before the Troops leave their present encampment.

*Brigade Orders.*

Camp Springfield 3rd Decr. 1814.

In conformity to Gen'l Orders the brigade under my command will be prepared to commence its march to York on Sunday morning. The Gen'l will be beat at 7 o'clock A.M. at which time the tents will be struck—waggons loaded, and guard returned to their respective regiments at the assembly. The regiments will be formed on their respective parades and marched by the direction of the Brigade Major to their station in the line. The Brigade Major will detail for the advanced guard 50 privates with the proper number of Companies and Non Commissioned Officers daily and also a like number for the rear guard. The guards thus detailed will compose the Camp and Quarter Guard. The advance will precede the brigade at the distance of a quarter or half a mile and prevent such as may discover a disposition to pass unless special permission be given by the Commanding Officer. The rear guard will march at the distance of half a mile in the rear and with care bring up all the stragglers from the line.

Alexander M. Creight Acting Brigade  
Quartermaster as also the Regimental Quartermaster  
will provide fuel and straw at such places on the Road

as the Brigade Quartermaster and Officer of the day may direct whose it will be to provide suitable places for incamping; it is designed that the march to York be completed on the third day and that each day's march be one third the distance or as near as possible with due regard to suitable incamping ground; strict attention to duty from both officers and men will be exacted; the officers generally will be held accountable for all injury done to private property. The officer of the day will attend to the execution of those orders and report accordingly to the Commanding Officer. The Baggage Waggons will be arranged in the same order and precede the Troops. The Commandants of Companies will detail their Baggage Guards

Jno. Forster B.G.

Captains [George] Freysinger and [John] Buechtler will march their Companies to Hanover, Penna and deliver to the proper Brigade Inspector all public property in their possession. The Division Quartermaster will furnish the necessary transportation after delivery of the public property to the Brigade Inspector—at Hanover—The Troops will be considered as discharged the service

Jno. Forster B.G.

## JOURNAL OF JAMES KENNY, 1761-1763.

Edited by JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from page 47.)

7<sup>th</sup>.—Col<sup>t</sup> Clappum Sold a House in this Bottom lately to Jn<sup>o</sup> Ormsby for £130., notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> General Orders against buying or Selling Houses.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Tom Green, one of y<sup>e</sup> Delawares, came here who informs me that he has been up on y<sup>e</sup> Heads of Susquehanna lately & broght away his Mother & Brother, also that some Hund<sup>r</sup> Delawares who liv'd there amongst y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes are come away & settled at Cuscuskies Salt Licks—Delawar Towns this way. This Day we sent off 19 Load of Skins, being all we had left except a few Bears.

10<sup>th</sup>.—I hear'd that last Summer when Cap<sup>t</sup> Trent return'd from Philad<sup>a</sup>, he report'd that y<sup>e</sup> Goods in our Store were to be Sold off as quick as possible & y<sup>e</sup> Store to be broke up, & said no more Quakerism on this side y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny Mountain, notwithstanding it continues yet.

11<sup>th</sup>.—An express came Yesterday from Redstone Creek, with Account that One Tumblestone & another White Man that Settled above Redstone was kill'd (one Shot, y<sup>e</sup> Other Tomhock'd in y<sup>e</sup> Head) by y<sup>e</sup> Indians, being lying dead in their House.

12<sup>th</sup>.—It Greives y<sup>e</sup> Indians to see y<sup>e</sup> White People Settle on these Lands & follow Hunting or Planting, especially in Virginia side & off y<sup>e</sup> Road too.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Some Days ago Cap<sup>t</sup> Callend<sup>r</sup> came here who says that coming over Laurel Hill y<sup>e</sup> Snow was 15 Inches deep there. Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnsley show'd me some Lettuce & Cabbage in his Garden Planted out this Spring, being rais'd from seed; I have some come up.

14<sup>th</sup>.—This Day many of the Soldiers taken Sick, y<sup>e</sup> Matter of 18 in 24 Hours, with a kind of Cold & Cough.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Went over y<sup>e</sup> River to get home some Shingle Boults; Caught 7 fish; some Thund<sup>r</sup> & Rain, very Windy.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Got me a Suit of Fustin made here for y<sup>e</sup> Summer Cost abo<sup>t</sup> £5.

19<sup>th</sup>.—I am taken very Sick with this Epidemick Cold & fever.

20<sup>th</sup>.—The Air got midling Cool; y<sup>e</sup> Indians are all Chiefly Sick w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Cold & Cough, such that resorts here about.

22<sup>d</sup>.—A party of y<sup>e</sup> Mingo Warriors return'd having brought Two Prisinoers & Eight Scalps of Cherokees as they say. I went over y<sup>e</sup> River & Catch'd two Pearch, but cast me into a fever all y<sup>e</sup> Evening.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—This Day one of y<sup>e</sup> Mingo Warriors shew'd me a Meddle of Copper taken off one of y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees they Kill'd, having y<sup>e</sup> King of England's Coat of Arms on one Side & y<sup>e</sup> Words Lower Cherokees on y<sup>e</sup> other Side.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Dream'd last Night I seen a Large Stack Yard containing many Stacks of Wheat & many of Hay, being raised by great Industry on some New Rough Place that I thought could never Produce so well as it did.

25<sup>th</sup>.—River got Very Low; y<sup>e</sup> Mingo Warriors had got some new Shilling Bills, Virginia money, which they pass'd some of at one Nedy Graham's our Neighbour.

26<sup>th</sup>.—I was at y<sup>e</sup> Warriors encampment, & seen y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners & the Scalps, one of the Prisoners being a Tall Spair fellow who had been out this way, helping y<sup>e</sup> English a few years ago & was known by some of y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers here who Spoke to him, y<sup>e</sup> other is a Young Lad, its tho<sup>t</sup> by some y<sup>e</sup> Delawares, that they will Burn this Prisoner as they say he kill'd one of their Company before he was taken.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Delaware George came here by Water from Cuscuskeys & is carried on a Blanket between four Indians from y<sup>e</sup> Canoe & to it his Days are so near Expiring; we had some Trade today.

28<sup>th</sup>.—In Trading yesterday with some Delawares One W<sup>m</sup> Tunum, that Talks English well, Insisted to have 2 Yards Cloth in Every Stroud being 12/ p<sup>r</sup> yard & to pay but 20/ for a Stroud & finding we gave but a yard &  $\frac{3}{4}$  he said that Levy y<sup>e</sup> Jew gave 2 y<sup>d</sup>s & he supos'd we put y<sup>e</sup> rest in our own pockets, but Levy coming in he ask'd him & Levy deny'd that he gave any more then we did.

29<sup>th</sup>.—One of y<sup>e</sup> Mingo Warriors bro<sup>t</sup> a Beaver late in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, it came to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>lb</sup> Powder, so I took his Bag & went for y<sup>e</sup> Powd<sup>r</sup> by myself, he scruppled my measure, I told him there was 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  Pints but he wanted to see it measur'd, so I measured it & it held out Large measure; I laugh'd at him & he Clapt me on y<sup>e</sup> Shoulder & s<sup>d</sup> it was right.

5<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Delaware George Dyed last Night, to be burried to Morrow.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—This Day Delaware George was Interr'd over y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny River; a file of Soldiers attend'd, who fire'd three Rounds over his Grave. Geo. Croghan & many White people attend'd y<sup>e</sup> Burrial, in y<sup>e</sup> night y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>ns</sup> Shot off Guns many times, as they say to drive away y<sup>e</sup> Evil Spirit.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Here was some Indians that moved away from y<sup>e</sup> Heads of Susquahanna going to Live at y<sup>e</sup> Delaware Towns up Beaver Creek; they Traded some with us; we had some good Potatos of them.

5<sup>th</sup>.—There was some Nights since 4 Horses of young Gibson's Stole & since 2 Horses of Hammelton's y<sup>e</sup> Commissiray at Legonier, they being sent to Croghans place for safty while he & his Miss stay'd here a Visiting.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Cool Weather. A young Man came up by Fort



Cumberland Road several Days ago & brought a Cargo of Rum undiscover'd till he came here but was found out by y<sup>e</sup> Col' who had him put in y<sup>e</sup> Guard House, seiz'd his Rum, y<sup>e</sup> Court Martial has agreed to have it refered to y<sup>e</sup> General so he is set at Liberty, but y<sup>e</sup> Rum is secured. Jn<sup>o</sup> Ormsby y<sup>e</sup> Commessary had bought it of him, & its said it will make a hole in his Coat pocket.

10<sup>th</sup>.—This Day is report'd bad news, by Letters come to y<sup>e</sup> Col', that South Carolina is taken by y<sup>e</sup> French & Spannards.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Jn<sup>o</sup> Hart Says that there is fifteen Hundred Mingoes to come this way in a few Days, s<sup>d</sup> to be going against y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees, but so many coming at once is not very acceptable here, but is Ind<sup>n</sup> News.

12<sup>th</sup>.—One Canoe with Warriors is gone down y<sup>e</sup> River this Day & Three more come, its said by one of them that out of 200 that went against y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees only 5 return'd this Spring.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Bought a Horse for a Debt Andrew Buyerly Ow'd (y<sup>e</sup> Agent bo' him) I rid him down y<sup>e</sup> South Side y<sup>e</sup> River to Shirtees Rock, & left him with y<sup>e</sup> Grass Guard; fine Meadow Land on y<sup>e</sup> branches of Shirtees Creek; y<sup>e</sup> three Canoes of Warriors is gone down ye River.

15<sup>th</sup>.—We had a Letter from Frederick Post, wherein he mentions that since he went to Philadelphia, in his absence Shamoken David & another Indian has prejudiced y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants of Tuscorawas against him so much, that altho' they had allow'd him to Clear as much Land as he pleas'd, now they have limmited him to about half an Acre.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Levy Hicks who was taken Prissoner from Kanahwas near Fort Frederick, on Potomack, Informs me that he took along with y<sup>e</sup> Mingo Warriors in y<sup>e</sup> Winter from y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of Moosekinggum as he lives with y<sup>e</sup> Delawares there, that they met a Party of Cherokees near to some large Town of theirs coming this

way, abo<sup>t</sup> 40 in number, & they being 70 Mingoës they took Eight Scalps & three prissoners, one being y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees who was about making peace last Year amongst y<sup>e</sup> Mingoës, & when his party was fled, he spoke in Mingo & said he was Mistaken, for he had thought they were Wyondots, but y<sup>e</sup> surrounded him & took him prisoner, on which he said he was going to confirm y<sup>e</sup> Peace with them, but y<sup>e</sup> other two prisoners being ask'd, said they were coming to see this Fort, & get some White Mens Scalps that might be out tending Horses, so y<sup>e</sup> Mingo Cap<sup>t</sup> told him he lyed & then Tomhock'd him, y<sup>e</sup> other two I seen here.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Flemming y<sup>e</sup> Post came, but no bad News concerning Carolina.

18<sup>th</sup>.—A Delewar call'd Davy, Ask'd me whether I would give Songkeccan (i—e. y<sup>e</sup> Lock) Rum for a White Boy Taken at Tuscorara (called John Croughran) which I wanted from him last year, all y<sup>e</sup> Liquors was forbidden to be sold or given to Indians (I told him) & shew'd him y<sup>e</sup> Hurt it done them; he told me y<sup>e</sup> Lock ask'd 20 Gallons or £50 in money, I told him that would be Selling them as Servants at a Dearer Rate than Negroes is Sold, & that y<sup>e</sup> General and our Governor expect'd they would bring them all in & deliver them according to promise; after he return'd with Lock & y<sup>e</sup> family but s<sup>d</sup> no more ab<sup>t</sup> it.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Some time ago some y<sup>e</sup> Delewar's Informs us that A Man & Boy of their Nation was kill'd down Near Moosekinggum & a White Boy Carried off by y<sup>e</sup> Tawas & Picks having Track'd them to y<sup>e</sup> side y<sup>e</sup> Lake, for which they threaten Revenge.

21<sup>st</sup>.—It's Report'd by a Trader that Winter'd at Tuscorawas, that some of y<sup>e</sup> Indians there Inform'd him, When y<sup>e</sup> Traders was not allow'd last year to go to y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas, & they were Limmited when they came here in buying Powder & Lead to five Pounds Powd<sup>r</sup> a Man, & Ten of Lead, That Nation had concluded to

hold a Council in order to put all their Women & Children to Death & y<sup>e</sup> Men to carry on a War against y<sup>e</sup> English while one of them remain'd.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Bought A Cow some months agoe for Six Pounds worth of Goods, but not proving with Calf I Swap'd her for a Cow & Calf, which I could not Buy und<sup>r</sup> Eight Pounds Ten Shillings in Cash.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Now there is talk of Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquet going Down & Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnsly being Command<sup>r</sup> till he return.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Lieut Moyer told me that there is no Artificers to be Imploy'd this Year, & its said that Co<sup>l</sup> Air chief Engenier, found fault with y<sup>e</sup> Situation of the Fort & its thought that from his report to y<sup>e</sup> General it will be Built on some Higher Ground, but this is only suposition.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Jacob Stroud came with some Goods for us from Philad<sup>a</sup>; been very Bussy examining y<sup>e</sup> same & making up a Load of Skins.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Inform'd by Keecaise that the Beaver King & y<sup>e</sup> Indians about Tuscorawas though of y<sup>e</sup> Lenappe Nation, yet are not Delewars properly, likewise that y<sup>e</sup> Beaver never was made a King by y<sup>e</sup> Indians, but by y<sup>e</sup> people of Virginia, and that Neat-hot-whelme was y<sup>e</sup> Delaware King, & Tuscologas a Half King, being half a Mingo.

31<sup>st</sup>.—Col<sup>l</sup> Boquet gone down in y<sup>e</sup> Country yesterday & Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnsley Commands here now; Barnsley told me that some of our Friends had taken Commissions in y<sup>e</sup> Military way, I ask'd him if he did not like them y<sup>e</sup> Better, but he s<sup>d</sup> not abit y<sup>e</sup> Better; he seems to shew a regard for Friends.

Went down to Shirtees Rocks to see our Horse &c.

6<sup>mo</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>.—Several people that's much adicted to Sheaming having come to our House at times I have reprov'd often, & shuned their Company & I think they take notice that I can sit with y<sup>e</sup> Indians & some that they look upon meaner then themselves, but I say I would

rather converse with a Good Beggar then a Wicked Great Man.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—We see no more of y<sup>e</sup> Mingo Warriors yet going against y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees; Keecaise being Hunting up y<sup>e</sup> Monongehela says, that he seen y<sup>e</sup> White men that were kill'd above Redstone, & that it was done by two Cherokee Men, One Woman & a Boy being Track'd & pursued by other Indians two Days.

4<sup>th</sup>.—A man came today for y<sup>e</sup> Doctor in great Haste. Col<sup>l</sup> Boquet & Cap<sup>t</sup> Orey at Bedford being Riding out in a Chair y<sup>e</sup> Horse Run off & Broke the Chair, Broke Orys Leg & hurt y<sup>e</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> much.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Man that came here for y<sup>e</sup> Doctor yesterday, is said to have come up in 25 Hours from Bedford.

6<sup>th</sup>.—We hear from Tuscorowas that Shingass is very Sick, which hinders the Indians coming to go to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty until his recovery; its generally said by y<sup>e</sup> White people, that he shews them y<sup>e</sup> Most Kindness & generossity of all y<sup>e</sup> Indians thereabouts.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Charles Kenny Bought a Creature in ord<sup>r</sup> to go doun in y<sup>e</sup> Contry but y<sup>e</sup> Agent agreed with him to Stay One Month Longer, so we took y<sup>e</sup> Creature down to y<sup>e</sup> Grass Guard at Shirtees. Having Planted out abo<sup>t</sup> four Hund<sup>r</sup> of Cabbage Plants, there is not I think fourty left but what y<sup>e</sup> Grasshoppers has Eatten; they have serv'd them so in y<sup>e</sup> King's Garden likewise.

9<sup>th</sup>.—I am inform'd by a White Lad prissoner that lived with White Eyes, When y<sup>e</sup> French was gather'd with y<sup>e</sup> Indians this time four years, at Vennango, to come down to take Pittsburgh, that y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> White Eyes got a very Long Belt of White Wampum made & sent to y<sup>e</sup> Indians then assembled with y<sup>e</sup> French, requesting of them to Desist coming against this place, which put them in a Consternation, & set 'em to Counseling, which did not End till y<sup>e</sup> Express Arriv'd from y<sup>e</sup> French at Niagara, which turn'd them that way to their defate. Also that y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> White

Eyes had strongly advised the Delawars to make peace with y<sup>e</sup> English before they should take Fort Duquesne, or Else they would Cut them all off, which was agreed to and having set off & got as far as Turtle Creek, y<sup>e</sup> French Commander sent much Wampum With his Cunning Interpreters to alter their minds, so a party of French & them abo<sup>t</sup> 200 in all, went toward Legonier to get Horses, but y<sup>e</sup> Indians Held another Council, sending an Ind<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> English Command<sup>r</sup> to ask liberty to come to make peace, but before y<sup>e</sup> Messenger got to y<sup>e</sup> Fort y<sup>e</sup> rest were discovered by y<sup>e</sup> English and a battle began, so y<sup>e</sup> Messenger hearing y<sup>e</sup> Guns return'd, y<sup>e</sup> French & Ind<sup>n</sup> fled & White Eyes was Shot thro y<sup>e</sup> jaws; y<sup>e</sup> English fired one upon another; on his return here told y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> would never Espouse his cause any longer at this time. Frederick Post was on his way to y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>ns</sup> to demand Peace & Jam<sup>s</sup> Hays & five of his men, that Escort'd Post, was Kill'd on returning by s<sup>d</sup> Ind<sup>s</sup>.

10<sup>th</sup>.—The former Acco<sup>t</sup> I have been Inform'd by White Men also that White Eyes told y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>ns</sup> that they went to y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants, & Kill'd Old Women & Children but did not hurt y<sup>e</sup> English Soldiers, Neither was able, for they seem'd not to Value all that they had met with, but like a Strong Buffelo Bull that had got a Wound, pushed right forward at his Enemy, & would not be turn'd. Inform'd that there are Nightingales to y<sup>e</sup> Northward about y<sup>e</sup> uper Lakes, one being Shot by a Serjent that came here.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Some of y<sup>e</sup> Tweetwees came here who live I imagine y<sup>e</sup> furthest off of desired to Hold a Treaty or Speke with y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup>.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Receiv'd a Letter from Benjam<sup>n</sup> Elliot giving Acco<sup>t</sup> my brother John was married.

15<sup>th</sup>.—The Tweetwees brought us y<sup>e</sup> chief of what Peltry they had being Good Beaver Otter & Racoons.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Ephraim Blaine came here some Days ago



from Carslile, & left several Noats & orders with me on people that owed him, as did W<sup>m</sup> Johnson some time ago.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Went about 2 Mile up y<sup>e</sup> Monongahele & Reaped about a dozen Sheaves of Cheat mix'd with some Timothy, some few Ears of Spelse, Barley, & Rye, being at Shepherds' Landing where y<sup>e</sup> Teames used to be fed that Haul'd Timber.

20<sup>th</sup>.—This Day went in 4 Hours up to Bradock's field in our Canoe with my Brother & 2 other Men, where y<sup>e</sup> Mens Bones lyes plenty yet, where y<sup>e</sup> men were Drawn up in a line.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Inform'd by y<sup>e</sup> Pipe Ind<sup>a</sup> from Tuscorawas that Chingass is got well & in about 12 Days they will be here on their way to the Treaty; that y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King says that he will Deliver Frederick Post to y<sup>e</sup> Governor & tell him to keep him at home.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Inform'd by young Jacobs, that his father i. e. Netotwhelmy y<sup>e</sup> Delawar King & Tuscologas y<sup>e</sup> Half Delaware & Half Mingo King is also coming to go with y<sup>e</sup> Beaver to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—Inform'd that there are down on y<sup>e</sup> Mississippi a Large sort Wolves having no hair on their Legs or Belly being very Ravenous, one of which Kill'd y<sup>e</sup> Beavers first Wife. I have been Very unwell this Day with Simtoms of y<sup>e</sup> Ague.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Walked with Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnsley thro' his Garden awhile.

27<sup>th</sup>.—I hear that a Shawana Young fellow Rob'd Tho<sup>s</sup> Mitchel & Jn<sup>s</sup> Bard of sundry Goods; being suport'd by y<sup>e</sup> Men of y<sup>e</sup> Town, that he feign'd himself Crazy.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Heard Serjent Cleark tell of a Woman being Kill'd with many more of an escort going from Albany to Fort Edward some years ago, said Woman's hand & part y<sup>e</sup> Arm would stand out y<sup>e</sup> Grave being several

times buried & was seen by him for several Days untill it Wither'd above Ground.

7<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Callender came here from Detroit & says that some Weeks ago they Had Thunder & lightning there for a Month together & we had it here pretty constant.

7<sup>mo</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup>.—This Day y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King & Frederick Post & many Ind<sup>ns</sup> came from Tuscorawas going to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Kings Netotwhelmy & Tuscologass came to Day, some y<sup>e</sup> Heads of y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas, Tawas, Weweauh-tanies, Tweetwees &c.

6<sup>th</sup>.—I was employ'd by Frederick Post to buy a fat Beef for the use y<sup>e</sup> Indians, which was kill'd this morning & y<sup>e</sup> Young men Caried y<sup>e</sup> same over y<sup>e</sup> River, being very Thankfull.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Indians have brought about 50 Prisoners esteem'd to be abo<sup>t</sup> half y<sup>e</sup> num<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Delewars have; they could hardly find Kettles to Boyle their meat; Major Ward, Croghans Brother, having y<sup>e</sup> Care of y<sup>e</sup> Indian affairs now at this place would not find them Kettles as they are under y<sup>e</sup> conduct of Frederick Post by y<sup>e</sup> Governors ord<sup>r</sup> to take them down to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty. Ward insist'd that Post should buy large Kettles at y<sup>e</sup> charge y<sup>e</sup> Province, but we Lent him some, also Ward had mention'd (as I been inform'd) to them of delivering y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners to him, which might be of ill consequence as many of 'em might return back to y<sup>e</sup> Indians, some being hid or run away already, but this on consideration was declined.

8<sup>th</sup>.—The Indian chiefs held Several Councils amongst them about delivering y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, being of Different Oppinions at last conclud'd by the Half King, Custologas & y<sup>e</sup> Delaware King Netotwhelmy & their Councils to return home, having sent deputies with y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty.

9<sup>th</sup>.—The particulars were nominated that Should go

down, about 30 Indians & 18 Prisoners, chiefly Women & Children.

10<sup>th</sup>.—They set off about 3 o'Clock this afternoon, & as Frederick Post was order'd by Governor Hammelton to Cunduct them down to a Treaty in our Province, y<sup>e</sup> burden fell much on him to attend them & many complaints they made that Ward would not let them have Victuals enough; Post hired about 12 Horses to help y<sup>e</sup> Women & Children along.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Receiv'd ods of £33. worth of Peltry of Custologa y<sup>e</sup> half King, kept us almost all Day. White Eyes turn'd back his Creature having Run from him, but I seem to think he was asham'd to go down so few of y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners being taken to it, y<sup>e</sup> Treaty.

12<sup>th</sup>.—This day Fleming y<sup>e</sup> Post set off from here, I Wrote Ellis Hughs, Isr<sup>l</sup> Pemberton & Jn<sup>o</sup> Bartram.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Came back y<sup>e</sup> Company of Warriors that Kill'd Huling's cow, when going out, they brought 1 Prisoner & 5 Scalps; three Great Guns was fired to answer their Salute.

14<sup>th</sup>.—The Shawas have sent out Hunters (they say) in order to get 20 Horse Load Skins, to Carry down with all y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners they Have in case their Deputies brings a Satisfactory Account of y<sup>e</sup> present Treaty with y<sup>e</sup> Delawars, in token of being fully reconcil'd; we hear y<sup>e</sup> Papists have Rebell'd in Ireland.

15<sup>th</sup>.—I hear that Killbuck had been threatening Old Co<sup>l</sup> Cressop, & that in y<sup>e</sup> War time he says he lay many Days on a Hill Oposite his house waiting to Kill y<sup>e</sup> Old Co<sup>l</sup>, upon hearing of which Old Cressep has sent Killbuck a Chellange that he wou'd fight him, each to take a Gun. This Letter coming now a few days since has frightend Killbuck from going to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty.

18<sup>th</sup>.—The Trade that comes to this place pritty much devolves to our House, Especially from y<sup>e</sup> Delewaras, & could we be safe in Trusting a little we should have almost all their Custom.

20<sup>th</sup>.—The Scheme project'd by G. C. of Trusting y<sup>e</sup> Indians which Levy, Trent & Co done much in it, now do not turn out Satisfactory, y<sup>e</sup> Indians not paying, y<sup>e</sup> Credit Stops; there is dissatisfaction in both sides.

21<sup>st</sup>.—The Shawanas that came to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty brought a Double Tooth here w<sup>h</sup> weigh'd  $6\frac{3}{4}$ <sup>lb</sup> & a piece about 15 Inches Long of an Eye Tooth.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Robert Pusey (a Cossen of Joshua Pusey) came here from y<sup>e</sup> Shawana Town being a Prisoner there about 5 years; he brought a Tooth weigh'd  $4\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>lb</sup> & says that these Teeth are Esteem'd, that there are some Teeth too Heavy to be carried, that there are Horns about 12 foot Long, as I suppose is y<sup>e</sup> Eye teeth of Elephants.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—None of y<sup>e</sup> Indians can remember of seeing any of these Creatures alive, neither do they Know who kill'd them, but that there is a little Stone fortification made near the Lake where its believ'd y<sup>e</sup> Indians that kill'd them ambuscad'd themselves.

25<sup>th</sup>.—The Collonel has sat up y<sup>e</sup> Common Prayer & Littiany to be read on y<sup>e</sup> first Days y<sup>e</sup> Week. Jn<sup>o</sup> Ormsby Reads the Prayr's.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Amongst other things, I am Inform'd by Robert Pusey that this Summer was four years ago, when Nanticoke Will came here from amongst y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas being y<sup>e</sup> first of them that came to See us; y<sup>e</sup> Account I gave him of y<sup>e</sup> Matters in Adjetation & y<sup>e</sup> Advice with y<sup>e</sup> List of y<sup>e</sup> Prices of Goods & Peltry with us, had such effect when he return'd home as to Stop about fourty or fifty Warriors just then going against y<sup>e</sup> English having held a Council & Stop't them; also that they profess a Great regard for y<sup>e</sup> Quakers & was against their Warriors coming to Pennsylvania at all, but are Still Spitefull against Virginia.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Here has been two men from y<sup>e</sup> borders of Carrolina who has pass'd many Counterfit £5 Bills Virginia Money, and y<sup>e</sup> Coll<sup>l</sup> has Order'd to carry him

all y<sup>e</sup> Counterfit Bills above mentioned, in ord<sup>r</sup> I hear, to send them to y<sup>e</sup> Governor of Virginia.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Came here from Philad<sup>a</sup> David Franks & John Reed Contractors to Settle y<sup>e</sup> Provisiion Acco<sup>ts</sup>.

8<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Indian Peter return'd from Detroit & Says that another Belt for War, was sent by y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes to y<sup>e</sup> Wyondots who carried it to Cap<sup>t</sup> Camble, & that y<sup>e</sup> Indians back there talks that y<sup>e</sup> English are going to Strike them. Meeting Mohickan John going from here, who told him he hear'd it at this place amongst y<sup>e</sup> White People, also that Michael Teafe has told y<sup>e</sup> Indians some foolish Stuff also, that Mohickan Jn<sup>o</sup> s<sup>d</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> Indians who went to the Treaty would never Return.

2<sup>d</sup>.—An old fisherman Nam'd Robert Elliot fell out of his Canoe last Night, being at Ancor fishing, & was Drownded, not being found yet.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—Three days agoe return'd a Company of Mingo Warriors having One Prisoner & One Scalp of y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Jacob Stroud, & 3 Waggons more came here, he bro<sup>t</sup> sundry Goods.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Load'd two Waggons with Peltry yesterday and they set off; I sent my Wolf, Racoon & Wild Cat, a present to y<sup>e</sup> Governor.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Been very Wet and Rainey to Day. An Acco<sup>t</sup> been taken of y<sup>e</sup> Provisiions at this place, y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> of this month: there appears to be 67,696<sup>lb</sup> Good Flour & 41,159 part Good & part bad, Due by the Baker's allowing 25 p<sup>r</sup> cent of Bread to 100<sup>lb</sup> Flour 8,781<sup>lb</sup>; Remain in Store 117,636<sup>lb</sup>; 733<sup>lb</sup> Rice, 284 Barrels Beef, 66 ditto Pork, 679 Pounds Bacon, 238 Oxen, 4 Milch Cows, 76 Sheep, 7 Hogs, 332 Bushels Salt. There was Condemn'd by a Court of Enquiry 10,068<sup>lb</sup> Flour & 1097<sup>lb</sup> Butter. Allow'd for Wastage by Jn<sup>o</sup> Ormsby Com-massary here, 22,352<sup>lb</sup> Flour & ab<sup>t</sup> 4 Barrels Pork & Mutton, also Kill'd by Wolves & other Accidents 6



Oxen, 13 Sheep, & 2 Swine. Whether y<sup>e</sup> King's Commissary will allow of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Wastage is a question.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Its said y<sup>e</sup> remaind<sup>r</sup> of Damaged Flour is to be Condemn'd, I hear'd y<sup>e</sup> Grenediers refused to Eat of it.

13<sup>th</sup>.—There has been Great Rains up y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela as it has Rose very fast & High, so that it cuts a Cross y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny & drives Logs, Canoes &c up it with y<sup>e</sup> back Water.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Edward Graham who has not been three Weeks gone from this place, has been at New York, in y<sup>e</sup> Jerseys & return'd here last Night; he met my Brother Charles at Legonier, who inform'd him that he had kill'd Seventy-two Rattle Snakes by Buyerly's at Brushey Run, being Coyled in three Heaps of different Seizes.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Pritty much Wet Weather; I hear'd by Edw<sup>d</sup> Graham that y<sup>e</sup> Indians were got to Scots, near Lancaster, when he met them, & that they had got some Liquor, but want'd to have more; being refus'd of it they told Frederick Post he should no more Travel in y<sup>e</sup> front as a Cap<sup>n</sup> but should go in y<sup>e</sup> reer, & that he should not return back to live with them.

19<sup>th</sup>.—William Clappam who was Co<sup>l</sup> formerly, his Son follow'd Trading at Detroit & leaving that place some Months ago, in order to come here, having Sent y<sup>e</sup> rest of his Company to Sandusky to come here by Land, himselfe & a Man & Woman (Prisoners being Indians) that those Nations Sell for Slaves when taken by them, he having bought these two set off in a large Bark Canoe along y<sup>e</sup> Lake for Presque Isle, only them two Prisoners with him; now there is no Account of them.

20<sup>th</sup>.—John Doubty, an old Indian Man Born in the Jerseys, Tells me that the Indians were much better People before any White People came amongst them, then now; that they used frequently Morning & Night Prayer and return'd thanks to y<sup>e</sup> Good Spirit Above,

for preserving them, and that they knew nothing of any sort Ind<sup>a</sup> Corn, untill y<sup>e</sup> first of that Seed they got out of a Deer they had kill'd, only one grain between y<sup>e</sup> Skin & Ribs which they plant'd & soon had great Increase, So that a feast was made & many Indians Invited to Eat fat Venison Boyl'd with Corn, so they Eat & return'd thanks to y<sup>e</sup> Creatore of all things, for sending them that Good Grain & that they got Wheat in Same Manner, but made little progress in raising it. After y<sup>e</sup> White people Came y<sup>e</sup> Dutch about New York shot an Ind<sup>a</sup> for pulling Peaches off his trees, which caus'd Wars, & after Peace, y<sup>e</sup> Indians being settled thick in a Town Near y<sup>e</sup> Dutch, in a very deep Snow, y<sup>e</sup> Dutch taking y<sup>e</sup> advantage kill'd y<sup>e</sup> Indians only one made his escape, who allarm'd others so that two other Wars & Peaces ensued, y<sup>e</sup> last Peace lasting untill this late War. He says that after y<sup>e</sup> White people bro<sup>t</sup> Rum & suply'd y<sup>e</sup> Indians with it, they forgot God & lost their former Devotion.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Here is a Sort of Grape y<sup>e</sup> best Wild Sort I have Eatten, they Grow on y<sup>e</sup> Gravelly Sand & Stones where y<sup>e</sup> River overflows, y<sup>e</sup> Vines Spreding about.

22<sup>d</sup>.—George Croghan has sent up lately a Quantity of Liquors, & its said, none is to have liberty to bring any Liquor to this place but him; its taken into y<sup>e</sup> King's Stores as it comes & a Serjent has y<sup>e</sup> care of it to Sell it out. Many of y<sup>e</sup> Sutling Inhabitants here have got kegs of it & Drunkenness makes it's appearance again.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Letters come here say, that Young Clappam was Tomhocked by his Indian Captive, who with his Squaw made off amongst y<sup>e</sup> Chipawas; they confess'd to them what they had done; the Chipawas commend'd them, but enticed them to Detroit where they deliver'd them to Cap<sup>t</sup> Camble, where they Lie in Irons.

25<sup>th</sup>.—It's said there are 20 New Battoes to be Built here Sufficient to Carry 32 Barrels of Beef Each.

26<sup>th</sup>.—One of y<sup>e</sup> Old Traders says, that he hear'd y<sup>e</sup> Head Man of the Shawanas say, that they want'd y<sup>e</sup> English to Build a Fort at some convenient place near y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of Sciota River, to protect their Wives & children while they were at War & Hunting from y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Basset was hear'd to say amongst y<sup>e</sup> Brick Makers, that they would see men Enough here next Summer.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Some aledges there may be an Expedition Next Sum<sup>r</sup> down y<sup>e</sup> Ohio to Missippie.

30<sup>th</sup>.—The Common Prayer is Read now every first Day & y<sup>e</sup> Coll<sup>i</sup> is pleas'd to see many of y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants go to hear it.

9<sup>mo</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>.—I was told by a Mingo Man, that there had been a French officer & three Shawana Indians & one Missippi Ind<sup>a</sup> Reconitering y<sup>e</sup> Fort & taking a Plan of it & that y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas told him that y<sup>e</sup> French would soon come up y<sup>e</sup> River in Battoes to this place, of which I acquaint'd Coll<sup>i</sup> Bouquet, he not doubting their reconitering he being jealous of thire own Safty, but thinks they could not attempt an Attack here this Sum<sup>r</sup>.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Some Indians come before y<sup>e</sup> rest from y<sup>e</sup> Treaty & its report'd by Charles Brookins here, that y<sup>e</sup> Indians have made demands at y<sup>e</sup> Treaty that cannot be comply'd with; also that Friends held a private Council with y<sup>e</sup> Indians, not admitting any others into it, & that Friends are much blamed for it, as if they had occasioned y<sup>e</sup> Indians to make such demands.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Its also said, that y<sup>e</sup> Indians will not permit Frederick Post to Live amongst them.

7<sup>th</sup>.—I could forsee before y<sup>e</sup> Indians went from this place to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty, that y<sup>e</sup> Leading Men in Indian affairs, here away, took Umbrage at their going to hold treaties with our Governm<sup>t</sup> & lead by Frederick Post to Lancaster. I thought y<sup>e</sup> Indians might be excited to make that Treaty Burdensome to y<sup>e</sup> Province.

8<sup>th</sup>.—The Indians finding that y<sup>e</sup> White People are very anctious to have y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, will according to their common dispositions, set more Price on them in thire minds, expecting that they will squeeese out y<sup>e</sup> full Price of them, as if Sold, which I imagine is y<sup>e</sup> reason of their mentioning such things as to destroy Fort Augusta, & y<sup>e</sup> high demands they made at y<sup>e</sup> Treaty, alledging as much reason for it as for them to deliver up y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, for nothing.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Bussiness seems but Dull at this place this summer, & many people has left it; if it comes right settled times & but a small Garrison kept here, I think it will not incourage many to Settle a Town here.

10<sup>th</sup>.—I think Geo: Croghan is return'd from y<sup>e</sup> Treaty & a Man who came in his Company from Bedford says, that he is so sick that he can't live long.

11<sup>th</sup>.—The man that came up with G. Croghan also says, that he hear'd him and y<sup>e</sup> rest of his Company Vaunt, how that y<sup>e</sup> Quakers was flung at y<sup>e</sup> Treaty—this makes for my observation of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Instant denoating plainly that there was some party that strove against y<sup>e</sup> Quakers if not against y<sup>e</sup> whole Intention of that Treaty, & its report'd for truth here, that y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King has sent Governor Hamilton word that he may keep y<sup>e</sup> Goods (which was sent as far as Loudon by Waggons for y<sup>e</sup> Indians) & they would serve him for another Treaty. This looks like more of y<sup>e</sup> Good Inspiration y<sup>e</sup> Indians has receiv'd & not against y<sup>e</sup> Quakers only, but y<sup>e</sup> Government.

12<sup>th</sup>.—The Beaver is return'd & seems unwell & not so Cheerful as befor they went down, they seem half Snow'd with Rum.

13<sup>th</sup>.—All y<sup>e</sup> Indians I have Spoke with, thats been at y<sup>e</sup> Treaty, seems well satisfied; ye Beaver's Oldest Brother John, says he never seen kinder people.

14<sup>th</sup>.—I never understood that y<sup>e</sup> Six Nations was Invited to this Treaty & I hear there were some

Hundreds of them there. If not Invit'd its been y<sup>e</sup> Pollicy of some hereaway to make it y<sup>e</sup> more Burdensom.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Delawars are mightly pleas'd that I have preferr'd thier Tongue in learning most of it so that I can converse a little with them; one of them told me in Weighing his Skins, that I must not Chate or it would offend y<sup>e</sup> Good Spirit above; I told him I would not & that he should mind y<sup>e</sup> Same Rule.

18<sup>th</sup>.—The Indians say, that y<sup>e</sup> General report amongst thier people is, that Friends are kinder & better humour'd than any others.

19<sup>th</sup>.—The news of taking y<sup>e</sup> Havanna fills y<sup>e</sup> people here with Transports of Joy.

21<sup>st</sup>.—The Mingoes rais'd Reports of Seeing Cherokees not fare off, but it's not believ'd.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Thomas Hutchins has return'd from his long journey amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians, brings no news, y<sup>e</sup> Indians used him very Civilly.

27<sup>th</sup>.—The people in General very Healthy here.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Its Said many of the Shawanas at y<sup>e</sup> Lower Towns has Died of y<sup>e</sup> Ague, some say above 100, when Tho<sup>s</sup> Hutchins was there lately; they had many Hands at work he says to catch y<sup>e</sup> Devil it seems they want to kill or confine him.

10<sup>mo</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>.—Geo. Croghan & y<sup>e</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> has apply'd to us, for a quantity of Goods to be given in presents to y<sup>e</sup> Indians against they bring y<sup>e</sup> remain<sup>dr</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners here which we have been assorting out of y<sup>e</sup> Store.

5<sup>th</sup>.—One Jn<sup>o</sup> Gray, an Old Trader, came up from y<sup>e</sup> lower Shawana Town & says that y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas were got so Cross, that he was affraid to stay there, that y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes had sent a Belt amongst them advising them to mischeif against y<sup>e</sup> English & had told them many lies.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Many of y<sup>e</sup> Old Traders say they are of opinion, that the Indians will Breake out again to war.



7<sup>th</sup>.—I understand that Robinson y<sup>e</sup> Smith, who came up here, had Authority from Judge Allen which Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquet was to Execute, in sending One of our Old Traders Down to Answer his Creditor for a quantity of Goods he had last year & had made no return, y<sup>e</sup> Trader is M— & Cap<sup>t</sup> Trent answer'd y<sup>e</sup> Debt.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Co<sup>l</sup> Burd came here having a Commission for him & Josiah Davenport to receive y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners & make some presents to y<sup>e</sup> Indians.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Frederick Post came here by whom we were Inform'd much of y<sup>e</sup> state of y<sup>e</sup> Treaty.

10<sup>th</sup>.—It's been reported here to Co<sup>l</sup> Bouq<sup>t</sup>, that y<sup>e</sup> Indians were much dissatisfied with y<sup>e</sup> Treaty at Lancaster, which I must needs think is y<sup>e</sup> Information of such that would have it so, for all that we enquired of abo<sup>t</sup> that Treaty they like thier usage very well.

11<sup>th</sup>.—This Evening Frederick Post set off to Tuscorawas to see how his Lad does that is Sick with y<sup>e</sup> Ague & to see what receptions he will have amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians, being resovled if these Indians do not accept of his Service, he will Travel to y<sup>e</sup> West as far as y<sup>e</sup> English Garisons reach.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Post Asked my Advice in such a Case as he thought it his duty being Moved by y<sup>e</sup> Divine Spirit to settle amongst these Indians & so many Enemies Raised amongst them to his Service in y<sup>e</sup> Gosple, having destroyed his Garden & small hope of being Allowed to Plant anything next Spring, having no help from y<sup>e</sup> Publick nor from his Brethren could not see how he could subsist. I told him that if y<sup>e</sup> work was of y<sup>e</sup> Lord & he intend'd to help y<sup>e</sup> Indians by his endeavours at this time, that these difficulties would be removed, & yet to try & wait to see the result. I think his residing amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians might be of Great Service to y<sup>e</sup> English Intrest by removing their jealousies, which they are often subject to from Lies raised by y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes

& others to set them against us, such being now busy amongst y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Receiv'd abo<sup>t</sup> 70 fine Deer Skins to Day. A Prisoner called Frederick Ire, who was a bitter Enemy against y<sup>e</sup> White people & threatened to kill Several of them, has been by y<sup>e</sup> Indians (at Mohickan John's) this Summer killed, at y<sup>e</sup> request of some of y<sup>e</sup> white people as it is said.

14<sup>th</sup>.—A Lad that was sent to Venango by some of y<sup>e</sup> Traders is return'd & says that he was Robed & Strip'd of his Cloths, by Indians that Talked Delaware. One of them returned him his Shirt but I think he lost y<sup>e</sup> Road.

15<sup>th</sup>.—I have I think made mention before of y<sup>e</sup> Imposter which is raised amongst y<sup>e</sup> Delawares, in order to shew them y<sup>e</sup> right way to Heaven. This plan is Portrayed on a Dress'd Leather Skin & some on paper, fixes y<sup>e</sup> Earth at y<sup>e</sup> Bottom & heaven at y<sup>e</sup> top, having a straight Line from One to y<sup>e</sup> Other, by which their forefathers use'd to assend to Hapiness. Abo<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> middle is like a Long Square cuting thire way to Hapiness, at right Angles, & stoping them representing y<sup>e</sup> White people, y<sup>e</sup> outside is a Long Squair like black Stroke Circomscribing y<sup>e</sup> Whole within it, & joyning on y<sup>e</sup> left Hand Issuing from y<sup>e</sup> White peoples place is cut many Strokes parralel to thire Squair or Situation, all these Strokes represents all y<sup>e</sup> Sins & Vices which y<sup>e</sup> Indians have learned from y<sup>e</sup> White people, through which now they must go, y<sup>e</sup> Good Road being Stopt. Hell being fixed not far off, there they are Led irrevocibly.—Y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine Issued on this & y<sup>e</sup> way to help it, is said to be, to learn to live without any Trade or Connections with y<sup>e</sup> White people, Clothing & Supporting themselves as their forefathers did; its also s<sup>d</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> Imposter Prognosticates that there will be Two or Three Good Talks & then War; this Gains amongst them so much, that mostly

they have quit Hunting any more then for to suply Nature in that way.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Having some discourse with Major Smallman (G. Croghans Cossen) about the Province Store, I mentioned perhaps y<sup>e</sup> Governm<sup>t</sup> might renew y<sup>e</sup> Law for continuing y<sup>e</sup> Store at Shamokin, if not for this, at Pittsburgh, he answer'd he thought not, as there was several Complaints against it, or y<sup>e</sup> conducting of it. I am doubtful y<sup>e</sup> Indians have been set on, to make complaints against that Store and y<sup>e</sup> Conductor of it.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Col<sup>l</sup> Burd Lodges at our House & seems Very Sociable; Alex<sup>r</sup> McKee is gone several Days agoe toward y<sup>e</sup> Lower Shawana Town with a Message from Croghan in regard to bringing in the Prisoners, as we are told.

18<sup>th</sup>.—The Indians at their Towns make feasts its said now every Day & perform their new devotions by Dancing, Singing & sometimes all Kneeling & praying (its said) to a little God who carries y<sup>e</sup> petitions & presents them to y<sup>e</sup> Great Being, which is too High & mighty to be Spoke to by them; this little God lives in some place near them.

19<sup>th</sup>.—The 10<sup>th</sup> Instn<sup>t</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> McKee went with a Message from Croghan to y<sup>e</sup> lower Shawana Town abo<sup>t</sup> bringing y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners in.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Charles Steward return'd from y<sup>e</sup> Shawana Town, being after his Daughter a Prisoner there, but Could not Get her, he says there has Died of them lately 180 Shawanas being taken & Dies in two Days after.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Frederick Post's Lad that came here, Informs us that Shingass was very cross to him & almost starves y<sup>e</sup> White Children he has Prisoners.

23<sup>d</sup>.—We had a Letter from Post & he says that y<sup>e</sup> Indians receiv'd him with much seeming kindness.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Colo<sup>l</sup> Burd got me to Copy y<sup>e</sup> Commission & Instructions given him & Josiah by y<sup>e</sup> Governor, where

y<sup>e</sup> Governor requests of 'em to endeavour to find out y<sup>e</sup> Polleticks that may be amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Samuel Lightfoot Esq<sup>r</sup>, of Chester County, has been here abo<sup>t</sup> a Week, past, came from y<sup>e</sup> Warm Spring in Virginia.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Jacob Stroud's Waggon came & brought us sundry Goods, we Loaded them of with 31 Hundred Weight Skins.

11<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Many Horses are said to be Stolen lately, y<sup>e</sup> Mingoies are chiefly accused with it.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Indian Simon came here with his Son from Cuscuskies, lodged in our House, he shewed me his Book containing their new Religion, being a faviour, I think that no White man has received here beside me; he told me he was become a Minister now to y<sup>e</sup> Indians at Cuscuskies, he also said his Prayers by his book, which I look upon as Great Idolatry as he seemed to Adore y<sup>e</sup> Image of y<sup>e</sup> Son or Little God at y<sup>e</sup> top of it, it shewes no Image of y<sup>e</sup> Great being, but he says he is higher. I told him it offended y<sup>e</sup> Good Spirit to make any Likeness of him, & that man could not see him, but Good Men, that was known by him, always Loved all Men & would not be Wroth or angry with any. I doubt there is no good at y<sup>e</sup> Bottom of their Religion.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Wolf Keekyusions Son is put in y<sup>e</sup> Guard House for Stealing Horses.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Col<sup>l</sup> Burd's out of Patience almost waiting & no acco<sup>t</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> Governor nor y<sup>e</sup> Indians.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Callend<sup>r</sup> came from Detroit, & says that y<sup>e</sup> 19 Day of last month it was so dark there all Day that they Burned Candles all Day, & that some dust fell on y<sup>e</sup> Linnin & Stain'd it.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Colonel Bouquet was pleas'd to give Samuel Lightfoot a Conveyance of a Lot of Ground on y<sup>e</sup> Bank of y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela, so as to take in his sons Grave who dyed here.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquet has agreed to let Co<sup>l</sup> Burd & Davenport act as direct'd by y<sup>e</sup> Governor.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Samuel Lightfoot set off home with Paul Pierce. I sent by him a Map of this place & y<sup>e</sup> forks of y<sup>e</sup> Rivers here to Israel Pemberton, also a Letter to my Broth<sup>r</sup> & one w<sup>th</sup> some seeds to Humphrey Marshall.

19<sup>th</sup>.—By some peoples talke here, they think y<sup>e</sup> Land on this side y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny Mountain will be made a King's Governm<sup>t</sup> & that in 2 years or less time, there will be encouragement from y<sup>e</sup> King to Settle these Lands to this place, Viz Pittsburgh.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Col<sup>l</sup> Bouquet & Col<sup>l</sup> Burd set off from here to go down to Philad<sup>a</sup> &c.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Alex<sup>r</sup> Mullen bro<sup>t</sup> me a Bottle of Oyle from y<sup>e</sup> Oyl Spring at Mooskingum. Wolf y<sup>e</sup> Indian, made his Escape last night from y<sup>e</sup> little House where he went with 2 Men to Guard him, out of y<sup>e</sup> Guard House.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—A letter arived from Alex<sup>r</sup> McKee, at y<sup>e</sup> Shawan Town, signifying that some y<sup>e</sup> Indians were to come & bring in some Prisoners.

McKee also Gave Acco<sup>t</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> Mingoos has a War Belt & Bloody Tomhock now offering to y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas, requesting thier help as they are Going to Strike y<sup>e</sup> English & drive them off their Lands as they say.

25<sup>th</sup>.—I am Doubtfull y<sup>e</sup> Mingoos will not rest untill they breed Mischeif again; y<sup>e</sup> Picks had bro<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> belt to the Shawana;—Very like a Second time to stop y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Silver Heels has been here Some Days with a Party of Mohacks, Going as Spyes or to War, they say against y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards, toward y<sup>e</sup> Missipi or Augustine; he has a Pass from Co<sup>l</sup> Johnson; he is s<sup>d</sup> to be one of the Senica Nation, but much attached to y<sup>e</sup> English, & has been with them at y<sup>e</sup> Taking of Martinico, (they say).

29<sup>th</sup>.—Silver Heels & Company Gone down y<sup>e</sup> River in 2 Canoes.



30<sup>th</sup>.—Geo. Croghan is come up from Bedford & Francis Innise & John Martin, on Speaking to him about their Children y<sup>t</sup> are Prisoners w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Indians, he told them (as they say) that y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners will never be Got from them unless he Gets them, & s<sup>d</sup> likewise, that y<sup>e</sup> Province had done so much hurt to y<sup>e</sup> Publick Interest, by their late Treaty held at Lancaster that it could not be repair'd under Great Cost to y<sup>e</sup> Crown (in divideing y<sup>e</sup> presents uneaqual).

12<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Yesterday returned Alex<sup>r</sup> McKee from amongst y<sup>e</sup> Shawanes & Says, they used him Civily,—there is abo<sup>t</sup> 10 of them coming up & a few Prisoners.

8<sup>th</sup>.—A Company of Mingo Hunters came in, Saluted y<sup>e</sup> Fort & was answered by three Cannon Shot. They have had provissions & 20<sup>lb</sup> Powdr & 40<sup>lb</sup> Lead & 20<sup>lb</sup> Tobacco & 2 doz knives given them, they may well bestow y<sup>e</sup> Giver Some Land.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Its tooke som Notice of that Geo. Croghan has not Invited the Chief Man of y<sup>e</sup> Delaware Nation, i. e. Netotwhelmy nor made him any presents hardly at all.

10<sup>th</sup>.—The s<sup>d</sup> Head Man & y<sup>e</sup> Half King Custologa not being invited to y<sup>e</sup> Last Treaty, in a proper Manner, as they Govern y<sup>e</sup> Greatest part of y<sup>e</sup> Nation, & y<sup>e</sup> chief invitations being mention'd to y<sup>e</sup> Beaver, now its s<sup>d</sup> they will not agree to his engagements with y<sup>e</sup> Governor, & y<sup>e</sup> Money Given him he has not hardly divided with any of them, So they are much dissatisfied.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Rec'd a Letter from Frederick Post giving me his opinion of y<sup>e</sup> Imposters new Religion raised amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians, which he says y<sup>e</sup> Imposter tells them he had a Vission of Heaven where there was no White people but all Indians, & wants a total Seperation from us, & for that purpose advisses y<sup>e</sup> Indians to Impose upon y<sup>e</sup> Traders.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Keecaise set off up y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela to Hunt & trap after dealing abo<sup>t</sup> 20 Pounds worth Skins with us.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Major Smallman & Alex<sup>r</sup> McKee set off down y<sup>e</sup> River with Goods toward y<sup>e</sup> lower Shawana Town; Smallman as a Trader & McKee as Croghan's deputy to wait y<sup>e</sup> coming of y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners in Spring.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Y<sup>e</sup> Garison here now keeps some Cannon Loaded & y<sup>e</sup> Train Men mounts Guard keeping a Match lighted day & night, as if they were apprehensive of an attack.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Old E. McCollon came here, Son of Chirk-og-a-nickan to whome it is s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Properitor made a Deed of Newlin Township (that is now) on Brandywine, Chester County; he set off last spring from his House at Mosekingum, being going to see y<sup>e</sup> Governor to have a reward for s<sup>d</sup> Land & was taken Sick which has detained him.

20<sup>th</sup>.—I dreamed y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> at night that a Mingo Young Man told me y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes Go to War with ye English next Summer.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Old McCollon says that John Langdale (when here) Encouraged him much to go down to be p<sup>d</sup> for his Lands.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Old Indian entertained at our House & recovers his Strength well, tells me he never was to see y<sup>e</sup> French but once while they lived here & then he did not half like them.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—As Dreams often come from y<sup>e</sup> Idies or thoughts that are prevalent in y<sup>e</sup> mind, I shall take notice here of a Dream the above Old Indian informs me he dreamed several years ago & informed me of it without our having any discourse about dreams. Says that in his dream he was conveyed as it seemed, in y<sup>e</sup> Air to a Spacious Building, which seemed to be upheld there without any foundation or Stay to hang by & a door opened where he went in, being conveyed into an inner apartment he seen y<sup>e</sup> Great Creator of all things, sitting an a Glorious Seat & appeared like a Man (as he Immagined like y<sup>e</sup> King of the White People); he

discoursed with him & told him y<sup>e</sup> Indians did not do right in giving such particular Names to Creatures as they had done, & told him that he had Created all things & that he had given Names to all Species which was enough & took him where another Door Opened, & y<sup>e</sup> Almighty being Called all Species of Creatures One after another with a mighty Sound, & each kind of Creatures appeared & took notice of their name when called, so after shewing him this said, y<sup>e</sup> General Name was Enough for Each Species; so conveyed y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> inner Door as he was going away took leave & awaked. The Indians gives themselves y<sup>e</sup> Names of many Beasts & Wild Creatures, Vermin, fish & fowls of y<sup>e</sup> Air, which may be Abomination.

24<sup>th</sup>.—There is a Company of Shawanas come here, but I hear of no Prisoners coming. I am Informed by E. McCollen that there is a deal of some kind of Ore amongst Rocks & Hills (by a Path) at y<sup>e</sup> Crossing of a Run, y<sup>e</sup> Path that leads from y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>n</sup> Town on Loyalhanning Creek, where now Stands Leigonier F<sup>t</sup> to an Ind<sup>n</sup> Town on y<sup>e</sup> other Branch North Eastward, both being Branches of Kiskeminitus, call'd by y<sup>e</sup> Indians the Conomugh Creek; some of y<sup>e</sup> Ore he bro<sup>t</sup> to a Smith that lived at Loyalha<sup>v</sup> who run it into a Bar & told him it was good Steel, but that he shou<sup>d</sup> not tell any y<sup>e</sup> White people of it, Else it would soon breed War.

25<sup>th</sup>.—The above Ind<sup>n</sup> Informs me that abo<sup>t</sup> half y<sup>e</sup> Shawana Nation went away over y<sup>e</sup> Missipi (when they retired back down this river) & that now some of them is gone from y<sup>e</sup> Lower Towns to bring back the other part of that Nation from a Great Distance & they Expect them all Back next Sum<sup>r</sup>. Likewise he says, that there is a Nation of Ind<sup>ns</sup> Settled over y<sup>e</sup> Missipi below y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of Ohio, & a great distance back, who talks y<sup>e</sup> Delaware Tongue, he being informed by Indians y<sup>t</sup> were amongst 'em, also that about Six Years ago in y<sup>e</sup> Summer, there fell a Shower of Hailstones at

y<sup>e</sup> Lower Shawana Town as big as Walnuts, that broke through y<sup>e</sup> Roofs of some Cabins, beat down some men & killed one person. Now this fall there died 150 men besids Women, with an Epidemical disorder at y<sup>e</sup> lower Shawana towns, which y<sup>e</sup> Old Man is of Oppinion he s<sup>d</sup> its Sent from God upon them for they are very Proud.

26<sup>th</sup>.—The Shawana Man (call'd Wide Mouth) one of which went to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty at Lancaster, & his famley abo<sup>t</sup> 9 in num<sup>r</sup> bro<sup>t</sup> in here two Young Women called Susey Voss & —, taken from y<sup>e</sup> Back parts Virginia, & two boys tho<sup>t</sup> to be taken from some parts Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> boyes can Only talk Shawana & when ask'd their former Names, one said his Name was Jacob Adam, & y<sup>e</sup> other said his Name was Nelins Stan, that by this they seem to be of Dutch Extraction, being deliver'd to y<sup>e</sup> Agent they remain at our House having a private Room to Sleep in & locked up every Night.

27<sup>th</sup>.—White Eyes come from Hunting low down this River, & One Benj<sup>m</sup> Suttan, a White Man, being formerly amongst y<sup>e</sup> Traders. Suttan Relates that White Eyes whilst out a Hunting together & when at Home at his House, causes him to Read his Bible frequently & what part he don't understand he asks Suttan y<sup>e</sup> meaning of it, will not allow his Children to make any Noise to interrupt, or allow y<sup>e</sup> other Indians to laugh or dispise it, he would rather then 50 Pounds he could Read he says, & intends to send his son to Philad<sup>a</sup> to be taught;—allows it was God's people Made y<sup>e</sup> Scripture.

28<sup>th</sup>.—There came a Canoe Load of Indians & Peltry from White Eyes last night, who all delt them, at our House; y<sup>e</sup> House being thong'd before with Indian Customers, & y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, So that we have y<sup>e</sup> whole Trade almost that comes to y<sup>e</sup> Place notwithstanding Croghan sits at y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>n</sup> Helm & lives close to his Cossen Smallman's Store, of which he has y<sup>e</sup> Over-

sight now I suppose. Y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny drives w<sup>th</sup> much Ice & y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela is clear.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Had another Canoe w<sup>th</sup> Skins to Day from Canostoga Will, i. e. Billey Sam & Compy; been very busey all Day. White Eyes & I had several disputes, he has been affronted at y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers for not leting him in y<sup>e</sup> fort, it being against orders. I told him that themselves i. e. y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>ns</sup> were y<sup>e</sup> Cause of it, as y<sup>e</sup> Mingoës had their Messengers abroad urging for War again, throwing reflexions at y<sup>e</sup> White people, but I pin'd him so tight that he had nothing to say but Enough & acknowledged it was true.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Finished dealing with our Guests & most all of them are gone; the weather got very warm again, & y<sup>e</sup> Snow is much gone. An Indian having 13 Beaver Skins, told me he wanted wampum for them & that he was offered it 10/ Cheaper per 1000 then we asked. I told him I would Weigh his Beaver & tell how much we wou'd give, then take them to y<sup>e</sup> Other, & see if he gave more, so he Brought 'em back again to us.

31<sup>st</sup>.—Another Canoe w<sup>th</sup> Peltry come to Day to us down the Loyalhannine & Keecaise from Redstone. There are many Invitations from some of our Towns people, to these prisoners to go to their Houses but not allow<sup>d</sup> of as their practices is not Commendable.

1763. 1<sup>mo</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>.—E. McCollen Says One of his Sons is Indebtd to Levy & Co. & Jn<sup>o</sup> Ormsby y<sup>e</sup> Sum of 400 Pounds. Having Much Peltry Gathered last Year to Pay them with, Some Mingo Warriors Going down y<sup>e</sup> River told them that y<sup>e</sup> English & Indians Were at War here & at Venango, so he put his peltry into an Empty House & set it on fire; y<sup>e</sup> Old Man says he must pay y<sup>e</sup> Debt for him if he Gets Pay for his Land.

3<sup>d</sup>.—Clóudy this Day. Keecaise set off for Redstone & took Letter's to y<sup>e</sup> Comm<sup>r</sup> there to be forward'd to Paterson's Creek, concerning these Prisoners to thier Relations there.



7<sup>th</sup>.—I am informed by Benjamin Sutton, a Hunter & Traper & resides chiefly amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians, being many years w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Chickishaws & had gone with them to War some Hundred Miles over y<sup>e</sup> Missipi, against a Nation that lives in Clear Savannas in a Level Contry, who uses dried Buffelo Dung & Grass for fuel, having no Commerce with any White people, Uses Bows & Arrows pointed with Buck's Horn, with a large Target on y<sup>e</sup> left arm made of y<sup>e</sup> Skins of 2 Buffeloe Necks, w<sup>th</sup> Sand betwixt to fend off; no Woods, so Scarce of Water, that y<sup>e</sup> Chickshaws caries long Sharp Sticks to Work holes down in Chance places where they reach water, & after Settling they Suck out w<sup>th</sup> hollow reeds. Some Distance from this lies other Nations in Whoes land are the Rhinosses or Elephant Master, being a very large Creature of a Dark Colour having a long Strong horn growing upon his Nose (w<sup>th</sup> which he kills Elephants) a Short tail like an Elk; two of s<sup>d</sup> Horns he seen fix<sup>d</sup> over a Gate at S<sup>t</sup> Augustine, & that its y<sup>e</sup> Bones of Some of these lies dow<sup>n</sup> in Buffelo lick by y<sup>e</sup> Ohio, wher y<sup>e</sup> Great teeth Comes from, the Sholder Blades in s<sup>d</sup> lick he seen Nine in num<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> largest abo<sup>t</sup> a Yard Wide at y<sup>e</sup> Top, some teeth weighing above Seven Pounds (I seen One bro<sup>t</sup> here & part of a Horn y<sup>e</sup> tooth weigh'd above five Pounds)—that y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards is limmited by a River some distance South from y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of y<sup>e</sup> Missipi being the boundaries between them & y<sup>e</sup> French over y<sup>e</sup> Missipi & not far from y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Boundary y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards have a mine where many Men in Constant at Work, tho<sup>t</sup> to be Gold, that y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of y<sup>e</sup> River Missipi Contains two Sandy flat Islands from which runs up Steam long Sand Sholes, Making three Mouths or passages into y<sup>e</sup> Bay, y<sup>e</sup> Westernmost next y<sup>e</sup> Spanish Main, being always used & y<sup>e</sup> Shiping inward bound Sailes up beyound y<sup>e</sup> two Islands, keeping y<sup>e</sup> far Side a Considerable Distance up y<sup>e</sup> River, then if bound to S<sup>t</sup> Augustine Crosses above

y<sup>e</sup> Sands & turns down Stream to y<sup>e</sup> Harbour. That y<sup>e</sup> Tide comes abo<sup>t</sup> 400 Miles up y<sup>e</sup> Missipi, & that large Sloops comes up to New Orleans it being but abo<sup>t</sup> 400 or 500 Miles down from y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of y<sup>e</sup> Ohio y<sup>e</sup> Banks having much Scum like Iron rust & in places Verdi-greese, that in passing up & down they never drink y<sup>e</sup> Missipi water it being of a Dark purple Colour & very Phisickal; y<sup>t</sup> above y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of Ohio its no more Called Missipi but Wabash being abo<sup>t</sup> 1½ Miles Wide & y<sup>e</sup> Ohio at y<sup>e</sup> Mouth abo<sup>t</sup> 1 Mile Wide with no falls to Interrupt only y<sup>e</sup> Side a little abo<sup>t</sup> New Orleans y<sup>e</sup> River abo<sup>t</sup> 3 Miles Wide.—He being Offten up & down y<sup>e</sup> Missipi Says also, he is informed by his acquaintance Sam<sup>l</sup> Peckwood, who was taken Prisoner out of Virginia & lived 2 years amongst y<sup>e</sup> Tawas up near Detroit or further, that there is a Great Lake they always Cross Going from Lake Mitchigan or Mitchelemackenack to Mount Real which I judge to be Lake Huron, in which is two Islands, one of which (in y<sup>e</sup> Sum<sup>r</sup> is defended so by Snakes that they swim to Meat a Canoe when Coming near Shore & oblidge to beat them off with y<sup>e</sup> Paddles seeing many on y<sup>e</sup> Shore.—Y<sup>e</sup> Other Island Still worse, in which many of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Indians & French have landed & all that ever went in it never returned; when some small Distance in y<sup>e</sup> Woods was hear'd by them that lay off in Canoes to cry & scream; at one time 14 Men Going in it never one return'd, y<sup>e</sup> other Company waiting two Days & two Nights off some distance but could never hear more, of them; y<sup>e</sup> Indians call it y<sup>e</sup> Devil's Island, they seen Paths much trod & like a large Man's or Bear's track in y<sup>e</sup> Sand by y<sup>e</sup> Shore, y<sup>e</sup> French imagins it to be a Dragon that destroys them. Y<sup>e</sup> Island is s<sup>d</sup> to be abo<sup>t</sup> 3 Miles long. I know not how much Credit to give this Story, it may be so, but very Strange if true. The Indians also Inform'd me that North of y<sup>e</sup> Lakes in a Cold Contry there lives a Nation of very Lusty Indians, who are Man Eaters & Eat all

flesh Raw; after Eating to Satisfaction can fast Ten Days; that they have Sheep in that place & Rhinosses of a smaller kind then they to y<sup>e</sup> Southward.

I think its in y<sup>e</sup> English Nations Power to be of much more Service to y<sup>e</sup> Indians then they are, by Endeavouring to civilize them & by taking proper Methods for that purpose instead of which, those that are most conversant amongst them, are mostly Men of Base principles, rather joyning with y<sup>e</sup> Indian customs & abominations, or shewing 'em worse Examples than they Naturally are prone too, & its in Vain to pretend to Endeavour to turn them to the English Customs, Religions or Manners, Whilst they see frequently better & honester Men amongst themselves then Most English People going by that Name amongst them, to lay a foundation for reforming them; it must be, by such authority as to withdraw all such people from amongst them & none permitted to trade amongst 'em, but Men of Sound Principles & Strict Morals that by their Life & behaviour the Indians might See something beautiful in Real Christians,—but this is not y<sup>e</sup> Case they are more Excited to abhore y<sup>e</sup> Name of a Christian by y<sup>e</sup> Vile Pretenders to that name resorting w<sup>t</sup> them & at this place which is Called an English Town and perhaps One half y<sup>e</sup> money spent to carry on y<sup>e</sup> Last War w<sup>t</sup> them had it been in time laid out in some good Meathods as above might not Only Attatched them to y<sup>e</sup> English but have drawn them from Our Enemies who takes more pains to Ingraft bad principles amongst them then the English do Good ones.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Cold Cloudy Weather but not much Snow; y<sup>t</sup> River almost Shut in some places. I think y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Acquay Seems doubtful of G.... C.... drawing so much Provision & Goods for Indians when we See None here that wants Either but what they buy. Twelve Hundred of Flour Every Week & Meat in proportion is y<sup>e</sup> common Run; he wanted to draw double

y<sup>e</sup> quantity that he Gave y<sup>e</sup> Mingoe Hunters abo<sup>t</sup> a month ago, but y<sup>e</sup> Comm<sup>r</sup> would not Sign y<sup>e</sup> order.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Rain last Night, Keecaise was telling his Cossen Nee McCollen, that at Braddock's Defeat there was not One of y<sup>e</sup> Delawares & only four Mingoes & three Shawanas, all y<sup>e</sup> Rest Northr<sup>n</sup> Indians.—Nor at Grant's Defeat No Delawars but at y<sup>e</sup> attacks upon Leigonier y<sup>e</sup> two last there were many Delewars.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Nee McCollon informs me that up Loyalhaning Creek from y<sup>e</sup> Fort, y<sup>e</sup> Indians used to have a Path, which joyned another Leading from Yonghagheny, & Crossed y<sup>e</sup> Laurel Hill abo<sup>t</sup> Ten Miles from Legonier, South of y<sup>e</sup> King's Road, by that Path on y<sup>e</sup> Top of y<sup>e</sup> Laurel Hill there is Copper Ore which produces Verdigress to be seen; also that he used to take Skins in a Cannoe up Kiskimmuts & Carry them on their Backs in a Day Cross to y<sup>e</sup> West Branch Susquehana, being abo<sup>t</sup> 16 Miles distance & fine Level Land, from thence had a Good passage down that Branch, being Two or three Days journey to where it went through y<sup>e</sup> Aleggheny Mountain,—but Good passage through.

15<sup>th</sup>.—I think we are now too Many for Jn<sup>o</sup> Hart tho he is an Old Trader & seems to have as great influence in drawing y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>s</sup> as any of them, having bro<sup>t</sup> Keecais's Son called y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman Over y<sup>e</sup> River & lodged at his house bro<sup>t</sup> his Skins over yet y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman sent for me when come ashore & ask'd if we would buy them all, which I told him Yes, so we had 110 Skins y<sup>e</sup> Whole he had.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Snow'd all Day & is Winter like. Tho<sup>s</sup> Hutchins relates that the Indians up above Lake Huron says One Winter Many Hundr<sup>ds</sup> of them went & lived in Huts made of Rushes, which they Carried a Great Way on y<sup>e</sup> Ice & fished there cuting holes through y<sup>e</sup> Ice, but a Sudden Thaw came with much Wind & Rain, so that all of them were Drownd'd before they Could reach y<sup>e</sup> Land—so they call it Devils Lake.



18<sup>th</sup>.—Nee McCollen Informs me, that at y<sup>e</sup> time Fredrick Post came out first with a message from y<sup>e</sup> Governm<sup>t</sup> inviting y<sup>e</sup> Indians to Peace, it was reported at Mooskingum & all y<sup>e</sup> Towns, that a Quaker was come to speak with them & Invite them to Desist, upon which they were Glad & agreed to quit Imediately, p haps had they not harboured that Oppinion it might gone worse w<sup>th</sup> Post. This Day we Measured y<sup>e</sup> Weadth of y<sup>e</sup> Monogehela on y<sup>e</sup> Ice & made it 410 Yards Wide.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Clear'd up but very Cold y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela Measured opposite y<sup>e</sup> Fort is 430 y<sup>ds</sup> over & opposite Grant's Hill I think it will be 500 y<sup>ds</sup>. We hear that Bill Hickman a Delaware Ind<sup>n</sup> has Informed Paterson & y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants about Juniata that y<sup>e</sup> Indians intends to break out in a War against us Next Spring; but as we know him to be a Roague & Horse thief, we judge his report to be more for Self Ends than Truth or Good Will to us, not but w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Mingoës I believe would set on y<sup>e</sup> Western Nations to Strike us if they Could in order to Get them und<sup>r</sup> their Yoke again but I think they cannot Effect it, & they themselves will hardly begin.

21<sup>st</sup>.—I Dreamed abo<sup>t</sup> 2 Nights ago that I see y<sup>e</sup> Devil looking into our House, only his head put round to peep in, but on seeing me, he withdrew; so I think if y<sup>e</sup> Agent does his part I will do mine & we shall be Enabled to keep him Out.

22<sup>d</sup>.—I am told y<sup>e</sup> Wayendots went to War last fall against the Cherokees & carried off two Women Captives; a Party of the latter persued & tracked y<sup>e</sup> Weyondots into One of y<sup>e</sup> Shawana towns, where they Lay hid in y<sup>e</sup> Daytime, & at Night looked all about y<sup>e</sup> Houses, to know whether y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas had y<sup>e</sup> Captives, at last discover'd themselves to a Shawana Man & Enquired after y<sup>e</sup> Women they had lost; being inform'd y<sup>e</sup> Wayendots took them that way they sent y<sup>e</sup> Shawana man to Inform that they wanted to pass to War against y<sup>e</sup> Wayondots & Mingoës but would not Molest y<sup>e</sup>



Shawanas or Delawars so they follow'd & I hear has taken 5 or 6 Scalps & prisoners of y<sup>e</sup> Wayondots, & are at peace w<sup>th</sup> the Shawanas & Delawars.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—I find that y<sup>e</sup> Indian Kings or head men has no arbitrary Authority, but that all publick affairs are acted Voluntary, Even in Going to War they will hardly persuade any but all goes Voluntary, so that notwithstanding w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> head men may promise in regard to bringing in y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners its not in their power nor practice to force any thing from y<sup>e</sup> rest that they look upon as their property, without their Consents. I understand that some head men of y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas has Pleaded Exceedingly in Councils for Delivering up y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, telling the Indians they were Blind & Stupified & new nothing hardly. This report is Contradicted by some Delawars & says they are going to War against y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees, & has been geting a War Billet made here.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Rain all Day. The Prisoners tells me that y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas always when they Swim Over this Ohio river low down, that they are in danger of some Monsterous Creatures pulling them under Water & devouring them, to remedy which they Carry a root with them which they either Chew or infuse & rub on thier Skin, y<sup>e</sup> Smell of which is So offensive to y<sup>e</sup> Creatures they will not tutch them, they Say those Creatures (which I take to be Alegaters) will pull a Buffalo Bull under Water & Destroy him. The Root used is s<sup>d</sup> to be Black Angilico, y<sup>e</sup> smooke it also.

26<sup>th</sup>.—About 5 o'Clock this Morning y<sup>e</sup> Ice in y<sup>e</sup> Monongehela broke loose, drove so that it Stop'd y<sup>e</sup> passage about Shirtees Island & y<sup>e</sup> Ice penn'd up to y<sup>e</sup> Point here, driving up y<sup>e</sup> Allegheny, broke some Canoes loose some Stuck in y<sup>e</sup> Ice & some drove up y<sup>e</sup> Allegheny. Abo<sup>t</sup> 7 o'Clock y<sup>e</sup> Water riseing made a passage below, so it drove away.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Last Night much Ice drove down y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny

but it dont rise much this Morning, it seems Clear of ice only along Shore.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Came y<sup>e</sup> Rid Hak, & Wide Mouth's Brother & Teachenosens Head Men of y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas & 8 or nine more; bro<sup>t</sup> Two Women & a Child, deliver'd them, being their one property & signifies y<sup>e</sup> rest will come in y<sup>e</sup> Spring; also a boy deliver'd up bro<sup>t</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> Picks, Called Jacob Thomas, his Parents are s<sup>d</sup> to be in Virginia, his Father Call'd William Thomas.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Nee McCollon & John Hickman being in our House, was discoursing of Tediussong & all y<sup>e</sup> Remaind<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Delawares on Susquahanna coming this next Spring & Settling on Beaver Creek abo<sup>t</sup> the Cuscuskeys where they talked of having a Great Town.

30<sup>th</sup>.—We propos'd to Send these prisoners away to Cumberland but y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Aqnor thinks it is too hard for 'em to walk & lye in y<sup>e</sup> Woods, as y<sup>e</sup> Snows lyes on y<sup>e</sup> Ground tho these that come last lay so coming & they say could not have a Skin to ly on.

2<sup>mo</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>.—An Express came here with y<sup>e</sup> News of a Peace w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> French & Spaniards, that y<sup>e</sup> English is to hold North America to y<sup>e</sup> Mississippi at which y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers Rejoyce but not y<sup>e</sup> Officers. I am very Glad of it & hopes y<sup>e</sup> Indians may Repent of thier folly.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Had Some Letters Ordering us to take a New Inventory of all y<sup>e</sup> Store Goods, & this I am busy about.

10<sup>th</sup>.—The Allegheny is broke up 2 days ago & a flood in both Rivers, y<sup>e</sup> Allegheny runs thick with Ice.

14<sup>th</sup>.—These Shawanas seems very conceited, which bro<sup>t</sup> in the Prisoners, & one of their Youngsters told y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners in our House, that Geo. Croghan was y<sup>e</sup> Only Man amongst us they regard'd & only for him it might be War again, & that none of us knew how to please Indians but him.

16<sup>th</sup>.—We are of Oppinnion now that there's no occasion of humoring the Indians so much, & Waiting on,

& making such presents as is frequently Made or pretend'd in y<sup>e</sup> Kings name or nobodys unless y<sup>e</sup> Givers.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Its my oppinion that if y<sup>e</sup> Indians are Spoke to, address'd, or dealt with, in any kind of Transactions, timmorously, as if afraid of them, it makes them y<sup>e</sup> Bolder, & more insulting or imposing, but when Circumstances will allow it, to Spake Truly, Boldly & Honestly, leting them know their place, their Errors & their duty, & useing them well with all it would cast a Damp upon them that would make them have an Awfull regard for us whereas now they under Vallue us & dispise us,—for they are soon danted when dealt boldly with, being full of Pride & ambition, but Strangers to humility, but as dogs learns it.

19<sup>th</sup>.—This Day Sent off y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, only Jacob Thomas who chus'd to Stay untill he heard from his parents. Sent Sam<sup>l</sup> Shittle our hired man a Horse & proovissions, along with them as far as Bedford.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Frederick Post came here last Night from Cyahaga & informs that y<sup>e</sup> Delawars had Except'd y<sup>e</sup> War Belt & Tomhock, which came from y<sup>e</sup> Six Nations last Summer, that they held War dances & Sung of bringing in more White Prisoners, & of hearing of y<sup>e</sup> Peace being made & y<sup>e</sup> French to quit this side y<sup>e</sup> Missisipi. Their head King Neetotwhelemy, i—e New-comer was Struck dumb for a considerable time & at last s<sup>d</sup> he did not know whether y<sup>e</sup> News was true but if they could hear it from their fathers i. e. y<sup>e</sup> French he would believe it, s<sup>d</sup> after that he was affraid, on which Post told him that shew'd he did not love y<sup>e</sup> English otherwise he would be Glad; he s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English was grown too powerfull & seem<sup>d</sup> as if they would be too Strong for God himself.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Frederick Post having Accompanied Josiah Davenport to Buyerlies, he is return'd it been Snowy Weather.

26<sup>th</sup>.—There has Some Pack Horses come & I sent off Six Load of Skins, got 29 Load remaining.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Some Packhorses come w<sup>th</sup> Flour as far as Turtle Creek where they had Six Horses Stolen, by y<sup>e</sup> Indians whom they follow'd & came up with them, but being too Numerous they could not get y<sup>e</sup> Horses again; the White Men has complain'd to y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> here & he order'd Croghan to send after them, its said he has sent an Indian about it, but we think that these men who receive Tracks of Land & presents of y<sup>e</sup> Indians thier Mouths is thereby Stop'd; that they cannot Spake Right or Boldly telling them y<sup>e</sup> Consequence of their Thieveing so that its all Smoothed & y<sup>e</sup> Indians are not let into y<sup>e</sup> knowledge how much its resented & may be of dangerous consequence to y<sup>e</sup> Publick Peace.

28<sup>th</sup>.—The Mingoes has a Hunting Cabbin about 15 Miles up y<sup>e</sup> Allegheny; having Stole 6 or 7 Horses in y<sup>e</sup> fall, some White Men went from here a few days ago & Stole y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Horses back to this place while y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes were here Dealing their Peltry & its tho<sup>t</sup> its y<sup>e</sup> same that Stole y<sup>e</sup> Six now from Turtle Creek.

3<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—James Mokesin a Delewar Man Informs me that its agree'd to by their Whole Nation, to follow thire new Plan of Religion, & all their Boys are to be Train'd to y<sup>e</sup> use of the Bow & Arrow for Seven Years Then to Live intirely on dry'd Meat & a Sort of Bitter Drink made of Roots & Plants & Water y<sup>e</sup> Women & Antient Men may Raise & Eat Corn at y<sup>e</sup> Expirati<sup>on</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Seven Years, to quit all Commerce with y<sup>e</sup> White People & Clothe themselves with Skins, he also s<sup>d</sup> that none of the other Nations have fell into y<sup>e</sup> Scheme, only y<sup>e</sup> Delawars, & that if any y<sup>e</sup> others was to drink their Bitter Water they would die,—this is s<sup>d</sup> to be Physick to purge out all that they got of y<sup>e</sup> White peoples ways & Nature.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—The Prisoners bro<sup>t</sup> here by y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas Inform'd us, that one Day in our house One of thier head

Men call'd y° Corn Cob said, that y° English had no right to live here, & that they should leave it & must do it.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—Some Artificiers come to build Battoes, its s<sup>d</sup> to go down this River to Build a fort opposite to New Orlains, which they say, lies on y° west side y° Mississippi.

4<sup>th</sup>.—A fine Day, some Wild Geese flying & y° Snow melts fast; y° Snow lyes abo<sup>t</sup> One Yard Deep on y° Laurel hill & y° Great Mountain, by y° Agents Letters & y° Mans acco<sup>t</sup> that went w<sup>th</sup> y° Prisoners.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Rain'd & thunder'd in y° Night & Rain'd all this Day mostly y° Rivers Rises fast & we have prepair'd for a nother Flood having Got our Goods put upstairs clear'd y° Cellar & y° lower Shelves in y° Store—

8<sup>th</sup>.—This Morning y° Water was rose equal to y° Banks in some places, notwithstanding some people would not believe that it would overflow, but toward Noon it got in y° Street & they began to muster off, but y° dead Faith of Several promp'd 'em to delay carrying away their Goods untill y° Water was got so high that they had to break in y° Roofs or Gable Ends of y° Houses to get them away in Battoes. We kept House & fire untill Night, but had bespoke house room at Marcus Hulins, on y° Hill, if it appear'd dangerous to continue in our Own. I had asked y° Command<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Aquaer, leave to goe into Col<sup>l</sup> Burd's House on y° Hill, being Empty, he signified he would let me have it, but when I sent for y° Key he told y° Man he must reserve it for himself to fly too; we Concluded, some of us, to go to Hulins & y° others to stay in y° House upstairs while they could keep y° Cannoe in y° House, under y° Door Head, so Frederick Post Chused to stay and Sam<sup>l</sup> Shittle I left with him, but their Escape they made in y° Night, Locking y° House fast & had difficulty getting through y° Ice.

9<sup>th</sup>.—The Rain & thaw continued untill this Day, but



slowly & y<sup>e</sup> River Rose by y<sup>e</sup> General Acco<sup>t</sup> abo<sup>t</sup> 18 inches higher then last year. We Came several times down in our Canoe & went round y<sup>e</sup> house, seeing no danger, y<sup>e</sup> Water fell so that in y<sup>e</sup> Evening we could get y<sup>e</sup> Cannoe run in under y<sup>e</sup> Door head so I wanted Post to stay on y<sup>e</sup> Hill & I & our hired Man would get in y<sup>e</sup> House, but he rather chus'd to come & Sleep up Stairs in our house, which they two did, y<sup>e</sup> Wind rose so high in y<sup>e</sup> night that they were affraid y<sup>e</sup> House would tumble down & Post had got an Ax ready to beat off the Shingles to get out on y<sup>e</sup> Roof in that case.

10<sup>th</sup>.—This Morning y<sup>e</sup> Water fell so that y<sup>e</sup> Ground was bare round our house, so we got a fire Made & Clear'd y<sup>e</sup> Mud off y<sup>e</sup> floors; y<sup>e</sup> Wind blew so high & not Cold, that I set y<sup>e</sup> Windows all open & got y<sup>e</sup> floors dry before Night; had put all y<sup>e</sup> Goods up stairs & so high on y<sup>e</sup> Shelves in y<sup>e</sup> Store, that we had none damaged, only our Garden Posts & pailles were carried off.

11<sup>th</sup>.—To Day we Got y<sup>e</sup> ditch oppen'd to y<sup>e</sup> River & into y<sup>e</sup> Cellar to Carry off y<sup>e</sup> Water had two Men laying y<sup>e</sup> Water & throwing into y<sup>e</sup> Race all the day, we have it almost empty; catched some young peach in bailing out y<sup>e</sup> Water.

12<sup>th</sup>.—It frose smartly last Night, Anthony Tamson y<sup>e</sup> Tanner being coming up from y<sup>e</sup> Country having bo<sup>t</sup> a Negro Girl & came to y<sup>e</sup> House on this side Turtle Creek, dined there but would not be persuaid'd to stay, y<sup>e</sup> Water of y<sup>e</sup> Creek had overflow'd y<sup>e</sup> Bottoms so that coming to a run that cross'd y<sup>e</sup> Road to y<sup>e</sup> Creek he was Drown'd there & y<sup>e</sup> Negro Girl could Stand where he was & tryed to help him out but beeing too heavy & she relates she left him holding by a tree & went back to y<sup>e</sup> house taking both their Horses back, informed y<sup>e</sup> People—this hapen'd y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> same Day Shepherd who was y<sup>e</sup> head Carpenter here only Coming from his father-in-laws Viz Midcalfs about Nine Miles along y<sup>e</sup>

road from here, came off with some other Company to come here to his Wife he delay'd behind y<sup>e</sup> rest, & they came y<sup>e</sup> new road, he took y<sup>e</sup> Old One & came to where it takes close to y<sup>e</sup> Alegheny River in y<sup>e</sup> Bottom where he was found Dround'd.

13<sup>th</sup>.—I have had much discoarse w<sup>th</sup> F. Post & find him so bigotted that he censures All others, & shews little Charrrity for any that differs from his Principles.

14<sup>th</sup>.—There are three Coffins washed bare, over on y<sup>e</sup> Island & painted its like some Indians that dyed there in y<sup>e</sup> War time.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Wrote to y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners, & y<sup>e</sup> Agent, Jn<sup>o</sup> Armstrong, a Delaware Man, Informs me that Simon of Cuscuskey & 19 more y<sup>e</sup> Delawars are gone down y<sup>e</sup> River to War against the Cherokees, & that some of all y<sup>e</sup> Western Nations & two Hund<sup>r</sup> Mingoës are going, but it proves false.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Sent my Letters off with Ensign Hutchins he going to Bedford on his way to Carolina.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Frederick Post has had a Meeting to Day with y<sup>e</sup> Millitary Men & y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants, in y<sup>e</sup> foorenoon preach'd in English, y<sup>e</sup> afternoon in Dutch, but I went not to hear them; they had y<sup>e</sup> Musitioners playing Hymns & they were Drunk yesterday. I dreamed two Nights ago that I happen'd to Sit down in some Strange house with some Company & instantly it was made known to me, so that I doubted it not, that y<sup>e</sup> Devil sat in y<sup>e</sup> Company, I felt great abhorance & resentment of Mind, & as I was geting up to depart I looked with resentment at y<sup>e</sup> Devil & he appear'd to have Frederick Posts ficognomy & Dress in all appearance, So I departed, & awaked. This Man has told me that y<sup>e</sup> papists did not Worship Idols & endeavour'd to Excuse their making such things as if useful, but I shamed him so that he was Struck Silent. He told me, that St. Patrick's Night, so call'd, as he was drinking with y<sup>e</sup> officers, & Geo. Croghan being President by y<sup>e</sup> Name

of St. Patrick, Drank Several Healths when y<sup>e</sup> President gave out King James's Health, which pass'd till it came to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Roscurdge who s<sup>d</sup>, he was a Dam'd Raschael & although Much in Licquor was oblidg'd to drink a Bumper for refusing. I told Post in some parts this would be looked upon like Treason & y<sup>e</sup> Man that had that so near his heart was not very fit to be Trusted as an Ind<sup>n</sup> Agent for y<sup>e</sup> Crown of England, considering what Interest & Influence he has amongst so many Nations of Indians, & y<sup>e</sup> Effect that French or Spanish Money might have on him.

21<sup>st</sup>.—This Old Man i. e. Post, would also endeavour to make us believe that y<sup>e</sup> Christians had Given y<sup>e</sup> Days & Months y<sup>e</sup> Common Names they go by when they had alter'd y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath to y<sup>e</sup> first Day of y<sup>e</sup> Week, but I told him he must produce better proof for that, before I should believe him, & that they were fell into great Appostisey if they done so.

This Man Professes Strongly of experienceing y<sup>e</sup> work of regeneration, being 12 Years under great Exercise of Mind, & now says he is led by y<sup>e</sup> divine Spirit but he Sallutes men by y<sup>e</sup> Hat & bowing & Cringing drink Healths & be their Humble Servant.

Post Told me, that Men led by y<sup>e</sup> Divine Spirit Might preach at any time they pleased, I told him they might & Exhort but not have y<sup>e</sup> Testimoney of Jesus which is y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of Prophesey.

26<sup>th</sup>.—The Indians seem under great Concern at y<sup>e</sup> Advantage y<sup>e</sup> English has Gain'd, by the peace being und<sup>r</sup> jealousys that we will revenge their former Insults.

27<sup>th</sup>.—I have told some y<sup>e</sup> Indians on this Acco<sup>t</sup> that our principles leads us to better things then theirs do them, One of the Delawars called John Armstrong, who led a party of them in y<sup>e</sup> War, & is reconed an Ill fellow had much discourse on this Subject & he's disapproving of y<sup>e</sup> Western Council fire being Errected signifying

that y<sup>e</sup> Old One at Philad<sup>a</sup> & Onandago or Albany was y<sup>e</sup> Best & that at Philad<sup>a</sup> was always Good, I asked him, as it was so and Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> always used them well, why did they Breake it, & put it out by Going to War; his answer was that y<sup>e</sup> white people covets y<sup>e</sup> Land & Eat them out by Inches & that they are doing y<sup>e</sup> same here, which was against y<sup>e</sup> Will of God. I told him that if their people would amend their ways leave off y<sup>e</sup> Abominations they had amongst 'em & fear God, then he might Establish & increase them, but if they resisted as they do; it was my oppinion that they would Vanish & decay away & that y<sup>e</sup> Great Creator was Angry with their Works & would Give their Contry to Other people, if they Strove by War to divert it, it would come so much y<sup>e</sup> sooner to pass, observing y<sup>e</sup> Effects of the last War; he Acknowledged it might be so for he belived God was Angry with them.

30<sup>th</sup>.—The s<sup>d</sup> Indian wants to Go with me & Old Nee McCollon & his Son when we Go to Philad<sup>a</sup> but was affraid y<sup>e</sup> White people would kill him, but I removed his jelousey much on that head, but dont Covet his Company as he loves Liquor too much.

31<sup>st</sup>.—The Other two Above, has Engaged me to Wait their time & Go with them to which I am very free.

4<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Frederick Post has been Courting me to go with him amongst y<sup>e</sup> Western & Northern Nations of Indians & so round to Cannada, but my Constitution I think might not be sufficient for y<sup>e</sup> Living I must be subject too to bear it.

He tells me, he knows of No Man Else, Amongst our Friends that understands, or is fit to go amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians, & Owned that I had some religion which he will alow very few to have,—but y<sup>e</sup> more I know of Indian affairs y<sup>e</sup> less I covet it.

He also Informs me, that when Geo. Croghan was going to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty Held at Detroit 2 Years ago, he told him that it was not necessary to insist on Delivering up



y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners yet, but in time we might Get them all;— also last fall after y<sup>e</sup> Treaty at Lancaster when McKee was sent by Croghan to y<sup>e</sup> Shawanas, Post told him at Tuscorawas that some of them were coming up w<sup>th</sup> Prisoners, he answer'd he wish'd they had deferred it Longer.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Whatever y<sup>e</sup> Cause of these Messages might be, sent by McKee we see no better Effect this Spring, then that, we hear there is 100 of y<sup>e</sup> Shawana Warriors coming to see what Good usage they shall receive amongst us, & no prisoners but five that they had deliv'd to McKee in y<sup>e</sup> Winter; he is now return'd & these are coming at his Heels, a very likely Scheme to increase the Charges to our Province, or to ease dislike in y<sup>e</sup> Indians to it, as y<sup>e</sup> Commanders here allows no presents to be made them by Croghan, since y<sup>e</sup> Province has took it in Hand, & now he wanted to Slip off to Bedford out of their way, but y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> told me he shall Stay their Coming.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Croghan wanted to Settle some Acco<sup>ts</sup> of Goods del<sup>d</sup> him by y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>rs</sup> Orders for y<sup>e</sup> Indians, out of our Store, offering me Peltry or a Draft on Philad<sup>a</sup> as he termed it, but I refus'd both, untill y<sup>e</sup> Agent comes, not knowing whether his Draft might be protested, & knowing y<sup>e</sup> Peltry he has to offer are not Merchantable, & upon settleing must deliver him y<sup>e</sup> Orders we had from y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>rs</sup> & put y<sup>e</sup> whole in his power.

12<sup>th</sup>.—I sent off y<sup>e</sup> remaind<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Peltry we had on hand 17 Horse Loads.

13<sup>th</sup>.—The Shawana Warriors are Come 90 in Num<sup>r</sup> & 5 prisoners, they saluted y<sup>e</sup> Fort w<sup>th</sup> three rounds of Shot & were answered by firing three Cannon Shot.

14<sup>th</sup>.—I Copied a piece of Writing that C<sup>r</sup> F. Post Draw'd up about all his journeys & Messages amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians for y<sup>e</sup> Publick & complains he only receiv'd £100 of y<sup>e</sup> Province of Pennsylvania which was not over what his Expences came to. It's word'd as if done by



another hand, & directed to y<sup>e</sup> printers of y<sup>e</sup> London Magazine to have it published in hopes to have some pension settled on him.

15<sup>th</sup>.—John Ormsby is return'd & a New Commissary to take his place. Josiah Davenport return'd & bro<sup>t</sup> me a Letter from y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners giving their Approbation of my going down to see my friends. The Shawanas that came here Lately, as I suppose Invited in order to create Expences to y<sup>e</sup> Province & forbid to bring in y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, but y<sup>e</sup> Deputy Agent being disappointed as Josiah Davenport was not here, there was none to Act in regard to making presents in behalf of y<sup>e</sup> Province, so Croghan nor his deputy Spoke at y<sup>e</sup> Treaty but Jn<sup>o</sup> Hart, a Trader, was employ'd & Order'd to take Eleven Bundles Skins that y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Indians had bro<sup>t</sup> (when y<sup>e</sup> first party came in y<sup>e</sup> Winter & some this last party bro<sup>t</sup>) to deliver them with y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners that was to all come this Spring, these Skins were depossited in the Fort untill y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners were deliver'd which is certain Since they had fully determined & would have bro<sup>t</sup> them had not Some of us that find it our Intrest put a Stop to it. So Hart took y<sup>e</sup> Peltry & deliver'd them presents to y<sup>e</sup> Value as he liked, I suppose, it was talked y<sup>e</sup> Indians were not very well Satisfied but they have no reason to blame any one unless them that Invited them on this idle Errand. Y<sup>e</sup> Chief they said was that they come to Eat & drink with us & see us & this they did for y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> Spared them Liquor enough to make them drunk; they mentioned that they see y<sup>e</sup> English were making Shoes to go down y<sup>e</sup> River, but they gave it as a friendly Advice that they might not go down to be contented here at this place, for there were many Bad people down there, but were answer'd that it was agreed on by y<sup>e</sup> Kings of England & France, that y<sup>e</sup> former should take possession of y<sup>e</sup> Forts y<sup>e</sup> other had There, & that we should not go in y<sup>e</sup> Dark but in y<sup>e</sup> Open Light no War being Intended—So being asked

when they would bring in all y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners they answer'd they did not know, & its very like to be true, because y<sup>e</sup> man that they chiefly adhere to amongst us has carried his Polliticks so far that they do not know his pleasure yet in that point but I hear y<sup>e</sup> General has refused to pay him all y<sup>e</sup> Large Sums he made presents of to y<sup>e</sup> Indians on y<sup>e</sup> King's Account, & as he will now be in danger of haveing no more presents of Land made him from y<sup>e</sup> Indians, also apearing Meaner or poorer in thier Eyes since he's no longer enabled to put largely into thier mouths, so he is for declineing y<sup>e</sup> Service, & perhaps expects a Thousand pounds from y<sup>e</sup> King to bring him back to go down y<sup>e</sup> Mississippi, but he has gained too much influence over y<sup>e</sup> Indians already at other peoples cost which one day y<sup>e</sup> English may be convinced of.

5<sup>mo</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>.—Some Days ago came an Express from Detroit with Letters from Cap<sup>t</sup> Campbell that y<sup>e</sup> Miami Indians had taken up y<sup>e</sup> Belt that was handed round amongst y<sup>e</sup> Indians last fall in order to joyne y<sup>e</sup> Mingoes to go to War with us, having deliver'd s<sup>d</sup> Belt to him & acquaint'd him with y<sup>e</sup> Scheam. A party of about 30 Mingoes of which Silver Heels was one came here going to War w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees, they applyed to the Command<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Aquoyer for some Amunition but receiv'd none & was told of their War Belts they send out So often in ord<sup>r</sup> to raise War against us. I went to see Silver Heels, being such a Steady friend to y<sup>e</sup> English during y<sup>e</sup> War, & Shew'd my regard for him amongst them by giving him some good Tobacco, & Mentioned to my Company that he was y<sup>e</sup> Man that went to Martinico w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English, at which he seem'd well pleas'd. Many of y<sup>e</sup> others were half French I understood, but y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> seem'd to be all Ind<sup>n</sup>.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Some Traders that came here from Salt Licks, up Beaver C<sup>r</sup>, say that y<sup>e</sup> Delawars had held a General Feast, there y<sup>e</sup> Provision for it was 24 Bears 24 Deer

24 Turkeys & 24 Squirrels, by report they Hold this feast Yearly but Last Year had mist so this year they provided Double y<sup>e</sup> Quantity of Provisiion, y<sup>e</sup> Yearly allowance being but 12 of a Sort, & y<sup>e</sup> manner of performing it is. They Choose 6 Men head Councilors & 6 Young Men 12 in Num<sup>r</sup> which bring 12 Stones & make them red Hot in a fire, on which Stones they Burn y<sup>e</sup> fat of y<sup>e</sup> Creaturs, in this manner, they bring 12 poles or long rods with Which they make a Booth cover'd with Blankets, in this Boothe they have y<sup>e</sup> Hot Stones & burn y<sup>e</sup> fat in it where thy Swet, & at y<sup>e</sup> same time Spake out to y<sup>e</sup> People, in y<sup>e</sup> following manner: Hear all of you & take Good Notice that in this manner Your Grandfather's perform'd their Worship, y<sup>e</sup> others gives y<sup>e</sup> Approbation, so y<sup>e</sup> Old Men in y<sup>e</sup> Booth make a humming Noise as by way of adoration or Prayer, & the Whole is finished with Singing & Dancing.

14<sup>th</sup>.—I have been down to Ligonier & back to Clap-pums at y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Sweekly Creek & have taken y<sup>e</sup> Courses (& Esteem<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Distances, at 20 p<sup>s</sup> at a time) all round.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Dealt with Keecaies Son call'd y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman above £41. Worth (before Breakfast this Morning) in Peltry.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Some people here applying to Frederick Post to Marry them, he advised them to perform it as they do by a Magistrate and applyed to me to write a marriage Certificate which I did, as also an Advertism<sup>t</sup> to stand 30 Days before y<sup>e</sup> Marriage be performed. The young man being a Soldier did not like being advertised, but being y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> Waiting man y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> oblidg'd him to it, so y<sup>e</sup> Advertisem<sup>ts</sup> are put up in three sundry places, which makes y<sup>e</sup> people here Stair, in being so Strange a thing here.

27<sup>th</sup>.—This morning soon came over y<sup>e</sup> Allegheny Custologas' Brother & Son James Mocasín y<sup>e</sup> Tortles Heart & another Ind<sup>a</sup> from Shenangoe. I went to y<sup>e</sup>

Shore to meet them & invited 'em to our House to Deal, so most of them came; we Delt about 80 Pounds worth before Dinner; they were in an unusual hurry, bo<sup>t</sup> a Good deal of Powd<sup>r</sup> & Lead & want'd more Powd<sup>r</sup> but we had it not well to Spair; they seemed in no bad humour but rather in fear & haste, y<sup>e</sup> Turtle's Heart did not cross y<sup>e</sup> river w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> rest but went to Alex<sup>r</sup> McKee & asked him when he tho't to go down in y<sup>e</sup> Country, McKee answer'd in Ten Days; y<sup>e</sup> Indian desired he would go that Day or in four Days at furthest or else he should not expect to see him alive more & Signified as if y<sup>e</sup> Indians was just ready to Strike us.

28<sup>th</sup>.—The Command<sup>r</sup> set y<sup>e</sup> Men to repair y<sup>e</sup> Fort & fasten up fachiens to Screen y<sup>e</sup> Men; orders was issued to all y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants to form them into a Militia y<sup>e</sup> next Day.

29<sup>th</sup>.—This Morning before I was up, Cap<sup>t</sup> Trent called at my window & told me that W<sup>m</sup> Clappum (who had been y<sup>e</sup> Collonel) & most of his Work people was Killed, two men having made their escape, one of which I seen at our House after, who informed us that y<sup>e</sup> Agent's Horse was Stole by y<sup>e</sup> Indians, that I left at Clappums abo<sup>t</sup> two Weeks before.

This morning at Breakfast I acquainted y<sup>e</sup> Agent that if he would get ready y<sup>e</sup> Inventory of y<sup>e</sup> Goods (which wanted but a few Hours work to compleat it), I would be for Setting off, as I Expected to have been ready & Gone before that time, but he signified I might as well Stay over untill I seen y<sup>e</sup> Consequence of y<sup>e</sup> reports of y<sup>e</sup> Indians & whether they would come to attack y<sup>e</sup> Fort or not. As he delayed finishing it for y<sup>e</sup> Matter of two Weeks, having no hinderance, I Expected he would detain me untill y<sup>e</sup> Communicati<sup>on</sup> would be cut off with y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants & then I must tarry untill Winter perhaps, which I did not choose, having y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners Leave above a Month before to come Down. I Considered of it Silently & y<sup>e</sup> determination



was to go to y<sup>e</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> & ask him for a Pass, which I did & he Granted & Wrote a few Lines with me to y<sup>e</sup> Serjint that was at F<sup>t</sup> Burd at Redstone, desireing him to come with his two men in a Canoe down to Pitts-burgh. Y<sup>e</sup> Agent seemed in a Passion at my Going off so, & Signified I looked upon myself as my own Master, & that I must not Expect to return there again while he was Agent, I told him I did not intend it, & upon asking him how long he wanted me to waite for y<sup>e</sup> Inventory, he signified he would not tell me nor I should not Stay now if I would, being I presumed to go on my own Accord, now Goe I must for this Boston Man from y<sup>e</sup> Beginning I tho<sup>t</sup> wanted an Assistant of his own Choosing whom he might claim more domminion over then he could over me, as I was choose by y<sup>e</sup> Com-missioners. He Acknowledged we never had no differ-ances, so I told him not to be in a Passion as I had no Intention of affronting him, so I tooke my leave of him & having bo<sup>t</sup> a little Packhorse for Seven Pounds I set off. Frederick Post accompany'd me over y<sup>e</sup> Mononga-hela & I tooke a long Path to Redstone Creek, make a fire & Slept in y<sup>e</sup> woods; was very well Satisfied in mind.

30<sup>th</sup>.—This Day came to y<sup>e</sup> River opposite y<sup>e</sup> Fort Burd, where Ind<sup>n</sup> Peter and a White man was working at Corn; y<sup>e</sup> White man put me over in a Cannoe, Swam y<sup>e</sup> Creature. I informed them of y<sup>e</sup> Indians breaking out agin which put them in Great fear; got Breakfast at Indian Peter's House & they talked that he & his family would come down in y<sup>e</sup> Contry amongst his Wifes relations, being a White Woman. Set off & met y<sup>e</sup> Serjant & Jn<sup>o</sup> Clark who had abo<sup>t</sup> 40 Pack Horses then lying at Gest's place with Ind<sup>n</sup> Goods, which he sent a Man out for, & they talked of Geting into y<sup>e</sup> Fort having abo<sup>t</sup> 14 Men in all about y<sup>e</sup> place. Lay in y<sup>e</sup> Woods between Dunbars Camp & y<sup>e</sup> Great Meadows.

31<sup>st</sup>.—Came to y<sup>e</sup> Upper crossing of Youhiogheny



where there is three familys living, Virginians, I lodged at a House of Cap<sup>t</sup> Spears, his Brother being there, two of his Children & a Negro; a Man that lived on y<sup>e</sup> West side of y<sup>e</sup> Creek set off Directly to Paterson's Creek to get Speer to Send up Horses to Carry them away. Two Women & some Children being by themselves on that side y<sup>e</sup> Creek Stayed there & one of them Loaded a Gun I heard to stand in her defence if y<sup>e</sup> Indians Should come.

6<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Came this Day to George's Creek on y<sup>e</sup> East Side y<sup>e</sup> Allegheny Mountains. I seen an Indian run across through y<sup>e</sup> Alders & Thickets a Head of us, (having an old Man with me from y<sup>e</sup> Crossing) or Else some Bay or brown Creature must have deceived me much, as what I seen appears Straight in y<sup>e</sup> Shape a Man & not over 10 or 12 Yards off. This night it was so Cold at y<sup>e</sup> House by George's Creek we thot there was frost.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—Came only 12 Miles to Fort Cumberland, my little Beast having given out, so that I walked a Great part y<sup>e</sup> Road. I swaped it for a large Strong Horse, but not in very good order with one Martin, a Carpenter, who was undertaking of Building y<sup>e</sup> New Store House & repairing y<sup>e</sup> Old. I Drew a Bill on y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners for £14.13.0. I was to Give to Boot, he sold y<sup>e</sup> Horse for a year.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—Came as far as Flints on Potomak abo<sup>t</sup> 12 Miles above Fort Frederick, civil people.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Dined at F<sup>t</sup> Frederick & came as far as where Mushet Lived on Canochochique.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Dined at Shippinstown & lodged at McAllesters, within 5 Miles of Carslile.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Called at Francis Wests, at Carslile, but made but little Stay, came to James Kenny's near Croghan's Gap & sent Mathew Kenny with a few Lines to my Brother Charles & W<sup>m</sup> Bales people, who were at work over at y<sup>e</sup> Tuscorora Creek.

7<sup>th</sup>.—This Evening Mathew return'd & brings Word

that they would come off tomorrow so I wait their coming, as they will be company for me to Chester County I expect.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Charles & W<sup>m</sup> Bale Jun<sup>r</sup> came over & agreed to go back and bring their things away.

9<sup>th</sup>.—I set off & get to Scotts near Lancaster. Lodged there this night.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Came into Lancaster, had Breckfast & so proceed'd, came to W<sup>m</sup> Bales in y<sup>e</sup> Great Valley, stay'd two Days as it rain'd.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Came to Kennet where my Mother Lived who was exceeding glad to see me.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Got to Philad<sup>a</sup>. Davenport having Wrote by y<sup>e</sup> Second Express that came from Pittsburgh to y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners, endeavour'd to throw Aspersions on me for comeing away without his Honours Approbation, & forbid them Settleing my Account untill his pleasure was further known Concerning it. Here I must ly out of my Money, for that Proud Man's revengeful pleasure. It often comes in my mind y<sup>e</sup> saying of George Croghan, to Frederick Post, after y<sup>e</sup> last Treaty at Lancaster (Croghan Shew'd his resentment so to our Province Interfering with Indian affairs), he said, y<sup>e</sup> dammage the Province had done by that Treaty would not be repaired this Seven Years. Now I question w<sup>t</sup> dammage has ever been known to arise from a friendly Conference with y<sup>e</sup> Indians, by a people they always profess to regard, & such a people to make them presents of some considerable Value, are these things cause of Agrivations to Indians, I think not, so that y<sup>e</sup> Agrivation was to him, & his Influence may cause disturbance this Seven Years, for his power was much felt; y<sup>e</sup> General allowing him to make no presents to y<sup>e</sup> Indians 'since y<sup>e</sup> Province had granted a Sum for that purpose, & it was said that y<sup>e</sup> General had refused to pass some of his Accounts for Gifts given y<sup>e</sup> Indians.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF  
DAVID McNEELY KNOX STAUFFER.

Compiled by JOHN W. JORDAN.

David McNeely Knox Stauffer, the eminent civil engineer, author and antiquarian, who became a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, September 4, 1876, died at his home "El Roncador," Yonkers, New York, on the evening of February 5, 1913. His father, Jacob Stauffer, a lawyer by profession, was of Swiss, and his mother, Mary Ann McNeely, of Scotch ancestry, who were early settlers in the Province. Mr. Stauffer was born in Mount Joy, Penna., March 24, 1845, but his boyhood was spent in Lancaster city. As a boy he won the scholarship to Franklin and Marshall College, by taking the five-year school course in three years and standing at the head of his classes throughout the whole time. During his Freshman year came the Civil War, when he volunteered on two different occasions, serving in the Antietam and Gettysburg campaigns.

After these experiences, he returned to college for a short period, when he was appointed in the navy as Master's Mate, and ordered to join the Mississippi Squadron under Admiral Porter. He was assigned to duty on the U. S. S. "Alexandria," a converted yacht, which was detailed for dispatch service between Admiral Porter and Admiral Farragut on the river, and General Canby who was in command of the land forces. Owing to the illness and subsequent relief of his commanding officer, Mr. Stauffer became Commander of the "Alexandria" and remained so until the end of the war, when he was honorably discharged with the thanks

of the department. Not yet twenty years of age, he planned to finish his college course, but soon realized that the experiences of these years of responsibility had unfitted him for a return to the usual life of a boy and he took up, at once, the profession of civil engineering.

The twenty years of his life after the Civil War, were spent in the pursuit of his profession, his first experience being on the Columbia and Port Deposit Railway. Later he became Division Engineer of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway, and in 1870, was engineer in charge of the South Street Bridge, Philadelphia, in the building of which he was the first American engineer to use the then novel Plenum-pneumatic process in sinking the cast-iron columns which were to form the piers. His work was so successful that at the suggestion of various interested men of his own profession he wrote an account of it for the Franklin Institute Journal, which was also published in the New York Railway Gazette and republished by the Institute of Civil Engineers of London.

Mr. Stauffer became known as an expert in this line of engineering and in 1874 was elected a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers and later on a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers in London, being the second American to receive that honor. At this time also, he was one of the founders and an early Vice President of the Philadelphia Society of Engineers. In the same year he became Assistant Chief Engineer of the Delaware and Bound Brook Railway, and when that road was completed was appointed Engineer of Construction in the Philadelphia Water Department. In 1879 he built the Dorchester Bay Tunnel in Boston, and in 1881 entered the service of the Philadelphia Bridge Works.

After a year of activity in this field, during which he built the large grain elevators at Point Breeze, on the

Schuyllkill, he determined to open an office as consulting engineer, and went to New York for that purpose. There several important works were planned and carried out—for the Worthington Pump Company; the complete plan of water supply for the city of Wichita, Kansas, and a plan for the proposed water supply of Portsmouth and Suffolk, Va.

It was at this time that he became interested in the "Engineering News," a technical journal, of which he was part owner and editor in chief for twenty-three years, until his retirement from active business in 1905.

Mr. Stauffer has since devoted himself largely to literary and artistic pursuits. In 1900, at the formation of the Interstate Palisades Park Commission, he was appointed a member and served as Vice President and Treasurer until his death, taking the keenest interest in the work.

In 1881 Mr. Stauffer received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from the Franklin and Marshall College, and in 1903 received the degree of Doctor of Literature from the same institution.

He was a member of several clubs and societies: the Loyal Legion, the Naval Order of the United States, Union League Club and the Penn Club of Philadelphia; the Hamilton Club of Lancaster, Pa., the Century Club of New York, the Grolier Club; was for some time Vice President of the Pennsylvania Society in New York; the American Association of Civil Engineers and of the Royal Institute of Civil Engineers in London; and the Sons of the American Revolution. For five years he served on the Board of Education of Yonkers, and was an officer of the Sanitary League. He was Senior Warden of St. Paul's Church, of Yonkers; and was generally interested in the civic and social life of the town in which he lived since 1893.

In the midst of a very busy life, he was able to give



much time to travel. He had a keen appreciation of art; his collection of engravings is an unusually fine and complete one, while his extra-illustrated books and many autograph letters, relating to the early history of this country, are of great value, both historically and intrinsically.

During the period of his life spent in Philadelphia, he started to extra-illustrate "Westcott's History of Philadelphia," and this work, which has occupied so much of his time and attention since then, has expanded to a collection of 32 folio volumes, containing portraits of persons mentioned in the text, signed letters and manuscripts relating to the city and period, together with maps and plans, and contains in all, over 12,000 illustrations, including nearly 600 sketches by his own pen or brush.

In 1907 he wrote, and the Grolier Club published, a work on "American Engravers," in four volumes, which met with the most flattering success and is recognized as an authority on the subject. In writing this history of the development of American engraving, he had a large collection of examples of the work done in the very early days of these colonies, bringing it down step by step to the time when the process work became commercially possible and so took the place of the work done by the hands of the earlier artists. In all that pertains to the art of engraving, more especially in America, Mr. Stauffer stood pre-eminent, and was constantly consulted by authorities in other countries as well as our own.

Among his collections are many of the most valuable and interesting exhibits of Americana, collected and mounted by his own hand, including: The Generals of the Continental Army; The Framers of the Constitution; Washington's Military Family; Members of the Continental Congress (4 vols.); Cabinets of the United States (6 vols.); The Supreme Court of the United

States (Carson), 4 vols.; Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; Governors of Pennsylvania; Mayors of Philadelphia; Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania; History of Old New York (Francis), 5 vols.; Poems of the American Revolution (Freneau), 2 vols.; University of Pennsylvania; Lives of Eminent Philadelphians (Simpson), 4 vols.; an Eulogium upon Benjamin Rush; The Shippen Papers (Balch), 5 vols.; Life of Bradford (Wallace); Literary History of Philadelphia (Oberholtzer), 6 vols.; Life of Robert Fulton (Colden), 2 vols.; History of the Seventh Day Baptists (Ephrata); History of Franklin and Marshall College, (Dubbs); Diary of Christopher Marshall, 3 vols.; Hugh Wynne, 3 vols.; Memoirs of Matthew and Gerardus Clarkson.

His extra-illustrated work of D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation in six volumes, contains, among other rare prints, some of the earliest portraits of Martin Luther, passing from the realism of the early period to the idealism of the latter. The Diary of Samuel Pepys is in six volumes, and is illustrated almost entirely with contemporaneous portraits and prints.

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF NEW JERSEY COURTS.

*Gloucester County*

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at Gloucester in and for the County of Gloucester in the Province of New Jersey on tuesday the fifth day of May 1752

The Justices being mett

His Majesty's Commission of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery Directed to Samuel Nevill and Charles Read Esq<sup>rs</sup> Justices of the Supreme Court, Isaac Jennings, Alexander Randall, Simeon Ellis, John Ladd and Michael Fisher Esq<sup>rs</sup> Justices of the Peace for said County or any three or more of them, whereof the Said Samuel Nevill or Charles Read always to be one, was openly read

The Court Opened

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Alexander Randall	} John Ladd	} Esq <sup>rs</sup>
Simeon Ellis		

His Majesty's Ordinance for Establishing the Several Supreme Courts in the Province of New Jersey, was openly Read—Sheriff Call'd on—Justices Call'd—Constables Call'd—Grand Jury Call'd and twenty-three appearing were Qualified as follows—

Samuel Clement Esq<sup>r</sup>

Richard Matlack

Samuel Burras

Henry Sparks

John Browne

Garret Duheese

Josiah Shivers

William Alberson

Thomas Atmore	Thomas Bates
Thomas Thorne	Joseph Hilliard
John Burras	Thomas Kinsey
James Whitall	John Sparks, farmer,
Jacob Couzens	William Wood
James Lord	Cornelius Duheese
Isaac Alberson	William Stone
Jos: Morgan	

After the Charge the Grand Jury with drew with John Maxfield and Peter Matson Constables ordered to attend them—

Court Adjourn'd to three o'Clock in the Afternoon.  
At three o'Clock in the Afternoon the Court opened.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Grand Jury came into Court, and being Call'd over, were ask'd if they had any Indictments or Presentments to offer to the Court, said they had none  
Court adjourned

GLOUCESTER, June Term 1754

Names of divers persons mentioned in the minutes of a Court of Oyer & Terminer &c held at Gloucester in & for the County of Gloucester, Province of New Jersey on the Second Tuesday in June 1754

The Court The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Alexander Randal, Simeon Ellis, John Ladd, Michael Fisher, Justices

James Whiteall	Abraham Inskip
Samuel Davis	John Blackwood
Thomas Kinsey	Robert Morss
William Wood	William Stone
Abraham Chattin Jun <sup>r</sup>	Nathan Boys
John Flight	Francis Batten
Henry Treadway	David Roe
John Sparks, farmer	Jonathan Reeves
Henry Wood, of Woodbury	Joseph Adams
Joseph Tatem	Lawrence Hulings

William Sharp	Thomas Willard
Henry Sparks Jun <sup>r</sup>	George Wheist
William Hugg	Samuel Cole
Joseph Harrison	Thomas Wilkins
Joseph Lowe	Moses Ward
Henry Wood	Joseph Galloway
Abraham Chattin Sen <sup>r</sup>	Att <sup>y</sup> at Law
Henry Sparks Sen <sup>r</sup>	Henry Wetherby
James Brown	Henry Sparks,
W <sup>m</sup> Hanby	the younger
John Collins Jun <sup>r</sup>	John Hooper
Tho <sup>s</sup> Bates	William Clark
Jotham Cheesman	M <sup>r</sup> Ross of Counsel
Samuel Hugg	M <sup>r</sup> Warrell Att <sup>y</sup> General
Mary Coles Sen <sup>r</sup>	Thomas Kinsey
Mary Coles Jun <sup>r</sup>	Robert Zanes
Keziah Roberts	Richard Mattlock
John Collins	Isaac Hinchman
Joshua Stokes	George Weeds
Richard Cheesman	

GLOUCESTER April 1757

Names of divers persons mentioned in minutes of a Court of Oyer and Terminer &c held at Gloucester in & for the County of Gloucester Province of New Jersey tuesday the 26 day of April 1757

Robert Hunter Morris, Samuel Nevill, Richard Salter Esq<sup>rs</sup> Justices of the Supreme Court, Alexander Randal Simeon Ellis John Ladd, Michael Fisher, Samuel Clements Esq<sup>r</sup> Justices of the Peace for said County—

John Burroughs, sen <sup>r</sup>	Daniel Hilman
Joseph Harrison Esq	Samuel Burroughs Sen <sup>r</sup>
Samuel Coles	John Brown
John Mickle	Jeffrey Chew
Josiah Alberson	William Griscum
Joseph Morgan	Isaac Burroughs
David Cooper	William Hinchman



Joseph Ellis	John Wild
Bathsheba Whiltern	Mary Richardson
John Daniel	Samuel Horsler
Jeremiah Smith	William Atwood
Thomas Denny	Aaron Peterson
Abraham Inskeep	William Stone
Enoch Hains	Lawrence Huling
Henry Wood	Isaac Fish
Joseph Shivers	James Sherrin
Thomas Bate	Elizabeth Gultridge
Charles French	Francis Jones
Jacob Allertson	John Marshall
Jacob Clement	Richard Cheesman
Martin Ashburn	Richard Hodges
John Parr	George Hoffman
Silas Young	Andrew Long
John M <sup>c</sup> Daniel	Andrew Holmes
John Hider	Joseph Morgan
William Gerrard	James Graisbury

“ The King  
vs  
William Atwood  
als William Wood

On Conviction of Simple Larceny  
—The Prisoner being asked why  
Sentence of Death should not pass  
on him prayed the Benefitt of the  
Clergy. Its ordered by the Court  
that the Prisoner be burnt in the  
hand with the Letter T. and make  
Restitution to the Party Grieved  
& be committeed till fees &c are  
paid, and enter into Recognisance  
for his good Behaviour for a  
twelve month, he entered into  
Recog. accordingly.

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol  
Delivery held at Gloucester in and for the County of  
Gloucester in the Province of New Jersey on tuesday  
the sixteenth day of May 1758

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Ayrsley Esq<sup>r</sup>

Alexander Randall—John Ladd—Simeon Ellis—  
Michael Fisher Esq<sup>rs</sup> Justices Called, John English and  
Edward Doughty Esq<sup>rs</sup> not appearing the Court fines  
them forty Shillings each unless Cause shown Sitting  
the Court

Constables Called, John Somers and Richard Risley not  
appearing the Court fines them forty Shillings each  
unless Cause shown Sitting the Court

Grand Jury Called, James Sloan, Josiah Burroughs,  
James Hillman and William Hampton not appearing  
the Court fines them twenty Shillings each, unless &c.

Those who appeared were Qualifyed as follows

Joseph Harrison Esq <sup>r</sup>	George Weed
Robert Zane	Joseph Ward
Samuel Shivers	Abel Nicholson
Jacob Spicer	Henry Weatherby
Henry Wood of Wat <sup>d</sup>	John Hillman
John Gill	William Davis
Samuel Burrough	Henry Wood of D <sup>f</sup> <sup>d</sup>
Joseph Thackrey	William Leonard
Matthew Gill	Thomas Davis

Joseph Cunggill and Thomas Roberts, Constables  
ordered to attend them

Petit Jury:

John Hinchman	Andrew Long
David Cooper	John Marshall
Samuel Coles	Thomas Rambo
Isaac Hinchman	David Roe
George Cusens	Joseph Tatum
William Wood	Joshua Cusens

William Guest one of the Jury fined ten Shillings for  
refusing to be Sworn

At a court of oyer and terminer and general gaol de-  
livery held at Gloucester in and for the County of Glou-  
cester on tuesday the twelfth day of June 1759

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>  
 Alexander Randall, John Ladd, Simeon Ellis } Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
 Michael Fisher Samuel Clement

Grand Jury

Joseph Harrison Esq <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Paul
Edward Doughty Esq <sup>r</sup>	Joseph Low
Thomas Denny Esq <sup>r</sup>	George Ward
John Hinchman Esq <sup>r</sup>	William Lathbury
Samuel Shivers	Thomas Thompson
Thomas Wilkins	Moses Cox
Jacob Albertson	Abel Nicholson
Samuel Mifflin	William Davis
Joseph Thackery	Benjamin Collins
Iaac Carmeron	John Lock
Jeffery Chew	Samuel Ladd

John Hunbinger and James Wood constables ordered to attend them

At a Court of Oyer & Terminer & General Goal Delivery held at Gloucester in and for the County of Gloucester on tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> June 1760

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>  
 Alex<sup>r</sup> Randall John Ladd } Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
 Michael Fisher Samuel Clements

Grand Jury

Edward Doughty Esq <sup>r</sup>	Solom <sup>n</sup> Lippincot
Matthew Gill	Joseph Wilkinson
John Derexson	John Chattin
Tho <sup>s</sup> Thompson	William Snowden
Abel Scull	George Ward
Joseph Tatum	James Snowden
John Martin	James Brown
Samuel Shivers	Henry Wetherby
John Wilkins	Charles ffrench
John Munyen	Thomas Thorn

Abrām Inskeep, Samuel Parr & Thomas Bates, making default the Court fined them 20/ each, unless &c

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer & General Goal Delivery held at Gloucester in & for the County of Gloucester on tuesday the ninth of June Ann Domni 1761

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Alex <sup>r</sup> Randell	} Esq <sup>rs</sup>	John Ladd	} Esq <sup>rs</sup>
Simeon Elias		Samuel Clement	
Michael Fisher		Joseph Harrison	

Grand Jury Called and were Sworn Viz<sup>t</sup>

Edward Doughty Esq <sup>r</sup>	John Burns
Nathan Boys	John Rannels
Abraham Long	John Wrian
John Rambo	John Thomas
Joseph Tatum	Abraham Maffitt
Randal Marshall	Isaac Inseip
Thomas Thomson	Nicholas Justice
Hindel Coles	Joseph Minyand
John Bright	William Hamton
Lias Boys	Thomas Willired
Andrew Long	

Randall Morgin and Robert Breyent each fined 20/ being in default

John Lock & Robert Lanes (Zanes?) Constables appointed to attend the Grand Jury

Pettit Jury

John English Esq <sup>r</sup>	Peter Steaman
Elyah Clark	David Scull
Richard Wescott	Samuel Scull
Joseph Ellis	Andrew Blackman
John Conover	Ebenz <sup>r</sup> Ingersen
Benjamin Ingerson	Robert Doughty

Witnesses: Stephen Whetherinton Jonathan Chew,  
William Bryant, Samuel Hewitt Rachel  
Hewitt, Tho<sup>s</sup> Nightingale, George Har-  
ringan, John Sparks

Joseph Jonson the Constable

The Court passed the following sentence against the  
prisoner (Sur Indictment for Manslaughter) who  
prayed the benefit of his Clergy Viz<sup>t</sup> That he be Imme-  
diately burnt in the hand with the letter M which was  
accordingly done and the prisoner Discharged by pro-  
clamation upon payment of the fees—

At a Court of Oyer & Terminer and General Goal de-  
livery held at Gloucester in and for the County of  
Gloucester on Thursday the 10<sup>th</sup> of June anno Dom<sup>i</sup>  
1762

Present

The Honble Richard Salter Esq

Alex <sup>r</sup> Randall	Michael Fisher	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> Associates
Sam <sup>l</sup> Harrison Jun <sup>r</sup>	John Ladd	

Grand Jury

Rob <sup>t</sup> Fr <sup>d</sup> Price Esq <sup>r</sup>	Nathan Boys
John Hyder	Elias Boys
Samuel Blackwood	Isaac Insip
And <sup>w</sup> Long	Andrew Jones
Abr <sup>m</sup> Long	Ephraim Bed
George Marple	Jeremiah Chew
Henry Thorn	Jo <sup>n</sup> Williams
Sam <sup>l</sup> Small	William England
Dan <sup>l</sup> Small	Nicholas Justice
Peter Cheesman	John Toms
Rich <sup>d</sup> Cheesman	

Isaac Mickle and William Cozens Constables ap-  
pointed to attend the Grand Jury

Takeas Thorn, Benjamin Richards, George Morgan,  
Jorcel Matson, Marmaduke Bryant, Samuel Maffet,



John Driver and Charles Lock, defaulting each fined 20/ unless &c

Pettit Jurors

William Gerrard, George Flanigan, Isaac Flanigan, James Halton Owen Conelly, Abr<sup>m</sup> Roe, John Grifits, John Steelman Robert Sparks Thomas Fry, Andrew Lock

Names of various persons:

John Hopper, Abel Scull, Jun<sup>r</sup>, John Till, George Cook, Charles Hubb, Robert Black John Culin al<sup>s</sup> John Van Culin, James Berry, Esther Berry, Francis Battin

The King  
vs  
John Hopper Jun<sup>r</sup>

{ Indictment for Homicide of Misadventure, on William Ernold  
x x x in order to give the def<sup>t</sup> time to Purchase his Pardon the Court orders that two Sufficient Sureties enter in recog in the Sum of £100 each (the Prisoner being an infant) for his appearance at the next Court &c upon which John Hopper Sen<sup>r</sup> and Abraham Cattin entered into Recogs accordingly

*Salem County.*

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at Salem for the County of Salem this Sixteenth Day of April 1751

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Charles Read Esq<sup>r</sup>. Justice

William Hancock    Nicholas Gibbon }  
Isaac Sharp         William Frasers } Esq<sup>rs</sup> Ass<sup>s</sup>

Grand Jury Call<sup>d</sup> and Seventeen appearing were Qualified as follows

Edmond Wetherby Esq <sup>r</sup>	Matthew Morrison
Benjamin Crips	Andrew Hays
John Darken	Charles Empson
William Adams	Cornelius Cornelison
Aaron Brodaway	Nathaniel Chamless
Joseph Stretch	Jonas Scoggen
William Oakford	Jonathan Brodaway
John Nicholson	William Nicholson
John Smith	

Nisi Prius

Thomas Rice	{	By Consent of Parties and on motion of Mr Harlshorne for the Plaintiff the matters in difference in this cause are Submitted to the Determin- ation of Edmond Wetherby Esq <sup>r</sup> John Carmick and Erasmus Fetters &c
vs		
William Barker and		
Elizabeth his wife		
Adm <sup>rs</sup> of		
Joseph Gregory. Dec <sup>d</sup>		

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol  
Delivery held at Salem for the County of Salem this  
twenty first day of April 1752

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup> Judge  
William Hancock, Ranier Vanhist, Isaac { Esq<sup>rs</sup> Ass<sup>s</sup>  
Sharp Nicholas Gibbons, David Davis  
Grand Jury Call'd and twenty three appearing were  
qualified as follows

Edmond Weatherby Esq <sup>r</sup>	John Richmond
Nathan Smart Esq <sup>r</sup>	Judiah Allen
Thomas Hancock Esq	John White
Elisha Basset	Samuel Pedrick
William Barret	Samuel Morgan
Erasmus Fetters	Peter Popins
Aaron Brodaway	Thomas Kelly
William Nicholson	James Wiggins
William Oakford	Henry Stubbins
Jeremiah Smith	Benjamin Cripps
Josiah Rolfe (Roffe?)	Preston Carpenter
Samuel Tyler	

Abner Sims and William Maxfield, Constables  
ordered by the Court to attend the Grand Jury

Nisi Prius

Peter Louderback	{	By Consent &c William Hall,
vs		David Davis Esq <sup>r</sup> Joshua Thom-
Benjam Bispham		son, Andrew Sinnickson and Wil-
		liam Chandler to determine the
		matters in difference in this cause.

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Goal  
Delivery held at Salem in and for the County of Salem  
on the first Tuesday in June in the Twenty Seventh  
year of his Majesty's Reign (1754)

Present:

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Ranier Vanhist, Nicholas Gibbon's, David Davis Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
It appearing to the Court by the Oath of Roger Sherron  
that John Hampton and Jeremiah Baker were in  
default each were fined twenty Shillings, unless &c

Pettit Jurors

Daniel Garrison  
John Meheet  
Samuel Elwell  
William Haynes  
Jacob De Boys  
Edward Quinton  
Peter Bilderback  
Andrew Linmick  
John Holmes  
Samuel Cobner  
Andrew Stanley  
Nehemiah Hogbin

Henry Tauling  
Elicam Carle  
Thomas Seyers  
Peter Peterson  
Matt<sup>s</sup> Samston  
Daniel Smith  
Samuel Sims  
Samuel Cooper  
John Holms  
Richard Moor  
Amos Penton

Witnesses

Erasmus Kent Rebecca Lecroy (Leroy?)  
John King, Patrick McHumphry John Stoe.  
Elizabeth Booth Sen<sup>r</sup> Richard Booth af

Hannah Winton af Ann Hancock af Richard  
Booth Jun<sup>r</sup> Sworn Edward Taste af Joseph  
Tomson af William Crawley John Loveland  
Constable Bryan O'harrow

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol  
Delivery held at Salem in and for the County of Salem  
in the Province of New Jersey on tuesday the 19<sup>th</sup> day  
of April 1757

Present.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

William Hancock	Ranier Vanhuyst	} Esq <sup>rs</sup>
William Hall	Nicholas Gibbon	

Grand Jury Called—William Hancock Jun<sup>r</sup>., Jeremiah  
Wood James Tyler Samuel Smith and James Smith  
being duely Summoned, made Default, the Court fines  
them each twenty Shillings unless cause shown setting  
the Court—the following were qualified

Edmund Wetherby Esq <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Mason
Benjamin Cripps	John Marshall
Preston Carpenter	David Davis
Charles Fogg	Daniel Bassett
Joshua Thomson	Peter Bilderback
Jonathan Bradway	Richard Smith
Isaac Smack	Richard Moss
Joseph Wood	Benjamin Allen
Josiah Kay	Nathaniel Street
John Hart	Joseph Hancock
James Evans	William Robinson
Elisha Bassett Jun <sup>r</sup>	

William Maxfield and Samuel Wright Constables  
ordered to attend them.

Pettit Jurors

Jacob Duboice	Joseph Van Meter
Lewis Duboice	Hugh Davis
Matthew Newkirk	Thomas Carney

Joseph Chamless	Garret Newkirk
John Homes	Thomas Sears
Jacob Elwell	Jeremiah Baker
James Cunney	Jonas Scoggin
Anthony Nelson	John Vaneman
Robert Walter	Andrew Sinickson
Abner Simms	Samuel Wood
Matthew Morrison	Francis Miles
John Padgett	Peter Brumberry
James Sayres	Jacob Dubois
Abraham Newkirk	Henry Pawling Jun <sup>r</sup>
James Dunlap	John Mayhew
Daniel Garrison	James Dunlap Jun <sup>r</sup>
Samuel Sherry	Lewis Dubois
John Richman	John Nelson
James Wiggins	

Witnesses appearing

Lewis Owen	Samuel Lynch
Michael Pedrick	Joseph Hawks
John Richardson	Moses Hendrickson
Thomas Bird	Laurense Vanneman
John Thomson	John Dunn
William Tuft	Andrew Sinickson
Henry Paterson	Christopher Stump
William Somerel	John Eaton
John Proctor	Robert Conway
Peter Darling	Joseph Shilpott
Cornelius Cornelison	(being sick is excused)
Joseph Kelly	Israel Dalbow
Jeremiah Baker Jun <sup>r</sup>	John Jemison
Matthias Brackney	William Hudson
Robert Tufft	Gabriel Peterson
Matthew Starks	Martin Skeer
Nicholas Smith	Bridget Ackerback
James Empson	Mary Vandever
John Helm	Peter Boon
William Ronald	Margeret Conway
Jane Tufft	James Green



At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at Salem in and for the County of Salem in the Province of New Jersey on tuesday the twenty-fifth day of April 1758

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Aynsley Esq<sup>r</sup>  
 William Hancock, Elisha Bassett } Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
 William Hall

The Grand Jury called, John Hampton and James Dunlap made default &c those who appeared were Qualified as follows—

Samuel Nicholson	Frederick Garrison
Joshua Thompson	Samuel Elwill
Daniel Brandriff	John Keeper
William Oakford	David Smith
Samuel Mason	John Ray
Joshua Brick	Benjamin Thompson
Joseph Wood	Joseph Fogg
George Clark	Joseph Wright
John Beasley	Samuel Smith
Israel Lawrence	John Simms
John Duell	Abner Simms

William Maxfield and Samuel Wright Constables ordered to attend them

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery held at Salem in and for the County of Salem in the province of New Jersey on tuesday the fifth day of June 1759

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill, Esq  
 William Hancock Elisha Bassett } Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
 Isaac Sharp William Hall

The Grand Jury called Thomas Barber John Roberts William Robinson and Joseph Chambliss made default &c The following appeared and were Qualified

Joshua Thompson	Israel Lawrence
Samuel Morgan	John Holmes
Edward Test	Hugh Blackwood
Daniel Basset	John Elwell
William Harvey	Thomas Sayre
Allen Congleton	Benjamin Thomson
James Dunlap	Peter Brynberry
John Fitz Patrick	James Wiggins
Samuel Pedrick	Peter Smith
Andrew Thompson	Francis Test
Richard Booth	James Smith
Benjamin Wallace	

Simon Warner and James Green Constables ordered to attend them.

At a Court of Oyer & Terminer & General Goal Delivery, held at Salem in and for the County on tuesday the third day of June Anno Dom: 1760

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill, Esq  
William Hancock, Elisha Basset, } Esqr<sup>s</sup>  
Edmund Wetherby

Grand Jury called, the following were qualified

Jacob Richman Esq <sup>r</sup>	William Oakford
Sam <sup>l</sup> Linch Esq <sup>r</sup>	Hugh Blackwood
George Lawrence	And <sup>m</sup> Sinnickson
Robert Howard	Jere <sup>n</sup> Baker
Joseph Graves	Joseph Wright
Archibauld Silver	John Fitzpatrick
Frederick Garrison	Richard Hacket
John Creag	Thomas Thompson
Joseph Booden	John Duell
Burgin Ayres	William Moore
William Beetle	William Creag
Tho <sup>s</sup> Pennington	

Peter Peterson (carp<sup>r</sup>) Israel Lock & John Summers not appearing the Court fines them 20/ each unless &c

At a Court of oyer & Terminer & Gen<sup>l</sup> Goal Delivery  
held at Salem in & for the County of Salem on the first  
Tuesday in June Anno Domini MDCCLXI

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill, Esq

William Hancock	Isaac Sharp	} Esq <sup>s</sup>
Elisha Bassett	Edmund Wetherby	

The Grand Jury Called & Quallified viz<sup>t</sup>

Daniel Garrison	Thomas Cullock
Jacob Elwell	William Peterson
Henry Paullise	Jost Miller
John Nelson	George Clark
James Aaron	William Adams
Tho <sup>o</sup> Harding	Samuel Sims
Benj Harding	Edmund Wetherby Jun <sup>r</sup>
John Mayhew	John Redstreake
Garret Nakirk	Francis Miles
John Creag	Abner Sims
John Ray	Peter Paterson
Francis Dunlap	

Jacob Lawrence, John Thompson Defaulters &c  
Alexander Miller & William Anderson Constables to  
attend the Grand Jury

Pettit Jury:

Robert Walker	Peter Bilderback
Andrew Standley	Jeremiah Baker
Michael Walker	John Hogbin
W <sup>m</sup> Garrison	Edward Daugherty
Cornelius Newkirk	Mathias Lambson
John Philpot	William Crumb

Witnesses:

Mr<sup>s</sup> Abigail Lippencott the mistress Samuel  
Lippencott the master Abigail Basset the  
midwife & Edward Keasbey the Coroner—  
The Coroner Inquisithon was given in evi-

dence to the Jury—The prisoner had little to say or offer on her defence—Mr Kinsey for the prisoner shewed and spoke to the point of Law that arose upon the Evidence &c

The evidence sumed up by the Judge & observations upon that of the Law

The Jury Rec<sup>d</sup> their Charge

Thomas Jones a Constable sworn to go out with such Jurymen as had leave of the Court

Nicholas Stanton a Constable Sworn to attend the Jury who went out from the Barr

The prisoner Remanded back to the Prison

The Court adjourned for half an hour

The Court mett pursuant to adjournment

Present as before

The prisoner Set to the Barr

The Jury returned & Called over and agreed on their Verdict that is to say they say that the prisoner is not guilty of the Felony of Murder where of she stands Indicted and that she did nott fly for it that we know of The prisoner discharged by proclamation on paying her Fees

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer & General Goal delivery held at Salem in and for the County of Salem the first day of June Anno Dom 1762

Present

The Honble Richard Saltar Esq<sup>r</sup>

William Hancock	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> Associates
Edmond Weatherby	
Nath <sup>l</sup> Chamness	

Lewis Owen and Bateman Lloyd Constables to attend the Grand Jury the names of the last not recorded.

*Cape May County.*

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at the Court House in and for the County of Cape May in the Province of New Jersey on Monday the 28th day of August 1758

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Henry Young	Nathaniel Foster	} Esq <sup>rs</sup>
William Smith	John Willets	
	Richard Stilwell	

The Grand Jury called and appeared and were Qualified as follows

Richard Smith Esq <sup>r</sup>	William Simkins
Robert Cresse	Thomas Baneraft
Thomas Smith	Joshua Shaw
Nathan Hand	Timothy Hand
John Shaw	Nathan Shaw
Zebulon Swain	Daniel Smith
Thomas Hawit	Jeremiah Ludlam
Shamgar Hand	Providence Ludlam
Joshua Hildreth	Reuben Ludlam
William Matthews	Anthony Ludlam
Ebenezar Johnson	Daniel Cresse
Eleazar Hand	

The Court appoints Aaron Leaming Esq<sup>r</sup> to prosecute the Pleas of the Crown, the Attorney General being absent.



ABSTRACT OF REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN  
OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1912.

Dr. John W. Jordan, the Librarian, makes the following report for the year 1912:

The accessions to the Library and Collections by gift and purchase have been:

2535 Books, an increase over 1911 of 1116,  
5933 Pamphlets, an increase over 1911 of 791,  
9984 Manuscripts, an increase over 1911 of 611,  
2084 Miscellaneous, an increase over 1911 of 578.

To the *Dreer Collection* have been added 376 Manuscripts.

Through the *Lanier Bequest* for the purchase of North Carolina publications and manuscripts, 3 books, 5 pamphlets and 14 manuscripts.

From The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania have been received the following manuscript records, viz.:

Persons who took the Oath of Allegiance in Berks County, Penna.

Abstract of Wills and Administrations of Montgomery County, Penna., 1784-1850, 2 Volumes.

Genealogical Notes, Volume X.

Genealogical Notes of Hopper and other Families.

Lewis Pedigree.

Record and Memorial of the Bevan Family in America.

Records of the Families of Palmer, Cutler, Hayhurst, Cornish, Fort, Jefferies, Boyle and Carpenter.

Records of Dutch Reformed Church, Lebanon, Hunterdon County, N. J., including Records of the Rockaway Congregation.

Records of Middletown, Bucks County, Penna. Monthly Meeting, 1713-1874.

Records of First Unitarian Church, Philadelphia, 1813-1901.

Baptisms by Rev. Daniel Schumacker, 1754-1774.

Records of St. Mary's P. E. Church, Burlington, N. J., 1703-1876.

In the Manuscript Division: 8904 manuscripts were mended, 4887 mounted, 27 vellum commissions, 44 maps and plans repaired and mounted on linen, 53 books repaired for the Library, 1536 leaves cut for the Peters Papers and 190 large sheets of paper stained.

Deserving of special mention are the following accessions:—

From Mrs. Mary Smith Combs, 1100 books, among them the "Book of Birds," by John J. Audubon, Meyrick's "Ancient Armour," Doran's "Annals of the English Stage," "Lives of the Queens of Scotland," "Baronial Halls of England," "North American Sylva," and many Philadelphia imprints, all handsomely bound.

From William Fackenthal, Esq., Easton, Penna., 606 Warrants and Surveys of Northampton County, Penna., 1740-1863.

From Charles Henry Hart, 254 Henderson Manuscripts.

Autograph letter of William Penn to James Logan, dated London, 28, 5 mo., 1702, 12 pages, from members of the Society.

Receipt Book of Samuel Rhoads in account with Benjamin Franklin, 1764-1766, from members of the Society.

From E. Russell Jones, 41 books, 39 pamphlets and 4 miscellaneous.

Council of War, signed by Sir William Penn, August 11, 1651, from members of the Society.

From Henry E. Busch, Register of the First Universalist Church of Philadelphia, 1790-1889.

From Miss A. L. Fries, Salem, N. C., 26 books, 17 manuscripts, 1 broadside.

From Henry Pratt McKean, 83 books, notably, Audubon & Bachman's "Quadrupeds of North America," 3 volumes, 1843.

From Theodore M. Hart, 81 manuscripts, letters and documents and 1 broadside, the latter rare.

From William Brooke Rawle, Esq., 9 maps and plans of the city of Philadelphia and the original plan of the Bush Hill Estate, 24 volumes of English Parish Registers and 24 pamphlets.

From Mrs. William Reed, of Baltimore, an oil portrait of General Joseph Reed, by James Peale and an oil portrait of Lieutenant George W. Reed, his son, after Rembrandt Peale.

Letter of Sir William Penn, dated July 11, 1667; wooden chest belonging to George Leib, 1785, and an interleaved copy (in three volumes) of "Doctrina Placitandi, etc.," London, 1677—John Dickinson's copy with his manuscript notes, purchased by the Library Fund.

From Miss Letitia A. Humphreys, 7093 manuscripts, 158 books, 279 pamphlets and 376 miscellaneous maps, drawings, photographs, etc., also 14 volumes of Ledgers and Account Books of Joshua Humphreys, Jr., mainly the military and scientific papers of the late Major General Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, U. S. A.

From the family of Abraham R. Perkins, 2907 manuscripts, letters, orderly books and documents of Major General Anthony Wayne, mainly covering the period of his campaign against the Indians of the west.

From Miss Anna R. Dougherty, 116 books, Philadelphia imprints of the last century.

From Samuel Comfort, the original Journal and Account Book of John Woolman (the latter on Stamp Act paper), 26 manuscripts, marriage certificates and letters of Elias Hicks.

Manuscript plan of attack on Fort Mifflin, 1777; Broadside, Proclamation of Governor Beverly Randolph of Virginia; petition of John Miller, signed by Franklin; Act for Incorporating the Society for the Relief of Masters of Ships, 1770, purchased by the Library Fund.

From Herbert Eells, marriage certificate, Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1689.

Minute Book of the Amphion Musical Association, 1849-1869; 113 Weiss manuscripts and broadsides, purchased by the Library Fund.

From Dr. James H. Montgomery, Erie, Penna., 7 diplomas and certificates of ordination and consecration of Rt. Rev. William White, first Bishop of the P. E. Church in the United States.

By bequest of Abel Lukens Stout, Commission of Second Lieutenant Jenkins, Pennsylvania Militia.

Original genealogical manuscripts and charts of Philadelphia families, 1730; Petition for the appointment of Capt. Frederick Vernon, 1775, signed by Anthony Wayne and others; Procuration from Springett Penn to Edward Penington, 1765; correspondence of John Penn with John F. Mifflin and others, 50 pieces; manuscript map of Tinicum Island, by Capt. Montessor; Letter Book of Herman Haupt, Chief Engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad, purchased by the Library Fund.

Valuable donations to the Library and Collections have also been made by the following members and friends of the Society:—

Louis Ashbrook, Thomas Willing Balch, Henry Carey Baird, The Misses Bell, Hon. Hampton L. Carson, Randolph Clay, The Misses Cresson, Mrs. Hampton L. Carson, John Milton Colton, The Misses Elliott, Albert J. Edmunds, William Z. Flitercraft, Foster C. Griffith, Jay V. Hare, Hon. William U. Hensel, Mrs. Thomas R. Harper, John Story Jenks, Joseph Jackson,

Dr. Ewing Jordan, John W. Jordan, Charles F. Jenkins, De.B. Randolph Keim, Gregory B. Keen, William W. Longstreth, Francis B. Lee, Miss Rachel Lowrie, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Albert Cook Myers, Leonard G. Myers, William M. Mervine, Col. M. R. Muckle, Hon. John B. McPherson, Hon. James T. Mitchell, Miss E. E. Massey, Hon. J. Hampton Moore, Col. John P. Nicholson, R. R. Neill, Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer, Samuel L. Parrish, Mrs. Craig D. Ritchie, Charles Morton Smith, James M. Swank, Mrs. Casper Souder, Jr., William C. Stevenson, Jr., Dr. E. S. Sharpe, Walter George Smith, Mrs. Anne Lane Scollay, Wilfred H. Schoff, Miss Mary I. Stillé, Miss Mary M. Townsend, Miss E. L. Tenbrook, Dr. C. H. Vinton, Mrs. Talcott Williams, Mrs. Ashbel Welch, Miss Anne H. Wharton, The Misses Wylie, Col. Joseph Willcox, John R. Witcraft and Dr. John L. Yard.

During the months of July and August the Library was kept open for the use of the members and the public; the attendance was about the average of previous years.



DIARY OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.  
JANUARY 1—JUNE 21, 1796.

By MISS MARY M. TOWNSEND.

In the Washington Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a copy of "The American Repository of Useful Information containing a Calendar for the present year, &c.," printed in Philadelphia 1796, by B. Davies, in which President Washington made records of the weather and a few personal items, between January 1 and June 21, 1796. On the fly-leaf is written, "Tho<sup>s</sup> B. Washington, Presented by his affectionate uncle Bush<sup>d</sup> Washington. The Diary of Gen<sup>l</sup> George Washington."

1796. *Jan. 1.*—Remarkably mild and pleasant—perfectly clear. Received the National colours from M<sup>r</sup>. Adet the Minister Plenipo. to day:

Much company visited.—

2.—Equally fine with yesterday.—Saw the Stern of the Frigate raised.

3.—Rain in the night—foggy till noon—then clear. Wind S. W.

4.—Remarkably mild—clear & pleasant—Wind S<sup>o</sup> W

5.—Very white frost—Southerly Wind & lowering Sun

6.—Rain in the Night and violent storm—variable wind & a little Snow.

7.—Clear forenoon—lowering afternoon—Wind N<sup>o</sup> W<sup>st</sup>.

8.—Clear but cool—Wind at N. W.

9.—Clear & cold. Wind at D<sup>o</sup> lowering towards night.

10.—Lowering all the forenoon—about 2 o'clock began to Snow—Wind at S<sup>o</sup> W<sup>t</sup>

11.—Snowing very moderately till Noon with the Wind at N° E<sup>st</sup>—then Rain w<sup>ch</sup> carr<sup>d</sup> all off.

12.—Clear with the Wind at West and moderate.

13.—Clear in the forenoon, lowering afterwards—Wind at N° E<sup>st</sup>.

14.—Raining all day moderately & steadily—Wind at N° E<sup>st</sup> but warm.

15.—Cloudy most part of the day. Wind Westerly.

16.—Similar to yesterday in all respects.

17.—Snowing more or less all day with the wind at N° E<sup>t</sup>

18.—Cloudy, & now and then Snowing—Wind Westerly

19.—Clear in the forenoon, cloudy afterwards with great appearances of Snow.

20.—Some Snow fell in the night and at intervals & with a mixture of Rain through the day. Wind Easterly.

21.—Clear with the Wind Westerly.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Clear—wind westerly—Mercury in the morning at 16 degrees.

23.—Perfectly calm, clear and pleasant—Mercury 18 in the morning.

24.—Clear in the forenoon—a little lowering afterwards—wind at S° West—Mercury at 30 & falling.

25.—Lowering all day with appearances of Rain—W<sup>d</sup> N° E<sup>t</sup>

26.—Thick weather, but mild & thawing—Wind at S° W<sup>t</sup>

27.—Rain fell in the night. Fine Snow all the forenoon—Wind Easterly.

28.—Light Snow in the morning—clear afterwards & mild. Wind S° W<sup>t</sup>

29.—Clear & turned much colder. Mercury at 18 Wind at N° W<sup>t</sup>

30.—Quite clear—mercury at 8 degrees—W<sup>d</sup> at N° W<sup>t</sup> but not strong.—

31.—Very cold—Mercury at 4 degrees—very clear with little wind but a piercing air.—

*Feb 1.*—Clear all day—Wind westerly in the forenoon & S° W<sup>t</sup> afterwards.

2.—A sprinkle of Snow in the morning—cloudy afterwards with appearances of Rain. Wind S° W.

3.—A slight Snow fell in the Night—clear day—mild in the forenoon—Cooler afterwards—Wind at N. W.

4.—Clear and rather cold. Not much wind & that N. W.

5.—Very clear & pleasant with but little Wind from the N° E<sup>t</sup>.

6.—A slight Snow, not an Inch deep, fell last night, clear without wind.

7.—Clear all day with but little wind from the Eastward.

8.—Cloudy all day—Wind Westwardly—Moderate.

9.—Clear with the Wind at N° W<sup>t</sup> and rather cold—but fine notwithstanding for the season.

10.—About 7 o'clock it began to Snow—and kept steadily at it until 11. Then chang<sup>d</sup> to rain & cont<sup>d</sup> all the day afterwards—Wind Easterly.

11.—Raining in the Morning—clear afterwards and as mild as April—Wind at S° W<sup>t</sup>

12.—Wind from N° W<sup>t</sup> & cool, but fine notwithstanding.

13.—Clear & pleasant with but little wind and that from the Southward.

14.—Warm in the forenoon with the Wind Southerly. Cooler afterwards—Wind getting r<sup>d</sup> to the N° W<sup>t</sup>

15.—Cool, & clear all day, but not unpleasantly cold, Wind continuing at N° W<sup>st</sup> but not hard nor disagreeable.

16.—A little variable with the wind westerly.

17.—Clear, & remarkably fine with the Wind Southerly.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Wind at N° E<sup>t</sup> and rain<sup>s</sup> all day.—In the night Snow ab<sup>t</sup> one inch thick fell.

19.—Clear with the wind at West & rather cool.

20.—Clear & cool—Wind westerly.

21.—Clear in the forepart of the day but lowering afterwards—Wind S° W<sup>t</sup>

22.—Snow ab<sup>t</sup> 2 Inches deep fell in the Night—forenoon cloudy. afterwards clear. Wind westerly.

23.—Wind at N. W<sup>t</sup> pretty fresh & cold.

24.—Cold & towards evening lowering & likely for Snow. Wind at N° W<sup>t</sup>

25.—Thick foggy morning with appearances of Wet, but none fell.—W<sup>d</sup> at West.

26.—Much such a day as yesterday—but Wind more Southerly.

27.—Very thick morning again, but clear afternoon—Wind Southerly.

28.—Very clear and remarkably fine & pleasant.

29<sup>th</sup>.—A good deal of Rain fell in the Night.—Fine Rain all day with the Wind at East.

*Mar. 1.*—Thick heavy morning with the Wind at North.—the afternoon not much better.

2.—Same kind of day, & Wind as yesterday with spitting of Snow.

3.—A little Snow fell in the Night—heavy and thick all day. Wind ab<sup>t</sup> North.

4.—Again a little snow fell in the Night—but not en<sup>o</sup> to cover the ground.

5.—Heavy morning with clouds all day—Wind at North, a little Easterly.

6.—Thick morning but very pleasant afternoon with but little wind.

7.—Cloudy morning but clear afternoon—Wind west—Shifting more Northerly & Easterly, & clouding towards Night.

8.—Snow 4 Inches deep fell in the Night & continued spitting until 10 or 11 o'clock—then cleared & grew cold—Wind at N° W.

9.—Cold & clear—Wind N° W<sup>t</sup> & Westerly.

10.—Cold & cloudy in the foren<sup>a</sup> but clear & mild afterw<sup>ds</sup>—Wind getting to the S° W<sup>st</sup>

11.—Clear & pleasant all day. Wind getting more Westerly.

12.—Clear and warmer than yesterday—Wind more South.

13.—Forenoon clear & still afternoon very windy from the S° West.

14.—Lowering and likely to rain with the wind in the same place cloudy more or less all day.

15.—Tuesday clear and warm. Wind still Southerly and pretty brisk.—

16.—A good deal of Rain fell last night and this morning.—About 7 P. M. it cleared & blew violent from ab<sup>t</sup> N° W<sup>st</sup> all day & night.

17.—Clear with the Wind from the same point.

18.—Dull & heavy forenoon with light falls of Snow from the N° E<sup>t</sup>.—Clear afternoon.

19.—Clear & cold all day with the Wind fresh from N° W.

20.—Clear morning—Wind Westerly—pleasant all day.

21.—Morning lowering—but clear afterwards—Wind S° E<sup>t</sup> growing warm.

22.—Heavy morning but clear afterwards and warm Wind still at S° E<sup>t</sup>

23.—Clear and warm Wind fresh from S° W<sup>t</sup>

24.—Cloudy morning & cooler wind at N° W<sup>t</sup> and clear afternoon.

25.—Wind in the same place clear & cool all day.—

26.—Wind Easterly but clear & very pleasant notwithstanding.

27.—Clear all day—the Wind at East & pleasant tho' a little cool.—

28.—Thick, foggy morning with moderate rain about noon with the Wind at East—About 3 °clock it cleared & was pleas<sup>t</sup> but afterw<sup>ds</sup> grew cloudy & cold.



29.—Very pleasant all day with the Wind westerly but variable.

30.—Clear in the forenoon with the wind mostly at west—cloudy afternoon.

31.—Clear and warm with but little wind & that Easterly.

*April 1.*—Thick morning but clear afterwards & warm—very little wind & that N° E<sup>t</sup>

2.—Hazy & smoaky—very little wind & that westerly—in the night a little rain.

3.—Clear with the Wind N° Easterly—somewhat cooler.

4.—Same wind & weather as yesterday.

5.—Clear and still cooler the Wind, tho' not fresh, at N. W.

6.—Clear & rather cool—Wind being at N° E<sup>t</sup> in the morning—warmer in the afternoon wind being at S° W.

7.—Cool in the morning, but warmer afterwards wind getting to South West.

8.—Warm with appearances of Rain—Wind at S° W.

9.—Thick morning, but clear afterwards with a brisk S° Westerly wind—ground very dry.—Smoaky.

10.—Again very thick and smoaky in the morning Wind Easterly & fresh last night.—afterwards North-erly.

11.—Wind at N° W<sup>t</sup> and cold all day.—

12.—Thick morning but clear afterwards, rather cool wind Easterly in the morning & westerly afterwards. Mr. Washington Craik joined as private Secret<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Apr<sup>l</sup> 1796.

13.—Just such a day as yesterday.—& Wind the same.

14.—Wind at East in the morning and very thick light Rain about Noon.

15.—Very thick morning with but little wind—clear noon & rain in the afternoon.

16.—Wind at N° E<sup>t</sup> and from nine until 11 a close and constant rain—clear afterwards.

17.—Wind at East & clear all day—a little cool.

18.—Clear & serene with very little wind.—

19.—Clear forenoon—with the wind pretty fresh from the S° W<sup>st</sup>

20.—Clear all day with little wind—that from S° W.

21.—Clear with the wind at N° E<sup>t</sup> but warm & pleasant notwithstanding.

22.—Clear morning with the wind at East w<sup>ch</sup> shifted in the afternoon to S° W<sup>t</sup> & grew warm.

23.—Clear morning with the Wind fresh from N° E<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> continued so through the day.—& weather cooler.

24.—Thick heavy morning with drops of Rain, Wind at S° W. in the afternoon there was pretty good Shower—cool.

25.—Cloudy morning but clear afterwards & cool all day—Wind at N° E<sup>t</sup>

26.—Cloudy morning & evening clear midday—cool all day with the Wind at N° E<sup>t</sup>

27.—Wind at N° E<sup>t</sup>—about 8 o'clock in the morning it began a fine Rain and continued till Noon—toward<sup>ds</sup> Night there was a very fine rain for an hour or two.

28.—Clear and pleasant with the Wind Westerly.

29.—Wind at N° W<sup>t</sup>—fresh—cold & disagreeable all day.

30.—Wind and weather the same as yesterday.

*May 1.*—Clear and cool all day—Wind at N° W<sup>t</sup>

2.—Much such as yesterday. both in wind & weather.

3.—Wind at S° W<sup>t</sup> and warmer.

4.—Clear morning—Wind variable from S° E<sup>t</sup> to South.

5.—Wind at S° E<sup>t</sup> and fresh with clouds in the forenoon, & mostly thro the day.

6.—About 6 o'clock it began a moderate rain, with the wind from East—and continued raining moderately but steadily until 7 o'clock in the evening.

7.—Wind in the same quarter with a little rain in the forenoon—clear afterward<sup>ds</sup>

8.—Wind still at East with clouds & sprinkling rain.  
9.—Cloudy with appearances of Rain—some of which fell in the night.—Wind Easterly.

10.—Cloudy with the wind Westerly.

11.—Weather variable, with small showers.—Wind at S° W<sup>st</sup> & growing warm.

12.—For the most part clear but at times threatening rain.—Wind Westerly.

13.—Wind Westerly—shifting to S° W. & getting warm. Clear & very pleasant.

14.—Wind at S° E<sup>t</sup> and lowering more or less all day.

15.—Wind in the same quarter, with clouds, & sometimes sprinkling of Rain; in the afternoon a pretty heavy shower with sharp thunder.

16.—Wind Westerly & S° West.

17.—Cloudy more or less all day with light drippings now & then of Rain. Wind at S° E<sup>t</sup>

18.—Wind at East—a thick mist till 7 °clock—then a steady rain till ten—variable afterwards with a shower ab<sup>t</sup> 6 °clock—& Wind—N. W.

19.—Wind at East in the forenoon, with constant rain from 6 till 12 °clock Wind westerly afterw<sup>ds</sup>

20.—Wind Southerly & weather Rain in the afternoon.

21.—Clear with little or no Wind until the aftern<sup>n</sup>

22.—Clear with hard wind from S° W<sup>st</sup> & South.

23.—Brisk wind from South all day with great appearances of Rain.

24.—Wind Northerly and cool and for the most part of the day clear.

25.—Wind at N° E<sup>st</sup>; & fresh with constant rain until 4 °clock—thick & misty afterw<sup>ds</sup>

26.—Wind in the same place with constant rain till at 4 °clock when it ceased & began again at night.

27.—Thick morning, with some drops of Rain—Wind Easterly—about 9 °clock—the wind shifted to S° W<sup>t</sup> cleared & grew warm.

28.—Wind at S° W<sup>t</sup> in the morning—varying to West and N° W<sup>t</sup> with changeable weather & a shower.

29.—Clear forenoon—lowering afternoon with Wind at S° W<sup>st</sup>

30.—Rain in the Night w<sup>ch</sup> continued steadily till noon when it cleared Wind still at S° West.

31.—Variable—with rain at times—and wind at S° West.

*June 1.*—Clear with the Wind varying, but chiefly Westwardly.

2.—Clear all day with the wind at S° West & Warm.

3.—Clear & warm with but little wind and that South-erly.

4.—Warm with but very little wind.—In the afternoon there was appearances of Rain but none fell.

5.—Clear morning & showery afternoon—with variable wind from S° W. to N. E<sup>t</sup>

6.—Raining a little in the forenoon—clear afterwards Wind Easterly.

7.—Wind Easterly—very heavy morning and raining more or less all day with the Wind at East.

8.—Heavy morning with the Wind at East, variable afterwards & Wind South.

9.—Tolerably clear all day with the wind at S° & warm but rain in the Night.

10.—Wind at East in the morning with Rain—in the Evening and Night a great deal fell.

11.—Wind at East with a little Rain very warm.

12.—Cloudy all day with great appearances of Rain—Wind Easterly in the morning and Westerly afterwards.

13.—Cloudy for the most part of the day—but no Rain.

14.—Clear Morning—but Rainy afternoon.—Wind var'y.

15.—Cloudy but no Rain and tolerably cool.

16.—Thick heavy morning & heavy Showers of Rain in the afternoon.

17.—Clear all day and very warm—especially in the afternoon.

18.—Clear & very warm all day with sprinkling Rain in the afternoon.

19.—Very warm with very little wind.

20.—Slight rain in the Morning but fair before and after noon.

21.—Clear and warm all day and but little wind.



JAMES MILES AND SOME OF HIS  
DESCENDANTS.

By THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

The following brief account of James Miles of Llanfihangel Helygen (the Church of St. Michael by the Willows), Radnorshire, and some of his descendants, is based partly on notes furnished by the late Mr. George K. Miles, of Pittsburgh, and partly on data gathered by myself. In placing the results of his researches in my hands, Mr. Miles expressed his desire that the information should be printed. After consideration, I am of opinion that Mr. Miles' wishes can best be carried out by the inclusion of the material in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE. The Miles family is traceable for many generations in Llanfihangel Helygen, and neighbourhood, and, in the sixteenth century, was of considerable importance, and probably of Flemish descent.

Among that large number of Welsh emigrants who left their native shores in the last quarter of the seventeenth century to seek homes in the province of Pennsylvania, came James, Samuel (and Margaret his wife), Richard, Griffith, David and Ann Miles. James Miles, the father of Richard, Griffith, David, and Ann, was born in the parish of Llanfihangel Helygen,<sup>1</sup> Radnorshire, 1622. He had a deed, dated 19-20 June, 1682, for 100 acres of land to be surveyed to him in Pennsylvania. Authorities differ as to time of their arrival in America; but the following would seem conclusive:

(Pa. Arch. Sec. Ser. ed. 1893-Vol. XIX. p. 462) "Min-

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<sup>1</sup> Llanfihangel Helygen, formerly written Llanvihangel Helygen, appears in Pennsylvania records concerning this family, including a Family Bible, in various forms.

utes of the Board of Property—of the Province of Pennsylvania.” “Upon an Affid’t made by Benjamin Chambers before a Justice that Sam’l Miles, who now appeared before ye Board, Came a Serv’t into this Province to ye Society in the year 1682, [1683] ’tis ordered upon his h’ble Req’t and Suit that a Warrant be granted him for his headland.” (6 mo. 27, 1705.)

JAMES MILES brought a Certificate of Removal to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting from the Redstone Monthly Meeting, held “in the Parish of Llanvihangell Helygen,” Radnorshire, Wales, dated 5 mo. 27, 1683. It is not known whether his wife accompanied the party—nor her name. James was afterward baptized (as an adult) in the Baptist Church, as appears by the Pennepak records. Date of his death and place of burial unknown.

SAMUEL MILES, son of James, brought a Certificate of Removal to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, from Redstone Meeting, Radnorshire, Wales, dated 5 mo. 27, 1683. He married in Wales, 25th day of 4th mo., 1682, Margaret James (at the parish of New Church, in the house of Ann Thomas). He, and his wife (Margaret James, Spinster) were purchasers of land from Richard Davies, before emigrating to America. A Patent to Samuel confirming various lots, for 352 acres, bears date 5 mo. 6 day, 1705. Samuel and Margaret settled first in Philadelphia; but afterwards removed to Radnor. Their first-born daughter Thamer (called also Thamer James) b. 8 mo. 21—1687, was “the first white child born in Radnor.” Samuel was baptized (records of the Seventh Day Baptist church of Providence) 6 mo. 9, 1698, and died, 1708. (Abstract of Will, PENNA. MAG. Vol. XV. p. 202). Will dated June 24, 1707; proved April 28, 1708, mentions as legatees: Wife (name not given), and children, Phebe, Tamar, Ruth, and two (not named), and testator’s brother Richard. The widow was taxable in Radnor as late as 1715.

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*Children of Samuel and Margaret Miles were:*

Tamar (Thamar, or James) b. 8 mo. 27 1687; d. mo. 27, 1770; m. 3 mo. 6, 1708, Thomas Thomas (son of William), Her dau. m. Nathan Lewis.

Phebe, b. 4 mo. 20, 1690; (rem. to Haverford); m. 2 mo. 13, 1715, Evan Evans.

Ruth, b. 1 mo. 28, 1693; d. prior to 1736; m. 11 mo. 3, 1715/16, Owen Evans.

RICHARD MILES, son of James, was a purchaser (in Wales) of land from Richard Davies, (deed dated June 19, 1682, 100 acres;—recorded in Phila., 1 mo. 12, 1684). He also held 49½ ft front on south side Chestnut Street, in 1683. In the above deed he is described as of parish of Llanvihangel Helygen, in the County of Radnor, weaver. He married (by Friends' Ceremony) 4 mo. 28, 1688, at the house of John Evans in Radnor, Sarah Evans. The Certificate designates him as "of ye township of Radnor, Taylor."

He was probably one of the Keithian Quakers, who later became Baptist. Richard and his wife were baptized, shortly before 1701, (by William Beckingham) in Upper Providence, and meetings were often held at his house. In June, 1706, a conference was held there by deputies from the Pennepak and Welsh Tract churches, to adjust some differences in ordinances of the church. Griffith and David Miles attended this conference.

In April, 1711, the Great Valley Baptist church was formed, with Richard Miles, Sarah his wife, and daughters Joan and Jane, among the constituent members.

"From this time on, he and his family were identified with the Baptists. His five sons-in-law were Baptists of standing and influence. After his death (or more probably after the death of his oldest son Richard Miles, 1734) his widow Sarah seems to have gone to Plymouth township, where her son-in-law John Davis "of Plymouth" lived.

In her will dated October 6, 1750; pr. Aug 25, 1756, she describes herself as "of Plymouth."

The will of Richard Miles is dated August 29, 1713; proved Dec. 23, 1713. Signed with his mark "being Sick of body but of sound and perfect mind and memory." Witnesses: Thomas Thomas (husband of niece Tamar), Ruth Miles (niece), and William Meredith. Richard's brother-in-law, William Davies, and John Powell "my Daughter's father-in-law" were to be Tutors and Guardians over the children until they became of age.

*Children of Richard and Sarah (Evans) Miles were:*

Richard, m. Phebe Davis.

JAMES, m. Hannah Pugh (sist. Jonathan), dau. of David and Catharine Pugh. Constable in Radnor 1701; Supervisor 1702; Pat. 174 acres land, in 1703 (Oct 26).

Evan, m. Mary, landlord of the "Unicorn," Tredryffryn.

John, m. Rebecca James, (sist. Evan James) dau. David of Radnor; who settled there in 1682.

Jane, m. John Davis "of Plymouth."

Sarah, m. Rev Benjamin Griffith, b. "Llanllwny,"<sup>1</sup> Wales, 1688; emigrated to America 1710; half-bro. of Rev. Abel Morgan.

Hannah, m. Jonathan Pugh, (bro. Hannah;—see above).

Abigail, m. Rev John Davis, (Second pastor at Great Valley Baptist church).

Joanna, m. Joseph Powell, (son of John Powell, named in Richard's will); he and Joan were constituent members the Brandywine Bapt. church).

*Children of James and Hannah (Pugh) Miles were:*

Enos, m. Sarah Pugh,

---

<sup>1</sup> Carmarthenshire.

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NATHANIEL, (Capt in Augusta Regt. at Ft. Halifax, Pa., with 30 men, July 1, 1756.) m. Hannah Jones, (sist. John "of Radnor" Gr. dau. Thos John Evan; arrived in Phila. Apr 16, 1682—(30 weeks fr. London).

Richard, m. Mary Pugh,

Samuel, (Of Revolutionary fame—Mayor Phila., 1790.) m. Catharine Wistar,

Sarah, m. Samson Davis (her cousin)

James, m. Susanna Rock, (he and Richard, his bro., rem. to Brush Valley, Centre Co., Pa., where Samuel held much land).

*Children of (Capt.) Nathaniel and Hannah (Jones) Miles:*

Sarah, m. George Sitters (or Siders)

Catharine, m. Meyers.

NATHANIEL, (Blacksmith by trade; resident of Tredyffrin & Vincent townships) m. Mary Frick, (descendant of Jacob Frick,)

*Children of Nathaniel and Mary (Frick) Miles:*

Rebekah, m. Moses V. Williams,

Catherine, m. Willis Davis,

Sarah, unm.

NATHANIEL (III) m. SARAH PHILIPS,

Jacob, m. Dinah Walkinhood.

John, m. Margaret Kelly.

Joseph, (twin) m. Mary Ann Frits.

Hannah, (twin) m. John Simes.

Mary, d. in infancy.

James, unm.

Eliza M. m. Thomas J. Grover.

*Children of Nathaniel and Sarah (Philips) Miles were:*

EDWIN, (twin) m. SUSAN EVANS JONES,

Emma, (twin) m. George W. Keiter.

Mary, m. Lewis Heffelfinger,



Lewis, m. Isabella Innes Kinzie,  
Martha Frame, m. Thos Davenport Davis.  
Sarah, m. William Leonard,  
Catharine D. m. George R. Stiteler,  
Owen Philips, m. Hannah P. Shirk,  
George Baugh, m. Helen R. Yountz,

*Children of Edwin and Susan Evans (Jones) Miles,  
of Pittsburgh, Pa.*

Amanda M. m. James Buchanan Dewhurst.  
George Keiter, unm.  
Nathaniel, m. Jennie C. Overholt.  
Sarah Elizabeth, unm.

GRIFFITH MILES, son of James, (b. in Wales, 1670—), married by Friends' Ceremony, at the house of David Price at Radnor, "in a public assembly," 8 mo. 20, 1692, Bridget Edwards, daughter of Alexander and [?Bridget] Edwards, of Radnor, Pa. The subscribing witnesses were 30 in number, among whom were—James, Richard, Samuel and Margaret Miles; and Ann Davis.

Griffith Miles was baptized (as an adult) 1697; and Bridget in 1709 (Pennepak Church records). Both died in 1719; she in Jan'y. The will of Griffith Miles is dated Mar. 28, and proved in Phila. June 13, 1719. Many particulars concerning his branch are to be found in "Annals of Miles Ancestry"—C. H. Banes, 1895.

*Children of Griffith and Bridget (Edwards) Miles  
were:*

Hester, b. Sep 28, 1693.  
Martha, b. Oct 12, 1695.  
Margaret, b. Apr 9, 1698; m. John Carl,<sup>1</sup>  
Griffith, b. Dec 3, 1700; m. 1721—, Sarah ———; and  
d. June, 1727.  
Samuel, b. Sept 1703.

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<sup>1</sup> Some accounts state that *Martha* married John Carl.

John, b. Apr 26, 1709; m. Ann Davies, (dau. Mirick Davies; and d. June, 1747.

In his will (dated Mar 28, 1719) Griffith describes himself as "Yeoman, of the township of Bristol, in the county of Philadelphia. Griffith Miles' branch of the Miles family first settled in Lower Dublin township, Philadelphia county; but, about the year 1800, removed to Bucks county.

DAVID MILES, son of James, was a witness at marriage of his brother Richard in 1688, and at the marriage of James and Jane Edwards, in 1692, and at the marriage of William Thomas and Elizabeth Philips, 1694 (where the names of Samuel, Griffith and Sarah Miles also, appear). He was baptized (as an adult) in Philadelphia (as shown by Pennepak church records), 7 mo. 9, 1697.

The records of the Welsh Tract church show that David and Alice Miles joined that body in the year 1709. Her name appears as a witness at marriage of Phebe Miles (dau. Samuel & Margaret) 2 mo. 13, 1716, with Evan Evans. David does not appear to have been a purchaser of land, and no record of will or administration has been found. In list of deaths among the records of the Welsh Tract church—the name "Dafydd Miles—1710" is given, and in the graveyard of Pennepak Baptist church a "very old piece of rough stone, with no date, bears the name D. Miles." Als Mils is among the signers, Feb 4, 1716, of a Confession of Faith (at Welsh Tract Church), showing that she survived her husband by some years. None of their descendants are known, other than "Niece Sarah Miles, daughter of David Miles" who inherited under the will of her uncle Richard,—“one oak Chest wch is now in the house of my Brother in Law, William Davies.”

ANN MILES, daughter of James, (b. in Wales—) married William Davies (or Davis) of Radnor township, who came to America about the year 1685, and pur-

chased a lot on Walnut Street Philadelphia, from John Jones. In the same year he bought a plantation in Radnor. He was originally, a member of the Society of Friends; but later became a member of the Church of England. The first English services in the vicinity were held in his house. Afterwards in a log cabin built upon his plantation, which burned down early in 1700, and replaced by the present St David's Church, at Radnor. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1712 and 1714. Later he removed to Caernavon township (now Lancaster county), and the records of the Bangor Church shew numerous descendants. Ann (Miles) Davies died in 1734; William died 1739.

A FORGOTTEN MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN  
NEW JERSEY.

After the Moravians, in the year 1741, had settled in the Province of Pennsylvania and commenced the building of Bethlehem, some of their number from time to time visited the neighboring Province of New Jersey, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel at Amwell, Hunderdon County, and other places, or passed through it on their way to the Indians in New York and New England. This gave rise to their friendship with Samuel Green and his wife Abigail, who were wont to entertain the missionaries and Indian converts on their journeys from or to Bethlehem.

The Rev's. Bruce, Shaw, Joseph Powel and others, from time to time, preached in their house. In 1749, both Mr. Green and his wife were baptized at Bethlehem by Bishops Nathaniel Seidel and John C. F. Cammerhoff; they also had their children baptized, and placed them in the schools at Bethlehem, to be educated. Indeed so great was their attachment to the Moravians, that Mr. Green, in 1768, came to that place and offered all his land to them, for the purpose of establishing in New Jersey a settlement similar to Bethlehem.

After mature deliberation, the question of acceding to Mr. Green's proposal was determined in the affirmative. Out of regard to the interests of the children of the Greens, the Moravians deemed it wrong to accept the land as a gift, or in consideration of an annuity to the old people, as the latter had proposed. Accordingly the land was purchased by Bishops Nathaniel Seidel from Mr. Green and his wife, with the full consent of

both their sons, for £1000 cash; their house and garden, free firewood, and hay for two cows being reserved to them besides during their life time. In 1771 the additional sum of £100 was paid to them for a tract of land on the mountain, together with £100 for the use of their son Nicholas.

In the spring of 1769, the first settlers from Bethlehem, Peter Worbass and family, removed thither, and were hospitably entertained by the Greens, until the first house, a log building, had been erected. With a view to render the new purchase profitable as soon as possible, a stone flouring mill, 53 x 43 feet, was built and put in operation in 1770, although but little wheat was then raised in that part of the country.

In May of the same year the name of Greenland was given to the new place. Worbass having removed to Nazareth in 1771, Frederick Leinback, of Berks County, became manager in his stead, and commenced a small shop or store for the benefit of the settlement. Daniel Hauser took charge of the mill and Frederick Rauschenberger became assistant on the farm. In 1773 Frederick Blum settled there and established a tannery.

During the first year, after the commencement of this new settlement, Bishop Ettwein frequently visited there, preaching both in the English and German languages, and administering the sacraments. In 1771, Rev. John Jacob Schmick was appointed minister; he was succeeded in 1773 by Francis Boehler, who was followed in 1774 by Daniel Sydrich. The latter being called to Philadelphia towards the close of the year, Bishop Ettwein ministered to the flock until May, 1775, when he was relieved by Joseph Neisser.

In May of 1774, the Church authorities determined to establish a regular settlement; the site was surveyed on the 25th and 26th of November, 1774, and a town laid out by Nathaniel Seidel, John Ettwein, Hans Christian von Schweinitz, and the surveyor, J. W.



Golgofsky, and on the 8th of February, 1775, it was named Hope.

In the same year a dwelling house was built for the farmer, and a building erected for a distillery and brewery. Stephen Nicolaus undertook the manufacture of bricks and lime, while Adolph Hartman, who had removed thither from Christian's Spring, erected a dwelling house and smithy.

In 1776 a house was built for a store, and occupied by Frederick Leinback in 1777. The following year was a very sickly one, fever and dysentery prevailing extensively and proving fatal in a number of cases. From November 1779, till March 1780, Bishop Ettwein again took temporary charge of the congregation, preaching in the English language every fortnight.

In 1781 the Clergy House (embracing dwellings for the officials of the church and a chapel) was built, the corner stone being laid by Bishop J. F. Reichel on the 2d of April. In August of the same year Dr. C. F. Kampman took up his residence here, and engaged in the practice of medicine.

A distinguished visitor to the little town in 1782, was General Washington, who with two aids and no escort, was en route to rejoin the army at Newburg on the Hudson. He left Philadelphia on July 24th and nighted at Pottsgrove (now Pottstown); reached Bethlehem on the 25th and lodged at the Sun Inn. The following day, Bishop Ettwein, who intended to visit Hope, accompanied the party to Easton and thence rode on ahead to prepare for their entertainment. After dinner, Washington looked about the town and then resumed his journey, probably spending the night at Sussex Court House (now Newton), a distance of 18 miles.

On the 8th of November the chapel in the newly erected Clergy House and the dwelling appropriated to the minister of the congregation were solemnly dedi-

cated by Bishop Ettwein. He was succeeded in 1784 by Rev. John Meder, and thenceforward preaching in the English language was held every Sunday. During the visitation of Bishop Johannes von Watteville, in the year last mentioned, a school for girls was begun, and placed in charge of Anna Rosina Mack. In addition to a saw-mill, erected in 1780, and a pottery commenced in 1783 by Lewis Moeller, a public inn was opened in the following year.

In 1786 Christian Till took charge of the school for boys, which had previously been conducted by the minister, and also served as organist. In 1787 Lewis F. Boehler succeeded to the pastoral charge of the congregation, and Abraham Hessler was appointed first warden.

In the year 1788 a controversy of long standing respecting the township line was finally settled, a survey having proved that the greater portion of the settlement of Hope belonged to Oxford, and only six or seven houses, together with the farm, to Knowlton township.

A set of trombones having been procured from Europe, they were used for the first time on the church anniversary, November 8th, 1789.

In 1790 Dr. Kampman succeeded Abraham Hessler as warden and the manufacture of potash was commenced.

At the close of the twenty-first year, since the establishment of Hope, the population was 147; 100 lived in town, and 47 in the vicinity.

In 1791 an oil mill was put in operation in the lower part of the saw mill.

In 1795 Lewis Boehler was succeeded as pastor by Abraham Reinke, and the four following years were comparatively healthy.

In the year 1803 Abraham Reinke removed to Lancaster, and was succeeded by John Lewis Strohle, appointed minister of the congregation and inspector of

the contemplated Boarding School for girls. The house destined for this institution was occupied on the 5th of July, having been solemnly dedicated on the 11th of April. The Boarding School was opened on the first of August. In June, 1805, after it had had a precarious existence since 1803, was given up, as all means of sustaining it proved ineffectual.

On the 26th of May it was announced that the church authorities had decided to break up the establishment at Hope, to sell the property, and remove the remaining members to other settlements.

This measure was necessitated by the precarious financial condition of the settlement, and the failure of a variety of endeavors, made from time to time, to increase the prosperity and maintain the existence of the establishment. In accordance with this decision, the entire tract of land and all the buildings erected thereon were subsequently sold to Messrs. Kraemer and Horn, of Pennsylvania.

## BEDANT-ROBBINS-LAKE BIBLE RECORDS.

Copied by SARAH A. RISLEY and Contributed by ARTHUR ADAMS.

These records were copied February 25, 1913, by Miss Sarah A. Risley from Bible records in the possession of Mr. David R. Lake, formerly of Port Norris, Cumberland County, now of Pleasantville, Atlantic County, New Jersey. Some of the records are on leaves still in place in the old Bible described below; others are on loose leaves laid therein. These loose leaves, or some of them, may have been taken from other Bibles.

The old Bible was printed by Adrian Watkins, his Majesty's Printer, and is dated at Edinburgh in 1756. The fly-leaf bears the name of John Bedant, with the date of his birth. In many instances the ink has so faded that names and dates are almost or altogether undecipherable. It will be observed that in a few cases the names of individuals are repeated with variations of dates. Probably at the time the copy was made the original was already illegible; now it is difficult or impossible sometimes to decide which is the correct date.

The records are, some of them, of so ancient a date, and the names so familiar in Cumberland County, that they should be made accessible to all who may be interested.

John Bedant was Born the 1 of March 1684

Abigil Bedant wife of John Bedant was Born March the 6, 1697

John Robbens was Born March the 29 in the year of our Lord 1719

Mary Robbens the wife of John Robens was born in the year of our Lord September 4, 1720

Mary Robbens the Daughter of John Robbens was born March the 18 Day 1752

John Robbens the Son of John Robens was born apReal 30 Day 1754

(John Bedant Robbens

Ruth Robbens was born august the 17 Day 1756

Rachel Robbens was born february the 3 Day 1760

Silvea hand was born December 28 Day 1767

Gabriel Gleen was born February the Last Day 1753.

John Robens his book God giv him grace therein to  
reed look not in to look but understand that learning  
is beter hous or land

John Robens

Mary Soudars

Ruth Dalles

Rachel Robens

Ruth Dalles was Born august the 17 day in the year  
of our Lord 1756,

Mary Dalles the dater of Ruth Dalles was Born the 2  
day of October in the year of our Lord 177(- (4)

Ruth is my name and Dalles coms by nater heven is  
my dwelling place and god is my creator when I am ded  
and laid in grave and all my bons are roten when this  
you see remember when others are forgotten

Ruth Dalles her hand and pen

Rubin peper was Borne July the 15 day 1802

Elizabeth Lake was born february the 15 day 1805

Rebecca Lake was born the 14 Day of May 1808

Beaston Lake was born September the 9th, 18010

Robert Lake was born apriel 4d 1789

Henrey Hall was Born november the 17 D 1813

Robert Lake was born August the 13 d 1817

Daniel Lake was born October the 29, 1819

Charles D. Lake was Born March the 4 D 1821

John R Lake was Born May the 26 D 1823

Caroline Lake was Born february 27 D1825

Samuel Lake September 29th Day 1827

Daniel Lake Decesed January the 26, 1838, aged 18  
yers 2 munts 28 Days

Mary L. Garrison was born December the 18 day in  
the year 1848

Mary L. Garrison Decesed July 12 day, 1851, aged 2  
years, six munts and 24 days



Robert Lake was born october 14d 1777; Deceased September 24, 1840, aged 62, 11 months 10 days

Henrey Hall was born March 14, 1783; Deceased December the 8, 1814

The children of Mary Hall and Henrey Hall, her husband, were born as follows:

William Hall was born february the 24, 1812 and deceased february 17, 1813

Henry Hall was born November 17, 1813; deceased January the 12, 1837, aged 23 yers 1 munth 12 Dayes

In Memory of John Robbins who Departed this Life November the 28, 1780

Mary Wescoat the wife of John Robbins while both alive Departed this Life June the 9, 1795

In memary of Rachel Ledew the Daughter of John Robbins Deseat who Departed this life September the 23, 1798

In memary of Gabriel glan who Departed this life August the 22, 1798

In memary of Mary Soudars the daughter of John Robbins Deseased who Departed this Life August —25—1800

Temperance Robbins the Daughter of John and Temperance Robbins Departed this Life September the 5, 1808

In memory of Eleazer Robbins, the son of John Robbins and Temperance Robbins who departed this Life October the 2, 1801 (?) age 6 years—5

In memory of Mary Soudars, Daughter of John Robbins who Departed this Life august 25, 1800

In memory of Temperance Lon of the Reverant David Sheppard (?) who departed this Life July 28, 17—(probably 1798 or 1799)

In memary of Mary Vanaman, Daughter of David Sheppard (?) Departed this Life January the 15, 1800 (?)

John Robbins was Born Apriel the 30, 1754, changed to 1762

Temprance Robbins the wife of John Robbins was  
Born March the 17, 1762 changed to 1754

Their children as follows:

John Robbins the son of John and Temprance Robbins  
was Born September the 3, 1780

Richard Robbins, the son of John Robbins and  
Temprance his wife was Born January the 2—1783

Sarah Robbins was born April the 9—1785

David Robbins was born August the 2—1787

Mary Robbins was Born April the 4,—1789

Levi Robbins was Born May 5, 1791

Lidya Robbins was Born March 23,—1793

Elezar and Temprance Robbins was Born April the  
12—179—

Another place

John Robbins was born April 30, 1755

Temprance, wife of John Robbins, was born March 17,  
1762

John Robbins was born September 3, 1782

Richard Robbins was Born January 2—1784

Sarah Robbins was born April 9—1786

David Robbins was Born August 2, 178—

Mary Robbins was Born April 4, 1790

Levi Robbins was Born M

Liada Robbins was Born

Temprance Robbins was Born                      (torn off)

Other side of sheet

John Robbins was born April 30, 1755

Temprance, wife, was born March the 17, 1762

John, son of John and Temprance, was born September  
the 3, 1781

“                      “                      “                      January

Daughter of                      “                      6—1785

Son of                      “                      August the

2, 1787 (1787)

Molly Robbins Daughter of John and Temprance Rob-  
bins was Born April the 4, 1789

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BY THOMAS BIRCH  
ORIGINAL PAINTING IN COLLECTION OF  
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THE BUILDING OF THE FLEET.

An Historical Address delivered at Perry Square, Erie, July 8, 1913,  
on the Occasion of the Perry Victory Centennial Commemoration.

By FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, PH.D., LL.D.,  
Of the University of Pittsburgh.

THE HISTORIC SITE.

The vast rivalry and conflict of nations make this region historic ground. It is now more than four centuries since the Old World projected title to these shores.

England, in 1606, in the Virginia Company, chartered by King James, began a movement which culminated in colonization of the Continent,—one phase of that movement, a century and a half later, the journey of Washington to this region, at this time and for thirty years longer, claimed as part of Virginia; France in 1612, hard on the heels of England, her advance led by the great Champlain, laid claim to the continent from sea to sea, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to its sources, from the sources of the Mississippi to its mouth, and to all those regions, howsoever vast, drained by these rivers and their tributaries, and following this continental claim came the army of occupation; not alone in panoply of war, but with the banner of the Prince of Peace. For more than a hundred and fifty years devout priests, members of

ancient orders, explored, described, mapped the vast regions claimed by France; French governors built forts from Quebec to Balize, from Acadia to the Lake of the Woods, and here, naming the place *Presqu' Isle*, the Lilies of France were flung to the breeze. And it was this flag of occupation which stirred Virginia to send hither the youth, George Washington, to protest against the invasion, and to inform the invaders that this region was by right, not French, but English soil. But by the law of discovery both England and France were trespassers here, for Spain, nearly a century and a quarter before the Virginia Charter claimed this region. "I am before Cabot; I am before Cartier," said Spain. "I came with Columbus; aye, more, I came with De Soto and explored the *Father of Waters* and all the region it drains is mine." Thus the rivalry of the nations for control of this region began, three hundred years ago. It is new Spain, new France, new England. Spain withdrew southward, retaining the Floridas until 1819; France and England warred one hundred and eighty years for supremacy of the continent, the final campaign opening in this region and closing with Wolfe's victory at Quebec in 1765. Ten short momentous years follow, years of impending civil war. Then "our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Spain, France, England prepared the way for America.

It was in 1783 that the metes and bounds of America were fixed by solemn treaty between Great Britain and the United States. By that treaty our national area extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; from the two Floridas to Canada. Our northern boundary as defined today from Maine to Minnesota, was defined then, so far as knowledge of the line of division made it possible—but in 1783 American occupation had gone no further west than central New York,—and there

was nominal rather than real; Pittsburgh was as yet a feeble frontier post. It may be said that in 1783 when England made the treaty with us, actual American occupation was no further west than Harrisburg—but England, having won Canada, was in possession of the old French posts of the Northwest,—among them Detroit, Mackinaw, and, generally speaking, was in control of the Upper Lakes, Huron, Superior and Michigan. But the *Revolution* was scarcely over before a vast migration began from the Atlantic seaboard westward. All the states save Maryland and Pennsylvania, claimed, under their charters, regions of country, each state a region as wide as itself, westward to the “South Sea.” Within the boundaries of the states, as we know them now, these conflicting claims, impossible to maintain, were practically abandoned, but west of the original states, and beginning here in what was known then, and is now sometimes called “The Triangle”—the uppermost part of Erie County, Pennsylvania,—the claims of the states to western lands were not made difficult by actual settlement. Thus it was that Massachusetts claimed a broad strip reaching across Michigan; Connecticut claimed a narrower strip, adjoining to the south, and Virginia claimed from this Connecticut strip southward to the Carolina line; the Carolinas and Georgia, each claiming lands, and like their northern neighbors, westward to the “South Sea.” But by the treaty of 1783, the United States was bounded on the west by the Mississippi,—not by the “South Sea,”—and all claims of the states must end at that river.

“The Triangle” was claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia—the northern boundary of Pennsylvania was a straight line, thus leaving “The Triangle” to the north, a sort of “No-man’s land.” Connecticut gave title to lands in “New Connecticut,” or “Western Reserve,” in the Ohio country. Virginia gave title to lands in her western domain,—



as in Kentucky, but in "The Triangle" no undisputed title could be had. Thus it came about that settlers from the East avoided "The Triangle" and hastened on to "New Connecticut," or, if they settled here, ran the risk of ejectment. The Indians, quick to interpret the situation, roamed in lawless bands over this region, terrorizing both immigrants and settlers.

Finally, Virginia led the way, in 1786, to national order and supremacy by freely giving to the United States all her rights and interests in her western lands, and other states generously followed her example. This made "the more perfect Union," under which we live, possible. "The Triangle" thus became United States soil. New York had ceded her claims to "The Triangle" to the United States in 1781. In 1792, it was purchased from the United States by Pennsylvania for \$150,640.25—202,187 acres.

These land transactions lead up to the reason why England and the United States fought the War of 1812 here on Lake Erie. In 1783, when the treaty was made, American occupation by actual settlement scarcely existed west of Harrisburg. But a vast movement of population set in—from the seaboard—westward "over the mountains" and during the thirty years following the treaty of 1783, the American frontier moved westward to Pittsburgh, Marietta, Erie and Cleveland. Wars are always fought along the frontier. England, in 1812, still held Detroit, and Mackinaw, and maintained a fleet on Lake Erie. In the impending struggle, Lake Erie was bound to become the centre of conflict. Was this part of the continent to be English or American? This was the question in 1812. Half a century earlier, the supreme question was whether it should be English or French.

Let us look more closely: "Erie," "Presqu' Isle." What do these names signify? "Erie"—a word as ancient as "Gaul" or "Briton;" prehistoric. The *Eries* as they called themselves; the "Cat Tribe" as



the French discoverers called them, ruled this region for ages, before the coming of Columbus, or Cabot or Cartier. This fair city, two counties in two commonwealths, and a great Lake perpetuate a name which in the days of the Cæsars, of Alfred, of Charlemagne, of Columbus, of Cortez and of the great Condè was heard with terror by Huron or Iroquois. But even savage tribes have their day of empire. When Celeron and Father Hennepin, in 1665, were parting the thicket and seeking to penetrate the mystery of the West, a new Confederacy had been rising to power for fifty years; the Five Nations, which, led by the Senecas,—“Keepers of the Western Fire,”—had quite exterminated the once powerful Eries, who, in the days of their pride, had ruled the world from the St. Lawrence to the Kanawha; from the Hudson to the Mississippi. “Erie”—a few Indian mounds; here and there a vestige of a human skeleton, but to us only a name is left, linking us back to the age of stone; to prehistoric America.\*

“Presqu’ Isle”—“almost an island,” the “Peninsula” at Erie—words which translated in the light of the vast rivalry of nations, mean “almost New France.” The Lilies of France once grew in Erie Bay. France led the way to the West and all the world has followed. These broad waters which lave our shores were the pathway which Europe traversed in her search for a passage to Cathay; here was once the en-

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\* In 1890, on the Porter farm, near North East, the plow accidentally tore away a stone covering over a pit filled with skeletons. It was thought, after as careful consideration as we could give the matter, that the sepulchre marked some final conflict between the Eries and the Five Nations. One of the crania, well preserved, was sent to the Smithsonian Institution. Some account of the Indian archæology of the Lake Shore country (Erie County specially) is given in Miss Sanford’s “History of Erie County” (Edition of 1894. Chapter I). See also “The History of North America,” Vol. XIX; “Prehistoric North America,” by McGee and Thomas, Chapters XIX and XX; also Vol. II “The Indians of North America in Historic Times,” same authors, Chapters VII, XI.

trance to the realms of gold, to the gleaming empire of the sun, to the treasure-houses of an undiscovered country.

Let us look across the Lake, and in our mind's eye watch that strange sail, the first ever furled over its broad expanse. It is an early August day in 1679. "Sail Ho!" The Lilies of France are streaming at the mast-head. Who is that noble figure at the prow, shading his eyes with mailed hand, his eager look toward the West? Robert Cavalier Sœur de la Salle, and Father Hennepin, the romancer, by his side. The craft is of sixty tons, *The Griffon*, first ship built and sailed on these waters—and the arms of France and Frontenac are nailed under the bowsprit. This is Europe in the heart of America; this is the beginning of the new order of the ages. And since that August day, two hundred and fifty years ago, Lake Erie has been plowed by an unbroken line of fleets.

La Salle—the discoverer of the great West—was the first to visit Presqu' Isle. He was our discoverer. Let us again, in our mind's eye, watch him as he surveys this noble harbor. How quickly he discerns its strategic importance. Here France shall build one of her chain of forts by which to hold the continent against the English and the whole world. And here a French fort was duly built and here France remained for a hundred years.

But, Chevalier La Salle, what vision had seared your eye-balls could you have seen what fleets shall sail these waters? Can you make out the names, *Scorpion*, *Ariel*, *Caledonia*, *Trippe*, *Somers*, *Porcupine*, *Tigress*, *Niagara*, *Lawrence*? Can you see their commanders too? They are passing out of the bay, fresh from the stocks, —these brigs and sloops, armed, crowded with men, a strange flag at the peak—the "Stars and Stripes." Chevalier La Salle, you cannot understand, but we know why the flag is not the Lilies of France. Things have happened, Chevalier, and your beloved France,

like old Rome, has failed for lack of men, and, shall we say it,—at times for lack of race, ideas, liberty, justice?

And that slight, supple youth on the *Lawrence*, my Chevalier, we know him, but you cannot understand. He is not French. He is not English. He is of the New Nation, born since you were at Presqu' Isle, my Chevalier, so long ago. Then, Chevalier, when you were here, it was France, but ever since the fleet, led by the *Lawrence* sailed forth from Erie Bay, it has been America. La Salle, discoverer of the West, you are looking forward more than a hundred and thirty years; we are looking backward a century. A hundred years ago! Yet some whom we ourselves knew, my kinsmen and yours, who hear me today, watched the building of the fleet here in Erie Bay. Here at this confluence of historic streams, Spanish, French, English, American, the historic fleet was built—a Homeric fleet, the mere catalogue of whose ships is an American epic.

Sail on, Chevalier La Salle, and enter the great West! Part the thicket! Follow the Great River to the sea! Claim all its lands for your master and give the lands his name. We also have Louisiana, but only as *part* of our empire. In your day America was Louisiana; in ours Louisiana is a noble Commonwealth in "an indestructible Union of indestructible States." Sail on, La Salle, sail your ship toward the setting sun. You will remember Presqu' Isle. You will mark it the key and centre and hope of France in America. And yet, my Chevalier, the greater is behind. Here at Presqu' Isle shall men witness the building of the fleet which shall forever found the empire of these inland seas. Nor, great Frenchman as you are, shall your beloved France weep because this fleet is built, nor shed one tear at news of its great victory. This Erie fleet, hastily built by house-carpenters, here, at the edge of the world, in a shallow creek, shall carry, on its crowded decks, the fortunes of the ages, the hopes of millions yet unborn, and its deeds shall be held in pious

remembrance so long as time shall last,—so long as shall endure “government of the people, by the people, for the people.”

#### THE FOREST-FLEET.

Today we celebrate the building of the fleet. It was finished on the 10th day of July, one hundred years ago. Why was it built here at Erie? Why built at all? Who built it? What was its service? Who commanded it? It all happened long ago. What can it mean to us?

Of the millions of sailing craft, built since the world began, these six small sloops of war, might today be easily swung to the deck of an ocean liner and be taken for life boats. Three small craft join them, making a fleet of nine manned by less than five hundred men. One of our warships today, carries a crew more than five times greater. The *Niagara* and the *Lawrence* were each 110 feet long, 30 feet beam, 9 feet hold, and pierced for twenty guns. The whole flotilla whose keels were laid in these waters, together with the three sloops that were added, carried in all fifty-six carriage guns and two swivels whose aggregate weight of metal, in one discharge, was less than a thousand pounds, and the farthest reach of whose guns was less than a mile,—their effective range, less than one-fourth the distance. Today the effective range of our naval guns is more than twenty miles, with a weight of metal, in a single discharge, more than four times heavier than that of all the guns on this fleet of 1813.

Today an American fleet is officered by men technically trained at Annapolis; this fleet built in Erie Bay sailed forth to victory thirty-two years before Annapolis was founded. Its officers had learned all they knew in the harsh school of experience. Today Congress appropriates for a new warship not less than \$10,000,000 and in ten years this naval citadel of steel, which may consume three years and more in building and outfitting, is consigned to target service and is sunk, a scrap heap, to the bottom of the sea—hurled to its



grave by the guns of a vaster, a deadlier ship. When the fleet was built here in Erie Bay, the whole cost did not exceed \$8000. and the ships were built and equipped in less than three months. Moreover, it may be added, one of them, the *Niagara*, rescued from its burial for a hundred years at the bottom of the bay, is restored before our eyes, today. When, now, Congress orders a new warship, all the enginery and equipment of unlimited capital and professional skill, regulating cunning machinery, which lacks only a mind to make it human, promptly convert countless tons of ore into a warship. When the fleet was built in Erie Bay, every detail was wrought by hand. Not so much as a mill or a forge existed here. Erie had only whip-saws and a blacksmith shop—and men. The primeval forest grew to the water's edge. Oaks, chestnuts, walnuts, pines were felled on the spot and transformed into brigs and schooners by men whose chief knowledge of tools had been gained in building log houses. Not a fathom of rope, or sail, or a gallon of paint or oil, or a pound of iron or copper, or resin or tow was to be found at Erie. This forest-fleet was extemporized at Erie.

In 1813 this settlement was the frontier, the home of less than three hundred people. Not fifty houses were yet standing, nor any of them more than half a mile from the beach of the lake. Scarcely a road pierced this western country. The way toward the East, Black Rock and Buffalo; toward the South, Pittsburgh was little more than an Indian trail. The Lake was the highway from civilization and continued to be for nearly half a century when the age of railroads began. A few vagabond Indians roamed over the Lake Shore country; immigrants were arriving from New York and New England and Central Pennsylvania. General Anthony Wayne's body had not been removed by his son from its first resting place at the foot of the flag-staff near the historic block house. To visit Pittsburgh and return with supplies



was the labor of a fortnight; the journey from New England was the work of months. Cleveland was six years old; Erie itself, only eighteen. The county had been created in 1800, only thirteen years before.

"A strange place, indeed, in which to build a fleet," you say, "here at the frontier where timber and timber only could be had." Every other supply must be brought on horseback over the mountains: rope and sail and pitch and tow, resin and oil, from Philadelphia; bolts and cannon, powder and balls from Pittsburgh. Why build the fleet here? Because Captain Daniel Dobbins, the most experienced sailing-master on the lakes then living, dispatched by General David Mead to Washington, and summoned by President Madison to a Cabinet meeting, had convinced the government that Erie Bay was the only place on the Lake suitable for building the fleet, and the hand of Fate pointed sternly to Lake Erie as the theatre of war where the decision must be fought to a finish whether the West was to be English or American.

Let us pause, here, and honor the men who built the fleet. We have all our lives heard of

"The tenth of September  
The day we remember."

But let us not forget the man who made the victory of that day possible: Captain Daniel Dobbins. He it was and he alone, who, during that bitter winter of 1812, here, at the American frontier, while terror of Indian massacres and British invasion filled the hearts of thousands of settlers scattered along the fringe of America, from Albany to Erie, from Erie to Cleveland, from Cleveland to Marietta, and over the lonely stretches of the Ohio valley,—he it was, and he alone, who saw a victorious fleet in the oaks, the pines, the chestnuts and the walnut trees standing before his eyes in the primeval forest which hedged in the feeble settlement of Erie, as a wall.

I do not know of another instance in all history of a fleet built, extemporized from the primeval woods, within the short space of a few months, at the very edge of the civilized world, and sent forth on a course leading promptly to a just, an undying fame. The fleet that Cortez built within the Forbidden Empire, and, carrying piece meal down from the mountains, launched upon the Lake of Mexico, and thus conquered the sacred city, lacks the noble motive of this fleet built in Erie Bay. If there be a parallel is it not that of Ericsson and the *Monitor*, built half a century later? And the simile runs the more easily on all fours because Captain Dobbins' wooden ships, and Ericsson's *Monitor* were dedicated to the same lofty service, fought the same good fight, were victorious in the same glorious cause, and won more than mere victory; they won name and place and opportunity for the "New Nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." We, who, this day assemble to commemorate the building of the fleet here in Erie, are not so far from the days of the *Monitor* that we cannot understand the meaning of the days of the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*.

And why build a fleet? These waters of the Great Lakes are land-locked from the sea. America and England by solemn treaty, in 1783, a treaty which traces the hand of Franklin and King George III, agreed upon an international boundary along the Canadian line. Here were no great ports, no cities, no commerce that might tempt a hungry government to spoliation. Here were the prairies and the western lands. Here for nearly two centuries England and France had contended for the control of a continent. Here Wolfe had won and Montcalm had lost. Then ten years of discontent; then Lexington, Saratoga, Yorktown; the making of the Constitution; the inauguration of Washington; four administrations of the new government;

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and at last war—the second war for American independence.

Historians, who now presume to interpret the thirty years which follow Yorktown and American independence, assure us that the War of 1812 was not a mistake, but a blunder. The world is ever looking for someone whom it can blame for its blunders. Of late years we are told that Napoleon is the man: No Napoleon, no War of 1812. Possibly someone may protest: not Bonaparte, but a vicious industrial system; that the great soldier sleeps beneath the dome of the "Invalides;" that the vicious industrial system yet lives. Mighty warrior, the Cyrus, the Sardanapalus, the Alexander, the Cæsar of your time, you it is who are arraigned in the forum of history as compelling, by your ambition, by your selfishness, by your genius, the War of 1812!

Can there be then a mysterious relation between the building of the fleet here at Erie and Waterloo? You, Emperor of a hundred days, lost at Waterloo. We, building a forest fleet, in a hundred days, won at Put-in-Bay. Oh, Chevalier Robert de la Salle, could you have seen from the low decks of the *Griffon* the panorama of the centuries: the Lilies of France becoming the Tri-color; the Tri-color becoming the Eagle and the Bee, and going down at Waterloo before the Cross of St. George, and the Cross of St. George and the Union Jack going down before the "Stars and Stripes" at Put-in-Bay; confess to me, now, I say my Chevalier, would you assert that your Napoleon both caused and won the victory at Put-in-Bay? Was it not this same Napoleon, who, for a trifle, ten years before the building of the fleet here in Erie Bay, sold all Louisiana,—your Louisiana, all that was left of New France in America to this people of the "Stars and Stripes?" Had he refused to part with that imperial domain, I say, Chevalier, think you the great West, which you discovered,—our great West, had not

been England's greater Canada? I think I hear you say,—my Chevalier: "Farewell, New France; farewell my beloved Louisiana, which I found and gave to the grandest of Monarchs, so long ago,—Farewell! Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf, La Belle Riviere, Duquesne, and the broad prairies,—all farewell; you at least are not British, though *once* you were French. You are American. My Country, my beloved France gave them to you rather than suffer them to become English soil."

But in 1812, England and America, though bound by solemn treaty relations, had not as yet proved by actual test of power their title to the far West. Were the regions from Albany to the great Ocean and southward to the Ohio to be British or American? This was the western question in 1812. The eastern question was essentially commercial and linked itself to the western. Then, too, there was the international question, the right of the new nation, America, to free use of the high seas; to free participation in the trade of the whole world. England claimed the monopoly of the world's trade by land and sea. America had broken into the British preserve. War was inevitable. Napoleon for sixteen desperate years fought to compel England to share with him the trade of the world, and the end of this titanic struggle was,—Waterloo.

America all these years attempted neutrality, but was at last forced into the conflict, and the end of the struggle was the victory of the fleet built here in Erie Bay and the victory of Jackson at New Orleans. France never gained the trade she coveted and for which she so long waged war. America, the new nation of the West, compelled England to recognize "free trade and sailors' rights" in every quarter of the globe, in every activity and enterprise known to man. We fought the War of 1812 and won a century of peace,—a peace with England which we trust shall continue unbroken for a century of centuries.

The fleet built here in Erie Bay settled forever the



question of national supremacy over the regions in dispute, a hundred years ago, between England and America. This is the immense meaning of Captain Dobbins' forest-fleet. Here at Presqu' Isle was the pith and center of contest. This Lake Erie was by force of events the theatre of the conflict—that power which should control these Upper Lakes,—Erie, Huron, Superior, Michigan, should be master of this continent. The great West was the prize of war. Here was the cause of the War of 1812, yet it was only an aspect of the supreme issue: Who shall control or shall share in the control of the trade, the commerce, the civilization, the government of the whole world? I do not suppose that Captain Dobbins, or his shipwright, Ebenezer Crosby, or any of his carpenters, or helpers, toiling here, over the keels they laid, a hundred years ago, were thinking as we are now thinking. We see their world in the perspective of a hundred years—we come *after* the event. The world was all *before* them. Were they to permit the British to possess themselves of the Northwest? Michigan as we know it,—Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana and the Oregon country,—Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and California? Were our kinsmen and forerunners of a hundred years ago to stand inert, and suffer countless hordes of savages to overwhelm and ravish the frontier, and, in the words of the fearful Pontiac, spoken but a few years before,—let Red Coats and Indians “wipe the Americans from the face of the earth?” It was fight or perish a hundred years ago, here on the Lake Shore. We boast a century of peace; in Captain Dobbins' day America had known only war, the French and Indian; the Revolution, and the ceaseless conflict with savagery along the frontier.

The fleet was now on the stays and Captain Dobbins and his men were hurrying their work to completion. The ice had long since gone down the Lake. The fleet had been promised for early summer. Its builders



were in hourly fear lest the British fleet, sailing down from the Niagara River, should suddenly appear and Commodore Barclay, land at Presqu' Isle and burn the forest-fleet while yet it is on the stocks. To protect it, Colonel Thomas Forster had sixty men under arms and every citizen of Erie, sharing the common anxiety, held himself ready to fight. Colonel Forster, the collector of the port, had under his official care, the water line from Buffalo to Cleveland, and through his trusted agents had for months before the outbreak of war been gathering information from all quarters and sending it on to the government at Washington. He was the eyes of the administration at the front.\*

The *Niagara*, the *Lawrence*, brigs,—and the *Ariel*, a pilot-boat, were built at the mouth of Cascade Creek, a little west of the settlement at Erie, where a block house was erected. The *Porcupine*, the *Tigress*, and the *Scorpion*, gunboats, were built at the mouth of Lee's Run, between Peach and Sassafras streets, known in later years as "the navy-yard." Nearly opposite the mouth of the Run, on the south shore of the Peninsula (Presqu' Isle), there were erected at the time, a block house, a hospital and a government store house. All the timber for the fleet except possibly the

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\* President Adams appointed Colonel Forster, of Philadelphia, Collector at Presqu' Isle, in 1799, and he held the office thirty-eight years. In 1888 his son, then a well-known merchant of Erie, presented me with all the Forster MSS. These I deposited, along with a mass of MS. material by P. S. V. Hamot, in the library of the University of Pennsylvania. There was no organized public library in Erie at the time. Two MS. volumes I retained: Colonel Forster's "Letter Book," comprising his autograph copy of his letters to the Secretary of the Treasury, and his record of the Harrisburg and Presqu' Isle Population Company, formed August 13, 1796, with a constitution and plan of the city of Erie with price of lots. Also a plan of Waterford, a MS. "Diary" kept by Colonel Forster during an official tour eastward to Salina (Syracuse) in 1825 was reserved. A few years ago, I sent both the "Letter Book" and the "Diary" to the late Benj. F. Whitman, then president of the Erie library to be by him deposited in it. The "Letter Book" is doubtless the oldest MS. record of Erie.

pine which may have been cut at Waterford (Le Bœuf) and drawn through the woods thither, was cut within the present city limits,—indeed within easy hauling distance of the spot where the keels were laid. A sharp watch was kept, on the bluff, to descry Barclay's approach. Indeed, Captain Dobbins had purposely laid the keels within this harbor, trusting to the shallow water to prevent Barclay's fleet from making an attack. He had also planned, how, when his forest-fleet was completed, he should bring it into the Lake across the bar. In brief, the government had authorized him to build the fleet in Erie Bay because of the natural security of the place.

Meanwhile, on March 27th, Oliver Hazard Perry had arrived by land, in a sleigh, from Buffalo, and established himself at Duncan's "Erie Hotel," or "Tavern," as then called. This youth of twenty-seven had come on from Newport, R. I., eager to serve his country. In November, he had offered his services to Commodore Chauncey, in command at Sackett's Harbor, the most important naval post on the Lakes. There was that about Perry's letter which led Chauncey to reply,—as time proved, in the spirit of prophecy: "You are the very person that I want for a particular service, in which you may gain reputation for yourself and honor for your country." It must have seemed a remote, an obscure service, to have command of the naval force on Lake Erie,—the frontier of America. Looking backwards a hundred years, we see plainly enough that it was one of the opportunities of the ages. If hereafter there shall fade from our language promptness, vigor, efficiency, devotion, we have their synonyms,—Oliver Hazard Perry.

A week after receiving his appointment, Perry was at Buffalo; on the following day, November 25th, he was inspecting the vessels at Black Rock,—some afloat, some on the stocks. Here he spent the winter, ceaselessly alert, gathering information and learning that

at Erie, not at Buffalo, his opportunity awaited him. Thither he now directed his labors. But Erie,—or as then commonly called, Presqu' Isle,—was reported to be only a barren sand-bank near shore, formed by the currents of Cascade Creek, Walnut Creek, and Lee's Run, and the counter currents of the Lake itself,—creating a small, shallow, land-locked harbor, easily defended from an enemy at sea, but scarcely defensible were he to come by land, for the bluffs of the Lake commanded the entire Bay.

On his arrival in Erie, late in March, he assumed command. He found four crafts on the stocks: the *Porcupine*, and the *Tigress*, gunboats, well planked up, and the *Scorpion* under way,—at the mouth of Lee's Run; at Cascade Creek, the two brigs,—the *Niagara* and the *Lawrence*, and the pilot-boat, *Ariel*. Early in May, the smaller craft were launched, and by the 24th of the month, the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*.

But an empty wooden boat was of no more value to Perry than a canoe. On the 23d of May he set out for Black Rock in an open boat, to take charge of an expedition against Fort George on the Niagara River. He thought little of his all-night ride down the Lake, in angry weather. Captain Dobbins accompanied him as far as Lewiston, where they parted; the energetic captain to go to Fort Schlosser and there to build boats with which to convey seamen back to Erie. From the fort the Captain hastened on to the navy-yard at Black Rock, there to hurry to completion the equipment of several small schooners which he purposed bringing to Presqu' Isle to join the forest-fleet.

Fort George speedily fell into American hands; the British were forced to abandon their entire Niagara lines, and thus the conquering Perry was free to hasten back to Erie. Five vessels were loaded with naval stores: the prize brig *Caledonia*; the schooner *Catherine*; the *Amelia*; the schooner *Ohio*, and the sloop *Contractor*, renamed the *Trippe*. This flotilla was

commanded by Perry, Almy, Holdup, Darling, and Captain Dobbins, and left Black Rock June 6th, sailing from Buffalo on the 13th. Perry on the *Caledonia* was prostrated by a sharp attack of fever. "The fleet," writes Dr. Parsons, surgeon of the expedition, "made twenty-five miles in twenty-four hours." On the 19th it reached Erie, barely escaping interception by Captain Finnis, of Barclay's squadron, who was watching for it in every quarter. But the English captain could sail no faster than the wind and it was not an English wind. But just as the flotilla entered Erie Bay in safety, its pursuers hove in sight of Presqu' Isle Point.

I well remember in my boyhood, standing on a bluff overlooking Lake Erie, on the farm of the venerable William McCord, near North East, and his relating to me how, with fear and trembling, holding his mother's hand, he had stood on that same spot, when a lad of thirteen, and watched the British fleet as it seemed becalmed, yet slowly pursuing the American flotilla which had passed westward but a few hours earlier. It was the 17th of June when Perry brought his little fleet safely to anchor at the mouth of Cascade Creek.

Four days after his arrival in Erie, in March, Perry had gone to Pittsburgh, returning to Erie on the 10th of April after an absence of ten days. Busy indeed had he been in the "Iron City." Ropes and sails and other naval supplies were to be hurried forward from Philadelphia, by way of Pittsburgh, making the long journey in Conestoga wagons. In Pittsburgh he secured anchors, chains and cannon balls,—four pounders,—bolts and ironware generally for the forest fleet; and at Pittsburgh he welcomed a consignment of workmen from Philadelphia, on their way to Erie to assist Captain Dobbins. The captain had secured every available man in the Lake Shore region but was handicapped for skilled ship-carpenters. At last, despite countless difficulties, on the 10th of July, the hulls were complete; the masts were stepped in; the sails



were well in hand, and some bent; but, alas, Perry had only men enough to officer and man one of the brigs, and perforce he must hang back in the harbor while the enemy, in the open Lake, was challenging him to action. One brig ready for action, and eight hollow craft without crews! The brig was the *Lawrence*, so named by the Secretary of the Navy, Paul Hamilton, in honor of the famous captain, who, the month before, had given his life on the *Chesapeake* for his country.

Perry himself was almost helpless with the fever, and one-fifth of his men were in hospital. The Secretary of the Navy sent him no men but sharp orders to co-operate at once with General Harrison. Almost daily there came to him equally vigorous orders from the General to come to him at once but Perry was powerless. Then came worst news of all,—that the entire British fleet on the Lake was placed under command of Commodore Barclay, a veteran under Nelson, at Trafalgar; and that the fleet was fully provisioned, officered, and manned.

What must have been Perry's anguish of mind, as now, cooped, cabined and confined within the harbor, he could discern six sails of the enemy challenging him to battle, and himself powerless! "What a golden opportunity, if we had men!" he writes to Chauncey. "We are ready to meet them; I am constantly looking to the eastward; every mail and every traveler from that quarter is looked to as the harbinger of the glad tidings of our men being on the way. \* \* \* Give me men, sir, and I will acquire both for you and myself honor and glory on the Lakes, or perish in the attempt. Conceive my feelings; an enemy within striking distance; my vessels ready; and not men enough to man them. Going out with those I now have is out of the question. You would not suffer it were you here. Think of my situation: the enemy in sight, the vessels under my command more than sufficient, and ready to make sail, and yet obliged to bite my fingers with vex-



ation for want of men." And four days later, when Sailing-master Champlin arrived with seventy men, Perry writes again to Chauncey: "For God's sake and yours and mine send me men and officers, and I will have them all (the British squadron) in a day or two. Commodore Barclay keeps just out of the reach of our gunboats. Our sails are bent, provisions on board, and in fact, everything is ready. Barclay has been bearding me for several days; I long to be at him."

In vain these appeals; only a few men, and these untrained, came to him; the government, seemingly, had abandoned him here in the wilderness. General Harrison, Commodore Chauncey, the Secretary, Hamilton, kept sending him sharp letters complaining of his inactivity. Stung to the quick, helpless, with a meager contingent which he describes as "a motley set, blacks, soldiers and boys," he contemplated retirement and even asked to be relieved, but his rebounding spirit refused to be conquered by prostrating fever or by neglect and happily, at this moment Chauncey wrote him, sending generous words,—though no men; his feelings, if not his necessities, were relieved, and he could reply to the Commodore: "I am pleased to see anything in the shape of a man."

Meanwhile, military operations near Black Rock having favored the British, there was the prospect of immediate concentration of the enemy against Presqu' Isle. It was at this time of anxiety and peril that the block houses were erected near the mouth of Cascade Creek and on the Peninsula, near the Hospital. The forest-built fleet seemed itself in need of protection against attack, and Perry to be forced to the defensive behind the sand bank of Presqu' Isle. Perry, almost desperate, now appealed to General David Mead, of Meadville, for reinforcements. This was in the last week of July. The General sent him some fifteen hundred militiamen to defend the Block Houses and the silent fleet. Happily the British failed to concentrate

their forces at Long Point, as they had planned and no attack was made on Presqu' Isle. Possibly this failure lost England the control of the Upper Lakes and the Empire of the West. It was while rumors of the British attack on Erie were abroad in the land that the settlers living along the south shore of the Lake, overcome by fear,—for it was said that the British purposed letting loose the Indians upon them,—fled into the deep woods, having first buried their few treasures, against the day of return when danger should be past.\*

But in those July days Barclay and the terrible British fleet did not,—indeed, could not, come. Perry quickly read the sign aright. He would wait no longer for men. He would spend no more time building block houses and doing picket duty on the bluffs overlooking his forest-fleet. His blood was up. Despite generals, commodores and secretaries of war, despite landlubbers and green militiamen, who did not know a marlin-spike from a capstan, he would have his fleet out of the Bay, into the Lake, and he would find the enemy.

#### IN SEARCH OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

One Sunday morning, in early August, he took his fleet over the bar. The smaller craft were lightened and easily got over, but the two brigs, the *Niagara* and the *Lawrence* drew too much water—nine feet! Finally, by means of "camels" the two brigs were floated over and lay at anchor in deep water. But in lightening his ships he had stripped them, made them defenseless, and had Barclay appeared at this critical moment, Captain Dobbins' forest-fleet would have been

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\* I well remember an old apple tree, which was standing until three years ago, at the foot of which the silver spoons and some keep-sakes were buried at this time. Miss Fanny Robinson, who was present at the time her father, Cyrus Robinson, deposited them, pointed out the place to me in my boyhood. She related many incidents of those anxious days. Other "old settlers" I have heard relate similar experiences.

built in vain. Too late the British Commodore discovered that his opportunity was gone, and he bore away down the Lake. On the evening of August 5th, Perry weighed anchor and stood for Long Point. He had extemporized crews from the militiamen, determined that "anything in the shape of a man" must suffice. It was his first cruise. His fleet must find itself. The way to learn how to be a sailor is to be a sailor, and into sailors these worthy militiamen must be transformed without further delay.

The militiamen sent him by General Mead were mostly farmers and day laborers, and all were eager to get back to their wheat fields and their work. All who had not been taken to man the ships were now discharged and Erie was left,—a deserted village.

Perry, by utmost exertion, and—I may say,—by no little use of his imagination,—had moved his ships rather than manned them. But at least they were now in deep water and necessity is also the mother of sailors. The British' fleet was, as yet, far stronger than the American. Opportunely, on the 9th, Captain Elliott arrived from Black Rock with some hundred and more men and officers. Perry at once distributed them over his fleet and decided to report to General Harrison; so, on the 12th, the squadron, in regular battle order, in double column left Erie for Put-in-Bay, which had been reported to Perry as an excellent harbor. The full force of the squadron, officers and men, was nearly four hundred men. Perry, in the *Lawrence* led the way; Captain Elliott followed in the *Niagara*; then the *Caledonia*, Purser McGrath; the *Ariel*, Lt. Packet; the *Somers*, Sailing-master Almy; the *Tigress*, Master's-mate McDonald; the *Scorpion*, Sailing-master Champlin; the *Porcupine*, Midshipman Senot; the *Ohio*, Sailing-master Dobbins,\* and the *Trippe*, Lt. Smith.

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\* Captain Dobbins had been commissioned by President Madison, sailing-master, when assigned to build the fleet.

Reaching Fort Clinton, on the 13th, the fleet came to anchor. Perry expected to find the enemy in these waters, but seeing none he weighed anchor and sailed for Sandusky Bay. The British fleet was reconnoitering, and one of its schooners, the *Ottawa*, was out feeling the American line. Champ-  
lin, in the *Scorpion*, Perry sent in pursuit, and himself followed with the fleet, but the *Ottawa* escaped along the islands in Put-in-Bay. Evidently Perry was amidst the enemy. The *Scorpion* grounded, the scouting British schooner was blown ashore, and amidst rain and darkness and a gale of wind, the forest-fleet anchored for the night. Next morning, soon after dawn, the fleet made the point off Sandusky Bay. By agreement with General Harrison, Perry fired signal guns. A detachment of troops were at Camp Seneca, nearby, and that evening Colonel Gaines, with a few officers and an Indian guard, came on board the *Lawrence* and informed Perry that General Harrison, with some 8000 troops,—regulars, militia and Indians, was encamped about twenty-seven miles distant. Despatches were sent to the General and on the evening of the 19th, amidst a downpour of rain, Harrison arrived accompanied by his aides,—among them Colonel Lewis Cass, destined to a long and distinguished public career,—and by twenty-six Indian chiefs of tribes in the region whose friendship the General considered of importance. Harrison remained on board the flagship two days, during which the two commanders planned the campaign.

General Harrison was at this time in his forty-first year and in the prime of his powers. He had been in the public service nearly twenty years. In the whole Northwest he was the most important personage. His military career came to an end with the victory at Tippecanoe, in the following October; a victory which gave peace from Indian uprisings and attacks to the western settlers. After his retirement from the army, he



served in the Ohio Legislature, in both Houses of Congress, and as Minister to Columbia, from which service he was somewhat summarily recalled by President Jackson because of a conflict of opinion concerning Panama. Suddenly, while living in retirement on his farm, at South Bend, Indiana, in 1840, he was nominated for President by the Whigs, whose brief platform was its eulogy of him as "the stern patriot, the man of the type of Washington." And such a campaign as America has seen, never before and seldom since, caught up "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too," "Coon skins and Hard Cider," and with a whirlwind of whoop and hurrah landed "the stern patriot" in the White House. A month later he died, leaving an unsullied record of a public service of fifty years. Fate was kinder to Harrison than to the Whigs.

It was this man of destiny whom Perry now conferred with on the deck of his flagship, the *Lawrence*, these sunny August days—a hundred years ago. Together they made careful reconnoissance of Put-in-Bay and planned two of the most brilliant campaigns in our history. The War of 1812 brought immortal fame to three men: Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison and Oliver Hazard Perry.

On the 21st, General Harrison returned to camp and Perry sent Captain Dobbins, in the *Ohio*, back to Erie for additional stores—cannon balls from Pittsburgh and supplies brought on from Black Rock. The Commander himself, eager for battle, turned his flagship and his fleet toward Malden and discovered the enemy at the mouth of the Detroit River. Commodore Barclay was waiting for an additional vessel for his fleet and Perry decided to strike him at once. But the wind, which at this season of the year on the Lakes is wont to be fickle and fierce, made an attack perilous even if possible, and fortune, as if favoring head winds and the enemy, suddenly struck Perry down through his old enemy, the fever. His young brother, Alexander,



a lad of thirteen, who was with him, and also the surgeon, were desperately ill. Even the assistant surgeon, Parsons, prostrated by the disease had to be carried about on a stretcher to minister to the stricken crew. Thus again Perry was forced to abandon his plans to strike the enemy and must lose his opportunity. Early in the evening of the 27th the fleet again weighed anchor and returned to Put-in-Bay. Here Perry received from General Harrison a reinforcement of thirty-six men to serve as marines in the places of those on board incapacitated. For a weary week, Perry was burning with fever. At last his indomitable will refused longer to tolerate adversity, and on the 1st of September he gave orders to weigh anchor and to turn the fleet toward Malden. There he found the enemy under the protection of the shore batteries, and challenged Barclay to come out and fight. His challenge was ignored. Disappointed, yet elated, Perry, next morning, sailed back to Sandusky Bay, reported the situation to Harrison, and, returning to Put-in-Bay, the whole fleet cast anchor. The hour had not yet come.

#### THE LAKE SHORE COUNTRY IN 1813.

While the young Commander, sick, fretted by fortune, impatient, is walking the deck of his flagship, despising the enemy, yet unable to drag him into battle; while the forest-fleet is at anchor in Put-in-Bay, and its overworked officers are unweariedly attempting to transform farmers and militiamen into marines and, if possible, to get all things ready for the fast-approaching day of battle,—let us look about us and see for ourselves what sort of a world was our America here in the Lake Shore Country, in these September days, a hundred years ago. Could we from lofty height have looked down upon the region over which the war was then raging, we would have been able with difficulty to locate the obscure centers of military and naval activity. All was woods and wilderness,—the

forest primeval, threaded here and there by gleaming rivers; spotted here and there by a silvery lake amidst the waving green. And here and there a thin column of smoke lazily climbing the air, marking the camp, the settlers cabin or the hidden fire of some Indian band. Buffalo, a hamlet of less than a hundred houses, strung along a single, main street; Erie, a cluster of tents, huts and houses, hugging the shore of the Lake; Cleveland, a dozen cabins and a lighthouse under construction; Detroit, a palisaded fort, with Red Coats and naked Indians stalking about; Meadville, a roof in the woods; Franklin, Warren, mere clearings among the trees; Waterford, a block house; Pittsburgh, a block house on a forest-clad point of land between two noble rivers; Marietta, a fort, a log church and a flag flying from the hilltop; and all the remaining scene, forest on forest to the far horizon.

At Detroit a squadron of five is floating in the river, the decks alive with men, and there are puffs of smoke and the echoes of target practice. Amidst the forest, south of Sandusky, a military camp—and fluttering “Stars and Stripes,” headquarters of General Harrison, and there is assembled a greater company of men than may be found elsewhere in the whole Lake Shore country, from Albany to Detroit, from the Lake to the Ohio. And here and there, everywhere, skulking forms in the thicket,—savage beasts, and more savage men. And just beyond, toward the setting sun, the endless, endless plains and herds of deer and elk, and skulking wolves and eagles wheeling overhead.

And this little squadron in Put-in-Bay,—how small the ships, and rudely built; the decks heaped high with stores; the shallow holds crowded with awkward men, and here and there a negro ducking his head beneath the rafters of the deck.

Here at the edge of savagery is civilization in arms,—Briton and American in cockle-shells, a thousand men to settle a vast issue; a thousand men ignorant

of the pressure of events at large; ignorant of London's commercial greed; ignorant of Washington's timid politics; ignorant of rights on the high seas and of the land hunger of rival nations; a thousand men, speaking the same language, praying to the same God, reading the same books, born in the same traditions: Americans from the wheatfield, the wagon shop and the smithy, odds and ends from Buffalo, Erie, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, vagabonds from the highways and hedges, but, like their commander, young, restless, blood in their eyes, and life not worth a purchase, every lad confident that though some may be struck down, he surely will have the luck to escape.

Look again! Can you discover villages along the Lake Shore, or on the river banks? Not a settlement of a hundred souls from Syracuse to Detroit; from the Lake Shore southward beyond the reach of the eye,—save these beginnings at Buffalo, Erie, Warren, Franklin, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. The rest is forest primeval.

But look eastward! There the gleaming Hudson flows through a noble valley as yet quite untouched by man. New York is a town of 30,000; Boston, of 18,000; Albany, of less than 4000; Baltimore, of 13,000; Philadelphia, of 42,000; Pittsburgh, of scarcely 1000. These are our large cities a hundred years ago, when in all America there was not a dozen towns of more than 8000 people. The Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the Allegheny, the Monongahela, the Ohio, and the majestic rivers of the South flowed, as for ages they had flowed through the silence of the wild. All the people calling themselves Americans, on that day when Perry's fleet cast anchor in Put-in-Bay, were fewer than may now be found within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

To Erie and the Western Reserve, the journey from Connecticut was longer than a trip today around the world. A few bridle paths, an occasional road running

a brief distance, might be found connecting North and South. New England and the North, Virginia and the South, migrated straight away to the West,—to a greater New England, to a greater Virginia. The far West was the Ohio country and Kentucky—and beyond, the great River, the wandering prairie tribes, the fierce Sioux, the Kansas, the Osages, and all that world of savagery of which Parkman writes in the most fascinating of American histories.

And yet, on the September day when Perry, chafing under fever and restraint, was holding back his squadron in Put-in-Bay, the United States stretched from the Atlantic to those shores

“Where rolls the Oregon,”

to the land of the undiscovered gold, to Mexico, a continental country ours, in 1813,—as yet quite unknown to white men: a primeval wilderness from the Green to the Stony Mountains; from the Spanish Floridas to the disputed Canadian border.

Look again! Let us enter this store which the Frenchman, Hamot, keeps in the village of Erie. Here for trade and barter are dry goods and wafers, dyestuffs and sand boxes, quills and hardware, drugs, medicines, boots and shoes—neither rights nor lefts,—molasses and whiskey; loaf sugar at three shillings a pound, hyson-skin tea at fourteen shillings; pins at two and six the paper; powder at eight shillings a pound, shot at two, and pistols at \$7.00; unbleached cotton at fifty-five pence per yard; satinnet at twenty-seven and six pence; maccaboy snuff at eight shillings a pound; writing paper at four shillings a quire; whiskey at twelve shillings a gallon; Webster’s spelling books at three shillings each; ginger at six shillings a pound; flour at \$18.00 a barrel; salt at \$22.00, brought all the way from Salina, but from Buffalo by boat; cheese at two cents a pound; butter at seven; pork at two; wheat at three shillings a bushel; oats at



one; calico at six shillings and six pence the yard, and broadcloth at \$10.00. And from Hamot's ledger we may learn that a common laborer was paid forty cents a day, a carpenter, \$1.00; an ox team and the driver, \$1.60; and that gold and silver were curious rather than current throughout the country.

Colonel Forster, the Collector of the Port at Presqu' Isle, records the clearing of the *Prince*, the *Tulip*, the *Neptune*, the *Dauphin*, the *Wilkerson*, enters duties paid at the Erie Customs House, and dips his quill to inform the Secretary of the Treasury of smuggling at Black Rock, at Freeport (North East), and at Ash-tabula, where a very poor man is reported to him as wearing a broadcloth suit. Yes, there was a tariff, a hundred years ago, and smuggling was never more active along the Lake Shore than during the War of 1812. But the Collector repeatedly informs the government that all lawful business of importation has been at a stand since the war began.

In Erie County, in those days, money was a curiosity. Barter was trade and commerce. The settler's house, crushed in among the underbrush, was of logs, saddled and notched; the roof of bark, kept down by weight poles. The square chimney of sticks, cobbled, was plastered on the inside with mud, mixed with chopped straw. The "door cheeks" were puncheons, and the door swung on wooden pins. Many a cabin, like Lincoln's home at this time in Kentucky, had only blanket doors. The windows were of paper, or, rarely of panes of glass four by six inches. The bedstead was of poles,—the table, a chest, brought from "down East." A few teacups and saucers, wooden and pewter plates, a "spider," a cotton dip, a rude shelf for the *Bible*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, or *Baxter's Saints' Rest*; a gun across two pegs; skins tacked to the logs to dry; a few three-legged stools; a gourd dipper—this was the home. And children, children, children; the frontier always runs to children; and the patient



mother; the alert, muscular father; vigorous boys and girls,—clear, bright eyes; a brave, clean, active people,—building a new nation: my kinsmen and your kinsmen,—some of whom in their old age and in our childhood, we knew.

Fires are burning, the land is clearing,—vast logs of walnut, chestnut, oak, ash, cherry, and butternut are smouldering into pearl-ash for taxes. What immeasurable wealth did these settlers of a century ago send up in smoke—a forest primeval in ashes,—to clear the land for a living.

The loom stands there in one corner of the room, for the flax has been heckled. Have we now any of the linen sheets and counterpanes and handkerchiefs the good wife then wove? And the butternut suit, of linsey-woolsey which boys and men wore,—spun, wove, dyed, cut and made by the mother of the house? And leathern clothes! Read the last wills and testaments and the devises from father to son! Yes, they were giants in those days of pioneering, and doing a gigantic work they dressed accordingly. One must wear leather clothes when a nation is in the making.

Churches? Yes, here and there a log church in the forest,—Upper Buffalo, Conewango, Chartiers, Meadville, Erie, Franklin, Cleveland; itinerant Presbyterian preachers from Connecticut and Dauphin County—rare services, sermons two hours long and a people hungry for more.

Armed with his Bible and his rifle, the preacher traversed the wilderness, and passed his years in a life of rude romance. Overtaken by night and storm, he stopped at some friendly cabin, or, turning his horse loose, slept for safety in the crotch of a tree. He brought news of the world with him. From a stump he discoursed on earth and heaven and judgment to come. Fires were kindled; kettles swung; food unpacked, rude tables spread; a hum of voices; for the worshippers had gathered for miles. The hymns were

lined off by the preacher, for books were few; the sermon was as long as a book,—the Power of Conviction; then the leaden tokens were distributed, and there followed the solemn communion in the forest. Yes, all this goes on while Perry is chafing over Barclay's sullen indifference to his challenge to come forth and fight and settle forever who shall be king and lord of the West.

Shoemakers and tailoresses, schoolmasters, peddlers, and doctors are the traveling population of that far-distant time. Somewhere, down East, in some practitioner's office, or on the way to Ohio, or in his own imagination, had the new doctor learned his mystery. He bled, he purged his patients—and then the settlers buried them,—waiting patiently till again the preacher might come and preach the funeral sermon. Our forebears were a vigorous people, quite immuned against calomel and castor oil; hearing, fearing naught of bacteria and microbes and all the uncanny brood of diseases of our day. Fever in myriad forms stalked through the country. We have seen how it conquered Perry and his men. Smallpox and typhus were frequent epidemics,—and such trifles as burns and bruises, toes cut off by awkward choppers, tumors, earache, and a thousand other pains,—what were they compared to a sudden visit by Red Coats and Indians? May we not humbly inquire: “Would we have quite so many troubles had we not had a hundred years of peace?”

The schoolmaster also was abroad, waging perpetual battle with the larger boys. His kingdom was a fireless “lean-to” of logs, built beside the church. He set copies with a goose quill; he did sums, he heard the classes in Webster's Speller, the English Reader and Daboll's Arithmetic, and he managed to read at law or medicine between times. His large function was to “board 'round,” to amuse the children, to carry news and to sleep in a frosty bed.

As early as 1805 the quarterly returns at the Erie Post Office were \$16.28. Mails were carried by John Gray once in two weeks from Buffalo to Cleveland, in 1811, and John was paid \$950 a year. Meadville, Oil Creek, Warren, Mayville, had no mail route until three years after Captain Dobbins built the fleet at Erie.

When Perry was impatiently pacing the deck of his flagship, in Put-in-Bay, eager to fight the enemy to a finish—we could not have found in all the Northwest, a musical instrument other than a fiddle—and that among the troops,—or children's books, or a framed picture, or games or toys among the plain people. Life was a serious business. Women were grandmothers at thirty-five, and in caps at forty; men were old men while yet in middle life. Perry, only twenty-seven, did not seem young to his crews. In war times it is the young men who form armies, make long marches, fight heavy campaigns, and win victories that astonish the world. Napoleon fought Waterloo with boy soldiers; and most of the men in Perry's fleet were younger than himself.

#### MEETING THE ENEMY.

"Sail ho!" The words rang out from the masthead of the *Lawrence*, on the morning of September 10th. Perry had long been awaiting the signal.

"Enemy in sight," "Get under weigh!" The squadron is quivering with life. "All hands up anchors; ahoy!"

The British fleet was visible along the western sky line. The hour had come.

"Sail ho!" Perry sprang from his sick couch. He forgot the fever. He was impatient to fight. His Sailing-master Taylor told him that the wind was in the wrong quarter. "I don't care," he shouted back; "to windward or to leeward, they shall fight today."

At ten o'clock his line was formed, the *Niagara* in the van. "Clear for action!" The *Lawrence* was

made ready. "Don't give up the ship"\*—the battle flag from the peak was seen by the whole squadron and its famous words were answered back by thundering huzzas. The men hardly could hear Perry's words,—"Shall I hoist it?"—amidst the outburst of cheer after cheer.

Perry bethought him that at noon the men would be amidst the fight; so he ordered dinner served and extra grog, as did Dewey nearly a hundred years later, at Manila Bay. Then they wetted the decks and sprinkled sand over them. Blood is slippery and the time was at hand. Every man knew his place.†

Commodore Barclay swept down in fine order, the *Chippewa*; the *Detroit*, the flagship; the *Hunter*; the

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\* This flag was prepared by Samuel Hambleton, purser of the *Lawrence*, privately, at Erie. Large, white muslin letters on a blue ground. It is preserved at Annapolis.

† British squadron, Commodore Robert H. Barclay :

**Ships—**

*Detroit*, 19 guns, 298 T.

*Queen Charlotte*, 17 guns, 260 T.

*Lady Prevost*, 13 guns, 96 T.

Brig—*Hunter*, 10 guns, 71 T.

Sloop—*Little Belt*, 3 guns, 60 T.

Schooner—*Chippewa*, 1 gun, 35 T.

63 guns, 35 being long. 32 officers, 470 seamen, total 502.

**American squadron, Commander O. H. Perry :**

*Lawrence*, 20 guns, 260 T.

*Niagara*, 20 guns, 260 T.

*Caledonia*, 3 guns, 85 T.

*Ariel*, 4 guns.

*Scorpion*, 2 guns.

**Dull sailers—**

*Somers*, 2 guns, 65 T.

*Trippe*, 1 gun.

*Tigress*, 1 gun.

*Porcupine*, 1 gun.

54 guns. \* Officers and men, 490, of whom 116 were on sick list,—48 of bilious fever.

Officers, young men from R. I., mostly fellow townsmen of Perry, of the merchant marine.

*Queen Charlotte*; the *Lady Prevost*; and the *Little Belt*. At precisely a quarter to noon the bugle sounded on the *Detroit*, the signal for action, and all the British bands struck up "Rule Britannia." The two fleets were yet a mile and a quarter apart. A twenty-four pounder from the *Detroit* was booming over the water but the shot fell short of the *Lawrence*. Barclay's strength lay in his long-range guns; Perry's solely in his short range. Perry pressed to close quarters. A shot went crashing through the *Lawrence*, working havoc. Perry held on his way. He had designated for each of his squadron its particular antagonist. His plan of action was, closest possible quarters and each ship of his fleet to destroy its designated enemy. This was Lord Nelson's tactics all over. What strange paradox that Perry, now fighting Nelson's captain, the brave Barclay, should follow his great admiral's tactics,—and Barclay forgetting Trafalgar! Barclay's long-range guns were becoming useless, but for a time they worked terrible destruction. Barclay maneuvered for distance; Perry, for closing with the enemy. This was the fight. If Barclay could blow his enemy out of water, or send him to the bottom before he could come to close quarters, then—"Rule Britannia!"

The British fire was concentrated on the *Lawrence*. There the carnage was horrible. "Of 103 sound men that composed her officers and crew when she went into action, twenty-two were slain and sixty-one were wounded." Perry's little brother, Alex., was struck down by a splinter. In a few minutes Lieutenant Yarnall reported that his officers were all cut down. "I have no more to furnish you," replied Perry; "You must endeavor to make out by yourself." He did this, though wounded three times.

What is this? The guns of the *Lawrence* silent? A floating hulk of wounded and dying men? No signals from her mast—the flagship? Barclay saw vic-



tory. Many in both fleets believed that Perry was dead. The flagship *Lawrence* was helpless, silent, floating with the wind. By supreme effort, with the help of the purser and the chaplain, Perry loaded and fired his last gun. Only fourteen men on board remained unhurt, and these were spent with labor. Would he surrender? From the masthead there floated his flag: "Don't give up the ship." His mind was instantly made up. He would make the *Niagara* his flagship—and she was more than a mile away.

"Yarnall,"—said Perry, "I leave the *Lawrence* in your charge, with discretionary powers. You may hold out or surrender, as your judgment and the circumstances shall dictate."

The boat was lowered; the pennant taken down—but not the "Stars and Stripes,"—which still flew bravely over the battered hulk. Then, taking the pennant, his little brother at his side, and four men at the oars, he started for the *Niagara*,—standing upright in the boat. The wind folded the pennant about his lithe form, standing there, in the midday sun,—a target for the enemy, and watched anxiously by the officers and crews of our fleet. Barclay, already badly wounded, but confident of victory, his own flagship almost dismantled, his glass turned toward the open boat and Perry, knew well that if that man reached the *Niagara*, victory too would go with him. He ordered all the guns of the British fleet, big and little to bear on that little boat: cannon balls, grape, canister, musket shot—a shower of death, hurtling upon that upright figure and his companions; oars splintering, bullets piercing the boat, spray enveloping the men. Perry stood unmoved, his eye on the distant *Niagara*, his soul already winning the fight.

"Sit down or we will not row," said his men tersely, and he sat down. A quarter of an hour, this "baptism of fire," and they reached the deck of the *Niagara*, not a man having suffered harm.

Then Perry rearranged his line; closed yet closer with the enemy, pouring in a raking, a smothering, a continuous fire.\* The smoke was impenetrable; the Americans fought by sense rather than sight. Eight minutes by the clock; the *Detroit* has struck her colors. Every British flag is down and white pennants are flying to the wind. Some of the British fleet turn to flee, but the would-be fugitives are quickly overtaken and brought back. The flag of the *Detroit* is hauled down at three o'clock; then the silence of victory. The *Lawrence*, helpless, had struck her colors too, but the British could not take possession of her. Lieutenant Yarnall and her exhausted crew, seeing the turn of battle, succeeded in raising the "Stars and Stripes" again and flinging them from the masthead to the quickening breeze.

Perry, coolly drawing an old letter from his pocket, and with his navy cap as a rest, wrote a despatch to General Harrison:

"We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem,

O. H. PERRY."

And to the Secretary of the Navy:

"U. S. Brig *Niagara*, off the Western Sister, Head of Lake Erie.

September 10, 1813, 4 P. M.

"It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this Lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command after a sharp conflict.

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\* There lingers a tradition that the American guns were filled to the muzzle with old iron, nails, bolts and scraps saved in building the fleet.

"I have the honor to be, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
"Honorable William Jones, O. H. PERRY.  
Secretary of the Navy."

The story of the victory is told in two verses of a ballad of the day written by some unknown soldier and sung at the camp fires along the Lake Shore, a hundred years ago:

"Perry with flag and sails unfurled,  
Met Barclay on Lake Erie;  
At him his matchless thunders hurled,  
Till Barclay grew quite weary.  
He gained the victory and renown,  
He worked them up so neatly,  
He brought old England's banners down,  
And swept the Lake completely."\*

Here on the edge of civilization and savagery, Perry and his brave men, in the fleet built here at Erie, a squadron of nine wooden vessels in all, defeated Barclay, and his equally brave men, in a fleet of six vessels, the squadrons equally matched in men and armament, after a fight of three hours: the only instance in history of the total defeat of a British fleet, and more, the only instance of the surrender of a British fleet to an enemy.

"We have met the enemy and they are ours!"—writes Perry.

"Don't give up the ship!" murmurs Lawrence, dying on the deck of the *Chesapeake*.

"A little more grape, Captain Bragg," is the quiet order of General Taylor.

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\* This ballad of the War of 1812, in 34 verses, was written out for me in 1887, from memory by Lyman Wright, of North East, Pa., a veteran of the Civil War and a son of a veteran of the War of 1812, who was under General Harrison and in active service at the time of Perry's victory. I transcribe from his MS. The ballad is entitled "Old England," and was sung to the tune "The Girl I Left Behind Me."

“Unconditional surrender!” writes General Grant.

“Fire when you are ready, Gridley!” remarks Dewey to his officer when he enters Manila Bay.

Have you ever heard of these words? Do they mean less, in human history, than Cæsar’s, “I came, I saw, I conquered,” or Wellington’s “Up guards, and at them!”?

So long as memory keeps her seat, so long as the “Stars and Stripes” flutter to the wind, so long as America remains America, men will use in their everyday speech Perry’s immortal words: “We have met the enemy and they are ours.”

The battle is done; the victory won; the English colors are down; the British officers, picking their way among the slain on the *Lawrence*, have presented their swords to the victor. The only instance, in the proud history of England, of the surrender of a British fleet. Perry had returned to his flagship, determined there, on its battered deck, to receive the formal surrender of the British officers. Not a sound of exultation; the silence of bravery, high courtesy, unaffected kindness, such bravery, such courtesy, such kindness, as America witnessed half a century later at Appomattox. The dead were buried with honors of war,\*—the living lately foes, now mingling their tears. Great as was Perry in battle, he was yet greater in peace. Fitting, indeed, it was that such a man as he should usher in, by one of the world’s decisive battles, a century of peace, which we trust and believe shall glide into centuries of centuries of peace and good will between England and America.

On the morning after the fight, the two fleets sailed into Put-in-Bay and the slain officers, of both sides, were buried,—Americans: Brooks, Laub and Clark;

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\*In this battle the Americans lost 127; 27 of whom were killed. The British, 135; 41 of whom were killed. Barclay had lost an arm at Trafalgar; he was here wounded in the thigh, and so severely in the shoulder as to make his other arm useless.

and British: Captain Finnis, Lieutenant Stokes of the *Queen*, and Lieutenant Garland, of the *Detroit*. The crews of both fleets united in the services. Never before, in the history of our race, had such a sight been seen.

A week later, Perry dispatched the *Lawrence* to Erie, with the wounded on board, and later, on the 22nd October, himself arrived here on the *Ariel*. The little frontier town was enthusiastic. With Perry came Commodore Barclay, General Harrison and other officers, and they made their headquarters at the McConkey House, also known as Duncan's Tavern, at the corner of Third and French streets. In the evening the town was illuminated. Many transparencies were displayed, among them:

"Com. Perry, 10th September, 1813."\*

"Gen. Harrison, 5th October, 1813."

"Free Trade and Sailors' Rights."

"Erie."

The *Niagara* arrived from Cleveland the next day and thus the two flagships of the squadron were home again at the place of their building. On the 23rd, Perry and his party, on board the *Ariel*, sailed for Buffalo—and to a succession of receptions by his enthusiastic countrymen, in the East.

"We have met the enemy and they are ours,"—this means in American history that the West was to be forever American. No other victory won by civilized man west of Saratoga equals Perry's victory in importance. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, the peninsulas of Michigan, the country we call Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and great Commonwealths stretching yet westward to the Pacific, are some of the fruits of

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\* The title of "Commodore" commonly given to O. H. Perry was one of courtesy. When in command of the fleet on Lake Erie he held the rank of Commander. After the battle he was given a commission of *Captain* in the U. S. navy to date back from September 10, 1813.



that victory. Erie County and its people along the Lake Shore never again should fear an Indian massacre or a foreign foe. And since that September day, the "Stars and Stripes" have floated at every post in the Northwest, where, until that victory, the British flag had fluttered in the breeze.

And Oliver Hazard Perry—who is he? Few victors in our annals have won so vast a fame, and no other victor, while yet so young. Sprung from the blood of William Wallace and a sire of noble character, with whom he learned, in daily service, the art of war; brother to a Perry scarcely less famed than himself, father of an honorable posterity, all of whom have adorned private life, and some of whom have nobly served their country, this brave patient boy—for he was in years but a boy when he won the great victory, though in thought he was a Nestor among men—this youthful Perry must ever stand forth in American annals the model of virtue, the inspiration to patriotism, the hard fighter, the calm, cool-headed victor, the affectionate friend of the vanquished.

It is difficult, doubtless impossible, for us to feel now as the people of the Lake Shore Country felt when they heard of Perry's victory. Captain Dobbins' forest-built fleet performed one service,—the victory in Put-in-Bay—and then separated, never again to fire a hostile gun. It was a militia-marine, extemporized as a crew; a temporary forest-fleet serving as a navy on the Lake. Having served its high purpose, the fleet vanished—sunk in Misery Bay at the order of the Government; later, some of its members were raised to become transports in the commerce of the Lakes for a few years. But no other squadron in our history has performed a larger service. It is well, on such an occasion as this, to put ourselves as completely as we can in the state of mind of the time. It is well to reflect on some of the vast results of Perry's victory—that the West is American, not English, and that we the people of the

United States, largely because of that victory, share in the work of the world, and are a sovereign power among the nations of the earth.

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My principal authorities for this address are:

Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, which remains the chief treasury for homely incidents.

My own *Constitutional History of the American People*, Vol. I, whose chapters on the Lake Shore region are based on documentary matter largely from the Erie Custom House; the Forster MSS. and communications with persons who settled or lived in the Lake Shore country in an early day. For the essential history of the *Triangle* and Western lands, see Donaldson's *Public Domain*; a map showing these lands is given in the author's *Government of the People of the United States*, together with the statistics of acreage and prices. Miss Laura G. Sanford's *History of Erie County* (either edition) contains compilations of valuable information. Perry's descent from William Wallace rests on a statement by O. H. Lyman, in his *Oliver Hazard Perry and the War of the Lakes*. Of peculiar interest and value to students of the Lake Shore country's history is S. J. M. Eaton's *History of the Presbytery of Erie, embracing in its Ancient Boundaries the whole of Northwestern Pennsylvania and Northeastern Ohio*, 1868. Much of the local color I have gained by visiting the localities mentioned. Of course, no one will presume to write of the French occupation of North America without consulting Francis Parkman. Those specially interested in the early history of the Lake Shore country will turn to Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the New West*; *Pontiac's Conspiracy*; *Montcalm and Wolfe*; *The Jesuits in North America*, and *A Half Century of Conflict*. R. G. Thwaite's *The Jesuit Relation*, reprint the "Reports" and "Correspondence" covering the French *régime* in America. The international aspects of the War of 1812 are fairly set forth in John Bassett Moore's *American Diplomacy; the Spirit of its Achievements*; and in John W. Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*.

“THE CRISIS IN THE EARLY LIFE OF  
GENERAL PETER MÜHLENBERG.”

By REV. WILLIAM GERMANN, D.D.

[“The Crisis in the Early Life of General Peter Mühlenberg,” was compiled by Rev. Dr. Germann in 1881, from the original records entrusted to him by the authorities at Halle. The translation from the German was made by the late Miss Helen Bell.]

General Peter Mühlenberg has become so public a character through the prominent part which he played during the War of Independence, that it is the duty of the historian who possesses the means of doing so, to state accurately the facts, already almost legendary, concerning the crisis in his early life.

In the biography of the General\* we read that when Peter was sixteen years of age, he sailed for London, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, 1763, in company with his two next oldest brothers, Friedrich and Heinrich, and under the protection of Chief Justice Allen, a friend of his father's arriving there on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June. Thence he was sent by the Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, by way of Rotterdam to Halle, where, not being ready for the University, he was received into the preparatory classes; but, in the course of the next year, on the occasion of a Public Procession, he incurred an insulting reproof from his tutor, to which he replied immediately by a box on the ear, whereupon, without waiting for the inevitable official punishment, he fled bag and baggage, and enlisted in a passing regiment. Later, a British Colonel, a friend of the Mühlenberg family, who was on the point of giving up an official position in

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\* The Life of Major-General Peter Mühlenberg of the Revolutionary Army. By Henry A. Mühlenberg: Philadelphia, 1849.

Hanover to return to America, discovered young Mühlenberg by chance in a garrison town, procured his release and took him with him to America, where they arrived some time in the course of the year 1766, when he was received by his father with open arms. He, however, could not allow him to follow his inclination for the Army; but conducted his education for the Church under his personal supervision. Early in 1768\* he was ordained a Lutheran Minister. Whatever the legends may be, "*Littera scripta manet*" and written testimony mercilessly destroys the poetic woof of such family traditions, but leads us all the more to recognize in the sober prose the marvellous hand of God, who prepares a way for His children.

As early as January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1762, Father Mühlenberg had written about his son to Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, in London, as follows: "Your Reverence will kindly permit me, in conclusion, to make a humble inquiry and request of you. My oldest son, Peter, is entering his sixteenth year. I have had him taught to read and write German and English, and, after the necessary instruction, he has been confirmed in our Evangelical Church; moreover, since I have been in Philadelphia, I have sent him to the Academy to learn the *rudimenta linguæ latinæ*. But now I write in great anxiety on account of the corruption among the impudent and emancipated youth of this city, and I am not able to provide for his welfare any longer. It would be a great scandal and offence in my position, and to the ruin of his own soul, if he should fall into wild ways. Is there not an opportunity among the members of your Church for him to learn surgery, or

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\* He was ordained by his father, and, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May of the same year, he became Assistant Rector of the congregations of New Germantown and Bedminster, N. J., where he remained until he was called to a church in Virginia. As this place required an English Episcopal ordination, he went to London, where, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, 1772, he received an Anglican ordination.



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even an honest trade? Or will the blessed Institution in Glaucha (the suburb of Halle, the seat of the Institutions founded by Francke) by the power of God, reach so far as to provide for him? Next spring I shall have a good opportunity to send him hence to London with my good friend, the Rev. Mr. Peters, the former Secretary of the Country."

The circumstances under which Peter and his two brothers made the voyage to London, are correctly given in the Biography. The brothers arrived at their father's birthplace and home, Eimbeck, accompanied by their cousin Bense; from there they reached Halle the latter part of August or the First of September, for on the Second of September, 1763, at Halle, Johann Heinrich Bense gave a receipt to Professor G. A. Francke for ten thaler in gold for "bringing Pastor Mühlenberg's children from Eimbeck to Halle." A bill, dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of October next for the expenses of Mühlenberg, the purchasing of a trunk, shoes, gaiters, and roquelaure, was repaid to Grotian, a manager of the Orphanage, by Crusius, while at the same time the outlay for posting to Aschersleben is stricken out; but a second receipt is added "For the Journey to Lübeck, I have received twenty-two Reichsthaler and three groschen cash, which I hereby acknowledge and receipt for. Halle, October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1763. Johann Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg." This is the day of Peter's departure for Lübeck, where he was to learn to be a merchant. The few weeks in Halle served to decide him in his choice of a profession, and for the beginning and closing of the negotiations with Leonhard Heinrich Niemeyer, a merchant of Lübeck. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that any conflict arose in these few weeks. The next document is the following indenture:

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

Know all men by these presents that S. T. [Salvo Titulo] Herr Director, Doctor and Professor Francke of Halle, having a power



of attorney from his Reverence, Pastor Heinrich Melchoir Mühlenberg of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, in America, in behalf of his son, Johann Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg, of the first part, and Leonhard Heinrich Niemeyer, druggist, merchant, and tradesman of Lübeck, of the second part, do enter upon and execute the following contract of service :

*First.* The aforesaid Johann Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg, with the consent of his Reverend father, binds himself to serve as trade apprentice to Leonhard Heinrich Niemeyer, of Lübeck, for six years from Michaelmas of this year, 1763, until Michaelmas of the year 1769, D.V., to perform faithfully his master's business and any other affairs undertaken by him, and to do whatever he is ordered by his master willingly, faithfully, cheerfully and industriously; to work for his master's best interests, and to endeavor to avert any injury from him. Moreover he must arrange everything in an orderly manner in the shop, accost, and serve every one in an obliging, polite, and cordial manner, so that their custom shall be retained. More especially, he must not associate with any one, either at home, in the shop, in the street, or wherever he may happen to go, he must not allow himself to be led astray, or misled by anything that would give occasion for him to be led astray; he must not serve, or buy for other servants of his master, unless he has received permission from his master or the wife of the same, he must neither have, nor carry, money with him without a good reason. If he should see, hear, or notice, anything unfaithful or wicked in any of his master's servants, he should not be silent, or connive at it, even if they threaten or entreat him, or make promises to him, but he should immediately inform and make it known to his master, or mistress. And in order to become more clever, he must pray to God diligently for His grace and assistance, and commend himself in prayer to the Almighty both morning and evening; when he is sent to church, he must attend duly and reverently to the service, returning home immediately after the sermon and hymns, to read religious books and thus to end the day of the Lord in a manner well-pleasing to God. He must never leave the house without the consent of his master, or mistress, much less stay out over night without their knowledge. He must so use the money and goods entrusted to him that he can give a correct account of them; what he does not know how to manage according to his own knowledge, he must tell his master and ask him what to do, so that no goods are given incorrectly, causing people to complain; he must also take care that the other apprentice sells things correctly and not to his master's prejudice, and that he observes silence during business.

*Second.* It is agreed that the S. T. Reverend Herr Doctor Francke is to provide young Mühlenberg with the necessary clothing, linen, and every requisite during the six years of his apprenticeship.

*Third.* I, Leonhard Heinrich Niemeyer, promise not only to provide the aforesaid Johann Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg with food and drink during the six years of his apprenticeship, but also to instruct

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him in my business and merchandise, and in all that is good, and, after he has served the six years of apprenticeship honorably and faithfully, to give him a journeyman's black cloth suit of clothes, consisting of coat, waistcoat and breeches, together with a hat, cane, shoes and stockings, or, instead of it, one hundred marks Lübeck currency, in money. If, after his apprenticeship is over, his master shall desire to keep him longer as journeyman, he may remain at a fair salary as long as they both please; but if he is dismissed from his master's service, he can get a situation elsewhere wherever he wishes, in which his master will help him to the best of his ability, only remembering that he must not serve in another shop in the Mühlenstrasse where his master dwells; with this exception he is free to take a place with anyone, whoever it may be, in the whole city.

*Fourth.* I assuredly hope that young Mühlenberg, having come to years of understanding, will not maliciously damage, steal, or destroy, anything in his master's business, which may God in His mercy forbid, and therefore I excuse him from the customary bail and security.

*And* in order that all these things shall be faithfully observed, S. T. the Reverend Herr Doctor Francke binds himself that this contract shall be fulfilled on the part of young Mühlenberg in every particular. Without fraud, in witness thereof, this agreement has been prepared in duplicate and signed by all three of the contracting parties with their own hands.

Given at Lübeck, September 29<sup>th</sup> A. D. 1763.

Leonhard Heinrich Niemeyer,  
Johann Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg.

Francke's signature is wanting, because it is the copy of the articles of apprenticeship destined for Halle. Probably the agreements made by letter previous to Peter's arrival in Lübeck were reduced to writing, and two copies sent to Halle, one of which was sent back duly executed, and the other retained. Peter, who was seventeen years old on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, was to be an apprentice for six years behind the counter of an ordinary drug and grocery store. The highly esteemed Archdeacon Niemeyer was living in Halle at that time, and his relative in Lübeck having sent to him for an apprentice from the Franconian, so-called Francke Institute, Dr. Francke, deceived by the name Niemeyer and the capital city of Lübeck, into thinking it a large mercantile house, consented in his ignorance to a six

years' apprenticeship. For a considerable time everything went well. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March, 1765, the head of the firm wrote to G. A. Francke as follows:

"I am enabled by this [fourteen Pounds sterling sent direct from America] to purchase what young Mühlenberg needs in the way of linen and clothing, and thus your Reverence will not need to send any money for such things. I shall endeavor to manage in every way for his dear parents' advantage, and shall not allow him to get anything unnecessarily, for every now and then I quietly present him with pieces of my own clothing, especially as he deserves it, for being hitherto faithful, and obedient, and industrious in business, besides which he has the blessing of sound health and a heart at peace with God. At the same time, I heartily wish that he may all the more diligently and frequently, especially in his many idle evening hours, praise and thank his Creator and Preserver for these things, and beseech Him for further aid. Most people are slow in doing this, and he is not altogether an exception; in order to encourage him in diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, I bought him an English Bible, and he has ample time both morning and evening to read the Word of God. Your Reverence may be assured that I contribute, to the best of my ability, to everything necessary for his eternal and temporal welfare. His worthy Mama wrote the letter he received, and, as she intimated therein that his respected father will write to him shortly, he will await that before answering your esteemed lines; in the meantime, he desires his humble respects to you and commends his dear parents and brothers to your Reverence's kind remembrances."

A letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of August, 1765, written by the wife of Professor Francke to Frau Mühlenberg, in Philadelphia, in answer to a letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of November, 1764, doing ample justice to Peter's good conduct concludes thus:

"As Pastor Schulze will have given you by word of mouth the best news of the welfare of your dear children, up to the time of his departure, I will now assure you to your joy, that they are still well, are doing, and promise to do, well. Since they surmounted the first consequences of change of air and manner of living without being dangerously ill, they seem to have excellent health. From the first, the youngest has not shown the same amiable and tractable disposition which was noticeable immediately in the two oldest. But he seems to improve and to promise fairly, and we hope and believe that he will do well. I have had the guinea which you sent changed and given to your two dear children here for their enjoyment. As I noticed that they were too timid to ask anything of me, I gave it to Herr Inspector Weise, who was to give it all to them,

a little at a time. My worthy Frau Pastorin may moreover feel assured that not only does my husband take especially affectionate care of her children; but all their inspectors and teachers have a particular affection for them, because they impress all honest natures as being the children of a faithful servant of God, and are strangers here. For my part, I will be glad to show them a mother's love, at the same time taking an opportunity to admonish them well. May the Lord hear the prayer of the worthy parents and give his blessing upon their education for His love's sake! We hear constantly good accounts of your oldest son, who is in Lübeck; he is happy and his employer, Herr Niemeyer, a Christian druggist, is well contented with him. Now may the Lord rejoice the worthy parents with good news henceforth, and may they live to have much joy in their children in the Old and New World!"

Instead of the good news thus wished for them in the future, the parents were soon to receive intelligence quite the reverse. A letter of Peter's, written the 25<sup>th</sup> of October, 1765, in answer to one from his father's friend, Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, the Inspector of the Orphanage, and sent by carrier is as follows:

"I was very pleased to hear that Pastor Schultz and Mons. Bernhold reached London safely, for, as Mons. Bernhold staid some time with me in Lübeck, he will be able to give my dear parents the best accounts of me. Pastor Schultz, too, carries letters from my patron and from me. I have no news from home since last December, except what I have received through your Reverence's kindness. I humbly request you to send the enclosed letter to Philadelphia, and the one to my dear brothers. Please present my respectful duty to Doctor Francke, Archdeacon Niemeyer, Inspector Rechenberg, Inspector Crusius and the other gentlemen. With my best compliments to your wife, I remain, my respected Inspector's obedient servant.

Johann Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg.

The letter sounds harmless enough, but the messenger had made his own observations. About the 12<sup>th</sup> of December, 1765, Father Mühlenberg, at Niemeyer's request for curiosities, had sent a box of them to an apothecary in Lübeck, Edler by name, in which were packed other presents: "For Herr Niemeyer, a pair of garters which had been worn by an Indian King and made by Indian women; for Madame Niemeyer, a fur muff and collar; for my Peter, a cap, a muff, a pocket-book, a medicine book, and a handkerchief; for Friedrich



and Heinrich, in Halle, a pocketbook for each; which my Peter is to send to them by the traveling postman." About the same time, Herr Niemeyer received a direct letter, and which contained the answer to the news brought by the merchant Barnsholdt, or Bernhold, and to the letter sent by Pastor Schultz and received the 24<sup>th</sup> of October:

"Concerning my son Peter, your bound apprentice, or disciple, I rejoice from my heart that, through Divine Providence and the recommendation of his Reverence, the beloved Doctor and Director Francke, he has found a master who cares for his bodily and spiritual welfare like a father, and who speaks hopefully of his good behavior. Therefore I respectfully request you to let him be provided with warm clothing, especially in winter, at my expense, so that, with God's blessing, his health may be preserved; for, as we are from ten to twelve degrees nearer the sun here, American, or Pennsylvanian youth cannot easily bear the cold of your latitude. With the Divine help, nothing shall fail on my part, so long as he behaves himself well. And, since my principal aim and object in sending my three sons away, was the welfare of their souls, for I had neither the slightest time or opportunity to look after their education, being day and night in toil and moil on account of the varied duties of my profession which obliged me to leave the poor children either exposed to danger, or to send them away; but now my affairs being more compact, I have more time, as well as a piece of land inherited by my wife from her late father, on which all my children can, by the blessing of God, together with work and prayer, be maintained, and as the children generally have the strongest attachment and affection to their first Fatherland, the country where they were born, I will repeat the request I made in the beginning, and ask for the kindly release of two of the six years stipulated for, a compensation therefore in money being fixed by your own free choice, but with the condition that his Reverence Doctor Francke and yourself shall consider it for the boys' best advantage, and that my circumstances shall not have changed when the four years are passed.

"In this English America we have a land that alarms me somewhat; which is that a father has no control over his son after he is twenty-one years old. As soon as the son has reached that age, he is of full age and free. If a son does anything wrong before he is of age, his father is answerable and responsible for him; on the other hand a father has the right and power to sell his son before his majority, or to otherwise dispose of him as his own property. Children here know and learn this law generally before they learn the fourth commandment. I ask and desire nothing more than that their souls may be saved, and that they may learn



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an honest trade so as to be able to support themselves honorably and be a support to, instead of a burden on, the community."

The key to this letter is furnished by another written in the greatest confidence to Lector Pasche, in London, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of October, 1765:

"Sub rosa rosarum. I have been informed by some one from Lübeck, in regard to my son Johann Peter, that the affectionate fatherly intentions of his Reverence Doctor Francke about him were not being fulfilled. Ratio 1. A young man can learn that small trade and the whole retail business in four weeks and does not need to remain six years. 2<sup>nd</sup>. Before my draft for 14£ sterling arrived, the boy was in rage, and obliged to wear the same shirt unwashed for three or four weeks, besides suffering greatly in winter time from insufficient clothing and nakedness. 3<sup>rd</sup>. The other apprentices were bound for four years only, while this stranger was to serve for six years, even beyond his majority. 4<sup>th</sup>. He has not even learned to spell German correctly in his position, much less to decline a Latin case, and nothing at all of bookkeeping which would be of so much assistance to a poor young man. He has to eat in the kitchen with the servants, clean the shoes, wait and serve at frequent "Frolicks" [sic] or feasts, and also listen to the jovial colloquia. And his master has even been heard to say in company that it cost him an anker of wine to get the American for six years. My dear Brother, I know the world well, and am aware that every Christian has his praisers, his enviers and his calumniators, neither do I believe the report, because the youth himself has not yet complained, except that it was hard for him in winter and he asked for warm clothing, as according to the custom there, he was allowed to warm himself at the charcoal fire, only. I also see from his letters that he still uses the Pennsylvania letters and the old style, etc., and I have already asked the respected Herr Niemeyer if I cannot buy from him two of the stipulated six years. For doing so there were several reasons: A. The boy is an Englishman born, and, according to the English laws in force here, cannot be bound after twenty-one years of age. B. I am anxious that after these four years he shall have learned something at least that will contribute to his future advancement, for instance: to write a German hand, to decline and conjugate, and as much arithmetic and bookkeeping as possible, or at least a trade."

Pasche, upon this, wrote to Peter Mühlenberg, telling him to answer these inquiries of his father in all sincerity; but the latter, in order to spare his parent, wrote to Pasche:

"Lübeck, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1766.

"Respected Sir!

Yesterday for the first I had the honor of receiving a valued letter from you, in which I noted the observations which your

Honor had received from my dear Papa. (I had been very uneasy lest my dear parents were not well, as the last letters which I received from home were dated December, 1764, and thus it rejoiced my heart that your Honor had news of them.) Although I have not the privilege of knowing your Honor, yet as your letter opens the way for me, I take the liberty of answering your questions immediately. First. I am indeed bound for six years, but, as the contract was made at Halle, and I did not know that I was not going to a first-class merchant (I believe that Herr Dr. Francke does not know it yet), I consented joyfully to the six years, because at that time I had a great fancy for business. But as it has turned out quite differently, I leave it to your Honor's opinion, if six years are not too many. Second. It is really true that last winter I was obliged to wear one shirt for from four to six weeks, because I only had two and because my clothing was very bad, and we had to stand the whole winter long in an open shop, and I was obliged to suffer from the cold; the very day before the money came, I begged my mistress to have something mended for me. She answered shortly, she would have nothing else repaired for me, and if my parents did not send any money, I might go naked, and because I troubled nobody with complaints, it was always so. Third. There are certainly some who are apprenticed for six years, but while I am now in my twentieth year, they are from ten to twelve years old and even children. Your Honor knows very well that there is not much to be learned in a grocery store, and I assure you that when I had been here four weeks, I knew as much as I do now, for when I learned how to pour out a glass of brandy and to sell a little tea, sugar, etc., I had learned everything. He himself takes charge of the little drugshop, and, as I have by this time entirely forgotten my Latin, I have no longer any desire to learn medicine. We have nothing at all to do with writing, or reckoning. My associate, who will be free next Michaelmas, is the first apprentice my master has had, and, as he leaves his apprenticeship as wise as when he entered it, he intends apprenticing himself again to a merchant; but he is just sixteen years old. Fourth. As lowest apprentice, I could willingly accommodate myself to everything, eating in the kitchen as well as doing other work, if I was only learning something. But I have already found out how much I can rely on the affection of my master, for, as he refused to be kind to me when I needed it, I will not ask anything of him now when I am not in such great need. He certainly promised me that I should eat at his table next Michaelmas; but I do not ask about it, and would much rather that he would let me learn bookkeeping. I begged him to let me do so some time ago; but he gave me such an answer as I do not wish to hear again. I would have written to Herr Doctor Francke long ago, but did not venture on account of Herr Archdeacon Niemeyer. But I assure your Honor that, to please my dear parents, I will willingly stay out my apprenticeship, only it seems to me very hard that I must sacrifice six of the best years

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of my life without learning anything. If my master would allow me to learn bookkeeping, I could serve him willingly and heartily. He does not complain of me, but is very well pleased with me and promises me much, only nothing is said about teaching me. If I only had Sunday free, I could practice writing and arithmetic a little; but our shop is open Sundays as well as other days until ten o'clock in the evening. Then it is too late. You advise me to apply to some acquaintances who have learned something; but I assure you that we dare not converse in a friendly manner with anyone without being suspected of giving away money or goods, for it is an open shop. However, I know that I serve my master faithfully, and that he cannot complain of me. If your Honor doubts the truth of these things, I am entirely willing to have this letter laid before my master, but I most dutifully beg my dear parents not to write everything. The fourteen pounds sterling are already gone, as my master gives me to understand; I know nothing about it. I would hardly have known that he had the money, if I had not heard it by chance. When your Honor writes to Philadelphia, please send my dear parents the heartiest greetings, etc.

N. B. In the greatest haste."

The explicit and moderate letter which showed at the same time a love of duty and a child's hearty affection for his parents, made a great impression in London. Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen and Pasche did not conceal from themselves that the unpleasant news about Peter Mühlenberg's situation was founded in entire justice. Pasche sent G. A. Franche, at Ziegenhagen's instance, "for his enlightenment," an extract from Father Mühlenberg's epistle and Peter's original letter, to which he added, under date of January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1766:

"The Court Chaplain deplores the necessity produced by these circumstances of making this unpleasant business known to his Reverence the beloved Herr Doctor Francke, and with most respectful regards and hearty good wishes entreats him to take to his benevolent heart this case, to communicate something of it (it might not be advisable to tell the whole) to his most worthy assistant, Herr Niemeyer, and by his wise and powerful mediation, to so arrange the matter, that the future life of young Mühlenberg might be passed more in accordance with the wishes of the father and son."

It was not to be expected that such a message would be welcome in Halle. Pasche received a memorial written in March, 1766, to which the letter of Niemeyer's mentioned therein as enclosed, is wanting.

This epistle is an excited justification of his own proceedings and of Niemeyer's' business, and shows throughout no inclination to urge the shortening of the time of apprenticeship, but Francke says he will write to the principal, to give permission for an hour of arithmetic a day. We extract some portions:

"From the whole context it seems as if young Mühlenberg had been set on by others, and also that some people from envy had tried to influence his father's mind against Herr Niemeyer. A plain proof of this is the fabrication that Herr Niemeyer was overheard to say that it cost him an anker of wine to get this American for six years, which is plainly and positively false, for neither the Reverend Doctor Francke, nor Herr Niemeyer, is capable of such corruption, moreover neither of them received the slightest present of coin from him. Herr Niemeyer is not a mere grocer, but a druggist, who is a learned apothecary and puts up prescriptions for others, of his own as well as foreign, drugs; but he also keeps an open shop.... In the enclosed letter of young Mühlenberg's to his father (which has been opened in order to get more particular information of his circumstances), it is incorrectly stated that Doctor Francke had overpersuaded him. He gave him all particulars and left the choice to his own free will. He himself had above all a great fancy for business, and immediately inclined to seize this opportunity.... After the six years are passed, he will be in the twenty-fourth year of his age, when he will still have time to make an attempt, for some years longer, at another kind of business. Doctor Francke does not advise that, according to his intention expressed in the English letter to his father, he should immediately take matters in his own hands."

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April, Francke wrote to Peter a letter of admonition, at the same time writing his master as follows:

"I perceive from the worthy Herr Niemeyer's letter to his cousin that young Mühlenberg, since the departure of the senior apprentice, and his enjoyment of more honor, together with the hope held out to him of getting off with four years and remaining the two last as journeyman, is now well contented, from which it is all the clearer that his previous complaints had no real foundation. I have heartily admonished him above all to give his heart entirely to the Lord, and as for the rest, I shall have the more opportunity from his answer to give him a fitting reproof. In the meantime I request that you will impart farther candid particulars of his conduct. Moreover, I must beg you, for the sake of politeness and good habits, as well as order and system, to insist upon his mending



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his clothes properly, having them washed regularly, and keeping himself clean, at the same time avoiding unnecessary finery, such as cuffs. He must report himself in these matters and give Herr Niemeyer no occasion to find fault with him."

Suddenly opinions in Halle changed, and that even before the last quoted letter with enclosures was received in Lübeck. Inspector Sebastian Fabricius had applied confidentially to a business house in Lübeck for information, and it turned out that the correspondent of this firm was a cousin of Niemeyer's, by the name of Meymann, and it had all the more weight when he, unwillingly, from friendship for Dr. Francke and compassion for the young man, under date of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April, 1766, could not do otherwise than say that, "the youth had gone to the wrong merchant to learn his trade, and had probably cause enough to be discontented with his situation. We wonder greatly that Herr Niemeyer's conscience would allow him to take a young man who had come so far to learn the business, as an apprentice for six years, when the business can be perfectly acquired within a year. We had young Mühlenberg with us yesterday, etc. It is a sin that anyone should want him to stay here with Herr N.; only the worst of the peasant youth from the country, accustomed to rough work from their youth up, are taken into such a business."

A letter from Peter to Fabricius, dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of April, 1766, arrived a few days later:

"Your Honor will not take it unkindly that I take the liberty of troubling you with my writing; the reason of it is, that, on the first of this month, Herr Meymann sent for me to inquire about my situation, as he had received a letter from you on the subject. But as Herr Meymann is a cousin of my principal's and knows his whole business, I begged him to write his candid opinion to Herr Dr. Francke, which he agreed to do. I would indeed have willingly written long ago to Herr Dr. Francke; but refrained for fear of making trouble. I can assure your Honor that I have profited very little here, and knew as much in the first four weeks as I know now, and have only lost my precious time. I cannot profit at all by the little drug shop, and take pleasure in nothing but business,



as I wrote to my Papa, and my employer has no business by which I can profit. I have done my duty and served my principal faithfully, so that he cannot complain, and on account of this he took me to his table last week, because my associate had gone. I cannot complain that my employer does not keep me well in food, etc., but it seems very hard to me that I am ruining my health by standing the whole winter and summer in the shop and learning nothing. My dear brothers will be able by the grace of God in the future to point to what they have gained in Europe, but I have nothing to show. I leave it all to Herr Dr. Francke, and shall be pleased with whatever he finds it best to do. I dutifully beg to greet my dear brothers." A postscript on the cover was as follows: "If your Honor finds that it will not be possible for me to leave here entirely, I entreat you to say nothing to my employer, otherwise I might have nothing but uncomfortable hours here."

Sebastian Fabricius' answers to Meymann and to young Mühlenberg were dated on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April. In the letter he says:

"The greatest mistake was in not writing in the beginning to Herr Dr. Francke, or to me, and saying that you did not believe you could remain in this business with profit, then there would have been no difficulty in annulling the contract, and you would not have had the slightest cause to fear anything disagreeable. Now it is much more difficult, as two years and a half have passed, and the matter cannot be otherwise arranged than by making an amicable compromise with Herr Niemeyer, and paying for several years, that you may not only be freed, but honorably dismissed, especially as your father has already begun the negotiations. His Reverence Dr. Francke has written to Herr Niemeyer, to know if he will not free and honorably dismiss you after four years for a sum of money, also permitting you to have an hour's instruction in arithmetic daily, and Herr Archdeacon Niemeyer at the same time takes some trouble to induce your employer to make a fair arrangement. Both of them have your welfare at heart. They only fear, that you may have committed yourself too far, for your employer wrote that your father had left everything to you, and that you were well content now."

Then follow reproaches for not having written to Halle for warmer clothing and money, and for not having his washing done out; in conclusion, he is reproved for making a parade which the other apprentices did not do, by wearing cuffs, for instance, which is not approved of.

The employer's answer, written on the 30<sup>th</sup> of April,

contains nothing but praises of his apprentice, who is so skilful that he brings custom to the shop by pleasing all the customers. He is treated like a son of the house, never complains, and gives them to understand that he is perfectly contented. He (the principal) would—unwillingly—give up any of the six years, after previous notice of from four to six months, for an indemnity of fifty thaler a year. His employer was entirely deceived as to his apprentice's sentiments. The latter had made his decision in the meantime, as he plainly says in his answer of the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, 1766:

"Respected Herr Inspector! Your honored letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of April has been duly received through Herr Meymann, and I respectfully thank you for the news so kindly imparted; but I am very sorry that your Honor is displeased at some parts of my conduct, especially on account of the writing for money, as it was my employer who caused me to do so, for when he knew that I had only two shirts, and must necessarily wear one until the other was washed and dried, which takes a long time to dry on the ground in winter, and yet made no preparations to get me any clothes, saying that he had already laid out so much for me which he did not know when he could get again. Thereupon I offered to write to Halle. He answered that I should not do so, for, if the money came from America, he would be obliged to send it again to Halle and he could thus still have something to ask Herr Inspector Niemeyer for. As to what I wrote home about my mistress, I still assert it; but since then they have tried diligently to make amends to me by kind treatment. But as to what concerns my years of apprenticeship, it will not help me at all for my master to take me as journeyman after four years, for I would gain just as little by being journeyman as I have as apprentice; but with God's help I have decided not to stay any longer with him than this Michaelmas, in which time he will be able to sufficiently provide himself with servants. This winter, please God, I shall be glad to give my attention to writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping, for I can do nothing at them this summer while I am still alone and will probably remain so. I shall have opportunities enough afterwards to better myself by getting an advantageous place, where I can spend my time to better advantage, and I think it is enough to have served my master faithfully and honestly for three years without gain. Your Honor will not take it amiss that I have expressed my meaning very plainly, but will, if it so pleases you, write to me in your first letter as to how I shall act. Several merchants here have told me that if it was not of one's own will, it was not at all necessary to buy my time from my master; but if

it was brought before the magistrates, he would be obliged to let me go free."

He had expressed himself with the same decision to Meymann:

"I have informed young Mühlenberg of what was necessary. He will write today, the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, himself, representing that he will stay with Herr Niemeyer no longer than until Michaelmas. We have advised him against this, and have undertaken to settle matters amicably with his master; but notice that he has no mind to do this; we think, however, that it would be very unfair for him to be obliged to pay Herr Niemeyer money for the remaining years of apprenticeship agreed upon, for the youth intended, when agreeing to his apprenticeship, to learn a trade with Herr Niemeyer, and not to stand in a grocery store, for that is not regarded as a trade. If Herr N. had let this out in the beginning, no one would have given his consent; of course it is only an injury to the young man to have remained there so long. He will have to serve in another place after this one. Consequently no Judge would forbid him to look around for a better situation, and Herr N. ought to let him go without requital. We can assure you in confidence that Herr Niemeyer will be derided by all and every one for taking an Englishman into his service to learn a trade. It is as absurd as anything can be; and we do not consider it expedient for Mühlenberg to take an hour a day to practice arithmetic and writing, for in his hard daily work and mortar-pounding, this will be neglected again, besides which Herr Niemeyer cannot spare him out of the shop, as he is alone."

Fabricius's answer may be surmised from Peter's next letter, dated the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, 1766:

"I received your favor of the 27<sup>th</sup> duly through Herr Meymann. and note your advice to endeavor to gain my principal's consent to let me go. I began about it to him with the greatest courtesy; but he was very angry and said that I was bound to him by my indenture and must serve my time out. I have an associate now, but he is only a child who can help me very little, for he cannot look after the shop himself and let me have a few hours to myself every day. I represented all this to my master; but he said that I would have time enough next summer to learn something, and this is the way it is put off from year to year. As to what your honor says about not being out of a place this winter on account of the expense, I think that if I am only to serve in a small shop, there are plenty of such places always to be had here, where I could learn arithmetic and bookkeeping besides for my money, and thus it would not be necessary for me to be out of a situation. If I only knew that it would not offend his Reverence Dr. Francke, there would be ways enough of getting free this Michaelmas. If

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your Honor would instruct a gentleman here in Lübeck with whom you are in correspondence, such as Herr Neubauer, or Herr Gündlach, to undertake the matter for me, it would be quite easy. For to buy my remaining time from my principal without my having profited in the slightest by the years that have passed, would be contrary to all equity and not to be consented to on my part, and my master would just as little be permitted to receive much money for the remaining years as I would be to give it. Several merchants here are my good friends. I having become acquainted with them in this wise: last year two, and this year five, English sea captains arrived here with goods, and large as the trade of this town is, there was no one able to speak English, so they were obliged to ask my principal to permit me to translate their letters into German and talk to the merchants for them. They were all surprised that I was in such a business, and if I were free from my master, I would soon have a situation. However, I think the only way to leave my master amicably, would be for a boy from the Orphanage, who wanted to learn this trade, to come here in my place, then both parties would be satisfied, and this business is useful and profitable enough for those who are to remain in Germany. I heartily wish to come to an amicable agreement if it be possible. But if it be not possible, then other means must be used; but I dutifully implore your Honor's advice beforehand. My principal is now doing everything possible to induce me to refuse all propositions made to me from Halle, and wants me to write that I had decided to remain with him. He gave me a form which I am to write and which I enclose, so that your honor may understand his views. I have written none of these matters home as yet, and I humbly beg you to write nothing to my dear parents until I am settled in one way or the other. Day before yesterday I went to Herr Meymann's to ask for his advice. Your Honor well knows the reasons which restrain him from assisting me openly, on which account he proposed the gentlemen I have mentioned."

The enclosure is as follows:

"Since last Easter, when our oldest apprentice left, my principal has had the great kindness to allow me to eat at his table, and has also promised that, when my four years of apprenticeship are ended, he will make me a journeyman, at the same time requiring me to remain in his shop without salary as a journeyman for those two years. I have accepted this offer with pleasure and am resolved, with God's help, to remain in Lübeck for that length of time, and I can moreover assure your Reverence that I am now content and give up my will, by Divine grace. After the end of these years, I intend to take a situation in England for some time, in order to familiarize myself with the trade of England and America, and to acquire the necessary knowledge of it; for I am now entirely decided to carry on, with the Divine blessing, at some future time,



a similar business with England and Germany and Pennsylvania, for which reason I shall not carry on my medical studies after my stay here; but as I am now doing, I shall continue to diligently acquire my trade with my master."

*Sebastian Andreas Fabricius to Peter Mühlenberg.*

Halle, July 4<sup>th</sup> 1766.

"My worthy Monsieur Mühlenberg!

I see from your last letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, that your principal will have nothing to say to the proposition made to him of a compromise, at which I am considerably surprised, as, in his last letter to Herr Dr. Francke, he declared that, if he knew of the matter four, or six months previously, he would let you go before the expiration of the six years, on payment of fifty thalers Lübeck currency for every year. As you proposed that we should give another of our correspondents the commission to treat with your master, I requested Herr Neubauer to undertake the business. He writes that, if you only knew you would not offend his Reverence Dr. Francke, there would be ways enough of getting free next Michaelmas. If there are such means compatible with honor and the promise given by signing the indenture, Herr Dr. Francke would not object. But as you fear that you may offend him by doing so, that is a sign that your conscience troubles you. In the meantime I beg you to tell me what means you are thinking of employing, so that we may consider them. I will use every endeavor to find another boy to take your place with your master; but I cannot promise certainly. When you write that your principal's shop would be advantageous enough for those intending to remain in Germany, I do not see how you can abrogate your contract honorably, and get free, without making a fair compensation for the missing years. I think it would be well to try to come to terms with him, without, however, giving him more than is reasonable. But I do not think you could get off with honor and a clear conscience without making some compensation. Your father has already offered to indemnify him for the last two years, and he would constantly refer to that. Happen what may, it will be far more honorable both for yourself and your father, if you can get free amicably. That you wish to enter a small countinghouse when you are set free, in order to improve yourself by good instruction, is very well, and I do not doubt that you will have a good opportunity in Lübeck, as you are known to our merchants, and may be able to obtain a more advantageous position on account of knowing the English language. Moreover I think that if you remain with your principal until next Easter, he may perhaps be induced then to let you go on more favorable conditions, and two years and a half of the indenture would still remain. Do not vex yourself over this short space of half a year. You will not repent of it in the future. And if you need some warmer clothing in the winter for your health's sake, you have only to let it be known and his Reverence Herr Dr.



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Francke will thereupon devise ways and means. Commit all your affairs to God diligently in prayer, and you will find that He will so lead you that all is meant for your best good. Often we do not know why we are placed in unpleasant situations; but there is oftener a gracious and well-meant purpose of God beneath, which paves the way for His ultimate intentions towards us. We must not run away from this school; but be faithful in the present, so that in the future we can all the better experience His gracious government. Dr. Francke and Archdeacon Niemeyer send their cordial remembrances, and I remain yours to command,

Sebastian Andreas Fabricius."

It will be acknowledged that no father could have written a more fatherly and sympathizing letter, or one more considerate of the first feelings of self-importance of a youth of hardly twenty years. This letter was written by Fabricius just after he had received the following advice from the Lübeck firm of Barckley:

"As to what relates to Herr Leonhard Heinrich Niemeyer, I know nothing except that the standing of the house is very fair; but as to the business I cannot exactly say. He has an open shop and there are four more in the same street, and thus he probably does a retail business principally, and has not much wholesale trade. As his deceased father always had a private pharmacy, I think the son undoubtedly has it yet, and when such is the case, we consider these the best grocery-stores. In other respects he is a pleasant man. I do not consider it unreasonable in him to ask a hundred thalers in currency for the two years and a half. The boy is just beginning to be useful to him, when he wants to leave him. The young men want to be journeymen quickly, often when it is not good for them."

The firm of Neubauer, who had been appealed to, at last succeeded in bringing the vexed question to a solution and in making an unexpectedly favorable compromise. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, 1766, Peter wrote Fabricius a letter of thanks, which gives a detailed account of the progress and conclusion of the negotiations:

"I duly received your favor of the 11<sup>th</sup>, enclosed to Madame Neubauer, and thank you most humbly for complying with my request, and entrusting the commission to Madame Neubauer. My master was immediately requested by the bearer of the letter to allow me to go to Madame Neubauer, to which he consented. After she had

told me what was necessary she sent her bookkeeper with me to try if my principal was disposed to make a more reasonable settlement. After the matter had been proposed to him, he promised to give Madame N. an answer on the 14<sup>th</sup>. The new contract was drawn up ready for the signatures on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and is to the effect that I am to be set free next Easter, on the payment of one hundred thalers, and moreover, from Michaelmas until Easter, I am to have four hours every week for instruction in arithmetic, book-keeping, and other things necessary for commercial life, at my own expense. The signing waits only for the approval of his Reverence Dr. Francke and yourself; as soon as Madame Neubauer receives word, the contract will be signed. I think that the object has been attained of letting neither party bear the sole damage. I hardly thought that my master, after it had once failed, would agree amicably to such conditions. It was a very hard point for him to get over, the allowing me four hours instruction. And yet, with one hundred thalers, my principal will not lose by paying a journeyman, for the largest grocery-stores only pay from thirty to forty thalers a year, and others, from twenty to thirty. The worst is that a journeyman cannot be obliged to do rough work, and my present companion, being a child, is not strong enough to pound in the mortar or do similar work. As to my clothing, thank God, I am already provided for this winter, and will only humbly beg that, at the expiration of my apprenticeship, which may God grant to be fortunate! his Reverence Dr. Francke will provide me with the necessary articles of clothing, as I ought to have somewhat better clothes than. I have nothing else to write at present than to humbly thank the Reverend Dr. Francke and yourself for the trouble and anxiety you have had on my account, which I can repay in no other way than by thanks. I have not come into collision with my employer in these matters, but now as before we remain good friends, and I shall leave him to all appearances amicably. He would have agreed long ago to a reasonable settlement, if it had not been for other opinions than his own, for he is a very quiet and peaceable man, and, as long as I have been with him I never received a word of blame from him."

Before us lies the amended contract, signed by Niemeyer, J. P. G. Mühlenberg, and the widow Neubauer, dated Lübeck, July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1766; besides a memorial to Father Mühlenberg in Philadelphia, which followed on the heels of one of the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, and thankfully announced the final conclusion of the arrangements. We have, moreover, the letter of Walter, confidential clerk of the firm of Neubauer, written on the evening of the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, which accompanied the newly

executed contract when it was sent to Halle, together with the expression of regret that it could not have been done under one hundred thaler, and the promise that care should be taken to allow the instruction and bookkeeping which had been hindered previously by press of business.

Everything thus settled in Europe received the paternal sanction in a letter from Philadelphia, written to Pasche on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November, 1766, which at the same time betrays anxiety as to what is to be done after the liberation at Easter, 1767:

"The first contract which I have in writing, and Herr Niemeyer's letters show perfectly that the boy was to learn the drug business as the foundation for the drug-store and mercantile life, and this made me hesitate somewhat, because he could not earn his salt by pharmacy in this country, as the wild Indians are the real apothecaries here, and, as to business, that required a large capital and is learned very easily and quickly here,—shop-keeping particularly, for nearly every tailor, shoemaker, brushmaker, stocking-weaver, farmer, or even former soldier, has a shop besides his trade. In the meantime I comforted myself with the thought that the drug business was his real trade and the basis of pharmacy, and that the boy could build afterwards on this foundation, if he could get through and be bought off a couple of years sooner. Since Herr Niemeyer has declared his willingness, and contracted to dismiss the boy as an apprentice at Easter, 1767, for one hundred thalers, he is perfect in one thing,—in the grocery business, or the drug-store, and in my imperfect comprehension, I should think he ought to go to an apothecary-shop, for which he has received the foundation in the last three years and a half. If he were to prepare himself now for the first for business life, he must study writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, etc., which would require some years, during which I would be obliged to keep him in clothing, etc., or else he must bind himself out again as an apprentice, to finally become a merchant without money or capital. I will very willingly pay the hundred thalers for him. But I am greatly perplexed as to what is to become of the youth when he is free and no longer under discipline. I am afraid, and do not know what to advise. If he were to return here, I do not know how he could support himself. I should be obliged either to give him some instruction myself to prepare him for a schoolmaster, or catechist, or to send him far into the country to learn farming where he would learn to earn and eat his bread by the sweat of his brow. I do not know what to do. It would be a great comfort to me if his Reverence Herr Doctor Francke would graciously condescend to advise as to

the best course. If, as soon as he is free, he could be immediately taken into the apothecary-shop of the revered Institution [at Halle], and be perfected there, I would willingly expend something more for him, and pay the necessary expenses. Then he would have the best opportunity to take care of his soul and to learn something good, after which he could return to America with honor and earn his bread there. I would not wish him to remain in Lübeck a day after he is free; but to come at once under the immediate oversight of my reverend fathers and brethren in Halle, not however with the intention that he should be a burden on the beloved Institution, but that he might be under close supervision, and where he could learn something. If this cannot be, he may come home, for it is dangerous for a youth to be free and his own master in a foreign land and on his father's credit. I wished to say all this beforehand and in time, because 'periculum in mora,' the distance is great and the time before Easter will quickly pass. His Reverence has already taken much trouble and pains with my children, and will, for the Lord's sake, continue to hold his gracious hand over them, and, in particular, will advise for the best about the one in Lübeck, and the Lord will reward him for it if I cannot."

We can hardly conceive of a sharper, or more definite, condemnation of the unpractical action of the people in Halle in sending a seventeen-year-old American boy to a grocery store as an apprentice. After his discharge at Easter there was nothing left for young Mühlenberg to do, as he had no inclination for the apothecary-shop, but to return home at his father's expense, acknowledging that he had learned nothing that he could not have acquired more thoroughly and with more ease at home. In this light the following documents should be read, which, when the difficulty appeared to be happily settled, inform us of a sudden, violent outbreak and swift progress of another crisis.

*L. H. Niemeyer to Doctor Francke.*

Lübeck, August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

"After I had signed the contract which Madame Neubauer had been authorized to arrange by your Reverence, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, 1766, in which the six years for which my apprentice Johann Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg had been bound in the first indenture of the 29<sup>th</sup> of September, 1763, were shortened by two years and a half, I certainly thought that I would have entire quiet in my business affairs; but unfortunately I had yet to experience a proceeding which was as unexpected as annoying to me. On Thursday,



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the 14<sup>th</sup> of August of this year, 1766, my servant maid came up to my bedroom and asked, 'Have you sent Mr. Johann out?' On my answering in the negative, she said, 'He is not in the house.' I sprang out of bed; but found nothing whatever in his bedroom, his trunk and clothing having been taken away. He had evidently gone away secretly. I inquired of the whole street if anyone had been up and knew about it, or had seen him. They all pledged ignorance. As I have the house key in my own custody at night, he must have arranged, immediately after it was delivered early to the watchman, to carry away his things before the other servants were awake, for the girl was roused by the loud shutting of the house door. Greatly troubled, I went all about the city to find out if any one had seen a young man, or a trunk being carried away, until at last, on passing by a house where the English recruiting officers lodge, I received the impression that Mühlenberg was standing in the room. I immediately went in with my neighbor and inquired whether there was a young man there, and, on being answered in the affirmative, desired to see and speak with him. Thus, to my great astonishment, I found Mühlenberg, the Englishmen saying he had just arrived and enlisted voluntarily. I entreated him, in sorrow and with heartfelt remonstrances, to return home with me, but in vain; he would not leave them, and they would not have been willing, even if he had wished it. I returned home unsuccessful, and in the meantime a stranger fellow, the person who, as I discovered afterwards, had carried away the trunk, left a letter for me of which I subjoin a correct copy made by my wife, so that your Reverence can see Mühlenberg's motives, and that I had given no cause for his flight. I immediately notified Madame Neubauer of the matter and took advice of experienced people; but as long as he himself did not wish to get free, his discharge could not be hoped for. I addressed myself, accompanied by my father-in-law, to the English Captain von Fiser, who had enlisted him, and requested his release, which he promised to agree to, if he himself wished it, for he took none but volunteers. All his best friends, my father-in-law, an apothecary here by the name of Edler (who has constantly shown much affection for young Mühlenberg, and in whom he had great confidence), Madame Neubauer's book keeper, and my humble self especially, took the greatest pains to persuade him to agree to this, but in vain, he would listen to no entreaty. He was Secretary of the Regiment and was to remain in Lübeck as long as the Captain did. The latter intended to take him to America, as he knew his parents and relations, for whom he had great esteem. It mortified me greatly to have to undergo such treatment on the part of an apprentice whom I loved and esteemed so much, and to whom I had shown so much kindness and courtesy. Moreover, as is well known, the injury to my business is exceedingly great: but that I hope with certainty your Reverence will indemnify me for, in right and equity. I had expected the greatest usefulness and assistance from young Mühlenberg during the re-



mainder of his years of apprenticeship; and now I am placed in such an inconvenient position, that I can neither attend Divine service, which I love to do, nor even be out of the house for half an hour, because, since Midsummer, I have had only a boy who is inexperienced in the shop, and thus I can neither go to the Exchange nor transact the smallest business properly, and expect to be thus situated for some time, for a new apprentice is always ignorant and must be instructed. Our merciful Father will not forsake me but give His powerful support and preserve my health, otherwise my whole business, which no one understands but myself, could be ruined and my dear wife and children be still more afflicted."

Copy of Mühlenberg's letter received on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August at six o'clock in the morning from a stranger youth:

"My dear Herr Niemeyer!

You will be not a little vexed when you hear that I have gone away so unexpectedly, without knowing any cause therefore. You have done your very best for me, and it is not your fault. It is partly owing to my love for my native country, and the other reasons I cannot disclose to you. I have enlisted as cadet among the Englishmen who are going into garrison in America. I now humbly entreat you not to injure your health by useless anger, because it cannot be changed now. Bear it patiently, and I swear to you that I will do all in my power to protect you from any injury. You will receive the money from Madame Neubauer, and if you will come to an amicable agreement with me, I will try to procure fifty thalers for you from my Captain. But if you try to seize me forcibly, I will go to Retzeberg. I would willingly offer to remain two or four weeks with you until you are a little in order. But you will hesitate to take me in your shop now. Nevertheless I can take my oath that I leave you with a clear conscience, without having taken away the slightest thing, although I certainly had opportunities enough. Re-assure for me my dear parents, whom I should certainly have not done anything in opposition to, if I had not had weighty reasons which God alone knows. I shall thankfully acknowledge, as long as I live, what you have done for me. Your until now faithful servant,

J. P. G. M . . . . . g.

Wednesday morning. I humbly ask an answer from you this morning."

"August 14<sup>th</sup>, 1766. The next day at five o'clock, I received the following note through a wigmaker by the name of Jung:

"Most respected Herr Niemeyer,

If you write to Halle, I respectfully beg you to tell them that the Herr Captain has made me Secretary of the Regiment, which office I am to enter upon tomorrow.

J. P. G. M . . . . . g."

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*Madame Neubauer to Fabricius.*

Lübeck, August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

"The last post day I had the honor of forwarding to you the agreement about Monsieur Mühlenberg, assuring you, at the same time, that everything else should be arranged in the best possible way. You will be all the more astonished when I inform you that the aforesaid Monsieur Mühlenberg, on the day after, the 14<sup>th</sup> of this month, at half past four in the morning, secretly ran away from Herr Niemeyer's house, having his trunk and clothing carried away at the same time, and voluntarily enlisted as a soldier at the English recruiting office of Captain von Fiser, whence he sent a letter to his employer in the course of half an hour. As soon as Herr Niemeyer discovered this, he came to me in not a little consternation about six o'clock the same morning, to lament over the trouble, whereupon we immediately repaired to Monsieur Mühlenberg at the recruiting-office, so as to have a complete understanding; but he only answered that the reason was merely his great longing to return to his native country. I talked with the Captain, who is a very honest man. He promised to let Monsieur Mühlenberg go free without any penalty on condition that he himself is willing. But the latter asserts that, if two hundred ducats were laid on the table before him, he would not consent to remain here in Germany, since he had now such an excellent opportunity to return home to his native land. M. Mühlenberg said, he well knew that it would not please his father to hear this; but he could not help it. M. Mühlenberg is on the point of becoming Regimental Secretary, as he writes a good hand and has a good appearance, and he told Herr Niemeyer that in this position he was better off than many officers. The young man does not consider the consequences. In fine, there is no reasoning with him, he holds fast to his intention of returning home. As he enlisted voluntarily, I can do nothing by compulsion, the magistrates would not interfere. Finally we are waiting to hear what you and Dr. Francke think in the matter by the earliest post, as he will remain here with the Captain for four weeks longer. I have one thing more to inform you, and that is, that on account of the delay, the compensation for Herr Niemeyer is still in my possession, and, since this has happened, I have not handed it over to him yet, wishing to receive first farther orders from you in the matter. Herr Niemeyer is greatly embarrassed at present, having only a boy and not being able to obtain an apprentice immediately. Just as I was writing this, Herr Mühlenberg came to my house, and I sought by every possible means to dissuade him from his course; but in vain. He says openly that he will not give up; he says 'As soon as I perceive that compulsion is to be used, I will leave here with the Captain, and that will be the end.' In conclusion, I do not know what advice to give; but positively expect an answer by return of post. As I knew that young Mühlenberg had had some intercourse with Herr Meymann here, I intended talking

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over the affair with him; but he has gone to Copenhagen, not to return before a fortnight."

*G. A. Francke to H. Mühlenberg, Senior.*

Halle, August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

"In my previous letter I informed you of several matters in relation to the agreement I had made with Herr Niemeyer about your eldest son, contracting to pay him one hundred thalers Lübeck currency, on condition that he would set him free at Easter, 1767. I cannot deny that from the beginning I was disinclined to enter into this compromise, because I continually feared that there was some hidden reason for the discontent of the young man. But I allowed myself to be persuaded to let him have his way, first, because his assertion that he could profit more in another business was probable and supported by others, and, secondly, because you yourself wished it and had already written to Herr Niemeyer about it; and, thirdly, because I clearly perceived that you had yielded to him almost altogether formerly, and had even put in his head the idea of English liberty, which does not compel children to obey their parents after they are twenty-one years old, and therefore I feared nothing good would come of it, if everything was not done according to his will. But now I am all the better pleased that I gave up to him in everything, and when he expressed his great satisfaction in the accompanying letter to Herr Inspector Fabricius I never expected that I would receive the news contained in the enclosed letters from Herr Niemeyer and Madame Neubauer. Everything possible has been done and I would certainly not have taken so much trouble if it had not been from especial love for you. There must be a secret reason underneath for his not staying the short time that remains before Easter, as indeed he gives us to understand in his letter to Herr Niemeyer. In order to do everything possible to dissuade him from his infatuation, I have written him a forcible letter, as the Captain is to remain four weeks longer in Lübeck, in which I not only laid before him his going to destruction and greatly grieving his dear parents, but also entreated him to trust himself to some one of his good friends, so that if he has gone astray he can be helped back to the right path. Whether this will accomplish its design, we must wait to see. As for the rest, Herr Niemeyer has been promised one hundred thalers Lübeck currency for the two years and a half which were bought off; but I consider it very probable that he will now require especial compensation for the three quarters of a year which your son has anticipated, as well as for the injury which he has suffered from being left alone without previous notice; and in this matter we must necessarily do what justice requires. I will certainly consult your interests as far as possible; but, as I have allowed my name to be used, I must maintain my reputation and strive to have everything done justly and honorably. I heartily pity your Reverence, for I

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can well conceive the sorrow which afflicts your old age. For my part, I know that I have omitted nothing, and have nothing to reproach myself with. Meanwhile I hope that the prayers and tears of his beloved parents may bring back this erring son, and that, by God's grace, you may experience more joy in your two dear sons who are here, for nothing is impossible with Him; although at the same time I cannot deny that I am very anxious about the youngest in particular, who has been heard to say that he intended to run away. We will, nevertheless, continue to work with them, not only with earnestness but in love and patience, looking confidently to the Lord for His blessing."

#### *Niemeyer to G. A. Francke.*

Lübeck, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

"In the evening of the 19<sup>th</sup> of September, I had the honor of unsealing your lines of the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, and it was early on that day that young Mühlenberg departed hence for Ratzeburg, etc. Two days previously he came to take leave of me, when he thanked me for all the love and kindness shown him. Making use of the opportunity, I endeavored in every possible way to bring him into another frame of mind, but in vain! A military life appeared to him, in this last conversation, to be the most excellent of all, and therefore I must leave him to the grace and mercy of God. Perhaps the time will come when he will think otherwise, and my forebodings are strengthened by the following circumstance: Young Mühlenberg declared that he had come to such a point with me now that it depended on a slight assistance from me whether he could remain free, or be more bound that he was until now; that is, according to his statement, he had engaged to go to America as a volunteer! If he supported himself in clothes and washing, he would be able on arriving in America, to get his discharge. Now, as he needed some indispensable washing, shoes, etc., for which he must have at least ten thalers Lübeck currency, he knew that I would be doing the most friendly service to his father if I would give him some assistance. If I would not do it, he would be obliged to inform his Captain and take it from him immediately; although he knew the latter would willingly give him even more, yet he would rather ask me for it, for the aforesaid reason. As all evasions were unavailing, and since I wished first to await an answer from your Reverence, I therefore proposed to give him an address in Hamburg where he could get it on my account. But he rejoined that he could not wait for that; but as I would not do it, he would be obliged to take it from the Captain, therefore I thought it would be better to do it, if by that means his future freedom might be secured, thus giving a proof that I would not withdraw my love for his real welfare but show it all the more actively. He then gave me the enclosed receipt written by himself, and I immediately, as I was writing to London, informed his father of the matter, sending another receipt which he signed too.



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Your Reverence will kindly reimburse me, in consideration of the fact that I only gave it to him upon his representation that he would forfeit his freedom. For, if I had not done it, his father might have judged that my affection had grown cold, while I wish from the bottom of my heart to assist in every possible way to influence young Mühlenberg to devote himself to the honorable views of his revered father in America. The enclosed note is returned to you; I sent it to Hamburg to a merchant who returned it to me in a week's time, because it had not been called for, and he thought that he had left for Stade. In the meantime I received lately the following news from Lutterbrodt, a merchant and grocer in Hamburg: "Mr. Mühlenberg called on me quite unexpectedly on the 29<sup>th</sup> of September a. c. He declared that his journey from Costy through Lauenburg had been by water. They were obliged to remain on board four days, and consequently he could not land before; he did not seem particularly concerned about the note returned to your Reverence, saying that there would be nothing important in it. He appeared somewhat depressed; but was delighted at returning to his own country, and according to his statement, he had a great liking for a soldier's profession. He sailed on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October, 1766, under the guidance of God, from Hamburg direct to Philadelphia in the ship Venus, Captain Rogen, and desires his humble compliments to you. The wind was fair at the time, and he may arrive quickly in America; but we may easily imagine what his father's feelings will be when he sees him."

*Receipt in Peter Mühlenberg's Handwriting.*

"I hereby acknowledge to have received, paid to me in cash on this date, ten Reichsthaler Lübeck currency, from Herr Leonhard Heinrich Niemeyer of Lübeck, at my earnest entreaty, as I was greatly in need of money for shoes and necessary washing, and, although I could certainly have obtained this sum from my Captain, Herr von Fiser, I did not wish to do so, having engaged as a volunteer to provide myself with clothes, and thus be enabled on arriving in America to resign my position if I did not wish to remain.

Lübeck September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

John Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg.  
Sergeant in the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment Foot."

*P. Mühlenberg to Merchant Lutterbrodt in Hamburg.*

Cuxhaven, October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

"Honored Sir!

I take the liberty of informing your Honor that we arrived here safely today, and, as we have a favorable wind, we expect, God



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willing, to sail early tomorrow. Please present my dutiful compliments to Herr Niemeyer and his spouse, and inform them that we go to sea tomorrow, also my dutiful compliments to Herr Winckelmann. When you write to Herr Niemeyer, please ask him to send word about me to my brothers in Halle. I have neither time nor opportunity to write more. Please send the enclosed letter to Altona."

*G. A. Francke to H. Mühlenberg, Senior.*

Halle, October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

"In my last epistle of the 28<sup>th</sup> of August, I informed you that I would make energetic remonstrances with your eldest son and wait to see what effect they would have on him. But from his answer to Fabricius sent with this [of which there is no copy, alas!] you will see, among other things, that he cannot be persuaded from his resolution. As to what remains, since Herr Niemeyer claims sixty marks, or twenty thalers, more, in addition to the three hundred marks granted to him before, as compensation for the thirty weeks wanting to the last agreement, and, as this demand is considered reasonable by others, I have not hesitated to agree to it."

*Herr Mühlenberg, Senior, to G. A. Francke.*

"Philadelphia, December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1766.

"Right Reverend, most esteemed Herr Director.

Dearest Benefactor!

From your Reverence's two last letters of August a. c., I see today, the 9<sup>th</sup> of December, a. c., with sorrow that my eldest boy has allowed himself to be overcome by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and gone headlong to destruction, and that the youngest one is not far behind. On the one side it mortifies and bows me to the ground with shame to find that your Reverence and other children of God have been caused so much care, anxiety and vexation by the sending abroad of my perverse offspring, all of which I am in no condition to make amends for. On the other hand, it is some comfort in the sight of God that a trial has been made and everything possible attempted for the welfare of their souls and bodies. There are adequate means in the blessed Institution for a real and deep conversion. The seed is planted and watered and Jesus, the true philanthropos, will in His goodness give the increase. He who will not accept it in due course, habeat sibi. But God's compassion does not end with our limits. He has all kinds of ways of helping. Did not the prodigal son return? But it grieves me that I have caused you sorrow and added this burden to the almost intolerable ones of your office! What I dreaded here, has taken place in Europe. The enemy has attained, and more than attained, his object; he has made me unfit for my office and an offense to the children of God in Europe. For, if the boy comes here to America as a soldier, either to this neighborhood or at a distance, it will be blazoned abroad, and be not only a mockery and derision

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to all enemies; but a stumbling-block and a grief to all the evil-disposed. I Timothy Chapter 5<sup>th</sup>, verse 8<sup>th</sup> gives me a lesson.\* "But if any provide, not for his own," but burdens the Institution with them, "he hath." There is nothing left for me to do but, under God's mercy, to repair to a remote congregation in the country, and there, as my nearest and most pressing duty, to keep my children at work and prayer, while I may be enabled to devote my few remaining powers to the service of a heedless congregation. Lest the cause of God should suffer harm or injury through me and mine, I am obliged to sever my connection with the church, and to leave it, after God, to be cared for in the future by those revered ones in authority, whose inexpressible care and loving pains, not on my account, but for the sake of Christ and the poor lost sheep, have not been without blessing, nor quite without fruit, during these years. I recognize this as a Divine leading and as my bounden duty under these circumstances,—not to flee, but to simply follow the sign, and betake myself to a place where I can bring up my children rightly, and devote the rest of my strength to the good of the most abandoned of mankind. If our American work has any small part of God in it, it will endure, and be continued with more blessing by younger workers. It is therefore a great comfort to me, to hear from Herr Pasche, that the reverend benefactors of the Institution are earnestly, diligently, and prayerfully considering where to find a helper for the minister in Philadelphia. May the Lord give His gracious assistance therein, so that one may be quickly found and sent hither, that no harm may ensue. And although I am absent in a corner, yet my brethren will surely not omit to write encouragingly here and to give advice when it is desired. As to what your Reverence is pleased to disclose concerning Herr Niemeyer of Lübeck, I too, am of the earnest opinion that he must be satisfied in all honesty and fairness. If it can be done from Halle, I am ready to repay everything by a bill of exchange at the first hint. From the beginning it has been my wish to refuse Herr Niemeyer nothing. As soon as he gave a hint in his letters about the boy's clothing and indicated a way of remitting by draft, he wanted for nothing. And when this did not seem to be enough, there was an opportunity to provide the thirteen and a quarter ducats from Ruhlemann's legacy. When he wrote that his good friend, Herr Edler, would like to have some natural curiosities, I tried my best to collect some things for him, and even if they did not turn out to be what was wanted, they cost me more time than they were worth. I could not depart from this world in peace, if honest Herr Niemeyer were to be cut short in the slightest degree. My reasons for being willing to buy the youth off two years earlier were twofold. In the first place, as I myself had received

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\* "But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." I Tim. 5, 8.

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such blessed impressions in the Glauche Institution, I thought that the youth could experience no greater happiness than first to receive his human moulding at Lübeck, and then to spend the remaining time at the blessed Institution where he could become a true Christian. In the second place, I was troubled about his faint-heartedness and perverseness, and silly, changeable disposition which tired of things so soon and went to all extremes when restrained. I have never, to my knowledge, written to the boy any observations on the English coming of age under the present law, for he has known all about it since he was seven years old. The late Herr Brunnholtz was accustomed to sometimes make a diversion in teaching the children, by asking a child who did not know the fourth Commandment, "When are you free by the law here?" This they could all answer. Then he seized the opportunity to explain the law of God and man, and to enjoin on the children the extent of each. Even if I had expected something better from my boy from blind partiality, I would not have made the observation for fear my English letters to him contained necessary admonitions. The result has alas! been, his freeing himself before reaching even the above mentioned English majority. According to the English law, the parents have this advantage, that a son cannot engage in anything before his majority without his father's consent. If, before this time, a boy enlists or contracts marriage without his father's consent, such action is void, and the father can either put him in the House of Correction, or sell him until his majority. And, if a child is disobedient to his parents, the father has the right and power to cut him off with a shilling. If my boy had played me this trick here and enlisted, I would have sold him as a servant until his majority, or have put him in the House of Correction. I wonder what power or authority the youth had to enlist when his father and those in authority over him had legally bound him to his master, at least until Easter, 1767, according to the new contract. I do not know the laws of Lübeck, but should think that the boy could have been arrested and imprisoned and kept on bread and water until Easter, 1767, or as long as it pleased the magistrate. If he were to appear here in such guise, I would have him arrested and exercise my paternal rights, even if he were several hundred miles away in garrison. Captain Fiser, as an English officer, ought to know, that in no free English country could he enlist a bound apprentice without the consent of his master, or principal, and much less, one bound by a regular contract, in a free Imperial city. As the boy would not let himself be led by the Hand of God and the kindly voice of his well-wishers, friends and benefactors, let him follow the calfskin and baculo\* of the corporal, and my prayers to God will follow him wheresoever he may be. If he had been overcome by homesickness and longing for American garlic, he could have written to that effect, and his return after Easter, 1767, would not have been taken so amiss as this infamous

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\* Cudgel, staff.

desertion. And, as I am very anxious about my youngest son, who does not improve, and, as the middle one, F. A., might get homesick if he remained behind alone, I humbly beg that your Reverence will be pleased to direct that they shall both be sent back to me at my own expense, with the new missionaries to Pennsylvania or to Ebenezer\*. I will conscientiously keep them under my own discipline, so that they can do me no farther injury. For, both by Divine and mundane authority I am bound to govern well my own household, and not to have children, who will become a burden on the commonwealth, to the dishonor of God; much less such as give trouble and cause vexation to the servants and children of God. They can learn honest trades here, and what they have learned in the blessed Institution will always be of advantage to them. In the meantime, God's gracious providence will give me a small place, aut in, aut sub, coelo, where I can serve Him proportionately to my strength, can govern my household, and devote my last hours to preparations for eternity. I can say with a clear conscience, that it would not have been necessary for me to have burdened my dearest benefactors with my children, had I not been compelled to devote my whole time to the multifarious affairs of the Church, and to turn my back on my children. I might have had my children taught something good for good pay, if my scanty salary had not made it necessary to spend their inheritance from their grandfather for necessaries, for circumstances have always required that the outer structure should be attended to first. My prayers and entreaties for many years, now for New York, now for Tulpehocken, Reading, Jersey, Georgia, Wernigerode, or any corner where I could collect my thoughts, educate my children, and at the same time serve a church, were unheard, and looked upon as proceeding from want of faith, a desire to shirk the duties of a religious life, etc., and this is the result! My wife's little property has nearly melted away and will be still less when my righteous debts are paid. It would not seem unreasonable to anyone who examined my circumstances in all their details, for me to devote my remaining days to my children, and to withdraw, under God's direction, from this complicated position to a country church. On account of this sorrowful adventure of my children, I must say, as Luther does in his translation: "Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me; my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept,"† and I will remind your Reverence of our Saviour's words: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me,"‡ with which I cease. Your

Mühlenberg.

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\* The Lutheran Colony in Georgia.

† Song of Solomon. Chap: I v. 6.

‡ Matthew. Chap<sup>s</sup> XXV v. 40.



EARLY LETTERS FROM PENNSYLVANIA,  
1699-1722.

[The following letters of George Haworth, to members of his family living in the parish of Hapton, Lancashire, England, contain descriptions of early life in Bucks county, Penna., and genealogical data of local interest.]

Philadelphia y<sup>e</sup> 26th of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo. 1699.

To my Dear Mother Brother and Sisters

After my dear love to you all, with my dear love to all my friends and neighbours, hoping you are all in good health, as I am at present, blest be the Lord for the same; tho I have been very weakly at Sea in the latter end of our Journey; but it pleased the Lord that I got well on shore at a place 100 Leagues short of Philadelphia, where I was informed that my Sister dwelt there at a place called Hurbills, [Whorkill] and so in much weakness I got to the place and quickly found her, and staid there one week, and then set sail in a Sloop for Philadelphia for which I paid 5<sup>s</sup>. My Sister was in good health and she hath four children 2 Boys and 2 Girls and her Husband being well also, and is a Hatter to his trade. They have few Cattle but live indifferently well of his Trade. We were about 14 weeks at Sea after we left Liverpool a long and tedious Journey we had, for we being over many throng'd in the Ship, I believe hurt many, for we had many distempers among us, as Fevers, Flux and Jaundice, and many died at Sea about 56 and at Shore there died about 20. Henry Mitchell died about midway, his son John is dead also and one Ellis Scholfeld and Robert Brewer is dead and hath left his goods to be returned to his kinsfolks at Liverpool. My Brother in law is dead and child died also about 3 days before my Sister,



She was indifferently well most of the way but about 100 Leagues of sight of land she bore a child and it died and then she died and left her Household goods to my Sister and one half of the clothes, and the other half she hath left me, Thomas Musgrove is dead also at Sea and Henry Mitchells' wife died at shore. As for my Sister here, she doth somewhat incline to come to Meetings, but she liveth so far remote from any Meeting, that she seldom goeth; but as for her Husband he doth not incline to go to Friends Meetings, if my Brother or any of my Neighbours do incline to come into this country, let them be careful that they do not come too many in the Ship as we did; for being throng, and then come into the hot weather and the smell of many, then many fainted away and died, We wanted Water and Beer to drink, for having salt Beef, we were much athirst and could not get enough to drink, for the seamen stowed the Hold so full of Goods that they had not room for Water and Beer, and then wanting such things as might have nourished us we suffered hardships. But if any come, let them bring for themselves over and besides the Ships allowance Spices and Brandy and cheese let the Seamen pretend what they will; or else victual themselves and bargain for being carried over and goods and then bring for yourselves but a little Beef and some bacon, and wheat flour is very good, and cheese and Butter and Eggs, or any mild sort of food, and as for your goods you bring let them be Bed ticks very good with all sorts of bedding bring no hats except very good, and hard wares so be careful of being thronged in the Ship on a Summers Journey, lest you be hurt as we were, we had a very hard pafsage, we were brought to allowance of Water and Beer, and for every 4 we had 2 Cans of Water and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  so no more but my dear love to my Mother and Brother and Sisters with the rest.

George Haworth.

y<sup>e</sup> 14 of y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> Mo. Called May 1701.

Dear Mother—after my dear love to thee and to my Brother and Sisters and to all my relations and well wishers, these comes to let you understand that I am well at present, hoping these few lines may find you all in good health also, and I have had my health reasonably ever since I came into the country; but at first being a little weakly at the first; I was then with James Haworth, and then I hired myself for a year and had about 19£ wages in the year and since I was free I work by the piece or by the day, and hath 2/6 a day and victuals, and in harvest 3/6 a day and if we take our work we commonly get more, So if any of my relations have a mind to come to this country, I think it is a very good country and that they may do well, but be sure to come free, but if you come servants, they must be sold for 4 or 5 years and work hard, so be sure to come free and bring such things as will suit plantation work, as Horse chains plowgears and all things suitable to work withal as plow irons and things for selling; bring stores of good cloth and good sarge and bedding of all sorts with good store of silk to sew withal and good bed ticking and good stockings and shoes and good Ivory combs and knives very good ones, and good Alchymy buttons and good light Hats and Iron pots. And as for the land there is both good and bad, both Hills and also Vales and the common product of the land is Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Beans, Pease and Buckwheat and Indian corn and Apples plenty often and Cyder and Peaches and Cherries: Cattle and Horses there is plenty, and store of hogs and there is sheep, and victuals is good and plenty all over the Country as far as I know: there is fishes and fowl is pretty plenty, and this last Winter there was a great Snow and some got store of Deer 8 or 10 in a weeks time; and what varmant we have, as Wolves I have seen some but they have not hurt me tho' I have been

near them, there is a few panthers and Bears, but they hurt nobody as I know of, and land is dearer than it was when we first came. There is several sorts of grapes and strawberries plenty and mullberries and whimberries, but they grow upon stalks 3 foot high, there is many sorts of wood, as Black Oaks, White Oaks, Red Oaks, and other sorts and many other sorts of other Trees as Chesnuts, Walnuts, and many sorts of things. We have Turkeys wild in the Woods, Pheasants and Partridges, with many other sorts of birds of divers colours and strange colours and notes; and thus much for the Country and its product. This is to let you understand, that I went ashore at a place called Horbills [Whorkill] and there found my Sister and she hath 4 children 2 Sons and 2 daughters John, James, and Mary and Sarah, and there I staid about a week, and then my Brother came along with me to Philadelphia and since then I have not seen them but hath received letters from them so they are in good health when I heard last from them; and then I came into the County of Bucks where my cousin James Haworth dwells and dwelleth near to him being about 250 miles from my Sister. James Haworth and his wife is well and hath one daughter, I have sent one letter and something in another and heard nothing from you, but I desire you in all love to hear from you as soon as pofsible you can, for I could be glad to hear from you especially of your wellfare and if any of you come I desire you to send me word hard. Direct your letters for me to be left at Phineas Pembertons in the county of Bucks and so I remain your loving Brother

George Haworth

Bucks y<sup>e</sup> 26 of y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Mo: called March 1704

Loving Mother

My dear love to thee hoping these lines may find thee in good health as I am at present, the Almighty be praised for it and hath been mostly since I left you but last Winter I had the Fever and ague 5 months, I

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received your tokens which was half a crown from thee, and a shilling from my loving Brother, which I received very gladly, but I should have been more glad to have received a letter with it, I do much admire that I never received no Letter from you since I came here it makes me think you have almost forgotten me; I am very sorry and sore troubled that you so neglect writing to me, I desire you to write to me by the next opportunity and not to fail. Remember my love to my loving Sister Sarah and to Brother James and to my sister Susannah and all my Relations and to Friends and neighbours. Two Months ago I was with my Sister Mary where she doth dwell, and she was in good health and her Husband and their children, They have had six children but the youngest is dead, John, Mary, Sarah, James, and Elizabeth, but George died of the Small pox. they live about 172 miles from me near Maryland upon the Sea coast and I live up the country near Delaware river 20 miles above Philadelphia. And as for the Country affairs I have writ in my former Letters, only Corn is cheap, but I could gladly wish as many of you as desire to come here were well settled here. And if any of you come here or any of your acquaintance come, come free, it is a great deal better living here than in England for working people, poor working people doth live as well as here, as landed men doth live with you thats worth 20£ a year, I live a single life and hath builded a Shop, and doth follow weaving of linnen cloth, but I have bought 450 acres of land in the Woods, but doth not live on it yet, so no more at present, but I rest with my love to thee, desiring thy health both in this world and thy Souls health in the World to come my own hand writing.

From thy loving Son

George Haworth.

*(on the same sheet.)*

Loving Brother

My dear love to thee hoping these few lines will find thee in good health as bodily, and my love once more in

the truth to thee desiring thee to keep thy Integrity, for the love thou hadst for me, when I knew little what belonged to my peace, to what thro' the mercies of God, blefsed be his name, I now understand, and do not neglect writing to me, for I desire to hear from thee time being short, for I am affraid that thou neglectest writing to me, I have written and sent 9 or 10 letters to thee but never could get one from thee, no more at present but I remain thy Loving Brother

George Haworth.

*P.S.* I thought good to write a few words to you of my Sister and of her outward affairs they living in a town and Brother followeth Hat-making: they have little land but some Horses and Cows and liveth very happily. Mary Baker is in good health, her Son Edward is married, and her daughter Rachel is married, Mary Walker is in good health, and all people are all generally in good health. direct your letters to Thomas Brooks in Bristol, in the county of Bucks or to Samuel Carpenter, Philadelphia.

farewell.

Bucks y<sup>e</sup> 26 of March 1706.

Honorable Mother

I have received your token with great comfort to hear of your wellfare and health to which I own myself obliged to you for the tendernefs and care towards me which makes me desire to make a large acknowledgement to you but I seeing the distance between us, I desire you accept of my goodwill and dutiful affection towards you, together with my desire for your prosperity and wellfare and hoping these lines will find you in good health as I am at present the Almighty be praised for it. Remember my dear love to my Brother and to my loving Sisters and all relations in general and to my Neighbours and especially to John Ormerod and Henry Birtwistle and their families. My Sister Mary and Brother John and cousins are all in good



health when I heard from them y<sup>e</sup> last July and hath had 5 children John, Sarah, Mary, James and George, and George died about a year ago. James Haworth's widow and her little daughter are in good health and she hath married one of my shipmates one George Clough, Mary Baker and her sons and daughters are in good health, but I much admire that you are so negligent and soon forgotten me that you never writ to me since I left you, it makes me ready to weep often, when I think how I cannot have so much as one letter from some of your hands, I would desire some of you to write to me by the next opportunity and not to fail I would not have you to forget me, tho' I be far distant from you I have some thoughts of coming to England and see you but the Seas are so full of Enemies that there is no good coming as yet, I have sent 9 or 10 letters and my Sister hath sent but one and never received any: I work generally with one Samuel Carpenter at a place called New Bristol in the County of Bucks by Delaware river and my wages is 3/6 a day Summer and Winter. Corn is cheap with us at present wheat at 4/- a bushel and other grain accordingly. Silver money is very scarce with us at present and English goods are very dear at present by reason of the War at the Sea. Much more might be writ concerning the country and the way of living in it but I have writ several letters before and set such things in them if you have received them and time being short and so I rest your dutiful Son

George Haworth.

Bucks

My Dear and Loving Brother

I received thy letter dated 18th of 1<sup>st</sup> mo: 1710 being very glad to hear from you but finding in it that my dear and aged Mother is deceased the thoughts of it made me mourn yet hoping that it is well with her and that all flesh is mortal, I take it as patiently as I can,

therefore dear Brother these are to let thee understand that I am in good health hoping thou art the same with my love to my Sisters and Brother Isaac and to my cousins and all my relations in general; give my love to John Ormerod and family and to all that asketh after me; I am unmarried and followeth weaveing, and am full employed therewith, but haveing some thoughts of altering my condition hoping its for the better, So dear Brother as it is well with thee both outwardly and inwardly, pray for me that it may be so with me and that especially that I may be strengthened in the inward man, that we may feel each other daily strengthened in that pure faith that carrieth us thro' all exercises if we keep to it. O dear Brother so I say, I desire thy prayers for me, tho' I be but as one of the hindermost of the flock, yet that I may lose no more ground, for I have more need than many others to keep to that which God hath made known to me So Brother I desire thee not to fail of writing to me and direct thy letters to me in the County of Bucks, to be left at Andrew Elliotts or to Samuel Carpenter in Philadelphia. So no more at present but I rest thy dear Brother

George Haworth.

*P.S.* Brother, thou writes of my Uncle George's both pray thee send in thy next how it is with them both and especially my Mothers Brothers Farewell,

Bucks y<sup>e</sup> 3 of 9 Mo: 1712.

My Dear and Loving  
Brother James Haworth

I received thy letter y<sup>e</sup> 8th of y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> mo: last dated January y<sup>e</sup> 13. 1711. by our friend Ann Chapman being glad of it from thy hand I was sorry thou lost thy helpmate in so little a time Dear Brother my kind love to thee with my wife's we are in good health at present blefsed be the Lord for it. I am settled on my own land, I have been married about 2 years we have had one child a boy he lived not long, I married my Wife

amongst Friends, Sister Mary was in good health last I heard from her; give my kind love to Sister and Brothers and Cousins and to all my relations. I am concern'd sometimes for some of my relations, as Uncle Henrys children for fear there is not care taken of them, Dear Brother if it be not too much trouble for thee to send me one of them over, or any of my cousins or any other Boy; if thou be free to send me one over I will give him a good trade or if any be minded to come I will pay their pafsage here or send thee return, Here is no want for victuals or clothing here it is a good Country for you people to come into. Give my love to Henry Birtwistle, John Ormerod and all that asketh after me, John Dawson that the Hatter that lived at Rofsendale, lives now in Philadelphia. So Dear Brother having not much more at present but my dear love to thee once more to thee in the Truth desiring we may be kept there in all our days.

George Haworth.

fail not to write us by all opportunity.

Remember my love to John Ormerod and wife and children for I often think of them and acquaint John that I could be glad to have a few lines from him how things goes amongst them direct your letters to me in Buckenham in the County of Bucks Pennsylvania the bearer hereof Timothy Smith comes near Chippen thou may send back by him.

Buckenham y<sup>e</sup> 27th of July 1715.

Loving Brother

I received thine by W<sup>m</sup> Baldwin and also one by Timothy Smith; so having this opportunity I thought convenient to make use of it, hoping these few lines will find you in good health, as I and my Wife and child is at present bleised be the Lord for it, Two of my Sister Mary's children, John and Mary came to see me this Spring and they are all in good health, and Sarah sisters daughter is married to one Thomas Row-

land and like to live well. Sister Mary owneth Friends, but her Husband holdeth more for the Church of England; but she hath brought up her children very orderly and they behave themselves very civilly amongst sober people, and their love is very respectfully desired to you all and they were glad to see and read the letters I received from thee, So Loving Brother, to satisfy thy desire (the Lord knows how it is best with people) the greatest share of people in our parts is called Quakers and Meetings are kept in good order, there is a great many of meeting houses built, I can take my Horse and ride to any of 8 meetings in a morning before the Meeting begin. There is of all sorts of Professions, as Church of England, Anabaptists, Presbeterians, Independents, Papists &c. and most of them hath houses or Churches to meet together to worship in, Further Brother thou desired to know what Country my Wife was of; her parents were born in London and she was born in Pennsylvania, but thou hath had 2 Wives and never sent where thou married them nor who they were. These sent by Reuben Powel, he is one of my new neighbours he comes to Cheshire and you may send to me by him. so concerning what calling I and my Wife doth follow we make our own cloth both linnen and woollen and sometimes I weave for wages I clears land and plows I count I have 100 bushels of Corn this year very good wheat Rye and Barley and Indian Corn, I plant trees and hath Apples Peaches and Cherries I have good land and wants more hands to help me I have 4 Cows and 4 Horses and 31 Swine, one thing more concerning the Country how it is settled Philadelphia is our greatest town we have; it is very large about a mile long with a great breadth might be populated a market twice a week and full of all Country businefs and Sea affairs the River full of Sloops and Ships, Bristol is a market town and there is a many more too tedious to set down. We have a fine large country with great conveniency in it. My Son is 2 years and 5 months old



his name is Stephanus. so dear Brother my kind love to thee and to all my relations and all that enquire after me and all Friends so no more at present.

I remain thy Loveing Brother

George Haworth.

y<sup>e</sup> 15th of 8 Mo: called October 1722.

Loving Brother

These are to let thee know that we thy kindred are all in good health, blefsed be the Lord for it; My Sister Mary and children desire dearly to be remembered to thee and the rest of our kindred in England; all her children is married and doth well three of them married according to the good order of Friends, her husband died a year and eight months ago. So dear Brother I heartily desire thy wellfare both Soul and body. Give my dear Love to my Sisters and to all my Relations and Friends. I have 4 children 3 Boys and one daughter. Our country is pretty healthy at present blefsed be the Lord for it. We have been affraid of War by the Indians, thro' some ill indian traders but now we have had a treaty of peace. Our Country encreaseth and the inhabitants groweth large and fast, Corn is cheap and money scarce. so having not much more at present but our dear love to you all I rest and remain thy loving Brother

George Haworth.

*P.S.* I have received no letters since one from John Laycock; Dear Brother I often think on you forget not to write to me by what oppertunity thou can.



SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE  
OF COL. STEPHEN MOYLAN, OF THE CON-  
TINENTAL CAVALRY.

Brevet Brigadier-General Stephen Moylan, a distinguished cavalry officer of the Revolution, was born in Cork, Ireland, 1737, and became a resident of Philadelphia in 1768, where he engaged in commercial affairs and interested in vessels engaged in the coast-wise and foreign trade. He was a member of the Gloucester Fox Hunting Club; the first President of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and its successor of the present day.

Moylan was an active advocate for the independence of the Colonies, and when hostilities broke out, through his friend John Dickinson, applied to General Washington for a position in the army. On August 11, 1775, he was appointed Muster Master General to the army then besieging Boston, and became interested in fitting out privateers to cut off supplies for the British troops. In March he was appointed an Aid to Washington and his military secretary. On June 5, 1776, Congress elected him Quartermaster General of the army, which position he filled for six months, and then resigned, but he remained with the army as a volunteer, sometimes on Washington's staff.

On January 8, 1777, Moylan was commissioned Colonel and commanded to recruit a regiment of light horse (subsequently termed Dragoons), and served with it to the close of the war. Washington appointed him, March 20, 1778, Commandant of all the cavalry of his army. His last active service was during the Yorktown campaign, Moylan and his Dragoons being attached to the Right Division. He received a leave of absence, owing to ill health, and returned home to im-

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prove the condition of his regiment by recruits and equipment for the campaign in the South. Congress, November 3, 1783, promoted him a Brevet Brigadier General, and in the Spring of 1785, with his wife, he made an enjoyable visit to his old commander at Mount Vernon.

The army life of Colonel Moylan was not so spectacular as some of the more popular heroes, but he was held in the highest estimation by Washington as an officer upon whom the greatest reliance could be placed, both as a man and a soldier.

In 1792 Moylan was a resident of Goshen township, Chester county, and in April of that year was appointed Register and Recorder of the county. In May of 1793 Governor Mifflin appointed him Major General of the Militia division of Chester and Delaware counties, and in September President Washington tendered him the position of U. S. Marshall of Pennsylvania which he declined, but in December, accepted the office of Commissioner of Loans.

Colonel Moylan was married September 12, 1778, to Mary Ricketts Van Horne of New Jersey, and was survived by two daughters. He died April 13, 1811, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Mary's R. C. Church, on Fourth street, Philadelphia, where a memorial to his memory and services to his country has recently been erected.

Perth Amboy Aug 22, 1776.

Sir—

A waggon purchased by Mess. Mease & Caldwell for you came here with a load the Day before yesterday and I forwarded to Powles Hook directing the Driver to go to you for orders.

I have wrote to the different Stages on the road enquiring for the chain but as yet hear nothing of it. Some of the Carts employ'd by Mr. Marsh in hauling Corn & Tar for you have been stopd here occasioned

by their not informing me the Service they were in, therefore I have sent to him to give each of them a note that they may not be taken off from that necessary business which I shall forward as much as in my power. I last evening removed about 600 lbs Corn from the wharff (w<sup>ch</sup> had layn there from morning for Mr. Marsh), to the barracks as we had information of an attack on this place being intended but it proved false. I have several matters on which I must entreat your Directions but the time is too full with expectations of great events to take off your attention at present.

Last evening the Commissary inform'd he had that day issued 5400 Rations & 400 Rs. retained at this post of Perth Amboy but Col. Griffin tells me he cannot by the returns to him conceive there are 4000 men here—they are continually coming in—chiefly Militia—the Flying Camp forms slowly owing to all the Militia being ordered out which occasions our having a disorderly tho' a fine body of men,—

I am with respect

Your obliged & very obe<sup>d</sup> serv.

Clement Biddle.

Colonel Stephen Moylan,  
Quarter Master General,  
New York.

Head Quarters Clove 19 July 1777,  
9 O'clock P.M.

Dear Sir,

In consequence of Advices rec<sup>d</sup> this day, the Army marches tomorrow morning for New Windsor. You will follow with your Regiment immediately, taking your Rout thro' the Clove. Orders are sent to Col. Bland, who will come on by the way of Morris Town, you need not therefore send to him.

I am Dear Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> Most ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Tench Tilghman.

Col. Moylan.

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Head Quarters Clove 22<sup>d</sup> July 1777.

Sir,

I have your fav<sup>r</sup> of yesterday. The enclosed for Genl Forman is to desire him to send me word whether the Fleet have really gone out to sea, he will send his dispatches to you, and you are to forward them to me by Express.

I am Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obt Serv<sup>t</sup>

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Camp at Ramapough July 24<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Sir.

The Enemy's Fleet having left the Hook and gone to Sea, I am to request that you will immediately repair with your Regiment to the City of Philadelphia and put yourself under the direction of the Commanding Officer there.

You will not lose a Moment's time, and will order your Baggage to follow under a proper guard.

I am Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> Hble Sert.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> Roxboro August 7, 1777.

Sir,

I have mentioned to the General your proposal as to the time of detaching the parties for the road. He approves it. But desires you only to have the detachments made, & no orders given them till the General sees you in the morning at Head Qu<sup>rs</sup> if you should be well enough to come thither. If not you will please to send word to his Excellency, & the messenger will carry back his farther orders.

I am Sir yr h<sup>'ble</sup> Servt

Tim. Pickering, A. Genl.

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan.

Head Quarters Valley Forge 29<sup>th</sup> April 1778.

Dear Sir.

I rec<sup>d</sup> yours of the 21<sup>st</sup> instant. I am as much at a loss as you can possibly be how to procure Arms for the Cavalry; there are 107 Carbines in Camp, but no Swords or Pistols of any consequence. Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox informs me, that the 1100 Carbines, which came in to the Eastward, and were said to be fit for Horsemen, were only a lighter kind of Musket. I beleive Co<sup>ls</sup> Baylor and Bland have procured Swords from Hunter's manufactory in Virginia, but I do not think it will be possible to get a sufficient number of pistols, except they are imported on purpose. I long ago urged to Congress the necessity of importing a large quantity of Horse accoutrements from France, but whither the order was ever given, or whither they have miscarried in the passage I do not know.

I suppose the Horses purchased by Governor Livingston's order in Jersey will be immediately delivered to the different Regiments. Col<sup>s</sup> Baylor and Bland will send on those purchased in Virginia without loss of time, and I am informed that a number are purchased and purchasing in this State. Necessity will oblige us to bring them into the field very raw, as I look upon it too late to think of engaging the Connecticut Militia Horse, neither do I think the number you mention could be procured.

If the Enemy wait for Reinforcements, it will probably be a considerable time before the Campaign grows active and fatiguing, and if the Officers are attentive, great progress may be made in training while the duty is easy.

I am Dear Sir  
Y<sup>r</sup> Most ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

for his Excellency the Commander in Chief  
Tench Tilghman.

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan.



Head Quarters Valley Forge 13 May 1778.

Dear Sir.

I have your fav<sup>r</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> and that of the 7<sup>th</sup> continued down to the 9<sup>th</sup> If the Commissioners of the Navy could have been prevailed upon by me to have Scuttled and Sunk the Frigates last fall, the Enemy would have had little inducement to have visited Bordentown. It would have taken so much labor and time to have raised them, that a force might have been sent to interrupt them & upon the first intimation of the design, I detached 'Gen' Maxwell with a strong party, but the mischief was done and the Enemy gone by the time he reached the Cross Roads.

Present my thanks to Major Clough and his small party for their bravery. The price formerly paid to the captors of a light horse, with his accoutrements, was 100 dollars, but as money has depreciated, the Rule has been, in some instances, deviated from. Col<sup>a</sup> Morgan's Riflemen some time ago took Ten British light Horse between Derby and Chester, they were paid 170 dollars per Horse and at that rate I have estimated those taken by Major Clough. Enclosed you have a Warrant for 510 dollars payable to the Major, which he will please to distribute among the party according to their Rank.

I do not know whether the Carbines that are here are in proper order. I will have the matter inquired into, and, if they are, inform you, that you may send over a Waggen and a small escort for them. You mentioned in a letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> April that you understood some members of Congress were dissatisfied with the determination of Rank between Col<sup>l</sup> Bland, Baylor, Shelden and yourself, if it is so, I have never heard anything of it from any person but yourself.

I am Dear Sir

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Col<sup>l</sup> Moylan.  
at Trenton.

Head Quarters Valley Forge 28 May 1778.

Dear Sir.

I wrote to you upon the 24<sup>th</sup> and desired you to come forward with all the Horse of your own, Blands and Baylors Regiments that were fit for Service. But as every appearance now indicates a move of the Enemy thro' Jersey, I would wish you to continue there, untill their intentions are more clearly and fully known. If you can subsist the men and Horses at and near Trenton, they will be more conveniently situated than at any other place, to be ready to observe the Rout of the Enemy, and therefore I would have you collect all that are fit for Service as near that place as possible. Should this meet you on your march, you will return, except you chuse to relieve any of those of Major Cloughs detachment who may be fatigued.

General Greene informs me that he apprehends a number of Horses purchased by the Agents in this State are unfit for the Dragoon Service, and he would therefore wish to have two or three officers, who are good judges of Horses, go round and examine them, that those fit may be sent to the Regements, and the others put to the draught. Be pleased therefore to send over such Officers and General Greene will direct them where to proceed.

I would have you by all means sell those Horses that will never be fit for service again.

Untill the new arrangement of the Army is completed, no vacancies are to be filled up, and when they are, the promotions must be regular in the regimental line as high as Captains, except some of the Subs should be disqualified on any particular account.

I am Dear Sir

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

P.S. Should you be near Camp you need not return.  
Col<sup>l</sup> Moylan.

Trenton.

To Col. Stephen Moylan,  
Sir,

When you have crossed the North River with your regiment you will proceed to the neighbourhood of Bedeford where Col. Sheldon's horse and a few Light Infantry are stationed—these you will take under your command.

The purposes of this command are to protect the Country and inhabitants, give countenance to the Militia, & as far as it lies in your power gain intelligence of the enemy's force, movement & designs, of which you will give me the most punctual information.

I leave it to your own judgment from an examination of the Country & according to circumstances to take a position that will best answer these purposes consistently with the security & accommodation of your troops.

Col. Armand's corps I intend to order down who will also be under your Command.

Given at H<sup>d</sup> Qr<sup>s</sup>

June 28<sup>th</sup> 1778

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Camp New Brunswick 5 July 1778.

Dear Sir.

If the Cavalry should halt to refresh themselves I am of opinion they can be best furnished with hay or pasture on the plain below the mountain from Middlebrook to the Scotch Plains and I now write to Mr. Furman to use his utmost endeavours to procure grain suitable for them. Some Corn is already ordered from Trenton which Mr. Furman shall detain for you.

You will please to inform him the route you will take when you march or rather before that he may lodge the necessary forage at proper places. Mr. Staats at Boundbrook & Mr. Caldwell at Springfield can procure Hay & Pasturage without difficulty.

If the person you mentioned will call on me he shall

receive money & directions for procuring Forage for the Cavalry.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> M<sup>o</sup> O<sup>b</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>  
Clement Biddle.

Colonel Stephen Moylan  
Com<sup>t</sup> of Cavalry  
Boundbrook.

Aquaackanoc Octob<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1778

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I have just now seen Co<sup>l</sup> Van Horn's letter of yesterday to Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell enquiring the situation of the Enemy in this State. They are at present streched from the New Bridge above Hackensack across towards Fort Lee, with two Redouts on the heights on this side the Bridge, there strenght is about 7000 of the best British Troopes in the 5<sup>th</sup> they advanced to within about three miles of this place but in the evening retired to their present situation. I believe they have nearly completed their forrage and will soon quit this State.

I most sincerely congratulate you on the late happy event of your new Connection with the most amiable of Ladies, I beg leave to present my sincere Respects & best Wishes for your mutual happiness, & my best comp<sup>ts</sup> to all the family & am

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Stirling.

Colonel Moylan.

Sir.

As soon as the division under the command of Major General Howe moves to its ground for winter quarters, you will proceed with your own and Shelden's Regiments of Dragoons to such place or places as the Quarter Master General may have assigned you for Winter Quarters. These may be in Wallingford, Durham, or Hadham, as conveniencies and forage may suit; or in case of any necessity you may remove the whole or part to Colchester.

In the cantonment of the Regiments you will preserve as much compactness as the nature of the place will admit, that by having them all under your own eye, you may be able to keep up good discipline, and prevent dissipation and irregularity.

It is not designed that the regiments should do ordinary duty, or be called out on every common occasion. But in case of invasion, or the advance of the enemy you are to obey the orders of General Poor, or other your superior officer commanding at his post and assist in giving them every opposition.

The horse are not to be made use of as hacks. The men should be strictly forbid riding them as such, and when discovered in the practice, or riding fast on ordinary occasions, punished severely. Nor are they to be ordered by the officers on messages, or in the execution of any private business.

You will direct the utmost attention to the horse, that they may come into the field, in the best possible condition for service.

Such of the arms and accoutrements of the Dragoons as are out of order, are to be repaired and every thing completed by next campaign.

A field officer is to be allowed forage for four horse only including his servants. A Captain forage for three horse, including his Servants, that is, provided the officers think proper to keep this number.

With regard to furloughing—one field officer is to be constantly with a regiment, and as many regimental officers as are necessary to the care of the men and horse, and for service should the regiment be called out. Not more than two privates from each troop to be furloughed at a time, and these such as may be recommended by the officers, and who have some length of time to serve.

Given at Head Quarters West Point 27 Nov. 1779.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

To Col<sup>l</sup> Moylan.



Mandeville 12<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1779.

The troops my dear Moylan being as I am this moment informed in a state approaching very nearly if not quite to mutiny, for want of provisions puts it out of my power to write above six lines when I want to fill a volume.

Your favour reached me yesterday. I am happy Mrs. Moylan has her chair because I think she will find it useful. I got it some how or other in my head that it had been sent back. The Report of the British Fleet being Beaten has again arriv'd and in such a way as almost to amount to confirmation. I think I may venture to congratulate you thereupon and therefore I do, tell your little Quand<sup>m</sup>Serg<sup>t</sup> to Rejoice at this good news to show the sincerity of her conversion.

I will give you notice of any approach as you desire. Informe me when you can: First how you like your situation. I shall go to Fish Kiln today. My very good wish and Respectful compliments to Mrs. Moylan. May she and you be as happy as I wish you and you will be happy indeed. I mov'd only last night. I send orders today to Mr. Wells to join his Regiment without delay.

I am Dear Sir  
Sincerely and affectionately  
Yours &c

Robt Howe

Col. Stephen Moylan in  
Wallingford or Middletown  
Conn.

Head Quarters Morris  
Town Dec<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1779.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir.

On a representation of Mr. Hubbard that the difficulty of obtaining Forage & other Supplies for the two regiments of Horse at Middle Town and Weathers-

field would be very difficult and productive of an enormous expence, I am to desire you will remove them to Colchester where a Magazine of Forage is laid in & a sufficient quantity of stable room can be provided.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your most ob<sup>te</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Col. Moylan

Head Quarters Morris Town

5<sup>th</sup> January 1780

Dear Sir,

The Board of War are anxious to compleat an arrangement of the four Regiments of Cavalry and have wrote to me on that account. You will therefore be pleased to forward that of your Regiment as speedily as possible. As this will be put upon Record in the War Office and will be the scale by which the future promotions will take place, I must request you to be as particular as possible in ascertaining the date of the Commissions, and if any Officers are entitled to promotion in consequence of Vacancies, you are to specify when the Vacancies happened and who formally filled them. The Majority of your Regiment and that of late Bland's cannot be filled untill the Regimental arrangements are completed.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your most Obt. Servt.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan

Colchester, Conn.

Head Quarters Morris Town 3<sup>d</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have been fav<sup>d</sup> with yours of the 4<sup>th</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>d</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> since I wrote to you to remove all the Cavalry to Colchester. I have seen a second representation from M<sup>r</sup> Hubbard to the Quarter Master General, in

which he seems to confess that they cannot be accommodated with conveniency at Colchester, and wishes Sheldon's Regiment to be left at Weathersfield. I shall therefore leave the Cantonment of the Horse to your discretion, and have only to recommend to you to keep them as compact as the State of Forage and Quarters will admit. I should be sorry that there should be any misunderstanding between Governor Trumbull and you, and I think you acted with great prudence in not answering a warm letter from him in the same stile, as you had reason to think he had been unwarrantably prejudiced. You will upon the whole, find many advantages by cultivating a good understanding with Civil Authority.

Captains Pike and Craig called upon me for money for the recruiting Service. I dissuaded them from going upon that Business, upon an assurance that they would involve themselves in a very heavy expence, with scarce any prospect of success. I have no power to allow a greater Bounty to the officers than 20 dollars for each Recruit, which, admitting he should be more than commonly successful, would in these times be incompetent. I think you had best turn your attention to reinlisting your old Men, and to picking up new Recruits in the Country near the Quarters of your Regiment. This may be done without incurring any extra expence.

The promotion of L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> White to the command of the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment will not occasion the promotion of a Field officer. He takes command as L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Commandant, in which case, there will be only another Field officer, a Major, to the Regiment. L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Temple now of the 1<sup>st</sup> will take L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Whites place in the 4<sup>th</sup>. This is agreeable to the Regulations of the Army.

As Cap<sup>t</sup> Bull is confessed by the eldest Cap<sup>t</sup> of the Line, he may proceed forthwith to take the Majority of the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment. I will, if he will call at Head

Quarters on his way, give him a Certificate to the Board of War, to obtain his Commission. If Cap<sup>t</sup> Fauntleroy was appointed by you previous to Cap<sup>t</sup> Hopkins, he must undoubtedly take Rank of him. Cap<sup>t</sup> Hopkins has great merit from his attention to his duty and from the length of his Service, and, by his representation, he has been much disappointed in his expectations. But, if former promises have not been complied with, he cannot on that account revive old claims to the detriment of Cap<sup>t</sup> Fauntleroy, who, if I am rightly informed, has been always considered in the Regiment as the Senior officer.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obt. Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan.

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> Morris Town Feby 15, 1780.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I am to request that you will transmit me as soon as possible an exact return of the number of non commissioned (officers) and privates of your Regiment, (designating) in a particular manner how many belong to this or that State—what proportion of them are enlisted for the War—and the different terms of service of the Rest by Monthly Columns. You cannot be too expeditious in forwarding me this Return. The one transmitted will not answer the purposes for which this is wanted. I have also written to Col<sup>o</sup> Sheldon for a similar Return of his Regiment.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

with great regard & esteem

Y<sup>r</sup> most obe<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Col<sup>l</sup> Moylan.

Head Quarters Morris Town 21<sup>st</sup> Febr 1780.

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you on the 15<sup>th</sup> instant requiring a Return of your Regiment agreeable to the form then

enclosed. Should any of the men belong to the State of Connecticut, you will be pleased to transmit a Return of them immediately to Gov<sup>r</sup> Trumbull. You will, notwithstanding this, include them in the Regimental Return which you make to me.

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obt Servt.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan

Head Quarters Morris

Town March 8<sup>th</sup> 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have received your favors of the 23<sup>rd</sup> & 24<sup>th</sup> Feby with the several inclosures to which they refer. I am exceedingly concerned to see by the letters which have passed between Governor Trumbull and you and by the Returns, the ill condition of the 2<sup>nd</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> Regiments of Cavalry in respect to clothing arms and accoutrements. I understood that application had been made for the former directly to the Board of War, and I was in hopes that it has been provided. I shall be glad to know what prospect your Regiment has of being supplied, and have wrote to Major Tallmadge on the same subject respecting Sheldon's. Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene yesterday laid before me a return of Arms and accoutrements wanting in both Regiments. This return had been delivered to Mr. Hubbard D<sup>r</sup> Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> in Connecticut, but he not knowing whether he was authorized to procure the several articles, transmitted the estimate to the Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> who put it into my hands. I have some reason to believe that the Board of War have been making provision for the Cavalry. I have therefore forwarded the return to them, and shall take their order for the method of procuring what they cannot supply.

A Court Martial is to be held on the 15<sup>th</sup> April next at Springfield for the trial of McTychnor D<sup>r</sup> Comm<sup>ty</sup>



of purchases at Coos, on sundry charges brought against him by Col<sup>o</sup> Hazen. I have directed the commanding officer at Danbury to furnish a Field Officer for President and Six Captains and Subs. Six Capt<sup>s</sup> and Subs. are to be furnished from the two Regiments of Cavalry. You will therefore be pleased to order that number upon that duty, & direct them to be punctual in their attendance at the time.

Doctor Shippen has summoned you as a witness upon his trial which is to be held at this place upon the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst. After leaving proper directions with the next officer in command you will repair hither.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your most obt. Servt.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Col. Moylan

Colchester, Conn.

Colchester, 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1780.

Sir,

The Resolve of Congress passed the 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1779, respecting the Corps of Light Dragoons, has but very lately come to my knowledge, probably owing to the duty of that part of the Army which I have the honour to command, being generally employed on the enemies Lines; and of course we are not regularly supplied with the General Orders.

I have furnished his Excellency the Commander in Chief with a General Return, conformable to that Resolve, and take this opportunity of inclosing a Return of those in the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who belong to the State of Pennsylvania, which I beg you will lay before the house, or those who are authorized by the executive part of the Government to attend to that business.

If your Excellency should think it necessary to have a Return of those whose times have expired, & are discharged, belonging to your State, I will, on receipt of your orders, make one out.

Mr. John Sullivan, mentioned in this Return as belonging to the state, has not been long enough in America to have gained a Settlement in any part of the United States, but as I made him the offer of a Lieutenantcy in the Regiment during his sojourn in Philadelphia, I have sett him down as appertaining to Pennsylvania, which is agreeable to the Resolve of Congress before mentioned, he is a young gentleman of some fortune, and one that I have every reason to think, will do honour to himself, and to the State of which he is to be a member.

I have great satisfaction in assuring the Legislature of Pennsylvania, that no men in the army have done their duty with more alacrity than those in the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Light Dragoons, who belong to that State, have done.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obedt. H. St,

Stephen Moylan.

His Excellency Joseph Reed.

Head Quarters Orange Town

8<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup> 1780.

Sir,

You will be pleased to march your Regiment, and join the Army at Orange Town, as soon as may be after the receipt of this.

I am Sir,

Your most obed Servt

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Colonel Moylan,  
near Passaic Falls.

Head Quarters 24<sup>th</sup> Novem<sup>r</sup> 1780.

Dear Sir,

Circumstances render the command upon which you were ordered unnecessary. You will therefore dismiss the party sending off the enclosed by trusty

358 *Correspondence of Colonel Stephen Moylan.*

and well mounted Dragoons. That to Capt. Alden at Dobbs ferry requires particular dispatch.

I shall expect your Company at dinner.

I am Dear Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obt Servt

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan.

Princeton Jan<sup>y</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1781.

Dear Sir,

I joind General Wayne this day in order to give any assistance that may be in my power as the enemy will in all probability come out, if the Line will act as they say they will, I shall then be of some service—should your Excell<sup>y</sup> think it would be my duty to join my Reg<sup>t</sup> or stay to see the end of this affair, pray let me know by the bearer.

I have the honor to be

Dear Sir

Your assured H St.

Stephen Moylan.

His Excellency the

President of the State.

I think my presence at Lancaster may be dispensed with, & hope you will think so.

A return of the Officers of the 4<sup>th</sup> Regt: Light Dragoons belonging to the State of Pennsylvania

Col<sup>o</sup> Stephen Moylan

Capt John Craig

Lt. John Sullivan

Thos M. McCalla Surgeon

William Thompson Riding M<sup>r</sup>

Philadelphia

Jan<sup>y</sup> 25 1781

Stephen Moylan

Col. Com L D

To Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan.  
Sir.

In addition to my orders of the 26<sup>th</sup> I have to desire that you will prepare as large a body of Horse as you possibly can, and join (at such time and place, as Major General St Clair shall appoint) the detachment which he is marching to the Southward.

In this I do not mean to include Col<sup>o</sup> Armand's Corps, as it will have a particular place of Rendezvous appointed it—but the Infantry of the first, third, & fourth Regiments are to be comprehended.

Such officers belonging to these Regiments, respectively, as you shall conceive necessary, may be left to take charge of, and forward on, the residue of the Corps—the invalids—sick—and necessities appertaining to each. A good and active officer of rank should have the general direction of the whole to prevent confusion—delay—and that misapplication of time and means, which, unhappily, are but too often met with in our Service.

Given at the Camp near York this 31<sup>st</sup> day of October 1781.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

West Chester July 9<sup>th</sup> 1793.

Dear Sir.

I want a book of exactly the same size & paper with the one you made for me last Summer, as by this time you must know the cost inform me what it is, and I will remit you for both, please to let me know when I may send for it & send the inclosed to the post office, pardoning the trouble I am

Dear Sir

Your very Humble Ser.

Stephen Moylan.

Mr. Mathew Carey.

Philadelphia May 26<sup>th</sup> 1794.

Sir.

I take the liberty of recommending the bearer Mr George Worrall to your patronage, he is a young gentleman who has served as deputy to me in the offices of Register and Recorder for the County of Chester with whose conduct I had every reason to be perfectly satisfied. Should there be a vacancy for a writer in the Bank, and he be employed, I have not the least doubt but that he will give equal satisfaction to his employers, with sentiments of regard and perfect esteem I am

Sir,

Your obedient & very humble servant  
Stephen Moylan.

John Kean Esq.

Loan Office

Mifflin's Lane Sep<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1797.

Sir.

I will be obliged to you, if when the Warrant reaches you, you will be pleas'd to send it me by post, I will return it in the same way, with my indorsement

I am

Sir, Your obed<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>  
Stephen Moylan  
Com<sup>r</sup> Loans

George Simpson Esq<sup>r</sup>



EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF PROCEED-  
INGS OF NEW JERSEY COURTS.

(Continued from page 224.)

*Cumberland County.*

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol  
Delivery held at Cohansie Bridge in and for the  
County of Cumberland in the province of New Jersey  
on tuesday the twenty eighth day of April 1752

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Richard Wood, Ebenezar Miller, } Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
John Remington

Grand Jury Call'd and twenty three appearing were  
Qualified as follows.

David Ogden	Ebenezar Miller jun <sup>r</sup>
Jonathan Holmes	William Newcomb
Hugh Dunn	Henry Seely
Alexander Moore	Thomas Maskell
Obadiah Robins	Jonathan Lawrence
Stephen Mulford	Mark Reeve
Phillip Dennis	Samuel Miller
Richard Butcher	John Dare
Thomas Harris	Silas Newcomb
Phillip Vickers	Richard Smith
Samuel Harris	Samuel Davis
Maskell Ewing	

Jacob Ware and Ephraim Loyd, Constables appointed  
to attend them.

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol  
Delivery held at Cohansie Bridge in and for the  
County of Cumberland in the Province of New Jersey  
on tuesday the twelfth day of April 1757

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>  
John Ogden, John Remington, } Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
Ebenezar Miller

Grand Jury call'd and were Qualified as follows

Samuel Fithian Esq <sup>r</sup>	Joseph Ogden
Joseph Peck Esq <sup>r</sup>	Thomas Ewing
Alexander Moore Esq	David Sayr
Thomas Harris	Thomas Batiman
Ephraim Mills	(Bateman?)
Jonadab Shepherd	Arthur Davis
Charles Clark	Ananias Sayr Jun <sup>r</sup>
Stephen Clark	Theophilus Elmore
Thomas Maskell	John Ware
Jonathan Lorey	Jeremiah Forster
Daniel Elmore	Nathan Leek
Jonathan Lawrence	Thomas Fitz Randolph

Jacob Ware and Thomas Brown, Constables ordered to attend them.

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at Cohansey Bridge in and for the County of Cumberland in the Province of New Jersey on Friday the twenty first day of April 1758

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Aynsley Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Richard Wood John Remington John Ogden } Esq<sup>rs</sup>  
Ebenezar Miller Ephraim Seley

Grand Jury Call'd and Qualified as follows

David Ogden Esq <sup>r</sup>	Thomas Bateman
Howell Powel Esq <sup>r</sup>	Benjamin Holmes
Jeremiah Buck Esq <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Clark
Thomas Harris	John Brick
Thomas Maschall	William Conner
Charles Davis	Jonathan Walling

Stephen Clark	Noah Wheaton
Ephraim Loyd	(Carpenter)
David Shepherd	Noah Wheaton
Theophilus Elmer	Nathan Lupton
Joseph Ogden	John Keene
John Dare	David Sayer

Jacob Ware and David Darton, Constables ordered to attend them.

The Court fines Enos Woodruff and Lancelot Lockwell twenty shillings each unless Cause shown sitting the Court, for non attendance when called on the Grand Inquest

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at Cohansie Bridge in and for the County of Cumberland in the Province of New Jersey on tuesday the twenty second day of August 1758

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Richard Wood	Ebenazar Miller	} Esq <sup>rs</sup>
John Ogden	John Remmington David Ogden	

Grand Jury called and were Qualified

Jonathan Holmes Esq <sup>r</sup>	Caleb Ayres
Gabriel Izard Esq <sup>r</sup>	Caleb Ayres Jun <sup>r</sup>
Josiah Parvin	James Barrot
Abraham Smith	Reuben Jerman
William Dare	John Bowen
Henry Westcoat	Samuel Harris
Samuel Hannah	Phillip Ayres
Josiah Fithian	James Davis
Thomas Brown	Daniel Dare
Jonathan Lawrence	Abraham Reeves
John Loyd	Seth Brooks

David Sare and Robert Dare, Constables ordered to attend them.

Pettit Jurors

Joseph Peck Esq <sup>r</sup>	Jonadab Shepherd
Hugh Dunn Esq <sup>r</sup>	Thomas Reeve
Joshua Ayres	Abraham Jones
Gabriel Vanneman	Enoch Shepherd
Benjamin Holmes	Nathan Lupton
Nathan Lawrence	Daniel Simpkins
Jeremiah Buck Esq <sup>r</sup>	Eldad Cook
Benoni Dare	Thomas Sayre
John Ware	David Jenkins
Isaac Wheaton	David Daton
Leonard Gibbon	Daniel Stretch
Thomas Park	Daniel Biggs

CUMBERLAND COUNTY August Term 1758

Witnesses

Charles Davis	Solomon Loyd
Thomas Denny Esq <sup>r</sup>	Arthur Bumdal
William Moss	Rebecca Ross
Joshua Ewin	

The Court fines Moses Crossley (Crossby?) and William Paulin twenty shillings for default made when Grand Jury was called.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY August Term 1758

Thursday August 24 1758 The Court opened

\* \* \* \* \*

The Grand Jury came into Court and being called over gave in the two following Indictments \* \*

The King	{	Indictment for stealing a <i>mare</i> from one Charles Davis The Prisoner being sett to the Bar and arraigned on his Indictment pleads Not Guilty and for his Tryal puts himself on God and his Country. Ordered on motion of George Trenchard Don <sup>d</sup> Rege that the Tryal be brought on at
vs		
Simon Hussey al <sup>a</sup> Anderson		

two o'Clock this afternoon the Prisoner is remanded \* \* \*

On Indictment for horse stealing —The Prisoner being sett to the Bar. The Jury being called appeared & the following were Qualified \* \* \*

After the Charge the Jury with drew with a Constable sworn to keep them The Prisoner remanded & Cort adjourn'd for a Quarter of an hour In a Quarter of an hour's time the Court opened. \* \* \*

The King  
vs  
Simon Hussey  
al<sup>s</sup> Anderson

{ On Indic't. for horse stealing.  
The Prisoner was sett to the Bar  
The Jury came into Court and being called over say they are agreed on their verdict and find the Defend<sup>t</sup> Guilty of the Felony whereof he stands Indicted, and that he had no Goods, Chattels, Lands or tenements to their knowledge at the time of Committing the Felony or at any time since. The Court adjourn'd to meet at nine o'Clock tomorrow morning.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY August Term 1758

At two o'Clock in the afternoon the Court opened

\* \* \* \* \*

The King  
vs  
Simon Hussey  
als Anderson, and  
Francis Pickering  
al<sup>s</sup> &c

{ On Conviction of horse Stealing  
—On Motion of M<sup>r</sup> George Trenchard p<sup>r</sup> Do. Rege. for Judgment the Court orders that they Simon Hussey als Anderson, Francis Pickering als Mason als Price be carried to the place from whence they came and from thence to the place of Execution and that each of them be hanged by the neck



till they be dead, also ordered that the Sheriff of Cumberland see this sentence putt in Execution on Monday the 18<sup>th</sup> of Septbr next between the hours of eleven in the forenoon and four in the afternoon and that the Constables of said County do attend the Sheriff

The Sheriff represented to the Court that the Prisoners under Sentence of Death may be likely to Escape, it's ordered that a Constable and four men out of every Precinct in the County do alternately Watch said Gaol every night from 6 o'Clock in the Evening to 6 o'Clock in the Morning untill the Prisoners are Executed

Court adjourned.

Friday August 25<sup>th</sup> 1758 The Court opened

<p>The King vs Francis Pickering al<sup>s</sup> Mason al<sup>s</sup> Price</p>	{	<p>Indictment for stealing a <i>horse</i> from Charles Davis. * * *</p> <p>The Court adjourned to meet at two o'clock in the afternoon</p>
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At a court of oyer and terminer and general goal delivery held at Cohansey bridge in and for the county of Cumberland in the province of New Jersey on tuesday the twenty ninth day of May 1759

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Ebenazar Miller John Remmington David Ogden Esq<sup>rs</sup>

*Grand Jury Called.* Stephen Clerk, Jonathan Walling, Enos Woodrose and Henry Shaw made default, ordered that they pay afine each of ten shillings unless cause be shown sitting the Court—The following appearing were qualified

Samuel Fithian Esq <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Davis
Howell Powell Esq	Othaniel Johnson
Charles Davis	Phillip Sowder
Ephraim Mills	David Long
Thomas Harris	John Dare
Arthur Davis	John Tiler
Abraham Reve	Thomas Padget
Enoch Sheppard	Stephen Jesson
Joseph Ogden	Israel Petty
Jonathan Love	Joseph Daton
Thomas Parke	Matthew Parvin
Nicholas Johnston	

William Conner and Robert Dare, constables ordered to attend them.

Sureties Samuel Miller, Noah Wheeton

At a Court of Oyer & Terminer and general Goal delivery held at Cohansey Bridge in & for the County of Cumberland, on twenty seventh day of may, 1760

Present

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Samuel Nevill Esq<sup>r</sup>

Ebenazar Miller	John Remington	} Esq <sup>rs</sup>
David Ogden	Ephraim Seley Alexander Moore	

Petit Jury

Henry Peirson	Richard Wood
David Westcote	Pelah Mills
Jonadab Shepherd	Ephraim Buck
David Padget	Thomas Shepherd
Sam: Woodruff	William Pauling
Theop: Elmer	Sam <sup>l</sup> Bowes

Witnesses

Mary Wheaton	Silas Parvin
Sarah Reed	Sam Miller
Jon <sup>a</sup> Wheaton	Experience Miller

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Rachel Bishop

John Ollright

Eliz<sup>th</sup> Wheaton

Alex<sup>r</sup> Moors Esq

Rebecca Boone

Sam<sup>l</sup> Fithian Esq<sup>r</sup>

Elijah Bowen

Robert Dare & Ephraim Brooks, Constables to attend the Grand Jury

## THOMAS MAKIN

One of the early characters of Philadelphia, was Thomas Makin, clerk to the Assembly of the Province, and tutor of Latin in the Friend's Academy. He was also given to writing poems in Latin, two of which he dedicated to James Logan, "Encomium Pennsylvaniae," in 1728, and "In Laudeo Pennsylvaniae," 1729, the latter is printed in Proud's History of Pennsylvania, Vol. 11, p. 360. The poem of 1728, he translated into English for his friend Israel Pemberton. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for November 22-29, 1733, gives the following account of his death:

"On Monday evening last Mr. Thomas Makin fell off a wharf into the Delaware and before he could be taken out again was drowned. He was an ancient man and formerly lived very well in this city, teaching a considerable school, but of late years was reduced to extreme poverty." The following letters and the translated poem, will be found in the "Pemberton Papers," Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Deare master

Thomas meakin lest through mistake the abuse I Received at the schoole being noised abroad should be taken to be thee I made bold to write these few lines for the clearing of thee thy Instructions were so mild and gentle as that I never Received one blow or Stripe from thy hand during my stay there tho my dullness at times might have given thee occation for if I wanted Information with boldnes I cold come to thee being always friendly Received but from another, I always found Rough answers where I quickly left

to trouble him not finding the kindnes as from thee & Indeed what he did for me from first to last is to be seen in that little Lattin book I write at his first coming which I have forgot at schoole behind me if thou would be pleased to send it by some of the boatmen to be left at Sam<sup>n</sup> Jenings when thou meets with it I shall take it as a kindnes I do say it was not my Intent to have let it be known but the anguish of the blows and being Inwardly opprest with greife to think how I was used with out having the liberty to spake one word in my own defence did so change my Countenance that my sister presently perceived it who was restles untill I had uncovered the occation who rested not there but would see & when she saw was also so greived that she would shew me to some others tho I Indeavored much to diswade her but shee would not but did cause me to seen by H: carpenter & Tho: whartons wife, but conterary to my mind tho he never shewed any respect to me as a scholar but still frowned upon me the Reason I know not for I never Intended to vex him & therefore never made use of him & thou being out of Schoole he took that oppertunity so to Thrash me & I observed that he generally showed his disposition more when thou was out of schoole for whilest thou was in he seldome went into those extrames as at other times this is only private to thy Self for I desire not to Injure him I would willingly have Stayed Longer at the Schoole but my sister having told my father how things were & the tokens of his Correction still remaineing upon me tho about five weeks since & are still to be seen & so sore as that I cannot endure anything to press against it he would not heare me tho I desired it but I will forbear to say any more about it Lest I shold too farr stirr up what I wold have at an end but I Love thee & desire to be with thee & to spend the rest of my schooling under thee, but whether it may be so or no I know not



yet I desire it with my love end these Lines who am  
thy scholar

5 mo. 22, 1698.

Israel pemberton

To Thomas Makin.

Philad<sup>a</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>mo</sup> 1699

Esteemed Fr<sup>d</sup>

I am something concern'd to hear that thou intends to place thy Son here to another School having formerly come to o<sup>r</sup>, tho' thou hast been pleased alreadie to clear me from that which I suppose is y<sup>e</sup> chiefest motive of thy so doeing; yet I can not but resent it as some diminution of my Credit, since thou first committed him to my Pedagogie, now to putt him to another, who I suppose will sett him to learn all Arithmetick de novo, so that a considerable time must needs be taken up in going over that w<sup>ch</sup> I suppose he well understands alreadie. If thou may think o<sup>r</sup> School is too throng that he may be promoted so well as elsewhere, be assured that I have not Imploy half enough for Arithmetick which F: D: P: never undertakes. He began to understand y<sup>e</sup> Rules of Practice (y<sup>e</sup> only Rules for business) before he was taken away last summer, w<sup>ch</sup> I would undertake to make him, thoroughly capeable of as soon as another: As for thy great Resentment of F. D. P., I have spoken to him to write to thee also, if possible all we can may prevail to reclaim thee from thy s<sup>d</sup> Intentions: w<sup>ch</sup> that it may prove successfull is y<sup>e</sup> earnest desire of thy respectfull friend & Countryman.

Tho: Makin

To Phineas Pemberton.

#### A DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This Province Pennsylvania takes it's name  
From Wm. Penn Proprietor of y<sup>e</sup> same.  
A barbarous nation first y<sup>e</sup> land did own,  
Who by degrees more civilized are grown.

Who w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English are confederate,  
Carefull to keep their trust inviolate.  
'Twixt heat & cold y<sup>e</sup> air is temperate;  
Warm Southern winds y<sup>e</sup> cold does mitigate.  
The Northwest wind y<sup>e</sup> rains & clouds does clear,  
Bringing fair weather & a wholesome air.  
Here we in safety live without annoy;  
Each one his right securely does enjoy.  
Whilst sad New England hence not very far  
Have greatly suffred by their Indian war.  
This is y<sup>e</sup> place where many men have found  
Their happy lot cast in a fruitfull ground.  
Here y<sup>e</sup> well cultivated farmer's field  
A plent'ous cropp does in due season yield.  
W<sup>th</sup> fishes of all sorts y<sup>e</sup> rivers are  
Replenisht, & y<sup>e</sup> woods w<sup>th</sup> nimble Deer.  
The trees w<sup>th</sup> loads of fruit do seem to groan,  
Wherew<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> limbs are often broken down.  
Of singing birds here's one does far excell  
For various notes th' European Philomel.  
Another smallest bird, of finest plumes,  
Still hovering sucks her food from flow'ry blooms;  
From whence, when once she takes her hasty flight,  
Swift as a fly she's soon gone out of sight.  
In Sumer time, by night as well as day,  
The Sturgeons in y<sup>e</sup> river leap & play,  
And leap so high, the oft fall in a Boat  
By chance y<sup>t</sup> sails with oars, or lyes a float.  
Here's sundry usefull metal lately found,  
And Marble too by Miners in y<sup>e</sup> ground.  
Here odoriferous herbs & flowers grow  
Usefull to those who do their virtues know.  
But y<sup>e</sup> chief merchandize y<sup>e</sup> countrey yields,  
Is y<sup>e</sup> rich product of y<sup>e</sup> well-tilld fields,  
All sorts of corn, whereof good flow'r & bread,  
And Mault for beer is plentifully made.  
Upon y<sup>e</sup> countrey's well deserv'd report  
Many from foreign parts do here resort.

English, Welch, Irish, Germans many more  
For sake of this have left their native shore.  
By y<sup>e</sup> laborious toil of many hands  
Great Deserts are become most fruitful lands.  
In winter time y<sup>e</sup> land & water too  
Lye cover'd, this w<sup>th</sup> ice, & that w<sup>th</sup> snow.  
The Shipp then lyes without an anchor fast,  
Till warmer weather melt y<sup>e</sup> ice at last.  
But tho' no Boat w<sup>th</sup> oars stir from y<sup>e</sup> shore,  
There's on y<sup>e</sup> ice a frequent passing o're.  
The winter here so long & sharp has been,  
That loaden carts drawn on y<sup>e</sup> ice I've seen.  
On Delaware does Philadelphia stand,  
And does her stately buildings far extend.  
The Streets laid out directly by a Line,  
And house to house contiguously does joyn.  
The Govern<sup>r</sup> here keeps his residence,  
One grave in years & long experience.  
Four sacred houses in this city are,  
And one not distant from y<sup>e</sup> city far.  
To this long known & well frequented port  
From sundry places many shippes resort.  
In merchandizing most men are here imploy'd:  
All usefull artists too are occupy'd.  
The frugal farmer, like y<sup>e</sup> carefull Ant,  
In Sumer 'gainst cold Winter provident,  
His barn, well cover'd to keep out y<sup>e</sup> rain  
Fills w<sup>th</sup> good hay & diverse sorts of grain.  
Neglecting costly cloathes & dainty food,  
His own unbought provisions sweet & good.  
Weary w<sup>th</sup> labour takes his ease & rest:  
His homespunn cloathing pleasing him y<sup>e</sup> best.  
O that such were my happy lot at last,  
Then all my trouble past would be forgott.

Honoured Fr<sup>d</sup>

Having alreadie sent thee a discription of Pennsylv-  
vania writt in Latin verse, especially for y<sup>e</sup> use of thy

Son, now considering thy self may not understand y<sup>e</sup> same, therefore now present thee with y<sup>e</sup> same in English, for w<sup>ch</sup>, being in want, I humbly pray some small reward, for w<sup>ch</sup> I shall be thy thankfull fr<sup>d</sup>.

5<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1728.

Tho: Makin

To Israel Pemberton.

CHARLES WHEELER, M.D.

By REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

In the army which Lord Dunmore raised in the Northern counties of Virginia and rendezvoused at Fort Pitt in 1774, to inaugurate that disgraceful war which resulted in the loss of so many brave men to the colony of Virginia at the battle of Point Pleasant, was a young physician named Charles Wheeler.

Of his history very little is known and that little is recorded here to rescue from oblivion the memory of one who occupied a position which would justly entitle him to remembrance.

Charles Wheeler was the only Surgeon attached to Lord Dunmore's army. He was born in London, England, about 1742, and was educated and married there. He emigrated in 1769 to America. Where he studied medicine, whether in England or America is not known. Neither the Medical College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), nor Kings College, New York (now Columbia University), record his name as student. He and his wife Elizabeth were among the earliest settlers of what was then the western portion of Pennsylvania and Virginia. At what exact point he settled there cannot be learned.

When Lord Dunmore issued his call for troops to march against the Indians in 1774 Dr Wheeler was among the first to respond and was appointed Surgeon to the command. He subsequently, it is said, entered the Revolutionary Army and served through the war whether as Surgeon or Private tradition does not say. However, every effort to prove this tradition has failed on the part of the writer. He is not named in any roster of Pennsylvania or Virginia troops.



Shortly after the close of the war, he removed to Washington county, Pennsylvania, and entered actively upon the practice of his profession.

In May, 1786, he purchased of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the sum of £13.10.7d three hundred and forty-five acres of land called "Winters Choice" on Pike's Run. His warrant is dated May 2, 1786. In the Pennsylvania Archives it is described as 300 acres. Earlier, however, than May 12, 1779, he secured from the State 300 acres in "Youghiogeny" county. As "Yough county" as it was commonly called was of short duration it is possible that this land was identical with the grant of May, 1789, and which fell into the possession some years ago of O/K, Taylor, the Banker of Bridgeport, Fayette county.

Dr. Wheeler was a man of extensive learning, skillful as a physician and prominent as a citizen. But he kept himself from politics and filled no offices of a political character. He died September, 1813, leaving an estate of about £3000. which was divided between his wife and servants. At his death his family consisted only of himself and wife. In the Census of 1790 he is credited with a family of eight white persons, including one white female under sixteen years of age. In his will which is dated May 26, 1808, and was probated at Washington, Penna., December 6, 1813, he says "the little which I have is of my own acquiring. As it was not my lot to have issue by my wife, I did not embark in this world's speculations in search of more than would enable me to live decently and comfortably to my family and friends."

He left all his property to his wife during her life, excepting £100 to the Protestant Episcopal Church at Brownsville, of which he was a member; £100 to a nephew, Thomas Humphreys, and £1000 to his friends and domestics. He had purchased several slaves when he settled in Washington county. To each of these,

living at the time of his death, he willed from £25 to £200 with this wholesome advice: "The above black people were raised under my roof, I therefore hope they will consider the intent of the small bounties bestowed on them by an indulgent Master, and apply themselves discreetly to their interests."

Over the spot where he lies buried in Christ Church yard, at Brownsville, stands a monument of grey sandstone, about seven feet high by two feet square, surmounted by an Urn, and embellished with Masonic emblems. Although I was the Secretary for some years of the Masonic Lodge at Brownsville, I do not recall seeing his name in the list of members; he was probably a member of the Lodge in Washington.

On the monument are these inscriptions:

*South side.*

"To the Memory of  
CHARLES WHEELER  
M.D.

Who departed this life Sept  
1813.

in the 71st year of his age.  
He was born in the city of  
London England  
Where he received a  
Classical education"

*North side.*

"Also  
in Memory of  
ELIZABETH HIS WIFE  
who departed this life Octr  
1838.  
in the 94th year of her age.  
They Emigrated to  
America in 1769."

*West side.*

“In the year 1774 he was the only Physician and Surgeon in Lord Dunmore’s Army. They emigrated to Western Pa amongst the first settlers, and by a long and success full practice he endeared himself to hundreds. They were generous friends and good Citizens”

*East side.*

“They Died without Issue and left an Estate of about 10,000 Dollars to their Friends, the Church and their Domesticks, and I Joseph Crawford one of his Executors Consecrate this Monument to their Memory in 1840.”

Who Joseph Crawford was beyond the record on the monument has not been as yet learned.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LETTER OF WILLIAM FRANKLIN TO COL. PHILIP VANHORNE, 1771.

Burlington March 15<sup>th</sup> 1771.

Sir.

As there is a prospect of a War with the Spaniards, in which it is probable the French will join them; and as it is expected, should Such event take place, that America will become the principal Theatre of their Operations. I think it highly expedient that the Militia (in which the chief strength of this province consists,) should be put into the best Order possible. You are therefore to have the Regiment under your Command as frequently exercised, and as well disciplined in every respect as may be in your Power; and to be likewise particularly carefull that the men be provided with the Arms and Ammunition required by Law. As soon as I shall hear that the several Regiments are got into proper Order it is my purpose to fix a Time for reviewing them in person, of which you will receive due notice.

I have heard it frequently mentioned that our present Militia Law is in general very defective; but few instances of such Defects have been particularly pointed out to me. I should be glad therefore that you would consult the Field Officers and Captains of your Regiment respecting this matter, and that you would report to me what alterations in that Law, if any, appear to you and them to be necessary or expedient.

I am, with great Regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

W<sup>m</sup> Franklin.

To Col. Vanhorne,  
Somerset county.

P. S. I should be glad to have a list of the names and Rank of all the Commissioned Officers in your Regiment.

LETTER OF ROBERT MORRIS TO JOHN NICHOLSON, 1798.

March 13<sup>th</sup> 1798.

Dear Sir,

Upon bringing Doct<sup>r</sup> Benj<sup>n</sup> Say's notes to the Touchstone, I find they are dated March 10<sup>th</sup> 1795. Your notes to me at 3yr<sup>s</sup> after date I endorsed them for your use being part of \$170,000, endorsed for you on the 4<sup>th</sup> March 1797. so that they had then only 12 months to run & the price was not more than 10 cents & 20/. Thus you see what sort of consciences these Doctors have.

When Doctors of Physick, instead of their Pills  
Become dealers in Paper, not Bank notes or Bills,  
Intent on their gains, they lie without fear.  
That Morris or Nicholson caught by the ear  
Can by their Touch Stone, on any one day  
Detect lying Lusty, or unconscionable, Say.

I am D<sup>r</sup> SirYour obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris.Jn<sup>o</sup> Nicholson Esq<sup>r</sup>

INVOICE OF GOODS SHIPPED FROM LONDON FOR ACCOUNT OF  
WILLIAM PENN, 1685.—

Invoyce of Goods shipt on Board y<sup>e</sup> Globe Joseph Paine Mayte  
Bound for Chessapeake Bay in Mary Land for y<sup>e</sup> Acct & Risque of  
William Penn Proprietary & Govern<sup>r</sup> of Pennsilv & Consigned to  
James Harrison to be delivered to him p<sup>r</sup> James Read Gardiner &  
passenger in sd Ship beng Marked & N<sup>o</sup> W<sup>o</sup>.

	£	s	d	
No. 9. 252 trees bought of Obediah Gray	6:	9:	—	
3 Bundles trees from Sussex				
Large fabe	—:	10:	—	
porter & Cup <sup>o</sup>	—:	2:	6	
				7: 1: 6
No. 10. frute trees from Sussex				
1 bagg seeds from Sussex				
1 firkin seeds fm Sussex				
17 gardin Knives & 1 Chessell	1:	8:	—	
Iron tools as p <sup>r</sup> F Plumsts note	1:	3:	10	
1 Box Seeds from Sussex				
Caske porter & Cup <sup>o</sup>	—:	8:	9	
				3: —: 7
No. 11. frute trees from Sussex				
hamp <sup>r</sup> Roots from Sussex				
3 Bushells hay seeds & porter	—:	3:	6	
Caske porter & Cup <sup>o</sup>	—:	6:	6	
				—: 10: —
No. 12. Apples from Sussex				
Cup <sup>o</sup>	—:	—:	2	
				—: —: 2
No. 13. Seeds as p <sup>r</sup> bill bought of Edward				
Fuller				2: 18: —
No. 14. 3 spads & 3 shovells				—: 13: 6
1 hamer 9 <sup>ds</sup> Gardin bill 14 <sup>ds</sup>				—: 2: 1
Seeds Roots & 6 lb packthrd				1: 6: 9
Bill store Costome				
Searches portig wharfidge }				1: —: —
Cartig				
wateridge Fright & primo				
Brandy Runlett tapp & porte	—:	9:	—	
Cheese & porter	—:	5:	6	
Ginger bread	—:	1:	—	
				—: 15: 6
p <sup>r</sup> James Read in Money to defray				
Charge				
Dallaware River				1: —: —
				£18: 8: 2

Errors Excepted in London  
9<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>mo</sup> 1685  
p<sup>r</sup> Philip Ford.

LEEDS ALMANACK. Extracted from the minutes of the Burlington,  
N. J., monthly meeting, which had criticised some "unsavory para-  
graphs, which gave great uneasiness to Friends," in the Almanack.



"To y<sup>e</sup> mens Monthly Meeting of Burlington.

Dear Friends

Whereas I do understand y<sup>e</sup> some words in my Almanack hath given offence to friends of truth Therefore I did look upon my self as bound for satisfaction & Vindication of y<sup>e</sup> blessed truth to Condemn a Judge them as wrong & proceeding from a ground y<sup>e</sup> was out of Truth. I being at a Loss asto my Inward Condition at y<sup>e</sup> Time of Writing thereof During which Loss I have been apt to Let in hard Thoughts & to pass a Forward Judgement of Some Proceedings of y<sup>e</sup> Mens Meeting—which I also do condemn warning all others to have a care of Leetting in anything against y<sup>e</sup> Good Practices of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ in men and Womens Meeting.

Daniel Leeds'

Read in y<sup>e</sup> Meeting

y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> mo:

1682

LETTERS OF PELETIAH WEBSTER, to his daughter, written while a prisoner of war in Philadelphia, 1778.—

Dear Althy,

Send the Inclosed note to M<sup>r</sup> Curry & deliver the Breeches, if he sends for them, & receive any sum he is willing to allow for them—they are in the Trunk in the Chamber, the Key of which is in the drawer of my Desk, to the right hand, when you open the cover. I am pretty well except my Lame Leg, which grows no better.

Keep your Spirits up & Trust in Providence! there are times in which the heart must be Tryed by Afflictions which are often profitable.

I am not able to guess how long I may be Confined, am much Obligid to the D<sup>r</sup> for all his kindness, he will doubtless assist you what he can.

I am y<sup>r</sup> Fath<sup>r</sup> & friend

Pelataiah Webster.

Phil<sup>a</sup> 12 Feby. 1778.

Friday 27 Feby. 1778.

Dear Althy,

Have your Sunday notes up to yesterday by Margret; am Well Satisfied with all you have done & not a little pleased to find that you do business So properly—Write your letters with so much Judgment & clearness & keep up your presence of mind So Well as you do. . . . When you have occasion to pay money Pay the Joes first & keep all the New Guinas & Dolls. that you can.

Send p<sup>r</sup> next opport<sup>y</sup> one paper Tobacco, & one cut of the Chewing Tobacco, and one Clean Cap, also Euclids Elements a Small book which stands in my book case.

I am not yet made acquainted with the Cause of my confinement nor can I guess at the Reason of it; am pretty well, my leg is almost well, my room & Company are agreeable.

We had one night the Company of Genl Irvine, Col Coates, Maj Giles, & Capt Swift, but they were removed to y<sup>e</sup> New Goal, Since which have not heard of them.

Times of Calamity are times of Tryal, the Great Importance is, to bear the Tryal well; the best of Metals are refined in the fire & Shine most in it.

P. W.

March 9, Monday, 1778.

Dear Althy,

I much want to see you & your sister, but this habitation is so gloomy & full of horrible objects that it will only increase your trouble to come here, besides I am not sure that you can be admitted. Most people that apply are denyed therefore, I rather chuse to forego the pleasure of seeing you than Subject you to the pains & perhaps mortifications of coming to see me, hope you are well.

I eat no meat & drink no Spirits or wine, Except bitters now & then. A Tankard full of Chocolate will any time last me 2 days. Keep up your fortitude; presence of mind in Distress lightens affliction much. My compliments to the D<sup>r</sup> & love to you & Sophia

I am &c  
P. Webster.

CONCERNING WILLIAM PARSONS BEING BONDSMAN FOR ROBERT GREENWAY Y<sup>e</sup> LIBRARIAN OF THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelpha March y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1765.

Esteemed Friend,

Will<sup>m</sup> Parsons became bound in a Bond with Rob<sup>t</sup>. Greenway to the Directors of the Philadelphia Library Compy. in the Sum of £800. for the faithful performance of his said Greenways trust as Librarian and for the Delivering up to the said Directors whenever he should be called on so to do all the books and estate belonging to said Library that were then or should from time to time come into his hands and on Examining said Library we find upward of 6 Volumes wanting for which we have called on Robt. Greenways Executors who say there are other Debts that will take all his estate to discharge them or near it. I thereby appointment [?] of a board of Directors acquaint them that we shall be Obliged to put the Bond in Suit against the Security—from thy Fr<sup>d</sup>

Jacob Shoemaker Jun<sup>r</sup>  
one of the Directors.

To Timothy Horsfield Esq.

MILLER RECORDS.—The following records have been copied from the Bible of Benjamin and Hannah Miller.

#### BIRTHS.

Ruth Miller was Born the 29th day of January 1772.  
Joseph Miller was born the 7th day of January 1774.  
Rebecah Miller was Born the 13th day of December 1776.  
Mary Miller was born the 22nd day of October 1778.  
Pamela Miller was Born the 19th day of September 1781.  
Abner Miller was Born the 23d day of May 1787.  
Benjamin Miller Jr. was Born the 6th day of Aprille at 12 o'Clock 1792.

#### DEATHS.

Rebecah Miller Departed this life the 15th day of March 1777.  
Benjamin Miller Sen: departed this life Feby. 15. 1840.  
Hannah Miller departed this life March 19. 1840.  
Benjamin Miller Jr. departed this life June 26. 1840.  
Ruth Martin departed this life Jany. — 1850.  
Abner Miller departed this life July 8. 1851.  
Mary Chamberlain departed this life July 22. 1852.  
Pamela Miller departed this life June 21st 1868.

LETTER OF CONRAD WEISER TO RICHARD PETERS, SECRETARY.

Tulpehokin February the 18 174½

Sir

By my Son I received three pieces of Strows instead of three Strowd mat<sup>ts</sup> coats I wantend for to take to Shomokin for Shiekeling and no Instructions what to do with the three pieces of Strow I think it would be Extravagant to give it to Shiekeling only I Intent to Set out for Shomokin the 25 of this Instant and shall take But three Matchcoats and ½ duzand of Silk Handkercher and leave the rest till I receive orders from you what to do with I think these must be a mistake, I hope it is not in my order there will be time Enough to let me known before I set out if any Being unknowing to me as it must be done with the rest—this is all at present with my hearty respect I remain Sir your oblidged

Conrad Weiser.

## Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Biographical information is asked or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.

1829.			Owen, Augustin		
			Parks, Clarke D.		Ga.
Adams, William G.	S. C.		Pennebaker, Amos		Pa.
Barham, Cuthbert D.	Va.		Perrine, Allison Ely		N. J.
Baylor, William	Va.		Phillips, Martin		S. C.
Blackwell, John Harrison	N. J.		Porter, John D.		Va.
Bradley, Israel Bailey	Me.		Potts, John Wesley		N. C.
Brown, Edward L.	Nova Scotia		Powell, George		Pa.
Chew, Edward R.	La.		Powell, John N.		Va.
Cole, Nathan W.	N. J.		Pritner, Thomas		Pa.
Conwell, Christopher			Rinehart, William		Pa.
Columbus	Pa.		Rivers, Robert Henderson		Tenn.
Cooke, Singleton Jones	Va.		Robertson, Lyttleton		
Cox, Joseph E.	Va.		Murray		Md.
Davis, Thomas	N. C.		Sebrell, Nicholas M.		Va.
Dietrich, Henry D.	Pa.		Sheild, William Henry		Va.
Donnellan, Michael D.	N. C.		Sims, Richard K. H.		Pa.
Drake, Lewis	N. J.		Smith, George J.		Va.
Edwards, William H.	Va.		Smith, William		Va.
Fort, David M.	Pa.		Sterigere, William L.		Pa.
Fowler, Gilbert S.	N. Y.		Stith, Nicholas Long		
Giles, Milo A.	N. C.		Bolling		N. C.
Griswold, Marvin R.	Va.		Ticknor, Caleb		Conn.
Hammersly, Ralph	Pa.		Togno, Joseph		Pa.
Hardaway, William			Tunstall, James L.		Va.
Edwards	Va.		Urquiola, Joseph M.		Cuba.
Harrison, Benjamin J.	Va.		Weaver, Martin		Pa.
Hlgbee, Charles	N. J.		White, John Joslah		Pa.
Hobson, Samuel Isaac	Pa.		Wlley, John B.		Ga.
Huffnagle, Charles	Pa.		Williamson, John Galt		Va.
Hunt, Joab W.	N. J.		Wright, Joab		Ohio.
Inge, James Milton	Va.				
Ingram, Thomas W.	Ga.				
Johnson, William					
Norton (A. B.)	Pa.		Adams, Levin H.		Del.
Jones, Henry K.	Va.		Allen, Abram Maury		Va.
Jones, Joshua Y.	Pa.		Anderson, John Wallace		Md.
Jordan, Fleming	Ala.		Arnold, Richard Dennis		Ga.
Kennedy, James C.	Pa.		Baldwin, Joseph		Pa.
Kinzer, Esalas	Pa.		Belt, Horace M.		Va.
LeVert, Henry Stratchey	Ala.		Bouton, Bennet A.		Pa.
Lippincott, Henry	Pa.		Boyle, Thomas M.		Va.
Luther, Diller	Pa.		Brackin, Armistead F.		N. C.
Maclay, Samuel (A. M.)	Pa.		Brearley, Randolph		N. J.
Meredith, Hugh	Pa.		Britton, William G.		Va.
Merwin, Samuel C.	Pa.		Bronaugh, Patrick H. W.		Va.
Moore, Alexander P.	R. I.		Brooke, Robert P.		Va.
Moorhead, Washington	Ohio		Brown, Thomas D.		Va.
Morgan, William P.	N. C.		Callaway, Felix G.		Ga.
Morris, Horatio Nelson	Pa.		Carraway, James S.		Miss.
Murphey, Samuel	Del.		Carter, Jesse		N. C.
Nutt, Conway Rollins	Va.		Cenas, Augustus Henry		La.
Ober, Albert Richard	Md.		Charles, John F.		Pa.
			Clark, Jonathan		Pa.

## 1830.

Cross, Cyprian	N. C.	Mathias, Thomas	Pa.
Cross, William M.	Va.	Mead, James D.	N. Y.
Cunningham, William	Va.	Palmer, Chilian	N. C.
Dulin, Alexander Franklin	Va.	Palmer, Jeffrey D.	Va.
Dunn, William Bell	N. C.	Payne, Thomas	Va.
Edmonds, John Robert	Va.	Pendleton, William James	Va.
Erwin, Benjamin Rush	N. J.	Persons, James T.	Ga.
Farnum, Joseph Whitney	R. I.	Phelps, Josiah H.	Vt.
Fitzgerald, George	Va.	Pollard, Edmund	
Ford, James Burette	Va.	Pendleton	Md.
Garland, Richard	Va.	Puckett, Walter R.	Va.
Garrett, Robert Major	Va.	Ragan, James H.	Ga.
Gildersleeve, Ezra	Pa.	Rittenhouse, Joseph	Pa.
Gray, William Alfred	Va.	Roan, Nathaniel Moore	N. C.
Gulick, Selah	N. J.	Roane, Samuel	Va.
Gustine, Lemuel	Pa.	Rogers, David John	Pa.
Harris, Edward B.	Ala.	Roper, Lewis	Pa.
Harrison, John Prosser	Va.	Searcy, Daniel B.	Ga.
Harrison, Robert H.	Va.	Shepherd, Albert H.	Ga.
James, Robert B.	S. C.	Smith, James H.	Pa.
Jones, Robert Henry	Pa.	Starke, Bolling Winslow	Va.
Jones, William	Pa.	Stewardson, Thomas, Jr.	Pa.
Keith, Marshall M.	Va.	Street, Charles Parke	Va.
Lamar, Ezekiel	Fla.	Taylor, Edward T.	Va.
Landes, John S.	Pa.	Taylor, Joseph W.	Pa.
Lee, Thomas, Jr.	N. J.	Todd, William B.	Va.
Lester, Evan G.	Pa.	Townsend, John Fonday	N. Y.
Lewis, Hartwell H.	Va.	Van Buskirk, John, Jr.	Pa.
Lewis, Thomas	Va.	Waller, John Weisiger	Va.
Livingston, James		Wharton, John James	Va.
Beeckman	N. Y.	White, George	N. J.
Lufborough, James		Whittle, Conway Davies	Va.
Henry	Dis. of Col.	Wilson, Thomas	Pa.
McKinney, Alexander F.	Tenn.	Wood, George	Va.

MITCHELL.—Thomas Mitchell, (1st), married 10th day, 1st month, 1709, in Friends Meeting House, Phila., Sarah Densley. Their Son, Joshua Mitchell, born Phila., 1724, died 1800, married Rebecca —, Their son,

Thomas Mitchell, (2nd), born Phila., 1748, died 1792, married Mary, (daughter of William Young). He is said to have been an officer in Revolutionary War; a Mahogany lumber Merchant of Phila., and leader of music in Old Pine Street Presbyterian Church. He left two old Bibles containing family records which were in the possession of his grandson, Dr. Thos. D. Mitchell of Phila., in year 1857.

Can anyone enlighten me on the following points:

1st. From whence came Thomas Mitchell, who married Sarah Densley?

2nd. The name of wife of Joshua Mitchell?

3rd. Proof of service of Thomas Mitchell (2nd) in Revolutionary War?

4th. What became of the two old Family Bibles?

Ethel B. Mitchell,  
2023 Calvert St.,  
Baltimore, Md.

DUFF FAMILY.—Alistair N. Tayler, 34 Kensington Court Mansions, London, W. England, is compiling a complete "History of the Duff Family," and is anxious to obtain details of any of the name of Duff now residing in America, with their descent.

Vol. XXXVII

OCTOBER, 1913

No. 148

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### BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of The Historical Society, bound by Hyman Zucker, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for \$3.75 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of 75 cents per volume and the postage.





BASS OTIS.

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XXXVII.

1913.

No. 4.

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BASS OTIS, AMERICA'S FIRST  
LITHOGRAPHER.

By JOSEPH JACKSON.

Every sketch of the rise and progress of the art of lithography that mentions the introduction of the art in the United States cites the July number of *The Analectic Magazine* in the year 1819 as its beginning in this country. This statement has been quoted so many times usually without any investigation on the part of the writer, that it has become as fixed a piece of history as anything well could be. Yet, it appears that at least six months before this time, or in November, 1818, there was published in Philadelphia a book containing a frontispiece portrait by the same Bass Otis, who made the plate in *The Analectic* that undoubtedly is the product of lithography.

Having thus discovered a lithograph earlier than the one usually supposed to have been the first one, it would be hazardous to claim for it the virtue of having been the first product of the lithographic stone in this country. Certainly, it might be argued that the discovery does not matter after all, for it still leaves Bass Otis the first lithographer in the United States, and does not remove the claim for Philadelphia to be

the cradle of the art in this country. Yet it has interest in advancing the date of lithography's introduction here.

The mystery of the beginnings of lithography in the United States is still almost as baffling as the mystery concerning the place of origin of the American Indian. Yet, a little patience to examine the facts in the case is likely to be rewarded by a fairly good understanding of it.

For some years a paragraph in the introduction of Senefelder's Book on Lithography, which was published in Germany in the year 1818 and reprinted in translation the following year by Ackermann in London, which refers to the spread of the art to the four quarters of the globe, has mystified all investigators who have striven to reconcile the statement found there with the familiar statement. This paragraph, written by the enthusiastic inventor of lithography, is the last one in the introduction to his history of the invention, and relates the wonderful growth in these words:

"This invention will, no doubt, greatly facilitate everywhere, the introduction and application of lithography; and I am proud to see that, even in its present shape, it is known and exercised in a great part of the civilized world. In England and France it was first introduced by Mr. Andre, and it has lately been revived in London by Mr. Ackermann, of the Strand, and in Paris, by Count Lestayrie, both of whom have employed it in various publications. At Berlin, Mr. Von Reiche opened a lithographic establishment upon a large scale; at St. Petersburg it was practiced several years ago and, at present it is more particularly cultivated by Baron Schilling. Even in Philadelphia, and what is still more astonishing in Astrakan, lithography is already introduced, and, I understand, is in a flourishing state."

This extract is made from the English translation of the work published in London by Ackermann, with a preface dated March, 1819. Senefelder's book first appeared in Germany late in the year 1818, and there has been no other evidence than his assertion that at that time lithography was practiced even experimen-



tally in the United States, and certainly, until the recent discovery of the portrait of the Rev. Abner Kneeland, which appears as the frontispiece to his lectures in the Universalist Church in Lombard Street, in 1818, there was no evidence of the art having been practiced in Philadelphia.

The portrait of Abner Kneeland, which is signed "Bass Otis, Sc." is so remarkable in the diversity of the styles combined in its production that it at once attracts the attention of the beholder. It displays so many different styles that one is forced to admit that the engraver was not confident of his skill. The background is in pure lithotint, part of the face is in stipple, and the remainder of the portrait is in line and lithotint. No amateur of engravings can look at it without being struck by its many peculiarities, which until it is shown to have been a lithographic product, must have been baffling to every theory concerning the probable method employed. It is unlike any other engraving for the very simple reason that it is not an engraving on metal, but an engraving on stone, and follows styles of lithography which are uncommon in these days.

It is evidently the product of an artist who was struggling in the dark with a new method of reproduction, and lacking confidence in his ability to work in any single manner of the art, has combined several styles, not with the idea of perfecting the art but with the intention of being able to use the new process in lieu of metal engraving. Strictly speaking the work is not engraving, as that process is generally understood; it is not pure lithography, but an etching on stone, in a most primitive manner. Yet, when the plate which was issued in *The Analectic* by the same hand is placed beside the portrait of Kneeland, it at once becomes apparent that both are early attempts to naturalize the new art. As a matter of fact the portrait is much the

better piece of work, in spite of the artist's eccentricities of manner.

This frontispiece portrait by Bass Otis seems to be the explanation of the mystifying paragraph in Senefelder's introduction. The inventor of the art of lithography asserts that the art is practiced "even in Philadelphia," and one may be sure that he would not have ventured this statement if he had no reason to believe it true.

In the July, 1819, number of *The Analectic Magazine*, the statement is not made that the plate that accompanies it is the first to have been produced in this country, although nearly all writers on the subject have assumed this position. It is true that the description of how the plate was obtained, which was written by Judge Cooper, at that time a professor of chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, might lead to such an erroneous conclusion. There is evidence that there were lithographic stones in the city before this time. One of these had been in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, and others were in the hands of Charles Alexander Lesueur, who drew the first really good lithographic drawing published in this country, to illustrate the journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences. Lesueur did not publish his crayon-style lithographs of fishes until 1822, but these appear to have been the first book illustrations issued here.

On the books of the Secretary of the Philosophical Society stands the note that on May 7, 1819:

"The lithographic stone belonging to the cabinet of the Society was loaned to Dr. Brown and Mr. Otis for the purpose of making experiments in the art of lithographic engravings."

Diligent inquiry has failed to trace this stone. There is no record in the Society's possession that could be found by the writer that even notes the original receipt of the stone. Neither is there any record

that it was returned after the experiments were made. That the stone was used for the print which appears in the July, 1819, number of *The Analectic Magazine*, we have the authority of the periodical.

"In this number," begins the article signed *C* and evidently from the pen of Doctor, or Judge, Cooper, "we present our readers with a specimen of *American Lithography*: the design and execution from beginning to end—from the drawing to the impression inclusive—is by Mr. B. Otis; who following the suggestions of Judge Cooper, and Dr. Brown, of Alabama, has by means of their hints, and his own more successful improvements, produced the specimen now submitted. The drawing was made on a stone from Munich, presented to the American Philosophical Society, by Mr. Thomas Dobson of this city. But the art has been successfully tried on specimens of stone from Frankfort in Kentucky, produced by Judge Cooper, Dr. Brown and Mr. Clifford—from Doe Run in Kentucky, furnished by Dr. Blight—from a quarry about two miles from Maytown, Lancaster County—and also on some pieces of white marble from White Marsh, commonly found at stone cutters in this city. \* \* \* \* \*

M. le Sieur also, whose exquisite designs are well known to men of science and artists here, has procured some stones, such as are used at Paris by M. de Lestayrie, and is proceeding with the experiment, we hope successfully; for in truth, it is an experiment in which the whole circle of science and literature is very much interested."

In the National Museum in one of the wing buildings of Independence Hall will be found a lithographic stone, irretrievably damaged, but still containing part of the design etched upon it by Bass Otis, that may be one of the early attempts at lithography by that artist. It is unlike the usual lithographic stone that comes from Bavaria, and probably is one from Kentucky or even one of the pieces of white marble from White Marsh, although it does not resemble this latter stone except in whiteness. The design on the stone is a copy of West's painting of Christ Healing the Sick, which is in the Pennsylvania Hospital. The method or style of lithography followed by the artist in this experiment is the etched style which he followed in the print in *The Analectic Magazine*. Little is known of the history of this stone which was deposited in the City's care some years ago. It is, how-

ever, of great historical importance so far as the history of American lithography is concerned.

We must go farther back in the pages of *The Analectic Magazine* to get the clue to the first attempt of Otis. In the February number for the year 1818, there appears a brief extract from the *Edinburg Magazine*. In the course of this article there is a brief description of the method of lithography. The whole process is not described, but the clever artist with the description in his possession might very well have a good idea of the method; it also is possible that some information was received from Munich by Dobson, when he acquired the stone, which he might have bought from Senefelder or someone known to him, since later in the same year he alludes to the introduction of the art in Philadelphia, which he might have inferred from the receipt of a stone from his establishment.

It will be noted that there is nothing in the article in *The Analectic Magazine* for July, 1819, beyond the statement that it was a trial plate, to give the impression that it was the first lithograph made in this country. Indeed, it might appear that had this been the case, the periodical might very well have been proud to make such an announcement.

To the writer it seems that there is nothing in evidence that disposes of the assertion that Otis's lithographic portrait of Abner Kneeland must be entitled to rank in point of time before the lithographic plate in the magazine, for while the portrait is not dated, the book is, and the copyright notice gives the time as November, and the year, 1818.

Of the early years of Bass Otis little information has been gleaned. He was the fourth child and third son of Dr. Josiah and Susanna Orr Otis, and was born at Bridgewater, Connecticut, in 1784. His father was a physician at Bridgewater and his mother a native of East Bridgewater.



All the biographical sketches of Otis mention that he was apprenticed to a scythe maker in his native town, and Dunlap, in his history of the Arts of Design in the United States, states that he received his instruction in painting by working with a coach painter. While this seems reasonable, there is no other authority for the statement. There is every evidence in the work of Otis to show that he was talented rather than trained. He had remarkable facility with his brush, and was able to make very good copies of portraits by his more famous contemporaries. Dunlap does not inform us when Otis came to New York, but shows that he was there in the year 1808, and was established as a portrait painter. Dunlap did not approve of his style, for he says of his work: "Mr. Otis, as a portrait painter, has strong, natural talents and a good perception of character. Many of his heads are well colored. At one time he painted many portraits in Philadelphia, but they were all of a class; if not so originally, he made them so."

There is an anecdote to the effect that Otis left his scythe maker's shop as soon as he completed his apprenticeship, which should have been in 1805. What he did between that year and the year of his appearance in New York (1808), may be left to conjecture. Evidently he painted portraits, but whether in Connecticut, or in Boston, where later he was for a time, is not now known. Even the exact time of his coming to Philadelphia, where he lived so long and where he met his wife, a Miss Pierie, and where he died, is not known, excepting by inference.

Otis's name first appears in the Philadelphia Directory for the year 1813. It is absent from that issued in 1811 and there was none in 1812, but he exhibited in the latter year in the Second Annual Exhibition of the Columbian Society of Artists in the Academy of the Fine Arts, and it is known that he was in Philadelphia



as a resident in that year. His contribution to the 1812 Exhibition consisted of six portraits of men and two of women.

The portraits which he showed at the Academy were his first exhibited works as a painter. There is no means of identifying the portraits thus shown, for they were set down in the catalogue simply as "Portrait of a Gentleman," or "Portrait of a Lady." In the annual exhibition in 1813, however, there is one canvas catalogued as "Portrait of Himself." There seems to be no means of tracing this canvas now. There is, of course, another portrait of himself painted a year before his death, when Otis was an aged man, but when he still retained some of his early skill in portraiture. This was painted for the late Ferdinand J. Dreer, and was sold in the sale of Mr. Dreer's library in the spring of 1913.

In 1813 Otis was living in Walnut Street, according to the catalogue, and at 72 Chestnut, according to the directory for that year. In 1817 he was dwelling at No. 6 North Seventh Street. There he remained until 1818, when he removed to Cherry Street between Fifth and Sixth, identified by the writer as the present No. 515. It was while he was living in this house that Otis made his trials in lithography, which he did not prosecute very long. The Academy Exhibition in 1819 exhibited the only composition by the painter that is known. The picture was entitled "A Foundry." It gives a view of the scythe maker's shop in which Otis worked during his apprenticeship, and is a most creditable piece of painting. It was decidedly approved by the critics of his time, and the painter presented it to the Academy for its permanent collection. It may still be seen in the galleries of that institution.

In every exhibition of the Academy for many years after 1812 Otis had a good representative showing on the walls. It is evident from the old catalogues that

some of the portraits were shown year after year, but there always were several new ones exhibited by him. During this period, say, from 1817 for the next year or two, Otis was engaged in painting portraits for Joseph Delaplaine's Repository, which ambitious work came to an untimely conclusion after but two volumes of the work had been printed. Only one of Otis's portraits was engraved for the parts in existence. That is the portrait of Thomas Jefferson, which Otis painted from life. Many of the others were copies.

In the exhibition for 1817 Otis showed portraits of James Madison, Joseph Hopkinson, Commodore Truxtun, Charles Thomson, and Doctor Wistar, for Delaplaine. The next year he showed a copy of Copley's portrait of Samuel Adams, also painted for Delaplaine, and in this exhibition was shown for the first time his portrait of Jefferson. In the Exhibition for 1819, there was a group—the Washington Family—but upon what work it was founded is not known. His portrait of Bishop White was shown in the 1823 exhibition, in which he had thirteen paintings. In the same show was exhibited his portrait of General St. Clair and of General Wilkinson, both for Delaplaine, as was also the portrait of Bishop White. The next year's exhibition found Otis with fifteen canvases on the walls, but many of them had been seen before. There was shown for the first time, however, a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

That year Otis was elected an Academician of the Pennsylvania Academy, and was entitled to have the letters, P.A. after his name. In the 1825 exhibition he exhibited a group of children, and portraits of the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, and of the Rev. J. J. Janeway, as well as two portraits of officers in the United States service not named on the catalogues. In this exhibit Otis had a larger representation than any other

painter, having a total of twenty canvases. Very few of this number, however, were new.

His portrait of the Rev. Joseph Eastburn, pastor of the Mariner's Bethel, was shown in the exhibition in 1826, and from this time his light appears to have waned. In the annual exhibition held in May, 1832, Albert Newsam's lithograph of Otis's portrait of Stephen Girard, was exhibited. Otis had portraits of D. W. Coxe and of a Mr. Kittenger in the 1834 exhibition. In 1845 he appears to have gone to New York and later to Boston, where he was in 1850, working as a portrait painter.

Among the portraits painted by Otis, and not noted above, it may be of interest to mention that there are in existence those of the Rev. William J. Clark, Peter Stephen Duponceau, John Farr, John U. Fraley, Alexander Lawson, Captain John Markland, Margaretta M. Meeker, and John Neagle.

Otis did not live long after his return to Philadelphia in 1859. He went to live at 805 Spring Garden Street, and there, on November 3, 1861, he passed away. The newspapers of the time contained no obituary sketch of his long life as a painter, and he was buried without any unusual honors in Christ Church burying ground at Fifth and Arch Streets, near the southwest corner of the grounds.

For more than half a century Otis had been actively engaged in Philadelphia, New York and Boston as a portrait painter; he is acknowledged to have introduced the art of lithography into the United States, but he has received but scant recognition.

JAMES KENNY'S "JOURNAL TO Y<sup>e</sup> WEST-  
WARD," 1758-59.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

In the January and April numbers of the PENNA. MAG., we printed the "Journal of James Kenny, 1761-63," which describes his journey over the route through this state to Pittsburgh, with local incidents during his sojourn there. His "Journal to y<sup>e</sup> Westward," 1758-59, was made over a different route, via York, Frederick, Cumberland and Braddock's Road to Pittsburgh, during which he encountered many vicissitudes, and his residence there, following so closely on the success of the expedition against Fort Duquesne under Gen. Forbes, is filled with data of much interest.

*A Journal to y<sup>e</sup> Westward by Jam<sup>s</sup> Kenny.*

1758 12<sup>mo</sup> 10<sup>th</sup>.—This morning received a letter from Israel Pemberton signifying that I might come to Town to Speak with y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners for Indian Affairs upon which I went y<sup>e</sup> same Day & put up at Joseph Ways.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Was invited by my friend Is<sup>r</sup> Pemberton to take my horse to his stable & come & lodge at his house, informing me that as he thought delays might be dangerous to y<sup>e</sup> publick interest in not sending goods in due time to y<sup>e</sup> Westward; he was determin'd to send a quantity to meet y<sup>e</sup> General to be apply'd as he would think best amongst y<sup>e</sup> Western Indians & as some person must go to see y<sup>e</sup> goods deliver'd he would send me as one for that purpose in Case I agree'd not with y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners & y<sup>e</sup> Comiss<sup>s</sup> being for having me engage certain for a year as assistant to one not being a Friend I choose to go first more at Liberty so I concluded to go with y<sup>e</sup> said goods for Israel Pemberton.

12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>.—Help'd to pack up some goods & engaged to go see them delivered—helped to put up goods until evening & loaded two wagons y<sup>e</sup> drivers being directed

to go to Carlisle; one set off early in y<sup>e</sup> day. I was ordered to set off after them & turn them by Wright's Ferry; so I set off late this evening & reached home at Kennett before day.

14<sup>th</sup>.—I made some preparations for y<sup>e</sup> journey, settling all things as well as I could.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Packed up my clothes & such things as I had to take that I judged necessary & went as far as Park's Tavern in y<sup>e</sup> Valley this evening.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Set off from Park's Tavern in y<sup>e</sup> Valley this morning (my entertainm<sup>t</sup> there came to 2<sup>s</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup>.) having received a letter from my employer to endeavour to overtake y<sup>e</sup> foremost wagons & turn them to Wright's Ferry & get y<sup>e</sup> goods over if I could & store them up at Jn<sup>o</sup> Wright's on y<sup>e</sup> other side y<sup>e</sup> river. Fed my horse at Jn<sup>o</sup> Millars so reached Lancaster where I overtook y<sup>e</sup> first wagon as it entered y<sup>e</sup> town; gave y<sup>e</sup> proper directions to y<sup>e</sup> drivers to go to Wrights' and I put up at Sloughs' Tavern.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Set off to Wright's before y<sup>e</sup> wagons but could not get ferrage over, it was y<sup>e</sup> first day of y<sup>e</sup> week & being kindly invited to stay at James Wright's I put up my horse there, unloaded y<sup>e</sup> wagons, it being Snowing & no house to put y<sup>e</sup> goods in James Wright's being over y<sup>e</sup> river I got them stowed under a large shelter or paint house, by y<sup>e</sup> ferry house, covering them with y<sup>e</sup> tarpaulins & hired a lad to be mindful of them that night.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Waited this day to see whether y<sup>e</sup> river might be passable, but no encouragement & James Wright going to set off tomorrow to Philadelphia, & my orders being to return there as soon as my bussiness was effected here, he persuaded me to return with him which I agreed to.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Set off this morning in company with James Wright to Philadel<sup>a</sup>; called at James Webbs & he came with us, they two being called upon y<sup>e</sup> Assembly. We reached Park's at y<sup>e</sup> Ship that night.



20<sup>th</sup>.—Got to y<sup>e</sup> Middle Ferry where we settled y<sup>e</sup> charges accruing on our journey of which fell to me to pay 6<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup>. Went to my employers & tarried for about two days there, I found Samuel Lightfoot junior, who was to go like wise with y<sup>e</sup> said goods as a trustee, to see them deliverd.

21<sup>st</sup>.—This day rested me & bought some odd things I wanted in town. This day & night there was rejoicing in town about y<sup>e</sup> French leaving Pittsburg; y<sup>e</sup> city illuminated in y<sup>e</sup> night &c.

22<sup>d</sup>.—This day I bought me a great Coat & a pair of Boots, as I thought my old ones not sufficient enough for y<sup>e</sup> season, it being very cold. This night y<sup>e</sup> house of y<sup>e</sup> sign of y<sup>e</sup> Sloop, on y<sup>e</sup> corner of Chestnut & Water streets took fire & was put out by y<sup>e</sup> people with y<sup>e</sup> help of y<sup>e</sup> water engines.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Set off this evening after three by y<sup>e</sup> clock & reached my friend W<sup>m</sup> Bales, about 30 miles from town. Spent at y<sup>e</sup> Black Horse 4<sup>d</sup> & at y<sup>e</sup> Ball had Supper, cost 1<sup>s</sup> 1<sup>d</sup> for me & Horse.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Being y<sup>e</sup> first day of y<sup>e</sup> week I went to Youghland Meeting where Isaac Hollinsworth, of Virginia, exhorted y<sup>e</sup> People to resign their own Wills to y<sup>e</sup> Divine Will of y<sup>e</sup> Great being & not turn away from him. After delivering a letter to Samuel Lightfoot when meeting was over, I returnd to W<sup>m</sup> Bales, where I had left my horse to rest & after dinner went to Park's Tavern, where I had left some shirts to be made. They being with y<sup>e</sup> Seamstress about three miles off, I got one of their creaturs & went for them.

25<sup>th</sup>.—I was up before day, called y<sup>e</sup> hostler up, got my horse fed & set off in company with a young man from Germantown. By y<sup>e</sup> time we got to y<sup>e</sup> Sign of y<sup>e</sup> Wagon, at Ways, ourselves & horses looked gray about y<sup>e</sup> heads with y<sup>e</sup> frost, being very cold. We fed there & had our breakfasts. Overtaken by David McConoughy, one of y<sup>e</sup> Assemblymen who accompanied us to Lancaster & put up at Slough's, y<sup>e</sup> Sign of y<sup>e</sup>

Swan, where was Robert Turkness and Benedict Dorsey, agent & assistant sent w<sup>th</sup> goods by y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners.

Benedict Dorsey seemed glad to meet me, having seen me in Philad<sup>a</sup>. Being invited by my friend Isaac Whitelock to his house, I gladly except<sup>d</sup> it rather than being amongst y<sup>e</sup> Military men at y<sup>e</sup> Tavern. In y<sup>e</sup> night came to town my friend and employer Israel Pemberton, & my friend Isaac Zane, y<sup>e</sup> latter lodged with me at Isaac Whitelocks.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Sent by my employer to Wright's to endeavour to get over y<sup>e</sup> goods, but y<sup>e</sup> river not passable, being froze on y<sup>e</sup> West & open on y<sup>e</sup> East side.

27<sup>th</sup>.—It rained mostly all day; my employer sent his servant George Stamper to me with a letter this evening, I sent a few lines by a man to Tho<sup>s</sup> Mitchell who had been prisoner in Canada & gave y<sup>e</sup> man one shilling to carry y<sup>e</sup> lines.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Mitchell & his brother-in-law came to me today & being desirous to know whether Andersons Ferry was hard enough froze to get y<sup>e</sup> goods over, they living by it; they invited me home with them so I might know for certain, so I went & was very kindly used at Mitchells.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Returned to Lancaster, having this morning been upon y<sup>e</sup> ice which seemed sufficient in strength, informed my employer.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Three wagons being employed to take y<sup>e</sup> goods from Wright's to Anderson's, I set off soon in y<sup>e</sup> morning to Wright's & about ten of y<sup>e</sup> clock came my employer & Isaac Zane, & y<sup>e</sup> wagons came some time after, which were loaded and set off. We got dinner & I paid my former & present charges at y<sup>e</sup> ferry house of Tho<sup>s</sup> Davis's. With some difficulty got y<sup>e</sup> goods that night to Anderson's Ferry, where I saw a lamp made out of a turnip.

31<sup>st</sup>.—This morning I rode back y<sup>e</sup> road we had come

along in y<sup>e</sup> night, to see whether there were any of y<sup>e</sup> goods drop'd by y<sup>e</sup> way, but found none; when I returned y<sup>e</sup> wagons were unloading by y<sup>e</sup> river & a sleigh ready to haul y<sup>e</sup> goods over, so we helped over with y<sup>e</sup> first sleigh load,—his man John Stamper & me, y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterians helped us after awhile; but whilst I was at breakfast two negro fellows drove right over an airhole near y<sup>e</sup> shore, as if it had been on purpose, where y<sup>e</sup> sleigh broke through. We got all out without much damage—there was a cask of Lead of about 3 hundredweight, but got it up on y<sup>e</sup> ice again from y<sup>e</sup> bottom. I took up my lodging with y<sup>e</sup> goods on y<sup>e</sup> west side of y<sup>e</sup> river in a very open house & a son of Isaac Zane's y<sup>t</sup> came afoot from Philadelphia, tarried with me. Open'd a kag of cutelry ware that got wet, & dried them by y<sup>e</sup> fire. Slept but little y<sup>e</sup> ice made much noise.

1759 1<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—This day my companion Samuel Lightfoot came with account that there was four wagons coming which he had been sent to employ from near to Yorktown to haul y<sup>e</sup> goods to Fort Frederick, in Maryland; when they came we loaded & set off; before done loading our employer & Friend Isaac Zane came to us, where Isaac took his leave of us & return'd home; our employer, Samuel & me going to York, leaving y<sup>e</sup> care of y<sup>e</sup> goods to y<sup>e</sup> wagoners, one of whom was a Dutchman. Lost several bars of Lead out of a cask which had a faulty head, but had he gone back in y<sup>e</sup> morning he might have found probably, all which makes me suspect his honesty. Loosing my rest y<sup>e</sup> night before & riding in y<sup>e</sup> night to York, I conceited we turned to y<sup>e</sup> East, it being cloudy, & next morning y<sup>e</sup> Sun seemed to me to rise West & go on y<sup>e</sup> North side of York, as if we had come in at y<sup>e</sup> West of y<sup>e</sup> Town. So strong was my imagination in this wrong notion, notwithstanding my compass & reason showing y<sup>e</sup> contrary very plain, I cannot yet be reconciled, which gives

me great reason to think more favourable of such people as by a wrong education or otherwise have harboured wrong opinions of things, & how hard it may be to convince them of y<sup>e</sup> contrary.

2<sup>d</sup>.—Through the wagons not being ready to set off, I tarry at Joseph Chambers's where we put up in York, but my employer & Samuel Lightfoot are gone to Carlisle. Robert Tuckness & his assistant are come here with their goods & proceeded to Carlisle.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—I went to one of y<sup>e</sup> wagoners who had some of y<sup>e</sup> goods that had been wet in y<sup>e</sup> river & got them dried & had all y<sup>e</sup> cutelry ware that was wet in y<sup>e</sup> kag to scour, as they had got some rust & oiled them; y<sup>e</sup> Dutch people helped me, for which & his boy going an errand to one of y<sup>e</sup> other wagoners cost 1<sup>s</sup>. It snowed & rained.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Samuel Lightfoot returned from Carlisle & we prepar'd to set off on our journey.

Before I leave York I may state, that y<sup>e</sup> day my employer left it, he & I, entered into articles specifying that I should receive as wages five Pounds pr. month for my services on this side of y<sup>e</sup> Kittatinny Hill, but crossing them towards y<sup>e</sup> Ohio, I was to have my wages increased in proportion to y<sup>e</sup> dangers & difficulties that I must be exposed to there & to assist my partner, truly both being bound in one hundred Pounds penalty; he not to discharge me nor I not to quit his service without at least one month's warning; after which we parted, my employer shewing much concern & tenderness in respect of gaining y<sup>e</sup> Indians to y<sup>e</sup> English interest. We left York & lodged that night at Jn<sup>o</sup> Abbots.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Went through Marsh Creek & crossed y<sup>e</sup> South Mountain at Black's Gap, it being many miles through, like between two mountains, not Steep at all but middling level road. Snow a little on y<sup>e</sup> ground. We proceeded to y<sup>e</sup> Falling Springs, being y<sup>e</sup> heads of Conogocheque, & so to Colonel Chambers, but lodged at one Robert Elliots, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from Chambers's.

6<sup>th</sup>.—My companion S. L. went back to Shippenstown to meet our employer & returned y<sup>e</sup> same night, being about ten miles, came with him Robert Tuckness & Ben<sup>e</sup> Dorsey; we parted next morning with them at Chambers they going toward Fort Loudon & we to Frederick, in Maryland.

7<sup>th</sup>.—We proceed'd as far as Jn<sup>e</sup> Mushets, where I tarried for y<sup>e</sup> wagons & Samuel went on to Fort Frederick. They were very Civil & there came about twenty of y<sup>e</sup> Virginia soldiers & had house room in y<sup>e</sup> kitchen; ye people hereaway seemed to regard any soberlike people, but much disaffected at y<sup>e</sup> behaviour of y<sup>e</sup> military men. This place had a little blockhouse above his dwelling house & was y<sup>e</sup> utmost frontier at this place near to Conogocheque.

8<sup>th</sup>.—The wagons came last night & stopt awhile at Mushets, drank some cider & set along. I followed them this morning & past them along toward Isaac Baker's on Conogocheque, within about 12 miles of Fort Frederick; y<sup>e</sup> ford was frozen over but y<sup>e</sup> ice rotten in places & in holes. I knew of no other ford, altho' there was one a little way higher up, that was then open. I led my horse a short way & thinking it not safe to lead him, I put up y<sup>e</sup> bridle & drove him along y<sup>e</sup> fording way, but as I understood after, y<sup>e</sup> ice had been broken before at y<sup>e</sup> far side by Sir John St. Clair's Coach, it was faulty, so that my horse broke in & got out again & y<sup>e</sup> cakes being thick & turning sideways he was wet all over, it being about belly deep. I got over safe & got my horse some corn at Baker's. Went back to meet y<sup>e</sup> wagons, to direct them to y<sup>e</sup> upper ford, where I found they were come themselves, but just as they came in sight a floe of ice came down over a fall in sight stop'd y<sup>e</sup> ford up, but y<sup>e</sup> creek open above it one of y<sup>e</sup> wagoners named W<sup>m</sup> McKenny rode through to me & we set to & broke y<sup>e</sup> ice in Baker's side, until we made a way for y<sup>e</sup> wagons & they got over safe and kept along their



journey, commonly not staying at night at any houses where y<sup>e</sup> people lived. It being late I stayed all night at Isaac Baker's, got good entertainment.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Set off this morning passed y<sup>e</sup> wagons & came to Fort Frederick where is a village of little houses, about 18 I think, without y<sup>e</sup> Fort it being constructed of good stonework & high, only one large gate to y<sup>e</sup> South & y<sup>e</sup> King's Storehouse fronting it on y<sup>e</sup> North. In y<sup>e</sup> Fort a row of Barracks on y<sup>e</sup> East & West sides, & great space in y<sup>e</sup> middle. I met my partner S. L., who had put up at James Long's, y<sup>e</sup> farthest house of y<sup>e</sup> village from y<sup>e</sup> fort, but y<sup>e</sup> best usage. I had some acquaintance with Long before when he lived nigh to Carlisle. We both went into y<sup>e</sup> fort to see where y<sup>e</sup> goods should be put; y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers were in liquor & imposed upon my partner & one King a sergeant assaulted him by taking hold of him, but when he got loose, he followed me up to where y<sup>e</sup> commanding officer Lieutenant Reily was, acquainted him of y<sup>e</sup> soldier's action, who came out & pushed y<sup>e</sup> soldier away toward y<sup>e</sup> guard-house & threatened him. We were shown where to place y<sup>e</sup> goods & a room for ourselves in y<sup>e</sup> Barracks if we chose. I asked Samuel to take a walk to meet y<sup>e</sup> wagons, which we did & met them about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile off, upon which I told y<sup>e</sup> drivers that y<sup>e</sup> soldiers were in liquor & not to mind them at all but only their own business, which they agreed to. We had y<sup>e</sup> four wagons into y<sup>e</sup> fort up to y<sup>e</sup> King's Store to unload, but y<sup>e</sup> same soldier wanted to beat one of y<sup>e</sup> drivers only for wearing a green jacket, but y<sup>e</sup> Lieutenant pushed y<sup>e</sup> soldier down & put his foot on his neck & swore he would murder him if he did not behave better. After he let him up, he was for attacking our carter again & said he must beat him even if y<sup>e</sup> Lieutenant killed him for it; y<sup>e</sup> carter's brother being there requested of him to leave y<sup>e</sup> soldier's sight & go out of y<sup>e</sup> fort, but I told him to come up in y<sup>e</sup> wagon to me & help me to put out

y<sup>e</sup> goods & not be afraid, which he did & y<sup>e</sup> soldier went off. We unloaded y<sup>e</sup> goods & dismissed y<sup>e</sup> wagons & took up our quarters at James Long's.

10<sup>th</sup>.—A snowy wet day, we examin'd y<sup>e</sup> goods opened y<sup>e</sup> cask that y<sup>e</sup> Lead was lost out of & found about 90<sup>lb</sup> missing, upon weighing it, it belong'd to Reeter's load.

12<sup>th</sup>.—This day Samuel went to Virginia, & I found our salt & my dried Apples wet & spread them to dry.

15<sup>th</sup>.—This evening Samuel returned from Virginia & concluding to go homewards after a days rest if no tidings came from our employer.

16<sup>th</sup>.—This morning before we were up, I told Samuel that I believed his journey homewards would be stop'd as I dreamed in y<sup>e</sup> night of having wagons loaded again at y<sup>e</sup> Fort with our goods, so this night we received orders to get wagons if we could & proceed to Cumberland.

18<sup>th</sup>.—I set out in order to find some wagons & in quest of our landlord which was about Conogochegue buying flour to send to Pittsburgh. Road about y<sup>e</sup> most of this day but could not find Long, came to Isaac Baker's & stayed all night.

19<sup>th</sup>.—I started soon this morning & crossed Conogochegue & went to one Vulgamors near y<sup>e</sup> mouth of y<sup>e</sup> Creek, but Long was gone to Swearingames in Virginia, so I looked for him no longer, but rode about the neighbourhood but could get wagons at 15<sup>s</sup> pr day, which had been their usual wages, but I did not like that way, so they would not agree by y<sup>e</sup> Hundred under 16 or 17<sup>s</sup>, so I proposed by y<sup>e</sup> load, they taking each 13<sup>cwt</sup> but I could get a sufficient number of them at £10 a load of 13<sup>cwt</sup> so I avoided closing a bargain with them, letting them know that if we employed them we would send them notice thereof. So I returned home & set my course y<sup>e</sup> nighest way from y<sup>e</sup> creek to Fort Frederick, passing through many places that were deserted by y<sup>e</sup> people, but made my way home about dark.

20<sup>th</sup>.—It was concluded that I should go into Virginia & see how I could procure wagons there, & might attend Hopwell Monthly Meeting, which I was desirous to do, but y<sup>e</sup> ice drove so thick in Potomack that I could not get over; it was bitter cold & y<sup>e</sup> river about closing up again.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Being y<sup>e</sup> first day of y<sup>e</sup> week, we spent y<sup>e</sup> day in reading & sober conversation; y<sup>e</sup> family held y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterian principles, but not so biggoted as some, nor did not practise formal praying or singing, nor y<sup>e</sup> man when at home would hardly say any grace while we were there. I think in sitting quiet listining to some of our books read this night, I enjoyed as great satisfaction of mind as almost ever I have in any Meeting; y<sup>e</sup> woman likeing a book of Samuel's called Fruits of Retirement he gave it to her.

22<sup>d</sup>.—The weather being now moderate Samuel set off to a ferry 12 or 14 miles down y<sup>e</sup> river to go into Virginia, as we heard it was passible, in order to hire wagons there, tho' we had y<sup>e</sup> offers of many canoe men to take y<sup>e</sup> goods to Cumberland for 5 or 6<sup>s</sup> pr Hundred & some offered security, but our employer chusing wagons, we endeavoured to get them. I was a means to save one of y<sup>e</sup> King's Flats here today, which was like to be drove away; had her secured in a safe place.

24<sup>th</sup>.—This day came here about a dozen of y<sup>e</sup> soldiers from Cumberland, deserted; y<sup>e</sup> Small Pox is very bad there.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Samuel returned from Virginia having engaged some wagons at 13<sup>s</sup> pr Cwt. Lieut Reily very bad with y<sup>e</sup> Small Pox; I visited him & he told me if I knew his condition I would pity his case.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Lieutenant Reily died last night. We spend our time now in reading & writing.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Lieut. Reily buried in our sight as we sat in y<sup>e</sup> house; passed by our door, his arms on y<sup>e</sup> coffin; y<sup>e</sup> soldiers fired three vollies over him; he was reconed a man of great service in y<sup>e</sup> last campaign.

30<sup>th</sup>.—The river being fast frozen, we projected as it was not passable for y<sup>e</sup> wagons nor to haul y<sup>e</sup> goods on, for one of us to get some help at y<sup>e</sup> ferry & cut y<sup>e</sup> ice out of y<sup>e</sup> way of y<sup>e</sup> flat & y<sup>e</sup> other go meet y<sup>e</sup> wagons, y<sup>e</sup> latter fell to me. Hired a horse at y<sup>e</sup> ferry house in Virginia side & went off in about 6 or 7 miles, met one of y<sup>e</sup> wagons coming, so I return'd & helped to cut y<sup>e</sup> ice which we had done against y<sup>e</sup> wagon came, so proceeded to y<sup>e</sup> fort, being about 3 miles from Hoglan's ferry & loaded that wagon, y<sup>e</sup> others did not come.

31<sup>st</sup>.—I went down to Hoglan's ferry & heard that y<sup>e</sup> wagons was to come today, so returned, but they are not come.

2<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Three wagons came late this evening & loaded some of them by candle light; y<sup>e</sup> fourth y<sup>t</sup> we expected has disappointed us, these are Jn<sup>o</sup> Jenkins W<sup>m</sup> Patersons & James Blars, of Tuscorora, in Virginia, so meeting one Thomas Connely, from Virginia, Samuel agreed with him to take y<sup>e</sup> fifth load & let him have 5<sup>s</sup> upon it; y<sup>e</sup> man leaving an order on our landlord James Long for y<sup>e</sup> sum as he owed him for a horse & Long not being at home he would not set off until he seen him or get y<sup>e</sup> money, but getting it of S. L. he also disappointed us & left y<sup>e</sup> one to answer y<sup>e</sup> other, & having taken y<sup>e</sup> Small Pox he died of it.

2<sup>d</sup>.—I set off in order to go to Winchester, to see if we could have some Pennsylvania money upon exchange at Philadelphia so I had dinner at John Mendenhalls. Lodged at William Joliffs that night, estimated 30 miles from Frederick.

3<sup>d</sup>.—Went to Winchester (my Horse lame this morning) got y<sup>e</sup> grant of 150<sup>s</sup> of Levy, y<sup>e</sup> Jew, of Pennsylvania money upon Exchange at Philadelphia; eat Dinner whith y<sup>e</sup> Jew at Bushes Tavern & neith<sup>r</sup> of us would eat Beacon but I treated him to a pint of Wine.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Returned last night to William Joliffs & went today to Hopwell Meeting, being y<sup>e</sup> first day of y<sup>e</sup> week



—went home with In° Ridgeway & stayed all night, being on my way back toward Frederick.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Dined at Mendenhalls & fed my lame horse and bought a keg of Butler.

6<sup>th</sup>.—We rest this day waiting for y° other wagon and on

7<sup>th</sup>.—Samuel set off to get Tho° Kenton & packhorses to carry y° goods to Pittsburg, having received letters to that purpose last night & we have taken a lease of a house at Cumberland.

9<sup>th</sup>.—This Day Connoly & his wagon was to come by appointment but it rain'd almost all y° day, so I expect him tomorrow. I went to y° ferry this evening but no account of y° wagon coming; y° ice broke up & very high flood in y° River.

10<sup>th</sup>.—I made ready to go after y° wagons into Virginia & might meet Connoly if coming to receive y° load, but Henry Paulin just coming over y° ferry was in danger of being drowned, y° ice runing so thick & y° river so high he discouraged to attempt it. As I had my horse saddled & was for setting off Geo. Clark persuaded me it was double y° distance to go y° road y° wagons went, & that by staying a day or two y° creeks might be passable on this side of y° river; it being about 60 miles & my horse still lame, I concluded to stay & take y° nighest course y° wagons having so long a start of me.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Made an invoice of y° goods that remain here, & left a copy thereof with Doctor Henry Hain's being commander here at present, taking his receipt for y° same & leaving a receipt & article for Connoly to sign, if he came with his wagon for y° goods, for y° Doctor to have from him for Samuel, against his return.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Wet most of y° night; y° creeks very high & my horse lame. Set off this morning to Tho° Mills about 4 miles from Frederick, but y° bridge being broke by y° flood, it was in y° night when I got to Mills's. As my hatchet was lost I bought a tomahawk.



14<sup>th</sup>.—Lodged at Mills; last night it thundered, rained & lightened. Before morning fell a Snow about ankle deep & y<sup>e</sup> bushes all covered with it. I crossed Liking Creek, being very high, early this morning & kept along a path until I came into y<sup>e</sup> road. Having no company I set out alone but could not go much out of a walk. Some miles distant I missed y<sup>e</sup> old road & keeping y<sup>e</sup> new, which was not finished I came to a gut by y<sup>e</sup> river, which was very high with back water, and the bridge over it not finished. I sounded it at y<sup>e</sup> fording with a long pole I cut, & found it so high I concluded to head it, led my horse up a steep hill above it & then along it some distance I found y<sup>e</sup> old Road. In crossing big Chinnalawas my horse blundered, and y<sup>e</sup> water got into one of my boot-tops. About noon sat down by a tree & fed myself & horse, y<sup>e</sup> wind being high & blowing snow showers. I came to Sidling Hill, it is very steep & high & only a foot path along it & a smart creek runs close at y<sup>e</sup> foot so that in case a man should stumble off y<sup>e</sup> path, unless he could be caught by some sapling or bush could not stop until he went into y<sup>e</sup> creek. My horse lame & y<sup>e</sup> snow balling his feet made his passing something doubtful, but I lead him along & got safe across, but in swimming y<sup>e</sup> creek y<sup>e</sup> water got into my boots & saddle-bags. I emptied y<sup>e</sup> bags & walked until I was warm. Some miles further on met some packhorses from Pittsburgh; y<sup>e</sup> men told me it was 19 miles to Col Cressap's & I must swim y<sup>e</sup> creek. It being late, and about 4 or 5 miles further, I began to look for a lodging place, which I found under y<sup>e</sup> side of a great mountain in a hollow stump. After I cleared y<sup>e</sup> snow out & made a floor of bark & a great fire at y<sup>e</sup> door, I lodged with more comfort than I expected & slept some.

15<sup>th</sup>.—After feeding my horse & refreshing myself proceeded, but took y<sup>e</sup> advantage of y<sup>e</sup> old town creek so as not to swim it. Being very cold I walked turn

about & rode until I came to Cressap's, where I stayed & put my horse to hay that night, as I heard y<sup>e</sup> wagons had not yet crossed y<sup>e</sup> river. Was very kindly used by y<sup>e</sup> Colonel.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Got to Cumberland about noon, it being about 15 miles from Cressaps. Delivered Sir John St. Clair's letter to y<sup>e</sup> Commandant, who said they would assist us all they could. He came with me to our rented house, got it cleared of two drunken women, and a soldier that helped to clean y<sup>e</sup> house, making too big a fire in y<sup>e</sup> hearth, y<sup>e</sup> chimney being very foul, it took fire which cleaned it well, without damage. It proved a timely warning to me before y<sup>e</sup> goods came.

17<sup>th</sup>.—I walked up y<sup>e</sup> river with Lieutenant Linn, who commanded in Cap<sup>t</sup> Paris's absence & wrote to my employer.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Being y<sup>e</sup> first day of y<sup>e</sup> week, y<sup>e</sup> wagons came this afternoon. I received y<sup>e</sup> goods according to y<sup>e</sup> invoices, y<sup>e</sup> officers & many spectators by. The wagoners complain much of their bargain being cut down by y<sup>e</sup> rains, I sent for a quart of liquor to y<sup>e</sup> Commissary & gave it to those that tarried all night, they being wet. One of them had an invoice of y<sup>e</sup> most of his load which they had weighed at home, as he said by a pair of stilliards that on one side weighed 112 lbs. to y<sup>e</sup> hundred, by which that weight overrun ours, but I told him I believed they had a wrong notion of ye stilliards & I cast up their invoice allowing only to be 100<sup>lb</sup> to each Hundred & it fell some what short of our weight, however, I missed nothing.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Opened some things that had received some wet & put them in a position for drying. Being asked to dine with y<sup>e</sup> officers I went, but did not tarry long. Rain much of y<sup>e</sup> night.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Lodged here. Last night Magnus Tate came from Pittsburgh, being an old acquaintance in Youghland & Isaac Baker came back & lodged in y<sup>e</sup> Fort. I sent a long letter with him to my employer.

21<sup>st</sup>.—The end next y<sup>e</sup> fort of y<sup>e</sup> Bridge over Wills's Creek fell by y<sup>e</sup> flood washing y<sup>e</sup> bank away, was mended today.

23<sup>d</sup>.—My horse missing this morning, & after hunting this side of y<sup>e</sup> creek & over y<sup>e</sup> bridge in vain, I found his track over y<sup>e</sup> Ford below y<sup>e</sup> bridge & followed it along up y<sup>e</sup> hill, and about one mile from y<sup>e</sup> fort toward home, another track with it. They left y<sup>e</sup> road toward y<sup>e</sup> river & I lost it, but took a course about a mile further down toward y<sup>e</sup> river, where I came upon him & a mare of y<sup>e</sup> Captains lying down in y<sup>e</sup> woods; brought both back.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Paris spent awhile with me, & I provided some firewood y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> day.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Being asked I went to dine at y<sup>e</sup> Captain's; being my countryman I presented him with y<sup>e</sup> little book wrote by y<sup>e</sup> New England man & y<sup>e</sup> paper y<sup>t</sup> was printed in Philadelphia in regard to gaining y<sup>e</sup> Indians to our interest, & I gave his wife some of my dried Apples. Was persuaded by y<sup>e</sup> Captain to draw some provisions & not buy bread which is so dear, altho our biscuits had come.

26<sup>th</sup>.—As my oats was almost exhausted & y<sup>e</sup> officers persuading me that my horse would in all probability be stolen from me, especially if I took him to Pittsburgh, I sent him off by a Dutch baker that was going home to Conestoga, in Pensilvania, to be left at W<sup>m</sup> Joliff in Hopewell, with a letter.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Came here today Lieut. Scott with a reinforcement of about 20 men from Raystown. He is a young man from Bucks County, also two of my former scholars who were born in y<sup>e</sup> Valley & another acquaintance from y<sup>e</sup> same place, all seeming glad to see me.

3<sup>mo</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>.—Caught a mess of Trout & Fall fish just below y<sup>e</sup> house in y<sup>e</sup> River, and y<sup>e</sup> Captain dined with me.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Being asked to dine at y<sup>e</sup> Captains I excused myself being indisposed. Snowed some this morning.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Very cold; I keep close at the house but cannot keep warm enough.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Very Cold; as I dined today, y<sup>e</sup> Doctor called & took a share.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Some of Geo: Clark's company that had been at Pittsburgh with goods & liquors, called here today, they say they suffered much from y<sup>e</sup> Cold.

13<sup>th</sup>.—One of my old scholars being a soldier came & made me a pot-pie of part of half a quarter of Venison I bought & some of my beef.

14<sup>th</sup>.—My friend Samuel Lightfoot came this evening; he left y<sup>e</sup> pack-horses at Sidling Hill, of which I am very glad.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Employed Adam M<sup>c</sup>Carty, an old trader, & Jn<sup>o</sup> Slater to help pack y<sup>e</sup> goods & one Campbell helped me to bend y<sup>e</sup> lead.

16<sup>th</sup>.—It rained almost all this day, but we packed y<sup>e</sup> goods in y<sup>e</sup> house, y<sup>e</sup> packhorses lie about 4 miles down y<sup>e</sup> river on y<sup>e</sup> far side, at a place called y<sup>e</sup> Swan ponds, where there is pasture.

17<sup>th</sup>.—We sent a lad two days since after a man who had engaged to Samuel to come with 12 packhorses but y<sup>e</sup> lad has brought a letter from his Son, that y<sup>e</sup> father was gone to Winchester & he knew nothing more concerning y<sup>e</sup> affair—y<sup>e</sup> river so high that y<sup>e</sup> packhorses cannot get over.

18<sup>th</sup>.—We cross'd y<sup>e</sup> river in a little canoe (that y<sup>e</sup> Maryland soldiers had made to desert in but were stop'd) & Samuel went down to see how they fared, there being three young men Friends in y<sup>e</sup> company Viz. Joseph Wright, Jn<sup>o</sup> Mickle & James Hammond from York County.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Having loads enough ready packed for y<sup>e</sup> 34 horses employed, we projected to go down with y<sup>e</sup> canoe & ferry over y<sup>e</sup> goods & swim y<sup>e</sup> horses, which was exe-

cuted, so got y<sup>e</sup> horses loaded about 2 of y<sup>e</sup> clock. Tho<sup>s</sup> Kenton came whilst loading, but as he must return to Philadelphia, was rejected from coming after us. Set off about 2, I went about a mile to convey them but must tarry to receive y<sup>e</sup> goods to come by James Long from Frederick & remain until y<sup>e</sup> packhorses return to take them a second trip, it being concluded to take them this time no further than to a certain place on y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela where Samuel is to proceed & get a bateau or two, to come from Pittsburgh there & receive them.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Last night Samuel returned here having forgot somethings and stayed 'till morning, y<sup>e</sup> horses going but about 4 miles distant yesterday. It rained in y<sup>e</sup> night & some this morning; Samuel set off again and carried a tarpaulin they had forgot.

22<sup>d</sup>.—This morning Lieut. Linn called to see me, & having borrow'd Barcleys Apology of me before, he found how much we were against excess, & calling y<sup>e</sup> days & months by y<sup>e</sup> Heathen names, & strove to vindicate both, arguing that y<sup>e</sup> use of many things that we counted excess helped to promote trade & augmented y<sup>e</sup> Revenues of y<sup>e</sup> Crown; but upon telling him that such excesses was a means to deprive y<sup>e</sup> subjects of an Heavenly King would be no means of gaining a blessing, & on reasoning some concerning y<sup>e</sup> names of y<sup>e</sup> months & days he gave out & went away.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Jn<sup>s</sup> Slater, although he is no soldier, received 250 stripes this day & was drumm'd out over y<sup>e</sup> bridge not to be seen here any more after six days time, upon y<sup>e</sup> penalty of receiving 500, for carrying off some old Copper hoops & old mountings of guns, which I hear he says he bought of a man that brought them from Pittsburgh.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Returned, Joseph Wright one of our packhorse men in quest of six of y<sup>e</sup> horses that stray'd from y<sup>e</sup> company y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> at night about 34 miles from here, they



being within about 8 miles of y<sup>e</sup> first crossing of y<sup>e</sup> Youghogany. Having exhausted most of their foreage they have he says, divided 5 of y<sup>e</sup> lost horses's loads, leaving one load of Lead & carried y<sup>e</sup> rest along—fell some snow today.

25<sup>th</sup>.—We wait for Adam McCarty & a man of Geo. Clark's that went out to seek two horses of Clark's & a load of skins that was left near y<sup>e</sup> first crossing of y<sup>e</sup> Youghogany who promised y<sup>e</sup> young man that is to come, to look for our horses as they have not returned here.

26<sup>th</sup>.—We went up Wills's Creek along Braddocks old road to where it comes through y<sup>e</sup> mountain but could see nothing of y<sup>e</sup> horse tracks. McCarty & y<sup>e</sup> other man returned with their load of skins, but have no account of their own horses nor ours; they say that y<sup>e</sup> snow that fell on y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> is very deep out about y<sup>e</sup> Little Meadows & the mountains.

27<sup>th</sup>.—I engaged Adam McCarty to go back with Joseph Wright tomorrow to hunt our horses, but as it rained much in y<sup>e</sup> night & this morning, they judged y<sup>e</sup> creeks to be too high.

28<sup>th</sup>.—We took a walk near two miles up y<sup>e</sup> river & it beginning to rain, turned up y<sup>e</sup> mountains above y<sup>e</sup> river & went across into y<sup>e</sup> road that goes to Pittsburgh & so returned, but no sign of y<sup>e</sup> horse tracks coming this way; it thunderd & is exceeding warm, y<sup>e</sup> creeks too high.

29<sup>th</sup>.—It has continued to rain all y<sup>e</sup> night & this day & night to about 12 of y<sup>e</sup> clock it also snowed some. The river rose from about dark until midnight y<sup>e</sup> matter of 4 feet. I was under some concern of mind relateing to y<sup>e</sup> goods that are on their way coming from Frederick & the people out toward Pittsburgh, their being so much rain & y<sup>e</sup> river very high so that y<sup>e</sup> most of y<sup>e</sup> bridges on Wills' creek is swept off. I could not sleep until near 12 of y<sup>e</sup> clock, when I heard Adam McCarty,

Jn<sup>o</sup> Trotter & Slater and their wives talking & busy out of doors, they moving into an out house higher up on y<sup>e</sup> bank, y<sup>e</sup> river having overflowed into their houses, but not having y<sup>e</sup> good nature to acquaint their neighbours. I being suspicious got up & opening y<sup>e</sup> door, saw y<sup>e</sup> water coming in at y<sup>e</sup> gate before y<sup>e</sup> door, made haste & got my clothes on, & my boots, & aroused y<sup>e</sup> young man that came back after y<sup>e</sup> horses, who was asleep, lighted a candle & got all y<sup>e</sup> goods that lay on y<sup>e</sup> lower floor, upon y<sup>e</sup> loft, only some lead & y<sup>e</sup> cask of biscuit, which we put on y<sup>e</sup> top of an empty cask; put my bed & blankets up stairs & laid our chest on y<sup>e</sup> bed-steds with some other things. By this time y<sup>e</sup> water came in at y<sup>e</sup> door of y<sup>e</sup> house, we waded out about middle leg deep and went to y<sup>e</sup> house where was about half of our powder that was left. I went in & set y<sup>e</sup> kegs on y<sup>e</sup> top of some coal that lay high up, & so we got to a house where y<sup>e</sup> water did not reach & tarried until morning with several others that I called up.

30<sup>th</sup>.—The river rose suddenly & fell as quickly; about ten today y<sup>e</sup> water abated out of y<sup>e</sup> house, doing us no damage save carrying off some firewood out of y<sup>e</sup> yard.

4<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Got a horse of Lieutenant Jam<sup>s</sup> Gorrell to carry y<sup>e</sup> men over y<sup>e</sup> creeks & carry their provision & blankets & sent them off this afternoon as y<sup>e</sup> weather seems pretty fair-like, to hunt y<sup>e</sup> horses. This evening came William Clemmens, one of y<sup>e</sup> canoe men that James Long sent with our goods & informed me that on y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> of last month, at night, y<sup>e</sup> river rising so high and y<sup>e</sup> canoe lay in a gut by one of Cressap's Bottoms & they fastened it with a long rope, as y<sup>e</sup> Rain was so constant and went to Cressap's themselves & tarried that night. The back water surrounding y<sup>e</sup> Bottom made an island, that they had to wade out from y<sup>e</sup> Bottom where y<sup>e</sup> canoe lay. Next day as they went to see it with a canoe of Cressap's they found in overset,

by reason of some trees driving down with y<sup>e</sup> current. Two of y<sup>e</sup> small bales, y<sup>e</sup> cask of shot lies in y<sup>e</sup> gut & may be got out, and 2 saddles, 12 tin kettles, y<sup>e</sup> Gridiron & more lies in y<sup>e</sup> Bottom there yet.

2<sup>d</sup>.—Upon this account I let y<sup>e</sup> man have some provisions as they were out, & was for returning home & carrying what of y<sup>e</sup> goods they had found back to James Longs, so I borrowed a creature & went down to y<sup>e</sup> canoe & helped to search y<sup>e</sup> gut but all was found that lay in it before I came. One of y<sup>e</sup> men that I sent off from Cressap's to stay by what was found whilst I dined striped before I got there & waided through y<sup>e</sup> gut & found sundry things. I charged them to put y<sup>e</sup> things they had found to dry, & search diligently for y<sup>e</sup> rest, for they were liable to suffer y<sup>e</sup> damage of what was not found. I took particular account of what they had found & let them know what was missing, so about dark returned to Cressap's & stayed all night. The young man that had been sent to look up y<sup>e</sup> horses had returned & followed me to Cressap's as I had ordered, having found four of y<sup>e</sup> horses, for I was in y<sup>e</sup> mind to stay some days to help look for y<sup>e</sup> goods, notwithstanding I did not reckon it should be my employer's loss.

3<sup>d</sup>.—Returned home & made ready to set off y<sup>e</sup> next day to look up y<sup>e</sup> other two horses, as we had horses now to ride. Cut up a hide we had in soak for ropes & put them to stretch & dry. I had in view of taking four loads of lead, but declined as I judged it would hinder us to hunt y<sup>e</sup> horses.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Employed Adam McCarty to go with us, & not much pasture being here we took y<sup>e</sup> 4 horses with us making y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> one to carry our blankets & provisions, searched each side of y<sup>e</sup> rode & lodged at y<sup>e</sup> Little Meadows.

5<sup>th</sup>.—We searched up & down y<sup>e</sup> Meadows this morning & I walked as far as y<sup>e</sup> Little Youghagany, taking another course back, but no late signs of horses. About

noon we set off to y<sup>e</sup> place y<sup>e</sup> horses had strayed from M<sup>c</sup>Carty taking off y<sup>e</sup> Road on one side & I on y<sup>e</sup> other looking for tracks & dung as we went, letting y<sup>e</sup> young man keep y<sup>e</sup> road; very intricate place I pass'd through, up hills and down deep Vales, & runs with swamps y<sup>e</sup> young man stop'd until we overtook him & so we proceed'd to y<sup>e</sup> place our party lay y<sup>e</sup> night y<sup>e</sup> horses left them. I found a man's skull with y<sup>e</sup> teeth in y<sup>e</sup> upper jaw, lying in a swamp.—I called y<sup>e</sup> place Golgotha.

6<sup>th</sup>.—This morning found a horse of Geo. Clark's that was left some miles from here in y<sup>e</sup> Winter he failing with a load of skins; 10<sup>s</sup> being bid for taking him up. I told M<sup>c</sup>Carty to bring him along & get y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>; so we brought him & on this side of George's creek, coming on y<sup>e</sup> tracks of y<sup>e</sup> horses coming down. Returned to Cumberland in y<sup>e</sup> night.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Being informed by Cap<sup>t</sup> Paris that y<sup>e</sup> goods was to come to day, such as were saved with y<sup>e</sup> canoe, I tarried at home & cut up a hide into ropes, having another cut & drying, in order to have these goods made into loads against y<sup>e</sup> packhorses return & sent M<sup>c</sup>Carty & Joseph Wright up Wills's creek about six miles, to look y<sup>e</sup> two horses as y<sup>e</sup> other four that we found made that way, but they brought no intelligence of them. Y<sup>e</sup> Canoe came before they return'd & had found all y<sup>e</sup> goods only 1 of y<sup>e</sup> 4 small bales, y<sup>e</sup> 2 casks of Tobacco & a large cask with sundries, 1 keg of Pipes, my saddle & 3 Pounds of Tobacco, 1 Shirt &c.; y<sup>e</sup> saddles being y<sup>e</sup> most damaged of any y<sup>e</sup> rest I took them into my care, letting them have a receipt according as they seemed to deserve.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Had busy work in sending Joseph Wright off with y<sup>e</sup> 4 horses that was found of y<sup>e</sup> strays, with y<sup>e</sup> remainder of y<sup>e</sup> Bar Lead, y<sup>e</sup> Hatchets & about 100 cwt. of Shot, each horse having about 150 lb. for a load. Ordered him to proceed until he met y<sup>e</sup> packhorses &



hide his loads there & return with them, with y<sup>e</sup> same horses & when he was gone had y<sup>e</sup> blankets all of y<sup>e</sup> large Bale that was wet to spread out, likewise y<sup>e</sup> contents of three of y<sup>e</sup> small bales, it being a warm day.

9<sup>th</sup>.—M<sup>c</sup>Carty & I packed up goods to day, made 9½ loads up, in order to have them ready when y<sup>e</sup> horses returns which I expect now soon, as I heard that Samuel was got to Pittsburgh this day week in order to get a bateau up to receive y<sup>e</sup> goods that went out. Here has been odious work to day amongst y<sup>e</sup> soldiers with drunkenness & fighting & y<sup>e</sup> women also. Some officers being come to 'list y<sup>e</sup> Marylanders into y<sup>e</sup> Royal Americans & as I believe sent some men with liquor before them, they 'listed I heard nine of them to day. Thunder & rain this night.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Adam M<sup>c</sup>Carty & I finished packing y<sup>e</sup> goods this evening & I paid him for two days packing 6<sup>s</sup> & for three days hunting y<sup>e</sup> horses 6<sup>s</sup>. I think I can pack better now than him, for I shewed him methods that he preferred to his own.

This evening returned & came 31 of y<sup>e</sup> packhorses, leaving 2 by y<sup>e</sup> way, viz. 1 of James Hammon's roan, & 1 of young Jacob Bales gray, that gave out. Received a letter from S. L. dated y<sup>e</sup> 6 inst. at y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Redstone creek, on y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela.

13<sup>th</sup>.—One of y<sup>e</sup> drivers having gotten some hurt on his leg & is inflamed, he insists for this days rest & thinks he can proceed tomorrow on y<sup>e</sup> journey out again, & y<sup>e</sup> drivers generally insisting that some more of y<sup>e</sup> horses are like to fail, having no food but y<sup>e</sup> young grass, I allowed them to tarry this day.

14<sup>th</sup>.—As we had y<sup>e</sup> loads out & ready to set off this morning, it began to rain & continues dull & cloudy so we stopt going. I let Cap<sup>t</sup> Paris's wife have one of y<sup>e</sup> little Brass Kettles, which weighed 2½<sup>lb</sup>, I likewise, let Ross's wife have one of y<sup>e</sup> least tin kettles, as we buy milk from her.



15<sup>th</sup>.—This being a good day I sent off y<sup>e</sup> horses with all y<sup>e</sup> goods only 2 kegs of Pipes & 19 packsaddles; sent to Cressap's for 6<sup>lb</sup> of Sugar as Samuel ordered to get some at any rate. Richard Cocks's mare gave out about noon.

16<sup>th</sup>.—This morning returned y<sup>e</sup> man from Cressap's & brought me only 4<sup>lbs</sup> of Sugar. Today is very wet & our drivers will ly by.

17<sup>th</sup>.—With some considerable impatience I wait here for Adam M<sup>c</sup>Carty returning with some milch cows he went to buy, one of which I sent money for & am to have my choice when they come. We heard by some that came here from Ray's Town, that y<sup>e</sup> Indians have killed & taken some by Loyalhannan.

18<sup>th</sup>.—After having stayed until today, I went down as far as Coliers this morning to enquire after M<sup>c</sup>Carty, but no account of him I returned & got y<sup>e</sup> Captain's wife to engage to take y<sup>e</sup> cow if he brought one, & pay us y<sup>e</sup> money, so I set off about 2 p. m. after y<sup>e</sup> pack-horses & walked y<sup>e</sup> most of y<sup>e</sup> way, so kept on until I got to y<sup>e</sup> Little Meadows, some time about y<sup>e</sup> middle of y<sup>e</sup> night & made a fire, so stayed until morning.

19<sup>th</sup>.—In y<sup>e</sup> morning it rained, but I set off & overtook y<sup>e</sup> company in about four miles farther, so they got loaded & proceeded to y<sup>e</sup> Great Bear Camps within Seven miles of y<sup>e</sup> Big Youghogany. Four loads of Lead being left there; y<sup>e</sup> Wolves having destroyed y<sup>e</sup> ropes we were obliged to encamp there.

20<sup>th</sup>.—It Rained a good deal in y<sup>e</sup> night & this morning, but abating awhile we got up y<sup>e</sup> horses & loaded them, covering each load. It rained smartly whilst we were loading, but I was for getting over y<sup>e</sup> Big Youghogany least it should rise too high for us; but we got over safe, one blanket falling off as we crossed & it floating down about 40 perches one of y<sup>e</sup> drivers Thomas Mercer stripped all off & waded up to his armpits & brought it out, & so we encamped near y<sup>e</sup>

river upon a little creek-side, as there was no more good pasture until we go to y<sup>e</sup> Great Meadows. This evening James Hammons & John Mickle killed a bear, which is good eating.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Proceeded to y<sup>e</sup> Great Meadows. Three of y<sup>e</sup> creatures gave out about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of y<sup>e</sup> way, but I tarried behind & brought them along. Put two loads on my own horse, so got them all to y<sup>e</sup> Meadows, where is good pasture. One of them belonging to William Underwood died in y<sup>e</sup> night; he could not swallow grass when he chewed it, but put it out.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Cristy Miller killed two Turkey cocks this morning. Its concluded to lie by here today to let y<sup>e</sup> creatures rest & feed or else we cannot get y<sup>e</sup> goods to Redstone Creek, as all of them are loaded.

23<sup>d</sup>.—As y<sup>e</sup> pasture is so good here, I think it prudent to let y<sup>e</sup> horses stay here this day also, as we cannot get all y<sup>e</sup> loads along without y<sup>e</sup> horses that failed last Seventh day & must carry y<sup>e</sup> dead horse's loads also amongst them, & as these two days is fine weather, it is some mortification to me to wait. There was an account come to Cumberland before I left it, of two men being killed & four taken near to Loyalhannon; y<sup>e</sup> officers at Cumberland advised me not to follow y<sup>e</sup> lads & horses, esteeming it too dangerous, but I did not follow their advice.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Set off this morning & came to Guest's Place & met an express going to Cumberland. I received a letter from Samuel, the express & y<sup>e</sup> letter mentioning of many people killed & taken on y<sup>e</sup> other road.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Proceed'd today to a Bottom upon Redstone Creek, about 9 miles from Guest's Place. As our creatures are so weak we cannot go long journeys. It rained some as we went & smartly whilst unloading, but piled up y<sup>e</sup> goods & covered them, none being hurt by it. In this Bottom grows plenty of Clover, & I found some pieces of Stone Coal that burns well.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Came to y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Redstone Creek upon y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela & piled up our goods & covered them; it rained in y<sup>e</sup> night.

27<sup>th</sup>.—We spent this day in making a bark canoe. It thundered & rained this night.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Like for a wet day y<sup>e</sup> lads killed a deer & a cub Bear. We have made y<sup>e</sup> canoe so that I intend to set off tomorrow if so be it is not very wet. I am to take down some strouds & saddles according to Samuel's letter.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Set off down y<sup>e</sup> river this morning with one of y<sup>e</sup> hands; took three bundles of Strouds & three Saddles; got as far as ye mouth of ye Youhogany; struck up a fire & tarried until morning.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Got to Pittsburgh about ten of ye clock this day, where I found Samuel sick of ye Measels.

5<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—This evening got y<sup>e</sup> skins & furs made up & got y<sup>e</sup> grant of bateaus & men to carry them up to y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Redstone & bring down y<sup>e</sup> goods.

2<sup>d</sup>.—Bateaus set off this morning; one of our pack-horse drivers entrusted to return w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> goods who is to stay here as he can talk y<sup>e</sup> Indian tongue. Several Indians have been here dealing, who seemed well satisfied.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Here was an Indian who had a white woman, he seemed glad to see y<sup>e</sup> Quakers & y<sup>e</sup> woman mentioned that she wondered at y<sup>e</sup> esteem y<sup>e</sup> Indians professed for y<sup>e</sup> Quakers.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Here was y<sup>e</sup> Crow Indian & family; they are very difficult to deal with & recond thievish.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Delaware George being lying on y<sup>e</sup> Island over y<sup>e</sup> River rescued a prisoner that had made his escape, & hollowing to be brought over, y<sup>e</sup> young warriors wanted him & was going to kill him.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Some of y<sup>e</sup> soldiers being out hunting over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela, were fired on by some French Indians one killed & 2 missing. A party sent out, who buried

y<sup>e</sup> man & found y<sup>e</sup> blood of two Indians that was killed or wounded & carried off.

16<sup>th</sup>.—A party gone in quest of y<sup>e</sup> enemy; some of y<sup>e</sup> Indians that lay here gone likewise & very eager to come up with them as y<sup>e</sup> white men relate. I am about making a dictionary of y<sup>e</sup> names of goods in y<sup>e</sup> Delaware tongue.

17<sup>th</sup>.—This day come some pork & 2 bullocks, 2 others lost last night. Received a letter from Lieut. Linn at Cumberland signifying that our Cow had arrived & in y<sup>e</sup> care of Capt. Paris's wife.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Bought a rifle gun of one Donnelson, that came as Packhorse Master. The Indians took y<sup>e</sup> other 2 bullocks off in y<sup>e</sup> night, as they tracked them.

19<sup>th</sup>.—It rained smartly & y<sup>e</sup> packhorses with a command of men have gone back. The Colonel hired 2 Indians today to go on some errand, but returned having met some French & Indians coming this way.

20<sup>th</sup>.—This morning two strange Indians hollowed to be brought over y<sup>e</sup> river, but upon confessing that they came from y<sup>e</sup> French & one of them a Tawa, they were denyed being sent for, but told to come in another canoe that lay in the far side, which when they found we would not send over, they came in y<sup>e</sup> canoe, desiring to be taken to y<sup>e</sup> Colonel & see y<sup>e</sup> Fort, but he sent them victuals & a dram, signifying that as they came from y<sup>e</sup> French they must not see him. So they were sent over again by a party of men & a bateau.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Being almost out of provisions, there was some hints that we must soon eat horses & dogs, if relief did not soon come.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Here came a command of men today with packhorses & provisions of which we were not out of y<sup>e</sup> need amongst y<sup>e</sup> garrison, tho' we did not suffer. Samuel received some letters & wampum. I wrote to Humphrey Marshall, my brother & Geo. Carter.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Today y<sup>e</sup> command returned; consisting of

about 50 men; Thomas Kenton & horses being pressed & in y<sup>e</sup> same company.

24<sup>th</sup>.—We had some dealing this day with y<sup>e</sup> Indians, here was John & Beaver's son. The Colonel & about 60 men, have been over y<sup>e</sup> river some miles.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Here was Philip Powel & 2 of his brothers & another man who had skins & furs to some considerable value. Philip being my old acquaintance was glad to see me; he was like to be wronged out of 15<sup>s</sup> by Kennedy. The old trader talking about stealing said he hoped to God he should never be guilty of stealing.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Came last night from Ligonier, an express that brings account that some of y<sup>e</sup> last command from here, were cut off & some from Bedford coming with wagons & provisions were destroyed. Pescattame here to day & states that y<sup>e</sup> peace will be promoted amongst them.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Last night y<sup>e</sup> soldiers that lay out were all ordered into y<sup>e</sup> fort. A party of about 160 gone off to meet some that is coming. I have been setting Pisquetims raisors this morning; he says he is y<sup>e</sup> brother of Shingas y<sup>e</sup> Beaver & that they will do all they can to make peace.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Some Indians being over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela say they were where some of y<sup>e</sup> enemy had crossed y<sup>e</sup> river to this side. No trade to-day, only a little Mingo man for cash.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Returned Thomas Kenton & y<sup>e</sup> pack horses being pressed again. Six men of y<sup>e</sup> company killed as they went to Ligonier & almost all being eat by y<sup>e</sup> wolves when they returned, so buried them.

31<sup>st</sup>.—It rained most of y<sup>e</sup> day. Andrew Montour came today w<sup>th</sup> some Indians about y<sup>e</sup> 3 Mingoos that had been waiting here being set off home.

6<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Killbuck & John y<sup>e</sup> son of Teedyuscung came here, & Montour has sent out several messengers to invite y<sup>e</sup> Indians to a treaty. Killbuck is to go to see



Venango & he commonly lodges in our house; he & Montour this night with us.

2<sup>d</sup>.—This day a command of many men have gone to Ligonier with Thomas Kenton & y<sup>e</sup> packhorses, some Indians gone also to meet Croghan. Killbuck dined with us & told us his mind more freely concerning y<sup>e</sup> French then before, & owned y<sup>e</sup> odds betwixt our dealing with them & y<sup>e</sup> French dealings.

4<sup>th</sup>.—An express came with secret news from Ligonier this morning & another since. We sold an old rifle gun to an Indian called Simon.

5<sup>th</sup>.—One command of about 50 men went off toward Ligonier & 5 batteaus are gone toward y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Redstone Creek, to bring down provisions. Today three rounds of y<sup>e</sup> great guns & small arms fired, rejoicing at y<sup>e</sup> reducing of Guadeloupe.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Two horses came from y<sup>e</sup> far side into y<sup>e</sup> Island; y<sup>e</sup> soldiers brought them over & put them to plow, but this morning both got off hopped together.

8<sup>th</sup>.—This morning came here old Teedyuscung & about 14 Tawa or French Indians; they made a great show shooting their guns & singing; they informed y<sup>e</sup> colonel they came to smoke y<sup>e</sup> Pipe of Peace. Some being of y<sup>e</sup> Tawa Nation they carried y<sup>e</sup> pipe with a wing of some fowl as an sign or flag of Truce, & Sung loud until they got into y<sup>e</sup> Colonel's house & there smoked.

9<sup>th</sup>.—The Tawas & some other Indians with them, live over y<sup>e</sup> Alleghany at night & come to this side in y<sup>e</sup> daytime; y<sup>e</sup> batteaus returned last night from Redstone Creek with provisions. I have been altering Colonel Mercer's account respecting y<sup>e</sup> Garrison in y<sup>e</sup> Book, as it was in some places mixed with his Indian Accounts.

10<sup>th</sup>.—The Tawa Indians having made a speech to y<sup>e</sup> Colonel yesterday, he answered them today, at which I was present. He let them have some strings of

wampum with good encouragement to quit y<sup>e</sup> French, with which they seemed satisfied; he encouraged them to stay until Croghan came & they should receive presents.

11<sup>th</sup>.—This day we had considerable dealing w<sup>th</sup> some of y<sup>e</sup> Delaware Nation, some of which seem more difficult than others. Here is one who calls himself James Morriss, a little short Indian who seemed very saucy; he was painted w<sup>th</sup> Black & wanted money for which he & his brother-in-law sold, in order to buy Rum therewith, altho' they had not been here before. Since our people came, they were to go with Andrew Montour to meet y<sup>e</sup> provisions that are coming up, where they thought to buy Rum.

12<sup>th</sup>.—To-day came in a party w<sup>th</sup> some Pork, being commanded by Lieut. M<sup>c</sup>Clain & Smallman; they were attacked yesterday morning by a small party of Indians who wounded two men & took one prisoner; one man shot thro y<sup>e</sup> arm y<sup>e</sup> other thro' y<sup>e</sup> hand.

13<sup>th</sup>.—I hear it reported that Lieut. M<sup>c</sup>C. is on trial to-day by a Court of Inquiry in respect to his conduct in y<sup>e</sup> skirmish they had w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Indians.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Court holds yet & not determined this evening. The company of Tawas came to see us & Samuel made y<sup>e</sup> 2 Chiefs some small presents, at which they seemed well pleased.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Tawas came to see us this day & S. L. let them have 100 of Wampum & y<sup>e</sup> prices of sundry goods as sold here. A Shawanese Indian that Interprets for them, informed us that he had seen a new canoe made on y<sup>e</sup> other side of y<sup>e</sup> Alleghany w<sup>th</sup> divers tracks. We bought a right sea Turtle this evening.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Here are two of y<sup>e</sup> Shawanese from y<sup>e</sup> Lower Town, one of which is called Nanticoke Will; he talks English well, but seems very churlish, he signifies that he has been sent to hear & see what y<sup>e</sup> English is about, & by his talk they wish that y<sup>e</sup> English should leave

here. He talks threatening this evening. The two Indians who went to meet Croghan bring accounts that he is to be here tomorrow at night, which happens well, as several Indians are waiting his coming.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Nanticoke Will seems much better satisfied than he was at his first coming; he told us today he heard a letter read by y<sup>e</sup> Colonel, giving an account of y<sup>e</sup> English's success in taking an island, which he understood was off y<sup>e</sup> mouth of y<sup>e</sup> Mississippi & other circumstances relating to y<sup>e</sup> English proceedings caused him to say, that he thought y<sup>e</sup> French would come to nothing now or be ruined; altho' yesterday he was impudent in their behalf. When he returns to y<sup>e</sup> Big Shawane town he would let them know y<sup>e</sup> truth, as many of them believed y<sup>e</sup> English only wanted to deceive them to their destruction. Many of y<sup>e</sup> Delawares & y<sup>e</sup> Tawas went w<sup>th</sup> a command of near one hundred men from here this morning, to meet them that is coming with Croghan & provisions. The officers expected to be attacked here by y<sup>e</sup> French all y<sup>e</sup> men taken into y<sup>e</sup> Fort.

18<sup>th</sup>.—This Morning arrived y<sup>e</sup> command with Croghan & many bullocks; Geo. Allen y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners Agent; also many Indians have been here waiting for Croghan. This evening there was a Council held & a speech made to y<sup>e</sup> Delawares, a long string of White Wampum, at which time a gust was coming up; there was a keg of Rum handed out & y<sup>e</sup> Indians drank.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Some traffick today; Croghan obliges y<sup>e</sup> other storekeepers to sell at y<sup>e</sup> same prices as we.

24<sup>th</sup>.—This day Nanticoke Will came as interpreter with some Mingoos that came from y<sup>e</sup> Lower Shawanese Town, which neither understood money nor weight; we could not without offence put them off until tomorrow, so dealt to about y<sup>e</sup> value of £12. I am sick with a cold.

25<sup>th</sup>.—A family with an antient father of y<sup>e</sup> Wyandots, came here & one of y<sup>e</sup> young men could read some

& write in English. Croghan received all their skins at y<sup>e</sup> Fort & came with them to y<sup>e</sup> stores & got such goods as they wanted, promising to send y<sup>e</sup> skins. Shingas is come & his brother Pisquiton, but y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King, their brother is not returnd yet, he being gone as we heard over y<sup>e</sup> Lake to negotiate, in order for peace. The Shawanes are generally, it is said, coming up, as states a French trader that lived among them called Batee.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Received of Pisquiton & Killbuck some skins. Yesterday evening Teedyuscong returned from Ligonier with letters, he being gone express, & y<sup>e</sup> old Delaware on being asked by y<sup>e</sup> Shawanes on his return what news (as I have been informed by Capt. Clayton) answered that there was many Hundred men coming on y<sup>e</sup> road with seven years provisions, at which they seemed much amazed. This evening came two runners with tidings.

28<sup>th</sup>.—It appears from some discourse as passed in our house with Geo. Croghan, concerning y<sup>e</sup> prices of y<sup>e</sup> goods & skins that he has power to set y<sup>e</sup> prices of y<sup>e</sup> species in which he varies from y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners & finds such fault with their proceedings, that contrary to their pretentions they are for cheating y<sup>e</sup> Indians or wronging them in their prices, altho' they accused y<sup>e</sup> former traders to be cheats; that y<sup>e</sup> Comissioners will loose and not do y<sup>e</sup> Province justice, in not sending them to England to be sold.

29<sup>th</sup>.—This day there was a Dutchman killed & scalped by going without y<sup>e</sup> sentry to a spring for water, & a soldier that was in his company very narrowly escaped, being shot thro' y<sup>e</sup> shirt, & run close by some of y<sup>e</sup> enemy. I seen them shoot three times at him. It is told by y<sup>e</sup> Indians, that there is about 100 of y<sup>e</sup> enemy & that we are to be attacked soon. One French man is said to have swam over y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela above this place & to get opposite to us on y<sup>e</sup> hill, where



he viewed y<sup>e</sup> Fort, then swam back down y<sup>e</sup> river, & is on y<sup>e</sup> island opposite with our Indians.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Frightful was y<sup>e</sup> rumours yesterday evening of our being attaked here, so that almost all our Indians went to lodge over y<sup>e</sup> river; one requested to lodge in our house, which being granted, he went off. This morning Capt. Clayton by y<sup>e</sup> Colonel's orders came to all of us store-keepers advising us to have our goods ready to be carried into y<sup>e</sup> fort in case of an attack, which as he took me out & told me I acknowledged. The Indians report of a body of many Indians & French lying up y<sup>e</sup> river & as I am not free to go into y<sup>e</sup> Fort for protection, I am much exercised in mind, but toward evening got refreshed by quiet meditation & belief that y<sup>e</sup> reports were in some respect in order to affright us, as many of them would rather have our room than company & knowing we were for many days out of flour it might have been a likely time to frighten us off. They proposed to go to y<sup>e</sup> enemy with some Wampum to appease them. One company of Delawares & another of Shawanes warriors brought those reports, they seemed very saucy & I believe it was some of them killed y<sup>e</sup> man yesterday.

7<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Last night altho' some moved with their goods into y<sup>e</sup> Fort, yet we moved none. About y<sup>e</sup> middle of y<sup>e</sup> night hearing horses about y<sup>e</sup> house & bells, on going out & asking who it was, was informed that Capt. Bull y<sup>t</sup> went express was come & about 6 horses & men with flour; who left y<sup>e</sup> party of 150 men & many horse loads of Flour & 16 bullocks 6 miles off. This command was to have been cut off (by y<sup>e</sup> false rumors) about 20 miles from here & there was sent 150 men to meet them, who all came in safe this morning to our great satisfaction.

2<sup>d</sup>.—Altho' there are many ways used to intercept our commerce, yet some comes to us from y<sup>e</sup> original, not at second hand. Last night some of y<sup>e</sup> bullocks



went off & there is a command gone after them. I wish them well back; y<sup>e</sup> Indians have got liquor. George & Pisquiton & others seem very loving.

3<sup>d</sup>.—We had some trade chiefly for Lead, as it has run more so of late than usual. They are set to work at y<sup>e</sup> house for y<sup>e</sup> Provincial Store. It's frequently reported by y<sup>e</sup> Indians, & by some I believe in sincerity who wish us well, that there is a strong party of Indians, about 350, laying in wait on y<sup>e</sup> road to cut off our supplies. An Indian called Kaykay's, who never used to go to war, and seems very friendly to us, says this morning, that y<sup>e</sup> above number is out on y<sup>e</sup> road & by accounts from Cuscuscug y<sup>e</sup> French were gathering many nations, about y<sup>e</sup> Lakes to root us out from here. Some of these nations were so barbarous that they give no quarter & y<sup>e</sup> way they had killed 10 Delawares, that he intended to leave by going to Raystown when Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Kee went down. I like not staying here on account of those frequent rumours, & I find y<sup>e</sup> Indians do not want us to remain here for I do not like to offend any persons, I mean y<sup>e</sup> English.

4<sup>th</sup>.—There was a report today that y<sup>e</sup> French has deserted Venango two nights ago. There were some great batteau stole down the Alleghany in y<sup>e</sup> night y<sup>e</sup> sentry shot at them, but they made no noise only passed along. This evening y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King came here, his company fired three rounds & he was saluted with 5 cannon & soon after crossed to y<sup>e</sup> Fort.

5<sup>th</sup>.—The Indian express arrived today from Ligonier & bring word of some men & provisions being ready for this place. We had some trade today & expect more tomorrow, y<sup>e</sup> Indians I think seem to appear pleasant again & sing when they sit down, but for some time past a dark spirit seemed to rule.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Some trade this day but not so much as expected, but as Croghan gives higher prices and wants us to do so & is about to set prices, ye Indians are waiting until their treaties & Council is finished.

9<sup>th</sup>.—This evening a Council or Treaty being held, we were invited by Shingas to go & hear him speak good things, which he uttered with much zeal & loud voice. The speeches were first delivered by Croghan to Andrew Montour & he spoke to y<sup>e</sup> Mingoës, then interpreted y<sup>e</sup> substance to Shingas who sat by him & he spoke it very boldly to y<sup>e</sup> Delawares. Some strings & belts were given on either side after y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King made several speeches, but as I sat at some distance, I could not rightly hear all that was said in English by Croghan as he spoke but y<sup>e</sup> substance was concerning y<sup>e</sup> agreements at East Town [Easton] & how that if these would conform to y<sup>e</sup> proposals of peace made to them, that they might depend that our people would fulfill y<sup>e</sup> proposals made y<sup>e</sup> Indians, & that he was authorised by authority to invite them together against y<sup>e</sup> General came, but as he was delayed coming as soon as expected, that what he G. C. & Colonel Mercer would propose to y<sup>e</sup> Indians y<sup>e</sup> General & all y<sup>e</sup> Governors of our Colonies would confirm & mention'd that it was expected they would deliver up y<sup>e</sup> prisoners & that y<sup>e</sup> intent of y<sup>e</sup> army coming with y<sup>e</sup> General this Summer was to build here a strong house to protect our trade with y<sup>e</sup> Indians. As y<sup>e</sup> French that left this place were moved but a little way up y<sup>e</sup> river, & when y<sup>e</sup> French might be gone or driven away, y<sup>e</sup> trade could be safely carried on, that y<sup>e</sup> General & Army would return home, & I think that mention was made that y<sup>e</sup> King of England would protect y<sup>e</sup> Indians in or confirm to them all their rights. After y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King had made a speech & delivered a string of Wampum, which was all that was delivered on their side, he had two women prisoners, one he called his mother y<sup>e</sup> other his sister, which he delivered up, signifying that they had adopted them as such, which he was not going to undo but would still look on them as such, but was delivering them up into y<sup>e</sup> care of y<sup>e</sup> white people from whence they had

brought them. At y<sup>e</sup> last y<sup>e</sup> Beaver spoke in behalf of y<sup>e</sup> Indians, that as they had stopped y<sup>e</sup> bung in our Rum kegs, so as to keep it from them, they were now for haveing y<sup>e</sup> kegs kept open to their people, as well as ours, when they came, that they might have it to buy as well as others for they loved it. Andrew Montour loves it too, he thanked y<sup>e</sup> Beaver King for his speech, which made y<sup>e</sup> Indians laugh so hearty, that some of y<sup>e</sup> young men could hardly stop. They were invited to a dinner y<sup>e</sup> next day to eat together, which they did having an Ox killed for y<sup>e</sup> purpose; there might be about 100 Indians in all, chiefly Delawares, of whom y<sup>e</sup> Beaver, Shingas & Delaware George are chiefs, Pisquicon y<sup>e</sup> brother of Beaver & Shingas', Teedyuscong, Windoughelow, Thomas Hickman & Killbuck are Counsellors of y<sup>e</sup> rank.

10<sup>th</sup>.—The Beaver King brought us about £7. worth of skins & got 5 Strouds & some other things. He seems like a steady, quiet middle aged man of a cheerfull disposition, but low statue. Samuel Lightfoot read a letter of invitation & friendship to him, sent from Isaac Zane of Philadelphia, which y<sup>e</sup> Beaver gratefully acknowledged & signified of coming tomorrow to tell us something. They dined with y<sup>e</sup> Colonel, Croghan and others in y<sup>e</sup> Council house erected up y<sup>e</sup> river—from ours about 100 y<sup>ds</sup>. For some days we have had so many alarms of y<sup>e</sup> French & Indians coming to take this place, that we are in doubts the Indians hear false accounts, altho' there is a creditable account by Indians that is believed, that there have been over 350 French Indians with some French waylaying y<sup>e</sup> roads for some weeks, 15 of whom were met by a Delaware man as he came to the Treaty. They had stolen 3 horses out of this Bottom one night & in y<sup>e</sup> morning when y<sup>e</sup> drum beat seeing a large Guard going out to relieve y<sup>e</sup> sentries, they thought they had been discovered, set off home, not going to Venango on their return.

11<sup>th</sup>.—This day returned Kilbuck with 4 more Indians, who had been sent Express about four days since to Ligonier; they bring account of that place being attacked by a large party of Indians for y<sup>e</sup> space of three days, in which y<sup>e</sup> garrison had one Capt. Jones killed & one other man & a woman, but that y<sup>e</sup> enemy got neither prisoners or scalps. The last command of men that came here with provisions is to set off tomorrow to meet another escort that is coming, these were detained here as we had divers accounts by y<sup>e</sup> Indians that they expected this place to be attacked, which by their staying & y<sup>e</sup> number of Indians that came here to y<sup>e</sup> Treaty, our Flour is out & our meat very near.

12<sup>th</sup>.—This day y<sup>e</sup> Colonel has issued orders for all of y<sup>e</sup> Traders & others to appear on y<sup>e</sup> parade under arms, & that they have all their skins & goods made into small handy bundles, that one man might carry them in order to have them in y<sup>e</sup> Fort in case of an alarm.

13<sup>th</sup>.—This day orders issued that all our goods should be carried into y<sup>e</sup> Fort, as y<sup>e</sup> provisions are out & y<sup>e</sup> milch cows to be killed tomorrow, in case of y<sup>e</sup> enemy hearing of this & should attempt to take y<sup>e</sup> place, that these houses must be set on fire, otherwise y<sup>e</sup> enemy might shelter in y<sup>e</sup> houses, which has been complied with.

14<sup>th</sup>.—This morning before we were out of bed y<sup>e</sup> Sergeant Major came and told us that our houses must be pulled down, which was executed, only y<sup>e</sup> house built for y<sup>e</sup> Provinial Comissioners where y<sup>e</sup> Guard is to be. We moved our goods in on y<sup>e</sup> loft in y<sup>e</sup> Colonel's house, so we are got to live in a tent again. We are out of bread, but some milch cows being killed, we had some meat & some Indian corn a little boiled for dinner. We do not expect y<sup>e</sup> command to come with provisions under two days, & if they should be attacked & over-



come it seems that no less than a miracle can save our lives. The officers were all assembled this evening to conclude on defending in y<sup>e</sup> best manner they could, as one told me after that they had certain account of fifteen hundred Indians & French coming to attack this place, which is now scarce of men & provisions. Late this evening came in a friendly Indian, a spy from Venango, with information that they had set out for this place & had come but a short way, when they were called back to go to reinforce Niagara, having just heard of that place being attacked, which favours us at present, but could not trust much to his report & told my friends I would not believe they would come until I saw them.

15<sup>th</sup>.—This day y<sup>e</sup> men were kept very busy pulling down houses that stood in y<sup>e</sup> glasis of y<sup>e</sup> Fort & repairing y<sup>e</sup> glasis and this evening came in some Indians who had been spying up y<sup>e</sup> River & Capt. Jacob's son came here, as it was reported, to call y<sup>e</sup> Delawares away, & it was reported that the spies had seen y<sup>e</sup> French about 15 miles up y<sup>e</sup> river, which made many wish they were at home.

16<sup>th</sup>.—The garrison goes on repairing y<sup>e</sup> Fort & y<sup>e</sup> milch cows are almost all killed for meat; y<sup>e</sup> Beaver & Delaware George stay & many more who all draws provisions more than we do. Shingas is gone to meet our party which is expected very soon, we have heard of them by y<sup>e</sup> way of Venango this evening. Several of y<sup>e</sup> Indians who returned that went to meet our party report that they may be here tomorrow; they have brought some flour on their horses, but will let us have none. Shingas is come having brought 2 kegs of liquor, but has carried all over y<sup>e</sup> river & this evening there is a great noise.

17<sup>th</sup>.—There came many Indians today, y<sup>e</sup> command has not arrived.

18<sup>th</sup>.—This morning as we were at work a canoe



came down the Monongahela in which were three Mohawk warriors that came from a party a little above, to ask leave to come in here to encamp; on it being granted they came down y<sup>e</sup> river in 7 or 8 canoes, being about 30 in number, singing & shooting their guns off. They have got two men & their wives as I imagine, one having a young child & a boy about 12 years old, prisoners of y<sup>e</sup> Catawbass. One of them had been a prisoner before with y<sup>e</sup> Shawanese, which Andrew Montour's brother had taken, who happens to be here now, & wants to get him to put him to death, but as he & his fellow prisoner have been last year in y<sup>e</sup> English service, y<sup>e</sup> officers & Croghan will endeavour to make intercession for him. He is said to have killed a Shawanese man's brother that is here & struck him twice with his fist on y<sup>e</sup> eye or left side of his head, after they had made him sing & dance, & as he danced he related how many he had killed & of what nations. The captors have painted y<sup>e</sup> prisoners & have made stocks to put him in at night. He killed y<sup>e</sup> Shawanese man when he made his escape & brought off one Faint, who is here as Ensign, who was a prisoner at y<sup>e</sup> same time with him.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Geo. Allen got to his house again, but y<sup>e</sup> guard occupied it this night likewise.

20<sup>th</sup>.—This day we moved into Allen's house, but have not moved our goods.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Great noise shooting & hallowing here at y<sup>e</sup> distress of y<sup>e</sup> French in some place. Indian Peter came from Ligonier with letters; had his horse exchanged there & y<sup>e</sup> one he brought happens to be y<sup>e</sup> sorrel horse that strayed out of Israel Pemberton's service going y<sup>e</sup> first trip to Redstone.

22<sup>d</sup>.—This day y<sup>e</sup> command returned to Ligonier & I had a long search for our horse this morning, but an Indian lad brought him in at last from y<sup>e</sup> woods to ride him with y<sup>e</sup> command, but I got him off. Today

Patrick Quin is set off homewards & Geo. Allen is taken sick y<sup>e</sup> evening before last & remains poorly, & last evening Samuel Lightfoot taken with y<sup>e</sup> Flux; he has taken physick.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Samuel & Geo. remain very poorly, have applied to y<sup>e</sup> Doctor, so that when our fear of y<sup>e</sup> enemy is over in some respect, we are in danger of sickness, y<sup>e</sup> weather being very warm. Geo. Allen got out of all patience this night, until I gave him 20 drops Laudanum.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Today our patients still remain bad, I gave Samuel some herbs boiled in milk, which for some time gave ease but after returned; he took a dose of Rhubarb of y<sup>e</sup> Doctor. I remark in this place, that I have observed that y<sup>e</sup> Indians are very jealous of y<sup>e</sup> English coming here with an army; they seem jealous of their lands being settled, & y<sup>e</sup> forenoon before y<sup>e</sup> Treaty was held here, old Pisquitom y<sup>e</sup> Beaver's brother & some others came to our house & y<sup>e</sup> old man put it closely to me, to tell what y<sup>e</sup> English or y<sup>e</sup> General meant by coming here with a great army, reminding me that y<sup>e</sup> Quakers always should speak truth & not lie, (y<sup>e</sup> old man sometimes calls himself a Quaker). I answered Pisquitom, that as our people did not go to war, but was against fighting, we did not know y<sup>e</sup> General's motives or orders in coming here, further than what we heard which we believed to be true, that they meant to drive off y<sup>e</sup> French away & erect a strong house at this place, that we might be safer to carry on trade with y<sup>e</sup> Indians, which y<sup>e</sup> French wanted to deprive us of, & y<sup>e</sup> English knowing themselves strong enough for y<sup>e</sup> French, would not be deprived of trading by them, that when they were subdued, y<sup>e</sup> army would be called away home, which he commended & blamed y<sup>e</sup> General or English for being so slow in coming up, signifying in case y<sup>e</sup> French came & retook y<sup>e</sup> place, what could they do. I took it that they must join them but liked y<sup>e</sup>

English advice of being at Peace better than y<sup>e</sup> French always setting them on to war. I also observed in this place one Daniel, an old Indian who called himself a Quaker, one night that they seemed to expect y<sup>e</sup> enemy & all of y<sup>e</sup> Indians were going over y<sup>e</sup> river out of y<sup>e</sup> way, Daniel wanted to borrow a gun of us to fight in case we were attacked, but we put him in mind that Quakers do not fight, that we did not intend to fight, so would not lend our friend a gun, for fear of breaking orders, for he said he could fight & be a Quaker too.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Samuel & George still bad. Several Shawanese came today, they hold a Council.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Last night George took about 30 drops I gave him of D<sup>r</sup> Paschal's Arcanam, that assisted his stomach. To night the Doctor said he could not be worse; sent him a small brown powder, which George was afraid to take, but happened well without it. Samuel remains bad, he took six bouleses of Specifick Vegetable yesterday, & today has a decoction of y<sup>e</sup> same powders boiled in  $\frac{1}{2}$  gall<sup>n</sup> water to 1 Qu<sup>t</sup>  $\text{̄}$ iii Loaf Sugar, infused in y<sup>e</sup> whole. I dreamed last night I saw y<sup>e</sup> fields all ripe & y<sup>e</sup> reapers a reaping & going to reap, which seemed pleasant to me.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Samuel remains bad & I cannot leave him, as he does not hire a nurse I cannot get to worm our skins.

28<sup>th</sup>.—There came an Indian in from y<sup>e</sup> party thats coming, he brought Lightfoot two letters, one from our employer which gives account of more goods coming, about 4 wagon loads.

29<sup>th</sup>.—I am taken amiss myself, with symptoms of y<sup>e</sup> Flux; I got one of y<sup>e</sup> men nurses of y<sup>e</sup> Hospital, to come to tend Samuel.

30<sup>th</sup>.—I got some soldiers to help me this morning to worm skins, altho' I am not well. Samuel is so weak I think he will not recover. This evening about 5 o'clock, Samuel Lightfoot departed this life, being somewhat light headed towards y<sup>e</sup> last.

31<sup>st</sup>.—We buried Samuel Lightfoot very Quietly. Having no liquor all who went to y<sup>e</sup> grave behaved sober & seemed concerned; more would have come had they known y<sup>e</sup> time, but we asked only a few & about 30 or 40 came, as burying a dead man is thought but a light matter at garrisons. I applied to y<sup>e</sup> Sergeant Major to get his grave dug where y<sup>e</sup> soldiers are buried, which he got almost finished, but y<sup>e</sup> Colonel hearing of it, sent me word that he expected that ground would be all broken up or improved by building a new fort, so I got another made along y<sup>e</sup> bank of y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela & buried there.

8<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—I am very poorly with symptoms of y<sup>e</sup> like disorder as Samuel had, I believe occasioned by y<sup>e</sup> smell in tending on him.

2<sup>d</sup>.—I have written to my employer of my circumstances & Samuel's death.

3<sup>d</sup>.—Last night there was two Highlanders taken off their posts, y<sup>e</sup> body of one is found & y<sup>e</sup> two Tawas that killed them was met by Thomas Hickman a little way off, who gave two death hollows as he described them; they had been here & kindly used.

4<sup>th</sup>.—I have been worse yesterday than since I was taken, and as I lay on my bed today in y<sup>e</sup> loft, meditating in deep humility & silence of my mind, endeavouring to petition for some longer time in this World, in order to get home to see my mother, brother & friends, or else if this was not granted me, that my accounts might be overhauled, & divers were in my mind endeavouring to settle with my judge & requesting that thro' mercy my passage might be made easy—I fell into a slumber on my back, my face looking upwards, I beheld in a dream or vision, y<sup>e</sup> appearance of a glorious person over me like toward y<sup>e</sup> firmament, y<sup>e</sup> attire of his head looked bright & a shineing star on his forehead, & he was looking at me with a sedate aspect so I awoke & was refreshed & ready to say, Thou Lord Sees't Me!



5<sup>th</sup>.—Thro' great mercy I have been very easy all night & my pains are almost gone; y<sup>e</sup> weather very warm.

6<sup>th</sup>.—There are about 30 Picks come here, & we hear from Niagara that it is like to be taken by General Johnston.

8<sup>th</sup>.—The Colonel told me yesterday he thought it not necessary to lay out a place for a house for my employer, as he believed y<sup>e</sup> General would take y<sup>e</sup> remnant of our goods & that y<sup>e</sup> store would not be continued.

9<sup>th</sup>.—I got some help today to worm y<sup>e</sup> skins that had been wormed before, but as I told them they should have to be wormed soon again. Many of them are spoiled, and it is with great difficulty I can get any help, all are so employed. One man, being an old acquaintance of mine named Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Donnald, who belongs to y<sup>e</sup> Artillery, is very willing to assist me at all spare times when off duty & Lieut. Wright of y<sup>e</sup> Train, relieved him of duty, that he might assist me in all he could but by y<sup>e</sup> Colonel's orders its now put out of y<sup>e</sup> Lieutenants power, but still he helps me when he can, which is great kindness in Lieut. Wright also. Lieut. Sumner, of Virginia, & Capt. Clayton, from y<sup>e</sup> Jersies, & Ensign Hutchins, of Carslile, were all singular in kindness, spareing Rum or Sugar, altho' very scarce, in mine & Samuel's sickness, also Lieut. Hidler of y<sup>e</sup> Train, & little Doctor Johnson.

10.—Wormed skins until y<sup>e</sup> heat of y<sup>e</sup> Sun got too strong, being hurtful. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon helped Ensign Hutchins to take y<sup>e</sup> course of y<sup>e</sup> rivers & y<sup>e</sup> hills from y<sup>e</sup> Point at y<sup>e</sup> old Fort, as also y<sup>e</sup> width of y<sup>e</sup> rivers, but by y<sup>e</sup> time we were done it made me something unwell again, being still weakly.

13<sup>th</sup>.—This day y<sup>e</sup> Indians bring intelligence that y<sup>e</sup> French have lost Niagara & that they have burnt Venango & Presque Isle & gone off.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Letters came here by a command that came in



today, that Tyconderoga is taken by y<sup>e</sup> English, also its believed currently that Niagara is taken, & that y<sup>e</sup> French have left Venango and Presque Isle & burnt them, so there has been many rounds, as they call it, fired & shouting for joy, but many of y<sup>e</sup> Indians seem more sober, their practice of singing & dancing was remarked to have ceased last night on y<sup>e</sup> island, but y<sup>e</sup> Picks camp up y<sup>e</sup> river was rejoycing as usual. At night it was said that Colonel Mercer now speaks plain English to them concerning stealing horses, which they made a great practice of.

15<sup>th</sup>.—I hear y<sup>e</sup> Colonel has given orders to y<sup>e</sup> soldiers to shoot any Indian that they see stealing any of y<sup>e</sup> King's horses. I think they have stolen y<sup>e</sup> horse I had here, as he is gone & I cannot hear of him.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Today y<sup>e</sup> wagons & y<sup>e</sup> Highlanders are gone; there is gone likewise in one wagon privately, three prisoners viz. Jn<sup>o</sup> Gray's wife taken from Bigham's Fort at Tuscarora; a girl by y<sup>e</sup> name of McCord, taken about 1½ years ago from Swatara, & a boy of y<sup>e</sup> name of Lowery, from Canochochique. I got help today to worm skins, it being cloudy & cool. Some of them being spoiled for want of worming, about y<sup>e</sup> time Samuel was taken sick.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Came in a command today Capt. Tulican with many bullocks & some Sheep. Its reported that y<sup>e</sup> Sutlers are to have no more provisions, by orders from y<sup>e</sup> Commissary & General.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Came another party with many wagons with flour & sundries. I received a letter from my employer of y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> last mo. & one from my brother, they being brought from Ligonier by Ensign Hidler, of y<sup>e</sup> Train, as also y<sup>e</sup> prospective glass & y<sup>e</sup> Wampum. Before I saw y<sup>e</sup> 20 thousand of Wampum Geo. Croghan saw it & kept it, sending for me to go to him, & knowing his proceedings I went not until he sent for me y<sup>e</sup> next day & found he had opened it, but that it was all there, not

being exchanged, being very good. He told me, that my employer had wrote to y<sup>e</sup> General that he might have it if wanted, & that y<sup>e</sup> General had wrote so to the Colonel or to him. I told him I had no such account from my employer & had no other thing now to deal with only a few small goods (as I did not believe him), so he began to swear he would keep  $\frac{1}{2}$  of it for y<sup>e</sup> King's use, let y<sup>e</sup> consequences be what it would; as he delt none on his own account I might be paid in skins or furs out of y<sup>e</sup> King's stores as we bought them of y<sup>e</sup> Indians. So he took ten thousand & let me have y<sup>e</sup> other. Hugh Crawford coming to get two of my Strouds for an Indian on Croghan's account, owned & said that Croghan had goods of his own here.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Croghan has a black eye this morning & I have been informed, that he was drunk & fought with y<sup>e</sup> Indians, & that Teedyuscung gave him y<sup>e</sup> black eye, for y<sup>e</sup> said Teedy came to our house in y<sup>e</sup> night, being very drunk & made a noise at y<sup>e</sup> door often calling for y<sup>e</sup> Quaker, but Geo. Allen threatened him, pretending he knew not who it was, so he went off. I think y<sup>e</sup> Wagon Master saw y<sup>e</sup> boxing with Croghan, as he told me. This day are come a party from Virginia of great Sutlers, brought some cattle & sheep. I received a letter from W<sup>m</sup> Joliff, signifying that he would not take my horse.

21<sup>st</sup>.—This day I was to have pay in Beaver for y<sup>e</sup> Wampum that Croghan got, but he put me off until tomorrow, being very busy. One of y<sup>e</sup> wagon drivers that came from Virginia, being out hunting his horses, was killed & scalped. Its reported that there have been ten Tawas about here this while past; many horses are lost, eight together taken off or gone. I have used much endeavours to get y<sup>e</sup> skins down by Cumberland in these sutlers' wagons or y<sup>e</sup> other road in y<sup>e</sup> King's wagons, but to no purpose.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Its reported that y<sup>e</sup> Indians have stolen within

these few days to y<sup>e</sup> value of £150 of horses, that y<sup>e</sup> Delawares own their people to have taken them, yet they cannot get their young men to return them as yet, altho' they promised it last night. I had a large Bear skin stolen & another split with a knife.

23<sup>d</sup>.—I have applied to y<sup>e</sup> Colonel to get my skins into y<sup>e</sup> old Magazine & he agreed, and he told me he would place a sentry over them tonight, seemed very kind, asking me to sit down & drink tea, he & Lieut. Wright going to breakfast, but I acknowledged his kindness & excused myself. Croghan has paid me 83<sup>lb</sup> of Beaver for my 10,000 Wampum (which he seized before I seen it) @ 7/6, as I would take no other pay, neither set it down in y<sup>e</sup> account, having some other accounts to settle in which he fell some in debt, & if he bought it at 10/ pr. lb. himself its turned y<sup>e</sup> penny, now he has sent for more of my Wampum & other things before he paid me, but I refused all his orders, except Colonel Mercers.

24<sup>th</sup>.—It was this day I had y<sup>e</sup> grant of y<sup>e</sup> old magazine in y<sup>e</sup> old Fort, & set a man to make a door for it, as y<sup>e</sup> Colonel cannot venture to let y<sup>e</sup> skins go down in y<sup>e</sup> King's wagons. They have set to build a saw mill on y<sup>e</sup> other side of y<sup>e</sup> main river, down in sight of y<sup>e</sup> Fort, being on y<sup>e</sup> South side & there are 9 saws going in one pit at y<sup>e</sup> old fort.

25<sup>th</sup>.—I had a very hard days work getting y<sup>e</sup> skins into y<sup>e</sup> old magazine, having none to trust, but as Benedict minded them while I went down to receive them, having to come up to see them loaded, or else they would tumble them into y<sup>e</sup> river by setting y<sup>e</sup> bundles to run down y<sup>e</sup> bank.

26<sup>th</sup>.—I had to over haul some of y<sup>e</sup> skins today that got wet yesterday, as rain came on before we got them all in. By what I can learn, there has been some Indians killed lately nigh y<sup>e</sup> camp, they being found stealing horses, & two of y<sup>e</sup> Virginia wagons that was re-

turning home, were a few miles off, y<sup>e</sup> geers being cut & two horses left in one wagon; one soldier has found on Grant's Hill, a little way off a French like coat, blanket, a pouch & three bells with bell collars.

27<sup>th</sup>.—This day came here about 100 horses loaded with oats chiefly; I received two letters from my employer of y<sup>e</sup> 14 & 16 of last month, y<sup>e</sup> latest sent by Patrick Quin. I settled with Geo. Allen concerning our provisions, as we have lived together since he came & got our bread together & not drawing Flour enough I fall indebted to y<sup>e</sup> baker y<sup>e</sup> sum of 35 lb. of Flour, he being to bake at 3/ pr ° I having had y<sup>e</sup> bread for so much more than I delivered Flour. I measured a fish, being a Pike, & it was four feet long and weighed 20 lbs. y<sup>e</sup> inwards being cleaned out.

28<sup>th</sup>.—A Buffalo Fish caught weighed about 30 lb., y<sup>e</sup> scales being larger than Pennies.

29<sup>th</sup>.—This day y<sup>e</sup> General arrived here with his Train & set of music—he was very plainly dressed & seems not proud. Many bullocks & other provisions arrived.

30<sup>th</sup>.—We have some trade again today & my Bearskins goe off. Cap<sup>t</sup> Gordon fancying a pouch I had of an Otter skin, much worn, I made a present of it to him, upon which he bespoke two Bearskins of me.

31<sup>st</sup>.—I found some marks this morning as if some one had attempted to pick y<sup>e</sup> lock of y<sup>e</sup> magazine where y<sup>e</sup> skins are, also to pry y<sup>e</sup> door open. There are parties going off today to Ligonier & Cumberland, but I have no prospect of sending y<sup>e</sup> skins, there being none trusty enough to take y<sup>e</sup> Charge of them & none but King's wagons going, as I have orders it's not my business to apply to y<sup>e</sup> General concerning them if in case I had a safe hand to undertake y<sup>e</sup> care of them or could go myself, I might venture.

9<sup>mo</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>.—About 40 Tawas come today, likewise Thomas Kilton & Crampton is come with y<sup>e</sup> Comissioner's

goods, having 70 horse loads. I understand y<sup>e</sup> General proposes to hire them to carry y<sup>e</sup> King's goods from Ligonier to this place.

3<sup>d</sup>.—I helped Geo. Allen to receive his goods being 70 horse loads, as Benedict was so poorly that he could not assist.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Today came here a Brigade of Wagons from Virginia, by which I received a letter of y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of last mo. from my employer, giving directions how to proceed. I had engaged Kilton to take as many of y<sup>e</sup> skins as he could.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Was very busy in drawing & settling accounts.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Agreed with a Sutler to have my skins taken in wagons to Cumberland @ 26/8.

7<sup>th</sup>.—The wagons being ready in y<sup>e</sup> evening, I had been making an invoice of y<sup>e</sup> goods & drawing y<sup>e</sup> accounts, when done I went to weighing y<sup>e</sup> skins & marking y<sup>e</sup> bundles, so got y<sup>e</sup> bundles all in y<sup>e</sup> wagons, only 20 Elks skins which Thomas Kilton is to take if he can, y<sup>e</sup> wagons went out about 2 miles in y<sup>e</sup> night on their road. I had much to do to get the debts that was owing, some of which I left for Col. Mercer to try to recover, viz. a note upon Ensign James Gorrel, for 45/, another on Lieut. West for 7/6 & another account of 14/ against Ensign Harper, y<sup>e</sup> two latter for Bear skins, y<sup>e</sup> former for a saddle & bridle. Now I miss Samuel, y<sup>e</sup> care & burthen falling on me, being y<sup>e</sup> weakest.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Col. Mercer let me have some lines to Croghan, to have y<sup>e</sup> goods inspected last night, but Croghan being in bed he promised to send Capt Trout this morning. We viewed them & took y<sup>e</sup> names in y<sup>e</sup> invoice of drivers, without counting them, as he thought y<sup>e</sup> General would take none but such as he would recommend to be fit for y<sup>e</sup> Indians; so after y<sup>e</sup> viewing them we went both to y<sup>e</sup> Colonel & he made his report indifferently, saying that there were many things that



were of no use to y<sup>e</sup> Indians. I told them that there was a considerable quantity of valuable articles, as y<sup>e</sup> 10,000 of choice Wampum, y<sup>e</sup> Powder & that as paint was of no real service to them, so all y<sup>e</sup> goods might do for presents y<sup>e</sup> Colonel asked whether y<sup>e</sup> quantity was there according to y<sup>e</sup> invoice, to which he said Yes, y<sup>e</sup> Colonel said he would acquaint y<sup>e</sup> General, who might use his pleasure, so y<sup>e</sup> General agreed to take all but our tents, insisting they were to high rated. The General chose to write to my employer about y<sup>e</sup> prices. The Colonel paid me y<sup>e</sup> soldiers accounts & y<sup>e</sup> General let me have three notes of £25 each, upon a merchant in Philadelphia, in order to pay Woodrow for hauling y<sup>e</sup> skins to Cumberland; so I set off this day about one o'clock. (Writing in y<sup>e</sup> woods by fire light.)

9<sup>th</sup>.—Having hired a little creature at 18<sup>d</sup> pr day to Cumberland & run y<sup>e</sup> hazard of loosing it, we came to y<sup>e</sup> lowest fording of Monongahela (going through Braddock's Field) in y<sup>e</sup> evening & there being a great rain two nights before, raised y<sup>e</sup> river so as we could not cross with small creatures without swimming, which we did not chuse, I having y<sup>e</sup> books & papers with me. Being in company with Richard Vernon & four other men, we agreed to take round along y<sup>e</sup> path y<sup>e</sup> pack carriers used to go, so we made along & came soon on a well-trod path intending to come up with y<sup>e</sup> wagons that night, but getting into bottoms about Turtle Creek, could hardly get along, so encamped that night.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Set off soon next morning keeping y<sup>e</sup> same path most of y<sup>e</sup> day, thinking it would bring us to Guest's place, finding many warriors encamping places, being their path. When about 35 miles along it by computation, y<sup>e</sup> course altered from about a South East more North or E., so we set our course S. W. through y<sup>e</sup> woods, arriving at Guest's place. Coming on y<sup>e</sup> Heads of Sweeglars Creek & Salt Lick, we took up four fat chunks of horses, which Vernon took into his care

promising if no owners were found, that we should go equal shares. He sold two of them after to y<sup>e</sup> wagoners at £12.5/, two of their company taking y<sup>e</sup> other two at £14. One of our company, one Derr was so stiff as to part with us, when we left y<sup>e</sup> path & was obliged to return again, who came up with me & y<sup>e</sup> wagons on y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> inst by y<sup>e</sup> Upper Crossing of Youhoghany he coming on y<sup>e</sup> road (as he told me) about 10 miles below y<sup>e</sup> Lower Crossing. We lodged in y<sup>e</sup> woods this night at a warrior's encamping place. I was so concerned about y<sup>e</sup> charge I had in y<sup>e</sup> wagons, fearing y<sup>e</sup> skins got wet, I could not sleep but little.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Set off this morning & abo<sup>t</sup> noon came to Yough<sup>r</sup> & soon on y<sup>e</sup> Road. About three miles below Guest's Place came up with y<sup>e</sup> wagons, betwixt Dunbar's encampment & y<sup>e</sup> Meadows, where I understood they had put some of y<sup>e</sup> bundles into y<sup>e</sup> King's wagons informing that some were wet in y<sup>e</sup> river. I made them stop by y<sup>e</sup> Meadows & spread y<sup>e</sup> skins to dry that were wet, one bundle of Bear skins being almost rotten 10 of which was so rotten I cast away. While they tarried, I set off after y<sup>e</sup> King's wagons, having y<sup>e</sup> Generals orders to y<sup>e</sup> Master, to help us along if we had occasion, but being almost out of provisions & informing me that he dried my skins that got wet in his wagons, but would not stay for us, I returned to y<sup>e</sup> other wagons.

12<sup>th</sup>.—This day we stop'd by y<sup>e</sup> Great Meadows & I followed y<sup>e</sup> King's wagons.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Came to y<sup>e</sup> Upper Crossing of Yough<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> wagoners insisting that their teams would not be able to hold out to y<sup>e</sup> next good pasture, which is by little Yough<sup>r</sup>, I agreed to tary here tomorrow, it being good pasture & hunting ground.

14<sup>th</sup>.—We lay by here today & being a fine one I opened such of y<sup>e</sup> skins as I judged wanted air, uncovering y<sup>e</sup> wagons & turning y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> bundles to y<sup>e</sup> Sun, promising y<sup>e</sup> wagoners a quart of Rum at Cum-

berland if I could get any there for helping me. Y<sup>e</sup> South Branch of Pottomock people are in droves along y<sup>e</sup> road, going to Pittsburgh, some with flour & some with corn oats butter cheese &c. The day I overtook y<sup>e</sup> wagons, I met Col. Burd of Penn<sup>a</sup> & a party with wagons & pack-horses going to y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Redstone Creek to build some storehouses, in order to have y<sup>e</sup> carriage on this road to go from thence down y<sup>e</sup> Monongahela to Pittsburgh, old Cressap being their pilot. Here came one Sthalmaker, going out with flour from y<sup>e</sup> Branch to whom my deceased friend Samuel Lightfoot had lent his old Horse & 20s. of Cash last winter. The man came to me & owned both, but had neither at present, so I ordered him to pay y<sup>e</sup> money to & leave y<sup>e</sup> horse with W<sup>m</sup> Joliff, near Winchester. Derr that was lost with us in y<sup>e</sup> woods, lost his pocket book a little way from here this morning as he set along y<sup>e</sup> road & being found by Sthalmaker he delivered it to me to keep for Derr, having 32/6<sup>d</sup> of Cash in & many papers that I did not look into; next night he lost his horse. I let y<sup>e</sup> wagoners have 1 quart Rum bought on y<sup>e</sup> road, cost 5/.

15<sup>th</sup>.—We came to little Yough<sup>r</sup> met a man going with liquor to Redstone, also a small party of soldiers with some bullocks.

16<sup>th</sup>.—We came to George's Creek within about 12 miles of Cumberland. It rained y<sup>e</sup> most of y<sup>e</sup> way. I only brought about 5 lb. bread from Pittsburgh & two Neats Tongues, which were exhausted by y<sup>e</sup> time I overtook y<sup>e</sup> wagons.

17<sup>th</sup>.—It rained most of y<sup>e</sup> night, but had a good day & came into Cumberland; got y<sup>e</sup> skins unloaded into a store without lock or key, having no other to get, y<sup>e</sup> house we had before, being an Hospital for y<sup>e</sup> small-pox y<sup>e</sup> Store House is y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance Store under y<sup>e</sup> care of Major Livingstone.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Being a fine day I had most of y<sup>e</sup> skins opened & those that were not in need of opening had y<sup>e</sup> bundles

out to air, y<sup>e</sup> skirts of some being wet with y<sup>e</sup> rain & many wet in y<sup>e</sup> foldings, which needed to be sun'd, so Capt. Woodward command<sup>r</sup> let me have four Camp Color men to help. Employed Adam M<sup>c</sup>Carty & Jn<sup>o</sup> Slater to make y<sup>e</sup> skins up into bundles. The horse that was left here of ours is sent to Bedford & entered into y<sup>e</sup> King's service.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Began at y<sup>e</sup> opening & worming such bundles as were not opened yesterday, & making up fit for wagon carriage. I was obliged to give y<sup>e</sup> wagoners 1 quart Rum for letting me have bisquet on y<sup>e</sup> road, my provisions being out.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Came Jn<sup>o</sup> Trotter about noon to help to make y<sup>e</sup> skins up & Jn<sup>o</sup> Mickle with two hands more & 12 horses, so we got loads made ready for them.

22<sup>d</sup>.—Finished bundling & weighing y<sup>e</sup> skins, y<sup>e</sup> whole weight being 39<sup>lb</sup> less here than at Pittsburgh, weighing there 9025<sup>lb</sup>, & here 8986<sup>lb</sup>. I paid Major Livingstone & Capt Battle y<sup>e</sup> sum of £115. 9. 8. for y<sup>e</sup> carriage here stoping 20/ for y<sup>e</sup> carriage of 11 Bearskins being rotten.

23<sup>d</sup>.—I set off to seek for wagons, and came that night to Piersalls Fort, on y<sup>e</sup> South Branch of Pottomack, where I heard that Richard Vernon failed in getting me wagons. I was well satisfied for I expected to get them cheaper myself—I stayed here this night.

24<sup>th</sup>.—I set off this morning to Corkingdals Fort, being only about 6 miles from Piersalls & about 40 from Cumberland, where y<sup>e</sup> Corkingdals agreed to find wagons to take y<sup>e</sup> skins to Philadelphia at 29/6 pr <sup>cwt</sup> but could not be ready before y<sup>e</sup> next week. I stayed there that day, they being very kind being low Dutch.

25<sup>th</sup>.—I set off down to Hopewell to W<sup>m</sup> Joliffs, some accounts being unsettled with him & came that night to Joseph Edwards, on Cape Capon, no inhabitants being along y<sup>e</sup> road about 30 miles; lodged here this night, cost me 1/3 Virginia money.



26<sup>th</sup>.—Proceeded along, old Edwards accompanying me about 10 miles. Came to my Friend Jessie Pews, where I fed my horse & dined, then proceeded to W<sup>m</sup> Joliff's where they seemed glad to see me.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Went in company with W<sup>m</sup> Joliff to Joseph Edwards, to see how he might be employed to go with his wagon to Philadelphia, but not meeting him at home we returned I intended to have gone to their meeting, but was something unwell, so I stayed at Joliff's, where Edwards came, but could not agree with him.

28<sup>th</sup>.—I set off to Joseph Lupton's about a mile beyond Winchester, he having a good team, but found he would not be hired as cheap as W<sup>m</sup> Joliff's, having no prospect of a back load; from thence I went to Joseph Smith's about 21 miles up toward y<sup>e</sup> South Branch, stayed there that night.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Proceeded as far as Piersalls Fort, about 40 miles & stayed there that night.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Being y<sup>e</sup> first day of y<sup>e</sup> week, went about 6 miles up to Corkingdals Fort, where I had engaged some wagons, but one of y<sup>e</sup> men being took sick, one axeltree being broke in one wagon, & not any but 2 engaged, I broke off with them as I believed I could hire cheaper about Winchester. I met Stahlmaker & sold him Samuel's old horse that he had lent at York last winter for £4 Virginia money; got 20/ also he lent him, sold him y<sup>e</sup> bell & collar off my own horse for 6/ & he setting off for Winchester I returned with him & employed him, as he was going out to Pittsburgh to carry out there y<sup>e</sup> things which we had lying at Cumberland for £3. 10. Virginia currency. He was to use y<sup>e</sup> pack saddles to carry loads out on them. We came in y<sup>e</sup> night to Joseph Edwards 36 miles.

10<sup>mo</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.—Came 10 miles to Joseph Smith's, got breakfast & oats for y<sup>e</sup> horses, and reached to Winchester. I met Joseph Lupton, went with him home, he being inclined to send his team to Philadelphia with a load.



2<sup>d</sup>.—Lupton after tarrying all night concluded he might venture to let his team & driver go at 9/6 Virginia currency pr diem & I to find y<sup>e</sup> man & team in provinder & food & likewise pay y<sup>e</sup> ferryages. I told him I must agree to his terms if I could do no better, so I took leave of him & came to W<sup>m</sup> Joliffs who agreed to y<sup>e</sup> said terms.

3<sup>d</sup>.—Agreed with W<sup>m</sup> Joliff to have 12/6 pr. day to Cumberland & back, he finding all things for y<sup>e</sup> journey. Set off to Joseph Lupton's to conclude with him. I am to pay him y<sup>e</sup> sum of 9/6 pr. diem & find y<sup>e</sup> team 5 pecks of oats & good pasture or hay at night for every whole days driving & in proportion for any part of a day & to be discharged at Philadelphia.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Joseph Lupton & Charles Perkins have agreed to y<sup>e</sup> said terms, only as Lupton knows of no back load, is to be allowed ten days to return home if he goes, but not thinking his own wagon sufficient, had y<sup>e</sup> offer of another cheap, but delaying buying it another man got it, so now we are disappointed until he tries for another, having concluded to be ready to set off next Second Day may be longer. I am imformed by Joseph Lupton that he saw a negro boy that lives not far from this, about four years old, born of black parents who is of a brighter white color than y<sup>e</sup> white people are, having white short curel'd hair like lambs wool.

5<sup>th</sup>.—I got ready this morning & went to Winchester to see for some wagons that wanted back carriage & Lupton also went to see one who was to meet me in town, but by y<sup>e</sup> time he came I had got an agreement made with W<sup>m</sup> Bausman, of Lancaster, for his team. Lupton got no wagon as it turned out.

6<sup>th</sup>.—I went to Winchester & from there to y<sup>e</sup> Collector's 6 miles farther & got a permit to pass thro' Virginia, so I set off for Cumberland, leaving word for y<sup>e</sup> wagons that we should return down Sir John's road by W<sup>m</sup> Joliffs I came to Jesse Pew's & bought of his

daughter-in-law 23<sup>lb</sup> of cheese at 6<sup>d</sup>, as I am to find two of y<sup>e</sup> wagoners provisions after we return to Joliffs.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Set off from Pews & reached Cocks' on Poto-mack. I lay on a damp earthen floor, on some corn fodder, y<sup>e</sup> house being unchinked or daubed & no door; had my horse in their orchard.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Set off in y<sup>e</sup> morning a heavy fog being along y<sup>e</sup> river; got one foot a little wet crossing y<sup>e</sup> river; came to Cumberland that evening turned out my horse in y<sup>e</sup> Bottom.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Taken with a strong fever & cold fits. Put up with Tho<sup>s</sup> & Alex<sup>r</sup> Blair, two moderate young men and y<sup>e</sup> Commissaries having no nourishment, only cold water & wine, I sent for Capt Battle, being chief in command & delivered what money I had to him, being more than £29, also my saddlebags with y<sup>e</sup> books & papers. He sent to Bedford for sugar, tea & chocolate for me, y<sup>e</sup> Doctor persuaided me to take some medicine & I took a vomit & got Jn<sup>o</sup> Slaters wife to tend me. Here I lay on y<sup>e</sup> boards, only some Bearskins under me y<sup>e</sup> space of two weeks. I moved down to Jn<sup>o</sup> Slater's where his wife attended me & I lay some better, where I took sundry things of y<sup>e</sup> Doctor, which under Providential mercy I believe afforded much help. While sick my horse was taken & rode by Capt Wright to Pittsburgh & y<sup>e</sup> man that I hired y<sup>e</sup> creature of at Pittsburgh coming here & his creature being lost then, made me pay what he said it was valued £5, however, I found both creatures since I recovered my sickness in some degree. I paid Slater's for my lodging & nursing £1.7/; y<sup>e</sup> Commissary's lad for tending me there 5/; y<sup>e</sup> Commissary for a hide 12/; M<sup>c</sup>Carties people for milk 7/; a Sutler for liquor £1. 1. 6.; M<sup>c</sup>Carty & Slater for overhauling y<sup>e</sup> load of skins that was left so as to have y<sup>e</sup> account of them separate 5/. My friend Jessie Pew, from Hopewell, came to see me whilst I was bad, but now my brother Charles came from home, to see whether I was dead as he had heard.

17<sup>th</sup>.—So we got ready on y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup> & set off from Cumberland, came to one Plumbs & stayed all night.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Crossed Potomack, being very high, so that y<sup>e</sup> water got in our boots & came to Enoch's, stayed all night.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Came to Jesse Pews; I was exceeding tired riding and stayed there.

20<sup>th</sup>.—It was wet this morning; we stayed here to rest today & my friend Samuel Lightfoot [Sen.] came here to meet us.

21<sup>st</sup>.—We came to W<sup>m</sup> Joliffs, & his brother James came this evening from Cumberland, having brought y<sup>e</sup> skins that were there.

22<sup>d</sup>.—It froze smartly in y<sup>e</sup> night & y<sup>e</sup> wind blew very high. We came to William Hall's by Potomock, near Harper's Ferry.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Proceeded over Harper's Ferry and came that night to Frederick Town.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Came to Tho<sup>s</sup> Butlers, 35 miles from Frederick Town, being a moderate day, my friend Samuel Lightfoot with us.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Came this evening to York, and being much tired put up at Joseph Chambers.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Being a wet day we stay at York this day. I bought a saddle & bridle & left Jn<sup>o</sup> Mickle's that I had borrowed.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Came to Lancaster and put up at Sandersons.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Came to Hamilton's Tavern on Wilmington Road, stayed all night.

29<sup>th</sup>.—We set off thinking to reach home, but before I came to Buffington's Tavern, I got very chilly & coldish like, where I got some milk & water to drink, but was taken very sick vomiting & shivering with cold. Went to bed about noon & lay until next morning, when I was so well as to start for home; y<sup>e</sup> like sort of fits with a fever, affect me every other day since.

11<sup>mo</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>.—My mother joyful to see me.

“THE CRISIS IN THE EARLY LIFE OF  
GENERAL MÜHLENBERG.”

By REV. WILLIAM GERMANN, D.D.

(Continued from page 329.)

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.*

Philadelphia, March 29, 1767.

“Your valued epistle of the 7<sup>th</sup> of November, 1766, with enclosures, reached here on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January, 1767, by the way of New York, and cost thirty-five shillings fourpence for postage. At the very same hour the news came to Philadelphia that young Mühlenberg had arrived among the German recruits under Colonel Prevost. At this crisis my friends and foes showed themselves in their true colors, as I will describe at a fitting opportunity, if I live. It so came about through friends, that I was obliged to take him home and pay thirty pounds Sterling for his maintenance and necessary clothing. The pretexts for acting as he did were: *a*, his excessive home-sickness; *b*, his perceiving that his trade would be no good in this country, and that by longer delay the expenses would be increased without the desired end being attained. I have sent him to a private English school here, where he is learning bookkeeping and making some progress. He keeps himself quiet and retired, and yet is popular among friends.

“*P. S.* Herr Heinrich Käppele, a merchant here, requests that four hundred and fifty thalers’ worth of medicines (specified) from Halle be sent on his account and credit to Messrs Mildred and Roberts, Merchants in London. Herr Käppele has given said merchants orders to receive them and send them hither. He thinks of setting up a young man in business here,\* and wishes to know how and where he is to pay the four hundred and fifty thaler.”

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.*

Philadelphia May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1767.

“My son Peter arrived during a peculiar crisis in which I stood in regard to the school here, etc. Satan had bent his bow, using my son for the arrow, and was shooting off all his weapons, thinking to set the whole house on fire. But an invisible hand watched over

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\* In all probability young Mühlenberg is meant; “quere, whether it would be advisable to risk them with him.” Marginal note made in Halle.

and protected it, directing and moderating all things. I have no time to describe the remarkable affair in detail. I saw the whole army of darkness arrayed and received arrows enough, etc.—a particulare ad universale—but it is not finished yet. I have him with me, and am sending him to school to be taught bookkeeping. Herr Käupele and other good friends have advised me to set him up in business and let him open a grocery store, as he has no other way of earning his living without being a burden on me. He does indeed think that he can make all kinds of aqua vitæ of brandy and could keep an ale-house, but this does not befit my situation, for there are already more than enough of such places, and they are the cause of the ruin of many families. My friends think he could keep the Halle medicines, together with the grocery store. And, as his Reverence, my dear Doctor Francke, in a fatherly letter, or Pro Memoria, is pleased to announce that they would not place any medicines from the Institution with such a one as Peter, Herr Käupele, and one or two other good friends, offer to stand security, together with myself, for one hundred pounds, or for four hundred thalers' worth of medicines, if they could be sent at the earliest opportunity by way of Hamburg to London, addressed to Mr. Henry Keppeler, merchant, in Philadelphia, in care of Messrs. Mildred and Roberts, merchants, in London. Herr Käupele has notified the afore-said merchants in London, and will also order that the payment shall be punctually made when and how desired. I have already mentioned this in my letter sent with Daniel Williams's epistle, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March. a. c., in order to lose no time; but leave it to the better judgment and opinion of the Reverend Fathers and benefactors in Halle, and to the gracious direction of God, especially as I do not yet know what the answer is to my former letter. Whatever God ordains, I will accommodate myself to. The honest missionary, Herr Zaglin, with whom I was intimately acquainted, used to say: 'If thou wishest me dead, here am I, Lord; if thou wishest me to live, I will submit myself.'

*Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.*

September 12<sup>th</sup> 1767.

"His Reverence (the Swedish Provost) Herr Dr. Wrangel has taken my son Peter to instruct him, and intends with the help of God to make a schoolmaster, or catechist, of him, for he has become serious and gives hopes of conversion. 'With God all things are possible.' Ex: gr: Onesimus in the Epistle to Philemon."

*Mühlenberg, Senior, to the Fathers in London  
and Halle.*

Philadelphia June 8<sup>th</sup> 1768.

"If I might pour out my heart still more without troubling the Reverend Fathers too greatly, I will add something concerning my



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son Peter. After his return home, I strove with my other friends in five or six different ways, to put him into an honest business, in which he might earn his own living without being prejudicial to my position. I did not cease to pray to God to show a way. As often as I made an attempt, the door seemed to be bolted. Finally, considering the need of catechists in the neglected country congregations, Herr Dr. Wrangel decided to risk trying him, and taking him into his house; he worked upon his heart, and strove to cultivate the faculties of his mind. Beginning to teach him the foundation of theoretical and practical theology, he made use of him as amanuensis, in which capacity he took down in church all the English sermons preached by the Herr Doctor, who was greatly surprised to find him able to write out his whole sermon so quickly. Sometime afterwards, Herr Dr. Wrangel said that it would be a great pity not to allow the young man to enter upon so useful and necessary a profession. For nearly a year past I had kept in my house a worthy youth of poor and pious parents,\* Christian Streit, whom I had maintained gratis, out of regard to his future, so that he might complete the cursum philologicum and philosophicum in the English Academy here, and be able to take the gradum magistri. Dr. Wrangel took him too, to his house, instructing him and Peter together, while the youth taught the latter Latin and Greek in the spare hours. It seems that Herr Doctor Wrangel's work and pains were not unblessed in both cases, for his influence was apparent in their conduct and course of life, attracting some notice and surprise in the town, though Satan, also, tried to come between. Last winter it was thought advisable for Peter to travel once or twice to one of the neighboring country churches and there deliver a memorized catechetical discourse. The people received it well and were very grateful. Afterwards Herr Dr. Wrangel paid a visit to the vacant church at Lancaster, it being his turn, and during his absence allowed the young men to preach in English in the Swedish church at Wicaco and in the country, which resulted in a crowd and the applause of their friends. I was fearful and afraid, for I had already suffered and been scorched by the wiles of Satan. At last I allowed him to make a trial at Barren Hill, and in the old neglected chapel of ease, called Pikestown, once served from Providence and New Hanover, but now entirely forsaken. Both of these small congregations earnestly request that he may be sent to them again and allowed to officiate for them. After Herr Dr. Wrangel's return, the Swedish consistory sent Peter a written invitation, asking him to preach again in their church at Wicaco as a probationer, which he did. As a good many friends went to the Swedes' Church when he preached, it was thought that there might be but little given in alms in our church of St. Michael, and the question was privately raised why he should not preach in our church as well. I remained entirely passive, not wishing it allowed

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\* [Kuhn from Lancaster] crossed out.

on several grounds; but praying before the throne of grace for mercy and gracious protection from Satan's wiles. Finally, on Good Friday evening, a. c. he was permitted to speak on the burial of the Saviour. As soon as it became known, there was such a crowd and press at St. Michael's Church as had not been known since its existence, it was said. I did not go, but remained at home in my little room, like a condemned sinner and worm, praying with tears to the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, that He would shield us from Satan's craft for His name's sake, and not allow His cause to be injured through me or mine. After the sermon, the Elders, or, as they are called, the members of the Corporation, came in the house and congratulated me with great affection and emotion on the sermon my son had just delivered. I returned my thanks. But no one knows how I feel in such matters, for I am slow of comprehension and trust to nothing good in me or mine, except it be by grace and mercy from above. I could not take it ill, if my friends in Christ, loving the cause, said privately to each other: 'Thank the Lord! for when the old man, now standing on the edge of eternity, retires, the providence of God points out to us an offshoot, who will serve and comfort us in case of necessity.'

"Since then he has preached several times at Barren Hill and in Pikestown. I do not neglect to refer him to the proper medicine which will purify and heal him if he uses it aright.—Towards the end of April, urgent necessity drove me to send him to the churches made vacant by the death of Herr Pfarrer Schertle, and from there to New Germantown and Bedminster in Jersey, where he preached in both German and English, winning praise in both, but especially in the latter. I have not yet heard him myself; but have always examined his compositions, without finding anything in them to object to, because he is assisted by Dr. Wrangel. Impartial, intelligent, and experienced people say, that he has a pleasant tenor voice, a clear and distinct delivery, puts his emphasis in the right place, is polite, quiet, and guarded in his conversation, and will have nothing to do with strong drink, with which he has been tried, for there are all kinds of temptations on all sides. If the thing is from above, it will stand; if it is of men, it will fall to pieces. As, through the grace and help of God, we are expecting some ministers, I make use of him in the mean time as a wedge to put in the open doors to keep them from closing and locking themselves before the new preachers come, just as I did with Deacon van Buskerk, whom I placed between Providence and Hanover; but when help came with Herr. P. Voigt found it almost too late to remove the wedge without injury. Herr P. Voigt and Herr Dr. Wrangel also, reproved me sharply for inserting such a person, unversed in Latin, etc. Answer. If Herr Voigt had come two or three years earlier, it would not have been necessary for us to insert Buskerk. If he does not know Latin, he does, English, which is necessary here and more useful than Latin or Greek. In the poor country congregations we do not need critics, but catechists, who can present the divine truths in the German Bible and Catechism

simply, and, living honest and sober lives, be satisfied, like the boy prophets, with vegetables. At the solicitation of the vestry of New Germantown and Bedminster, I have, this week, sent Peter thither for some weeks, as they desired him to instruct the young people in the Catechism. \* \* \* \*

"Since I am kindly permitted by the reverend Fathers to express my opinion about my two children now in the Orphan Institution, I can say nothing at present but that I heartily wish them to become catechists for our poor congregations here. I cannot keep them at the University, which, according to my humble opinion, would not be necessary in the circumstances, but rather injurious in the present condition of the universities. What they have learned in humanioribus in the blessed Institution is sufficient to put them on a level with the learned here. If they could be prepared and drilled now in the foundations of theology for catechists, that would be the shortest, best, and nearest way of making them useful to God and their fellow men, a result not to be attained in Universities as they are at present, but only in Institutions like Glaucha. What can be built out of the husks and straw of the so-called noble sciences, if the good part is wanting? The year which I spent in the blessed Institution, together with nearly three months with his Reverence Herr Ziegenhagen, did me more good than the previous precious years spent in heaping up countless lectures in the old way, always learning and never attaining to true knowledge or practice. If they can reach such a useful and happy end through the mercy of God, I will consider it a great benefaction, and if some faithful care-taker of souls would take them to himself and prepare and practise them for this object, he would be doing me and the work here, a great service. I do not know what else to advise. Only not the University!"

There is nothing else to add to the papers given here; they speak for themselves. Only witness must be borne to the fact that there is not the slightest sign that Peter Mühlenberg left his master so suddenly on account of some secret crime, as the somewhat mysterious expressions of his letter to his principal on leaving, led the people in Halle to suppose. If any suppositions are to be made, a much more probable one would be, that it was the flight of a pure-minded youth from threatening temptations, like that of the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, from Nimeguen. No! it was homesickness, and the certain knowledge that his apprenticeship to this trade had been too hasty, and the conviction that his master had had

more than enough profit out of him and that every day longer was a loss to himself. The sight of the English uniform at the same time roused in his heart the feeling that that was his proper calling, for although he afterwards became a minister in America, there are evidences enough that he was not predestined for the office of pastor. The Divine guidance led him through the pastoral office that he might grow as to his inner man in spiritual knowledge. His running away from Lübeck may be looked upon as youthful precipitation, especially as he could have returned to America without hindrance six months later; but this folly of youth does not cast a stain upon his character,—rather the contrary, considering all the circumstances.

The biography quoted before\* considers it another dark spot on his character, and Peter should have been ordained by the Lutherans in the beginning of 1768, and in the Anglican Church, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1772. An ordination is not considered a sacrament by Lutherans; nevertheless for a Lutheran minister to receive a reordination was, at least in those days, almost the same thing as for a layman to be re-baptized. By so doing, the son would have put a great affront on his father and his brethren in the ministerial office. It is indubitable that Peter received the Anglican ordination the above mentioned day; but that he was also ordained as a Lutheran by his own father in the beginning of 1768, will only appear credible, if there are incontestable proofs thereof brought forward. Consequently we continue to make extracts from the documents, and, as in the first outburst of the father's letters, he apparently intended to remove Peter's two brothers and to recall them from Germany in haste it will be eminently proper to give some explanation

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\* *The Life of Major Gen. Peter Mühlberg.* By Henry A. Mühlberg.



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of the further developments in regard to these younger brothers.

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.*

Philadelphia Dec. 16<sup>th</sup> 1768.

"Several months ago, our Governor, together with several other Governors of the neighboring northern provinces, with their suites, travelled a distance of some hundred miles to visit our allies among the Indian nations, in order to renew a treaty of peace with them and to settle the boundary lines, in which General Johnson, Baronet, was the chief agent. The Reverend Herr Richard Peters, Commissioner of the English Church in Philadelphia, was obliged to be there with them. There were three thousand Indians, delegates from all the nations, at the assembly.\* One of the nations, which dwells near the boundaries of the Province of New York, has been visited for many years by English missionaries, who have labored with them and baptized a number, holding their services through interpreters. My father-in-law, the late Herr Conrad Weiser, was adopted by, or united with, this nation, and was received as the friend of their race, which they consider the highest nobility after their kind, because he had learned their language and acted as interpreter between them and the Government of Pennsylvania. At the aforesaid congress, Herr Peters preached to this nation by help of an interpreter and baptized many children. He told us afterwards how the Indians had earnestly begged General Johnson and other gentlemen to establish Christian schools among them, so that their young people might be instructed in the Christian religion. He had since received orders from the Government to look for one or two young men, to undertake this important work and project, whom he was to send to General Johnson, where they were to learn the Indian language at the expense of the Government. After this had been done, they could begin the school under Gen. Johnson's protection, receiving each one annually fifty pounds sterling, as an inducement, from the Society in England, together with his necessary maintenance and his own land. As children born here are better fitted for this Christian work than Europeans, and those who understand both German and English are required, seeing that these Indians live near German and English people, who might profit jointly by the establishment of these schools, and, as I had a learned and pious Majister, Christian Streit, with me, as well as a son of good character, that is Peter, who would be especially loved and respected by the Indians on account of his grandfather, Mr. Weiser, having been their especial friend, and being still held by them in solemn remembrance, Mr. Peters gave these two young men the preference over many others, and proposed to them to undertake this important work, which aimed at the honor of Christ and the best good of souls, subject to my

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\* The locality was Albany or Fort Stanwix.



consent. I answered that I had nothing against it for my part, if I or mine could contribute in any fashion to the honor of God, the good of my neighbor, or my own benefit through God's grace; but as they were both grown up and of age, he had better ask them himself. They went to him the next day, and he asked them himself whether they were bold enough to venture to learn the language of the Indians and to plant the seeds of Christianity among them in their own tongue. Their answer was that they were entirely and perfectly ready to qualify themselves to serve the Lord when and where it pleased Him, and proposed to lay this important matter before Him in prayer. They considered the matter pro and contra, and the poor young men wished to know my opinion and decision; but how can I advise or foresee? In our united churches only one language is required. They already know two, German and English. I would be the gladder if they could learn another one, and serve their Lord and Saviour better in all three, by revealing the glorious plan of salvation to the heathen youth. Oh! that I had a thousand tongues and a thousand-fold mind! and but one heart! My salary, as well as that of my brethren in office is not sufficient to maintain these young beginners and to let them give themselves up entirely to work. Therefore I would have nothing against it, but would rather desire that Christianity should be introduced and spread among the poor heathen, at the expense of the Government, to the honor of our Saviour, if it would stop at school work and the catechism, and not come to Articles and Canons, which although Protestant, are foreign; for we no longer live in the times of the Apostles, but are bound to swear to certain regiments and their articles and cannot pass without a Shibboleth. Just as the English Episcopalians swear by the Articles, and explain them in the Lutheran sense, so there are not a few of us who swear by the Formulam Concordiæ, although they may have never read nor examined it. I was so fortunate as to have had a Collegium disputatorium on this subject in Göttingen, and took pains enough to, in some measure, strip the kernel of its hard Aristotelian shell. I am old and, from having had pleuro-pneumonia, am somewhat more asthmatical than before, yet I have feeling enough to wish from the bottom of my heart, that the glorious plan of salvation might be known, recognized, accepted, and enjoyed, throughout the whole world and among all the nations, for through the one seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed! I have often spoken on the subject, during my life, with my father-in-law, and I would not be so blindly partial to any child of mine as not to be willing to give him up, if he were called properly and were willing to make such an attempt; but there should be the freedom to venture the single combat with Goliath in the name of the Lord, and not be obliged to put on Saul's garments, helmet, and coat of mail. *I Samuel 17.* A praiseworthy society in England is so sublimely magnanimous and catholic, as to maintain German Evangelical missionaries among the heathen in the East Indies.

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"I have neither heard, or seen, anything for a long time of my two sons, Friedrich August, and Heinrich Ernst, who, as my offspring, reflect me. May God grant that they may well employ their precious—yea, priceless—period of grace in the blessed Institution, and may become vessels for the honor of the Lord, the advantage of their neighbors, and the joy of their masters! If there is time and opportunity, I would desire them to be practised in singing, chorals, and thorough bass on the piano, besides in the studio catechetice, for in this part of the world it is useful, as I myself experienced, seeing that by it, immediately on my arrival, during the first half year, I earned my board, made friends, and convinced old Weiser's sensibilities, so that he gave me his daughter as a wife, or helpmate, because, at my first visit, I played and sang the edifying Halle songs on his house-organ (seraphine). Sometimes a hard heart can be thus softened and an extrance gradually won for the word of God. A certain old German Separatist once declared in great earnestness that he could not go to church on account of the organ, nor stay indoors when he heard the frivolity. A bystander remarked that it was no wonder; the evil spirit could not remain in Saul when David played on the harp. I will willingly pay the expense if my boys are permitted to learn."

### *H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to the Reverend Fathers.*

Philadelphia April 15<sup>th</sup> 1769.

"The two sons of mine in the blessed Institution have written and also sent word by Herr Brother Helmuth, who arrived on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April, that they would like to begin the studia academica, if his Reverence, the Herr Director and Counsellor of the Consistory, Francke, feels called upon to give his consent. I leave it entirely to the higher and better judgment of the Reverend Fathers, with the humble reservation that they are not to go into the town, but to remain in the Institution. My wife and I will heartily and willingly pay for all, which we are now better able to do, as we are gradually getting clear of the Barren Hill matter.\* I have entirely, but politely, refused the Reverend Peters' proposal in regard to Streit and Peter, because it tended towards incorporation into the Episcopal Church."

### *Record of the Synod held in Philadelphia from the 24<sup>th</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup> of June, 1769.*

"The Church in Piketown is again vacant, since Peter Mühlenberg and Christian Streit are no longer at hand boarding with me.

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\* Mühlenberg, who had become surety for the debt for the erection of the church, was in extreme danger of being put in prison.

"The President chose a Committee of the Reverend Ministerium, and directed them to examine the candidate Georg Jung, who had just arrived from London with a recommendation from P. Wachsel, and Peter Mühlenberg, in theology, etc.

"The Reverend examiners were occupied from half past three in the afternoon until seven o'clock, in examining the candidate, Herr Jung, and Peter Mühlenberg in theology."

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.*

Philadelphia August 12<sup>th</sup> 1769.

"Peter Mühlenberg, as an examined and appointed deacon, holds German and English services in the churches of New Germantown and Bedminster, and young Majister Streit has the neighboring chapels of ease, such as Greenwich, [near Easton], Amwell, Brunswick, and Pawlingskill, and as Herr Kurtz, sen., is minded to serve the church in Yorktown, the great Tolpehocken field will be empty, and it would be a pity if the churches were to be deserted and allowed to go to pieces. My wife has a great longing for this place as her first home, and thinks that her two boys, Friedrich and Heinrich, would be able in time to support their old father there, if he were to live a year or so longer and could rest and recruit himself there. 'Homo proponit, Deus disponit'; but, in matters relating to my profession, I am not very willing to have anything to do with the advice of women."

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to the Reverend Fathers.*

Philadelphia August 23<sup>rd</sup> 1769.

"My meaning was, as I have often told Herr Schultz\* and others, not to go away from Philadelphia until the Lord God and the Reverend Fathers thought it well. But, as I sighed for some relief, I wanted to rent a house, or small place, near the city, but removed from the bustle, so that I could live somewhat in quietness with my poor, sick, over-wearied, hysterical wife,† and be able to give more attention, as a man and father ought to do, to my children. Then Herr Schultz could move into the roomy parsonage with his wife and maid, where he could easily and comfortably lodge an assistant, with whom he could work, with one mind and heart, performing the duties of his office in brotherly unity. I desired to

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\* Mühlenberg's son-in-law.

† The alarm about the Barren Hill matter had brought on epileptic fits.

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take much more school work on myself, so as to try and relieve my outer necessities, and preferred to take the Sunday work in St. Michael's church, where the numerous young people, the old and hard of hearing, etc., who have no room in the new church [Zion] must be ministered to, if it so pleases God, and I should have some days longer to live. When I said I was obliged to seek some relaxation for myself and family in the country, if my representations met with no kind of a response, then Herr Schultz answered that he would go into the country too, and so it goes round in a circle, and I remain in the press. Herr Schultz thinks he could not trust himself to manage with a new worker in the intricate circumstances of the country, because new works are so easily influenced by Satan's crafty wiles, as he knew from his own experience, having been subtly set against me and irritated during his first year. I answered that he should treat an assistant as I did him, and Satan would accomplish nothing through his instruments. It has been suggested, among other things, by some well-meaning members and brethren in office, whether it would not be advisable to ask for Friedrich August Mühlenberg for an assistant, subject to the judgment and matured counsel of the Reverend Fathers. He would certainly like it and be guided by, and amenable to, his father and brother-in-law. 'Relata refero,' and I commit it to the great Shepherd of the sheep and to the Reverend Fathers for their gracious direction and better judgment. Time passeth quickly, correspondence at so great a distance is slow, the need increases, and sometimes the stable is repaired when the cow is dead. The Lord is, and remains, the ruler of His own. He has never neglected aught under His government. I am anxious about the young men. They have done so much in humanioribus in the blessed Institution that they would be ranked with the learned in America; they have had the finest opportunity to hear the substance and quintessence of theology, and have seen the best examples and regulations as well, and according to the latest news may be experiencing the beginning of the work of grace in their souls. But how great danger the poor youths are placed in when they again breathe the free, intoxicating American air! If there is nothing better offers, nor other help to be found, and August Friedrich must be sacrificed, might it not be only necessary, according to my humblest and most deferential opinion, to send August Friedrich alone, letting the younger, Heinrich Ernst remain, for I would like to have one come to maturity in the blessed institution. On the one side, it is both suspicious and painful for a poor farmer to be obliged to put a two year old colt to the plow. It will become stiff and worn out too soon. On the other hand, it is good for young people to begin to work early under direction and oversight, for their conceit disappears sooner. If it were God's gracious will, I would far rather have both the boys remain in Europe and make themselves useful there. For I cannot adequately describe how crafty and unwearied Satan has been in pursuit of my children, seeking by means of them to cast a stain upon me, to dishonor the holy



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name of God and His work, and to destroy the work of my ministry here, insignificant enough without that. My wife is incapable of the necessary oversight and training, on account of her hysterical seizures; the parsonage has in front, behind, and on the side, four or five entrances and doors, and when I am surrounded by people and their business and held almost by the hair in my room, then it is that Satan and his crew seem to scent it, and they appear before the other doors, seeking to insinuate to my children or people some harmful temptation. All this moves me to sigh for some relief in order to be able to better look after my own house."

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.*

Philadelphia November 26<sup>th</sup> 1769.

"I heartily wish that, if it is the will of God and the judgment of the Reverend Fathers, my two boys could come here, the sooner the better, for I look for some support from Friedrich August, and could make Heinrich useful in the school work, for I am in a sad case, and, in my weakness, have no help for Philadelphia and Whitemarsh. It is to be wished and entreated that our people could, through the grace of God, do something for Philadelphia and Tolpehocken. If I were to die before the children arrive it might not be serviceable. Herr Pfarrer Schultz often grumbles that he cannot go to Lancaster, because he thinks the country air and way of living would conduce to the restoration of his health and the prolongation of his life. Thus Philadelphia is in a bad way; one with a secret homesickness for the country, and the other, fearing the leap to eternity. And Philadelphia might receive a great blow, if it were to be forsaken under the present circumstances. 'Lord, help us, or we die!'

"My wife would like exceedingly to have a hundred thalers' worth of Halle medicines sent with the boys and will willingly pay for them and take the risk on them, for she believes the almighty and most gracious God will protect and watch over the boys, and consequently the medicine. I have only a couple of weak assistants in the Jersey churches, namely, Peter Mühlenberg and Christian Streit, to look after the chief churches, which are divided thus: Peter has New Germantown and Bedminster; and Streit, the chapels-of-ease, which are Greenwich, Amwell, and Pawlinskil. I really ought to take a journey there before the winter, to patch up various matters (if the little holes are not mended, there will soon be nothing but holes); but I find it impossible, partly from want of strength, and partly because I cannot leave Philadelphia, unless some one takes my place."

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior. Journey to New Jersey.*

June and July, 1770.

"On the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, about one o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived in good condition at the parsonage in New Germantown, [Hunterdon Co., N. J.], and found the Deacon engaged at a funeral. On the 15<sup>th</sup>



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of, June, from eight o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon, I was instructing in the dogmas of the Evangelical church, some twenty young people, whom the Deacon had been teaching for some time, and who desired to be confirmed at this opportunity. On Saturday, the 16<sup>th</sup> of June, twenty-two young people came to the class, whom, in the presence of the Deacon and young Herr Streit, as well as some of the parents, I exercised in the necessary articles of doctrine and practical duty, seeking to inculcate the truths pertaining to salvation. Towards noon we went to Zion's Church in New Germantown. The Deacon gave the meeting a preparatory discourse upon some verses for the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians. I examined the twenty-two young persons before the meeting, then allowed them to renew their baptismal vows, and had confession with them, as well as with the old members of the congregation. On the first Sunday after Trinity, the 17<sup>th</sup> of June, I repaired to the Church, where I found a numerous congregation, and baptized some children, and preached on the text of the rich man and poor Lazarus. The listeners were attentive and devout. After this, I again examined the young people, and, after they had, amid deep emotion, taken on themselves the solemn vows of fidelity to their great Redeemer and Benefactor, I laid my hands upon them, and gave them the Holy Sacrament. Then came some more old members of the congregation, who, living at a distance, were not able to be present yesterday. After having preparatory services and holding confession with them, we (both Deacons assisting in the celebration by holding the cup) gave the Holy Sacrament to some eighty and more persons."

The elder Mühlenberg officiated in a similar manner in the churches entrusted to young Streit and Candidate Jung.

*Director Knapp to H. Mühlenberg, Senior.*

Halle, May 14<sup>th</sup> 1770.

"Although your two dear sons would have been allowed to remain here some years longer, to be thoroughly grounded in studii theologicis, as well as in general information, and above all in the Catechism, I have, after mature deliberation and sincere appeal to God, and for reasons that seemed to me sufficient, thought it not wrong to let them go to you by this favorable opportunity; first of all, because their beloved parents seemed to wish to have them with them again, and secondly, because the late Herr Rath Francke, deceased September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1769, intended to suggest to your Reverence, whether it would not be better for them to supply what they still wanted in solidity of knowledge by industry at home, under the paternal supervision, for several of my fellow-workers, who had had to do with them, have often declared that they believed such a course would be more useful to them, and more likely of success

than here. In the third place, they themselves seem to have a longing for home, while, fourthly, the expenses of their longer stay here might fall too heavily on you. Moreover, fifthly, one cannot tell how soon so good an opportunity in such desirable company (that of P. Kunze who was called to Philadelphia), and under such guardianship, might arise again. But, sixthly, and principally, I am troubled about their souls, fearing they may be diverging towards wickedness and taking up principles which though lurking under the appearance of great scholarship, may do great harm. Young people are fond of novelty, and the more they are warned, the more curious they seem to become.

"As to their hearts, I wish indeed that I could assuredly say that they obey with fidelity the call of their Heavenly Father. Herr Helmuth has perhaps told you the good hope which showed itself in the younger boy before his departure. His improvement continued in earnest for some time. But, on a certain occasion, he was so carried away by pride and insolence, as to ill-treat an innocent little boy who stood near him, although in the presence of the preceptors and all the orphans.\* He had to be punished by confinement, when, although at first he was very reserved, he finally promised faithfully to improve in everything. and, afterwards, until he went to the University, behaved properly, and, at the latter place, he, as well as his elder brother, made no trouble. He has an unparalleled spirit, in which the elder, too, is not wanting; but the latter is by nature more tractable, and I cannot say that he has given those in authority over him any trouble. But no real earnestness has been observed in them up to this time, indeed, on the contrary, from their associates, etc., their minds appear to incline to frivolity. Your Reverence will easily see yourself from these circumstances, that it was not possible for me to vote that either one of them was fitted for the pastoral office, as I could not find the beginning of a real change of heart in them, if the want of sufficient knowledge was overlooked. Nevertheless I trust in the merciful Saviour. He will follow after them, and bless the prayers and example of their beloved parents to them, and thus not only draw them to Himself, but make them instruments of His grace to others. If you intend to occupy them constantly and to point out to them how they can strengthen their theological knowledge by their own industry, and above all to give them direction how to treat the Divine truths in an edifying manner, they have already been so grounded in the school and the colleges annexed, that they can help themselves by the reading of good books. And if God consecrates their naturally good talents, they may become useful, if they behave well otherwise, they will soon be able perhaps to undertake a sermon, and it would do no harm, if they would oc-

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\* Apparently the family tradition of this youthful folly was transferred, somewhat modified, from the life of the youngest brother to that of the eldest.

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casionally preach at Barren Hill, or at other places, where there cannot be service every Sunday, on the intermediate Sundays. But as to trusting a church to them, before they are roused to greater seriousness, I could and would not advise it."

The travellers, who had hastily passed through Wernigerode and Braunschweig, without stopping at Eimbeck as they desired, on their way to Altona, arrived in London on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June; took ship again on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July and reached New York on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, and Philadelphia, on the 26<sup>th</sup>, of September. In a letter of Dec. 10, 1770 Mühlenberg writes to the Fathers at Halle: "Everybody there was extraordinarily curious to see and hear their two fellow-countrymen, who had been so long in another part of the world, and especially in the renowned and blessed Halle Institution, and that the sooner the better; and there was no other way to have peace, but to let them both hold forth at the Thanksgiving meeting in Zion, Friedrich August in the afternoon, and Heinrich in the evening. Thousands filled the church and listened and looked as attentively as if they had never seen or heard the like before."

*Record of the Synod held in Reading on the  
24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of October, 1770.*

The Synod had been postponed until the arrival of the travellers. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October, the father and two sons departed for Reading, leaving Peter Mühlenberg, who was suffering from fever, on guard in Philadelphia during their absence.

Among the matters acted upon by the Synod, the following was brought up:

"Motion for a preliminary tentamen of one of the sons of Herr Mühlenberg, Senior."

"Concerning the examination and ordination of the five candidates, Herrn Jung, Kuhn, Streit, Friedrich and Heinrich Mühlenberg, as Deaconi Ministerii."

"The motion about an appointed preliminary tenta-

men of one of the two sons of Herr Mühlenberg, Senior, who have just returned from Halle, was considered good and useful by all, and immediately passed. Thereupon Herr Heinrich Mühlenberg was chosen, the place of examiner being supplied by Herr Pfarrer Voigt. First of all, the original text of the first Psalm was translated into Latin, after which various analytical and exegetical questions were put in the same language, all of which were answered accurately. The Herr Examiner was especially astonished at his evident readiness in the Hebrew tongue. The first chapter of the Gospel of John was afterwards gone through in the same manner, in which the same readiness and fluency as before were noticeable. According to the unanimous opinion of all, the knowledge of the younger Herr Mühlenberg is especially admirable, considering his age [he was born the 17<sup>th</sup> of November, 1753] and the time of his stay at Halle, that being only seven years."

"In regard to the examination and ordination of the candidates present, the President (Mühlenberg) set forth the reasons for the necessity of the proposed action, the way and manner in which it should be taken, and the aim and destination of the new workers, whereupon the matter was recognized as necessary and favored by all. Herr M. Kuhn only, who had been under Herr Dr. Wrangel's teaching and instruction, demurred, desiring to be previously employed in preaching, and to do this without and further assumption of proper ministerial functions in the church, so as to be able to receive more preparation and to remain a candidate longer. He was therefore excluded, at his desire, from the number of those to be ordained. There was no doubt in respect to the other four, first, because they were acknowledged to be active, capable, and clever workers; second, because it was possible to place them in such positions that they would be



under good oversight at first; and third, because Collaboratores ministerii, to send hither and yon, were so urgently needed. The stipulations which were made and submitted to them were: first, they must be strictly examined; second, they must be ordained Deacons, or Collaboratores Ministerii; third, they must be bound by a written declaration. Thereupon the examination of the aforesaid candidates was begun in the name of the Lord. Herr Pfarrer Voigt was the first examiner; he chose the Article on Holy Baptism, which he explained by briefly asking questions, proved by passages from the Scriptures, read in the original text, and elucidated by stating some objections. Herr Krug continued, at first taking up the same Article, and then examining them on the doctrine of the Being, qualities, unity and Trinity of God. Then Herr Kurz, the younger, took up Original Sin. The examination was carried on principally in German, changing finally to the Latin tongue. Afterwards, in the name of the Triune God, the four above-mentioned candidates were ordained to the holy ministerial office, into which they were solemnly received as Collaboratores Ministerii, after then and there binding themselves by a written declaration with the consent and imposition of hands of all the members of the ministry, with the performance of the principal ceremony by Herr Pfarrer Voigt. At the end everyone added his good wishes and the meeting was finally closed by prayer and song."

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior's, Journal of his Journey to Tolpehocken, October and November, 1770.*

After the Synod, the Senior and President travelled for some time (until the 7<sup>th</sup> of December), among the vacant churches near Tolpehocken. The following passage occurs in the Journal of his travels:

"My wife informed me that she would much like to have me home on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, on account



of a family matter which, however, can just as well be arranged by writing. As I have decided to send my two sons D. V. to Philadelphia next Monday from here, and as I also must depart tomorrow D. V., I passed the night in writing; *a.*, to my wife at length; *b.*, to Herr Matthaeus Mayer, living in Philadelphia, and an old warden of our Church, in which letter I gave my full consent to, and wishes for a blessing on, the betrothal and marriage of my oldest son, Peter, to his oldest daughter Hanna, which is to take place by Divine grace on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, for therein I have perceived a Divine leading."

*H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.*

Philadelphia February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1772.

"My son Friedrich, a stricter Lutheran than Peter, lets me have a distant hope, that, if God, in His great mercy and grace, preserves him, strengthens him by His spirit, and promotes his growth, he may become in the future a fellow-worker in the Philadelphia Church. He has by nature an honest heart, some experience of God's grace, a tolerably clear head, a sound stomach and moderate bodily vigor. He can endure hardships and is more accustomed to the American climate than a born European; he has a fine, clear, penetrating voice for Zion, and family connections by means of which he can by Divine grace be settled. He has already made one or two trials in his poor little congregations, which pleased me well, and has been over hasty once or twice, with good intentions, however, and I willingly overlooked it and endeavored to show him the right way, for young soldiers sometimes want to discharge their guns before they are loaded, from a courageous anxiety to kill the enemy before they can hit him. My son Heinrich is liked for his catechisation, because he can deal so wisely with young people. His unruly spirit which has never been rightly broken, and the scars which the lectures of Herr Dr. Semler's left on his mind, will, it is to be hoped gradually disappear and be smoothed away by grace and trouble here. Herr Brother Schmidt has been serving St. Peter's Church at Barren Hill near Germantown since November, while Heinrich was with the Jersey Churches."

This remark about Niemeyer's demand for compensation follows:

"It certainly is a dear ransom for two years and a half. If I had put the boy in a grocer's shop and liquor-store here, he would have

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received his board and clothing for four years and wages besides. I am heartily sorry to have given my dearest and best friends in Halle so much trouble and anxiety about my children."

*Diary of H. Mühlenberg, Senior's, Journey from the  
1<sup>st</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> of May, 1772.*

"As my son Peter Mühlenberg, a former pupil of his Reverence, Herr Dr. Wrangel, who has been my assistant in the Jersey Churches at New Germantown and Bedminster, has received a call to Virginia, leaving the Jersey Churches last February, I was obliged in spite of my incapacity, to make a visit to them."

*Künze to his Brother, Pastor in Naitschau near Greiz.*

Philadelphia September 16<sup>th</sup> 1772.

"Those of the high church [Established Church] here are called Lutherans, as the Presbyterians are called Calvinists. My father-in-law's eldest son, Peter Mühlenberg, who was for some time under the instruction of the Herr Provost Dr. Wrangel, at present Court Chaplain at Stockholm, preacher and Companion of the Seraphine Order and President of the Consistory of the Court, went to England to be ordained by a Bishop, and has now returned, and is an English minister in Virginia, all without changing his belief."

The manuscript annals of Halle contain nothing else pertinent, while in the printed reports, Peter's name, after the mention of his arrival with his two brothers, is never mentioned. His running away from Lübeck was never forgiven. As to the Lutheran ordination, the earliest time it could have taken place must have been after the examination on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June, 1769, by the Synod at Philadelphia. But, apparently, he was then, like his colleague Jung, only received among the number of candidates, for Jung, with three others, was again examined by the next Synod in 1770, at Reading, and then ordained. It is somewhat remarkable that Peter remains behind in Philadelphia, suffering from fever, as warder, that is, only guardian of the large church, and finds time within a fortnight, to be

betrothed and married, while his father does not go to the wedding, and his fellow-student, Streit, passes his ordination-examination and is ordained. It is true that another pupil of Wrangel's, young Kuhn, modestly refuses to be ordained. Are we to suppose that Peter had similar scruples? It may be that he avoided ordination, perhaps not only from modesty, but from a certain alienation from the Lutheran Church, born of his experience of life with the people at Halle. It is more probable that his father himself held him off, for he evidently does not think highly of his son's theological disposition, having respect for the judgment of his Halle and London patrons. That must have increased the estrangement. However, our evidence is only circumstantial and *e silentio*, and it will be necessary to seek for direct proofs, or disproofs, in North America itself. Moreover, the crisis in the life of Peter Mühlenberg did not end with the ordination in London, but with the celebrated farewell sermon of a certain Sunday in January, 1776, when he called out to the dense crowd: "There is a time to fight, and that time has now come!" And after pronouncing the blessing, threw off his gown, showing an officer's uniform beneath, and ordered the drums to beat for recruits at the church-door. Then, when the Germans had flocked to his standard so quickly and numerously that the German Regiment of Colonel Peter Mühlenberg was among the first to be ready at the outbreak of the war of independence of his native country, then he was in his element and had found his vocation. And who would have supposed from the glimpses we have had of the development of the younger brothers, during one consideration of the crisis in the youthful life of the eldest, that Friedrich August, treading in the footsteps of his senior, would forsake theology and render substantial services to his country as a skilled statesman, while the youngest, Heinrich, would remain

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faithful to theology, and serve the church with his whole heart? When the father, in advanced old age, reviewed the careers of his noble and finely gifted sons, he must have felt the truth of the word of God: "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."\*

Windsheim July 15<sup>th</sup> 1881.

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\* Isaiah 55 v. 8-9.

FAIRMOUNT DAM AND WATER WORKS,  
PHILADELPHIA.

[The following statement prepared by the late Thomas Gilpin, in 1852, gives a detailed account as to who first proposed building a dam and erecting water works on the Schuylkill river at Fairmount, the main source of water supply for the city of Philadelphia for many years and an attractive resort of its citizens. The dam is still in use, but the old pumping houses have been dismantled and are now used for an aquarium; the reservoir is being reduced in height, on which is to be erected the Municipal Art Gallery.]

In the year 1817—I believe in the winter; Joseph S. Lewis called on me to consult me respecting an idea he had, for using a water power on the river Schuylkill, to be created by making a dam across it at Fairmount to raise up the stream there, so as to take in the water level above the Falls, which was used for works erected by Josiah White and Joseph Gillingham for their factory,—he told me, he could purchase their interest in the mill seat for that purpose.

This became afterwards the subject of several conferences between us, in which I gave encouragement to the project,—but it required deliberation owing to its novelty and magnitude.

Jos. S. Lewis stated to me, that he preferred the employment of water power to that of steam; that their steam power was not sufficient, and had become enormously expensive from the high price and scarcity of wood—I think he said that the cost of the steam fuel was then between thirty and thirty-five thousand dollars a year, with an increasing requisition upon it. The Coal Mines in Pennsylvania had not then been discovered or opened or the coal brought to Market under any expectation of its usefulness or of an adequate supply.



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Our conversations on the subject were continued from his idea that I was well acquainted with employment of water powers in consequence of being interested in them for a long time—and particularly at our Mills on Brandywine Creek near Wilmington Delaware—these had an extensive reputation, from the Water power being used there more economically and to more advantage than common thro' the country—and after the several representations which had been made to him respecting this, he considered the plan to be a suitable one to introduce at Fairmount.

These Mills had been in operation upon an improved construction and application of the water for more than ten years—they differed from those in common use by the water being let upon the wheels near to the level of its surface—and then the power obtained from its descending weight—it was not let into the wheels under the pressure of a head to cause an impulsive force—in this way, the water-wheels contained a greater body of water—moved much slower and were steadier—and were more effective. This plan had been originated after many experiments by John Smeaton, a very celebrated Millwright in England, who was employed largely in Government works—whose writings on his experiments had come to this country, and Joseph S. Lewis had obtained them from the Philadelphia Library. As the construction of a Mill and the best use of a water power was at all times a considerable operation both of skill and expense—science and experience were required to test the value of the operation, and it was some time before a new principle could be credited and adopted.

Owing to the Mills at Brandywine requiring heavy and permanent work, the movement of the machinery on the old plan with the use of the water on the wheels by impulse, had caused it to give way for want of steadiness and strength—in the meantime I had at-

tended to the English improvements—and after considerable enquiry I found that an English Millwright had come over and settled near Newark, New Jersey, previously to the year 1808, who was acquainted with this mode of applying water—I went on immediately to consult him about it, and found he fully understood it.

This person was Thomas Oakes, afterwards so well known by his works on the Schuylkill River, both at Fairmount and as Engineer to the Schuylkill Navigation Company. We with his partner Drury Broomley, had settled at Bloomfield, near Paterson, New Jersey, where they had met with some employment.

Both of them were well acquainted with their profession and the principles for the proper use of water power, particularly Thomas Oakes, who had studied, and practised under the experiments of John Smeaton with whom he had been acquainted in England, and he became the planner and engineer in their business here.

In consequence of this, my brother Joshua Gilpin and myself, owning the mills and water powers on an estate at Brandywine, had our mills and machinery rebuilt by Thomas Oakes. His first work there, was to put in the works of the original old mill, in 1808, and finding this to answer all our expectations we constructed there three other mills on the same principle in 1816; all of which answered well and required no repairs for many years. The first mill was in operation from 1808 to 1825—when it was destroyed by fire. The machinery had never required renewal, and the water-wheels and machinery in the new mills continued to go in the same substantial manner, tho' much injured two times by very severe river freshets, until the year 1837.

It was from the repute and good character of this machinery, that Joseph S. Lewis, who knew of it well, applied to me to give him information on the subject

of water powers, and he was the more particularly interested about them after I told him we had connected with them a powerful iron forcing pump which had been in constant operation night and day thro' all the year, and raised more than 200,000 gallons of water per day, for the six Paper engines, and the Paper machine, and this was fully one-tenth part of the quantity then used at Philadelphia for all the city purposes.

As I thought it would be better that the Watering Committee should have every opportunity to be satisfied on the subject; I invited all the gentlemen composing the same to visit the mills in order to see their construction and availability, and I stated to the Committee, that as our waterfall in use there, was about seven feet in height, it would correspond so nearly to the proposed water fall at Fairmount that a similar calculation of machinery and wheels would answer.

In conformity to this, an appointment was made, and Joseph S. Lewis, Doctor Samuel Jackson, Benjamin Jones, and Frederick Graff came down to Wilmington, in their carriage, and I received them the next morning at the mills.

These Gentlemen remained with me during the day and examined all the works, particularly the water-wheels and their performance, as well as the application of the water power upon them; the water pumping; the quantity of water raised and delivered into a reservoir in the mill, but which was connected with a large Settling-pond which held near a million of gallons, the movement and substantiality of the work, and they were all satisfied of its efficiency.

In the course of the day Joseph S. Lewis told me, that the Committee had come to the conclusion to adopt the same plan for the Water-Works at Philadelphia, with the same improvements and workmanship; and I replied to them if they did so, and if Thomas Oakes could be obtained to construct them they would suc-

ceed; but if they employed anyone else in the country, I believed the work would prove a failure, because I did not think there was then any other person to whom such an operation ought to be entrusted.

In consequence of this, it was concluded by the Committee that I should write to Thomas Oakes to come on at once which I did; and he came to Philadelphia where I introduced him to Joseph S. Lewis at his house in Second Street, where our discussion took place the afternoon of the days after he arrived.

Joseph S. Lewis said that his engagements would prevent him from going out the next day to Fairmount as he had desired to do to go over the ground; but wanted no time to be lost because advantage ought to be taken of the season, and it was important to make a report to the Council without delay. At his request I concluded to go with Thomas Oakes the next day out to the position of the present Water Works where he sounded the river from the City side to the western side. He found the depth of the river to be very considerable on the City side, the current having set the channel of the river to the eastward; I think it was about 30 feet before a solid bottom could be found; but the water became quite shoal with a rock bottom on the western side.

Thomas Oakes concluded it would therefore not answer well to build a crib dam of logs and stones up to the City side because it would be too high, and in too deep water, he therefore should advise that an earthen mold bank or pier should be run out for about four hundred feet to go over the deep part of the river, and then to commence with a crib dam to go over to the other side grounding it upon the rock bottom, but as it would not be safe to contract the stream because the high water of the river freshets would have to be passed off, he would propose that the water fall part of the dam should be run diagonally across the



river to allow at least as much discharging surface as the average part of the stream. I think the cataract part of the dam he allowed to be about 1200 feet.

In addition to the plan or place for the dam, Thomas Oakes was required to give his opinion in general respecting the eligibility of the measure, and it was thought best to make a reply to the proposal under the following heads:—

1. Whether sufficient water power could be obtained from the flow of the Schuylkill River with a fall of 7. to 9. feet to raise the supply of water 100 feet high into the Reservoir on Fairmount for the city purposes, using the water fall height from the tail water of Peter Robeson's Mills, as the average level of the tides.

2. Whether if there had existed at Fairmount such a rock reef obstruction as existed at the Falls of Schuylkill it would not be eligible to use it for the purpose; and

3. That as there was not a reef of rocks at Fairmount, whether an artificial one, or an obstruction or dam could not be made there to answer the same purpose.

Thomas Oakes, after due consideration made up his mind affirmatively, and in favor of all these points; and at his request I drew up for him his report accordingly. This report, answering all these ideas, and covering the whole ground was handed by him to Joseph S. Lewis, and will be found to be the substance of the Report of the Watering Committee to the Council.

The importance of the subject engaged all his attention and Thomas Oakes wrote for his partner Drury Broomley, who came on and they were engaged soon after by the corporation to do the work, and to lay out the site for the dam and mills according to his plan. The position was for the location for eight mills to use all the water power, the guard docks, forebay, basin &c., but only one or two of the water powers



were at first put into use by him; the remaining water powers were for use for the additional mills as they were required.

Thomas Oakes remained at these works till the principle and movement were fully tested by the wheels being put into operation but he had soon after to leave them to be executed more particularly by his partner Drury Broomley for he was chosen to be Engineer for the Schuylkill Navigation Company in the month of March 1819. First under the presidency of Cadwalader Evans, and afterwards under that of Joseph S. Lewis, when he had afterwards the erection and superintendency of all the works on the river, where his judgment and practical efficiency were always relied upon; and his salary was increased from time to time in consideration of his services, by the voluntary consideration of his employers. His death was occasioned by too great an exposure to the summer heat, in the faithful devotion to his business.

It was from very frequent intercourse and observation I had from time to time, as well as from the representation of everyone I conversed with; that I was satisfied the proposal to raise the water supply from the Schuylkill River by the present water works at Fairmount, originated with Joseph S. Lewis; that he was the first mover and projector of them, and as the conception and enterprise was bold and novel, he had great difficulty afterwards to convince others of their advantage, and get them carried into effect.

I was occasionally at the Fairmount water-works where conferences took place between the Watering Committee or the members composing it; and some of the persons under contract to do the material part of the work; and attended to their explanation, about it particularly with Ariel Cooley when building the dam across the river, as well as the progress of the mill works, and on all these occasions the opinion and de-

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cision which was required as a principal was very much controlled by Joseph S. Lewis, tho' for the practical planning of such work as the board could not be expected to be acquainted with, he depended chiefly upon Thomas Oakes. The work of the dam was from the nature difficult to be reduced to a descriptive contract, but the progress of the work was to be approved by him, both as it related to the Fairmount Water works and to the Schuylkill Navigation Company in its material workmanship and time.

In confirmation of this statement and of the ideas of the Corporation, and of his friends at the time of the decease of Joseph S. Lewis, I refer to the adjoining memorial respecting this enterprise. It is engraved on the panel on the north side of the marble monument placed over his tomb in the Laurel Hill Cemetery, which stands in a conspicuous situation on a hill, open to the view of the Schuylkill River—to the truth of which inscription, his cotemporaries can bear testimony.

On the panel on the south side of the monument, and fronting the river view, there is cut in relief the water front picture of the Fairmount Water Works, and, however, meritorious other persons were, in carrying out the further extension of the works and in the labor of laying out the beautiful grounds around the reservoirs; the bold conception of the enterprise in the origin of the Water Works at Fairmount is due to Joseph S. Lewis.

Thomas Gilpin.

Philadelphia 3 April, 1852.

A correspondent, in noticing the efforts of the various citizens who were instrumental in building up our Fairmount Water Works, notices, in warm terms, the conduct of the late Joseph S. Lewis, and begs us to transfer to our columns, the following inscription on the monument to his memory, as erected at Laurel Hill.

“Erected, by Grateful Fellow-Citizens and Friends,  
To the Memory of

JOSEPH S. LEWIS,

Who long and faithfully presided over  
The Schuylkill Navigation Company,  
And the Fairmount Water Works.

*He originated the latter*, and by his persevering and  
disinterested exertions, brought to a completion  
that great Public Work, which, for magnificence  
of conception, simplicity and solidity of execution,  
and unmixed character of beneficence, is worthy of being placed amongst  
the noblest achievements of enlightened  
Civic Enterprise. His remains fitly  
repose in this spot, on the River  
rendered by his labors a source  
of Prosperity, Health and  
Safety to his Native City.

Born, May 9th, 1778.

Died, March 13th, 1836.”

LETTER FROM LIEUT. GOVERNOR ANDREW  
ELLIOT, ON THE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT  
REGULATING TRADE AND THE COLLEC-  
TION OF DUTIES AT NEW YORK, DURING  
THE REVOLUTION.

New York, 19<sup>th</sup> Jany 1781.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of this month, and am happy in an opportunity to evince my readiness to comply with any of your commands however inadequate I may be to the attempt.

From the commencement of the disputes in America, and during the course of the present Rebellion, the Parliament of Great Britain has not passed any act by which the Power of the Officers of Civil Government are suspended in the Revolted Provinces, or any alterations made in their Legislatures, except in that of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in which by Act of Parliament an alteration was made, but that Act being immediately repealed the government of Massachusetts Bay was left in the same situation with the other revolted Provinces.

When Congresses, Committees and Town Meetings were established, the Officers of Civil Government immediately lost their influence, and in a short time were obliged to quit their stations. This was the case in New York, and I suppose the same in all the other revolted Provinces.

As Civil authority was thus set aside by the usurped Powers of Congresses &c., it may be asked why the Officers of Civil Government do not resume their functions in such Towns or Districts in any Revolted Prov-

inces as are under the protection of his Majesty's Arms, and where of course the sole cause of their relinquishment is removed. To answer such a Query consideration must be first had to the general situation of that Province, and the consequences that would attend a partial Revival of the Civil Power—for example the Province of New York, which at this hour is exactly in the same situation it was in, soon after Sir William Howe took possession of the City—the whole in Rebellion and under an usurped Legislation, except Long Island, Staten Island and the small Island on which the town is Situated, one third of which Town lyes in Ruins; the necessary garrison, Publick Departments &c, occupying two thirds of the Buildings that escaped the Fires; and Forts, Posts and Barracks dispersed all over the three Islands, makes the whole Territory in possession of His Majestys Arms in this Province, in fact a Garrison.

In places thus situated would it be advisable to attempt the Revival of Powers that could not be enforced without the assistance of the Military and which might often impede not only the Operations of the Army, but also the obtaining of many necessary supplies, the scarcity of which frequently requires immediate exertions to which the civil power is not equal? Or can it be supposed that the Commander in Chief at such places would think it consistent to give his voice for such a Revival? and without his consent are not the consequences of such an attempt obvious? Can an Assembly composed of the Members sent by those Islands, so small a proportion of the Province, enact laws that will be binding upon the whole when Reconciliation takes place? Allowing they could, is it not probable they would pass such as would give an opening to Animosities and Provincial Feuds? As Property is now situated on the three Islands, much of it belongs to persons out in Rebellion, who are largely



indebted to Loyal Subjects in America, and to the Merchants in Great Britain and Ireland, without giving great openings for future confusion, how can the Judges or any other Officers in the Civil Line, perform the whole duties of their Stations? Have they any authority to perform it partially? Any alteration in the former Constitution that the Necessity of the Times may require, the Loyalists will readily acquiesce in, but may not the Leaders of Rebellion persuade the Multitude that altho' Proclamations promise a full Restoration of their former local Legislation, innovations are daily made in the Places where Civil Government is revived.

The Commissioners that were appointed and arrived here in 1778, found the Province of New York precisely in the same situation it still remains in, and altho' their Powers were equal to any arrangements they might have thought proper to establish for the Public good or for the further security of the Persons and Property of the Inhabitants under Protection, they left it without Making any alterations in the Commander in Chief's Plan, except in what related to the Regulations of Trade.

The Commander in Chief having from Time to Time adopted every consistent Measure that can give present security to Person and Property, it appears to me, that whilst we continue in our present circumscribed situation, any attempt to Revive the Civil Power, would not only injure the Public cause but also Private interest, by impeding the Military Operations, laying the foundation of future Provincial feuds, by calling a partial Assembly and create future confusion in Private property by decisions being made at such times.

As soon as any alteration in the Officers of the Province at large May extend the Royal Authority, secure the Necessary supplies of Fuel and Forage for the

Army, and admit of the Calling of an Assembly that can be composed of the requisite Number of Members, the immediate Revival of the Civil Authority would then become an object of the greatest consequence.

Force having set aside the Powers of the Officers of Civil Government in the Revolted Provinces in America, Policy continues them dormant at New York, but the powers of the Revenue Officers in these Provinces are by Act of Parliament totally suspended and continues to be so in them all, Georgia excepted, which has been declared at the Peace of His Majesty.

The beginning of 1776 when the Act to prohibit all trade and Intercourse &c., took place at New York, the Revenue Officers of course were deprived of their Powers, and obliged to consult their personal safety by quitting their places of residence, some Months before this Period, the Keys of the Custom House had been for a time taken from me by Town Meetings, and when returned, I was put under Parole not to remove any of the books or papers; Such proceedings induced me to send my Family into New Jersey, where I followed them when obliged to leave the City. In September 1776 Sir William Howe took possession of New York, I effected my escape from New Jersey the latter part of October following, and immediately advised the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, of the situation I found things in, and of my being ready to embrace the first legal opportunity to perform the duties of my Office as Collector.

A wish to have everything in regard to prizes put on a legal footing, induced me to write to my brother Sir Gilbert Elliot My sentiments on this head, and at the same time enclosed the Heads of an Act of Parliament, that I thought absolutely Necessary, but his death happened before the letter could reach England. A short time after this letter was wrote, I formed an acquaintance with M<sup>r</sup> Strachey Secretary to the Com-

missioners, to whom I communicated My sentiments as also the Heads of what I had wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot; and in a conversation I had a little time after with Lord Howe, he informed Me the Commissioners had wrote to the Secretary of State on the subject.

From My return in October 1776 to July 1777, I resided entirely in the Country, having no employment under Military Authority and my Powers as a Revenue Officer being as they still are totally suspended.

The prospect of the continuance of the War, and the Necessary advance of the General and Admiral, Made Sir William Howe wish that some arrangement should be made at the Port of New York, where no Regulation had been as yet established. The 17<sup>th</sup> July 1777 he appointed me Superintendent of the Port of New York, and published the Proclamation by which I was to regulate my conduct in that office: The September following the Act of Parliament arrived at New York, authorising the Commissioners to make it legal to bring Prizes into any of the Prohibited Ports; but this Act restored no powers to any of the Revenue Officers, Nor did it even make Mention of them, but ordered that the Exportation of Prize goods, which it made legal, should be by licenses under the hand and seal of the Commissioners.

The Court of Admiralty was established at New York as soon as the Prize Act arrived. No further alterations took place till September 1778, when the Earl of Carlisle and His Majesty's Commissioners by their different Proclamations, suspended parts of the Prohibitory Act, by which they extended the Imports and Exports to and from New York; but they restored no Powers to the Revenue Officers, on the contrary authorized those Officers appointed by Sir William Howe on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1777, to perform the additional duties their Proclamations required. In December 1779 the Commissioners' Proclamations became all

void; from that Period I continued to act as Superintendent, under the sole authority of the Commander in Chief.

The 24<sup>th</sup> October 1780, the Act of Parliament regulating the Imports and Exports of Places under Protection in North America was received and published. This Act does not give the Revenue Officers the least opening to resume their former functions, as it invests the Commander in Chief with powers, Not Only to Nominate the Officers requisite to perform the duties it requires, but also leaves the exportation and Importation to be under such Limitations, Restrictions and Regulations as he from time to time shall order; which plainly shows that Persons in Authority in Great Britain have no idea that Revenue officers ought to act in any place in the Revolted Colonies in America, till such time as the Commissioners shall judge it proper to declare that place at the Peace of His Majesty.

Agreeable to the Powers which the above Mentioned Act gave to the Commander in Chief, by Proclamation dated the 24<sup>th</sup> October 1780, he appointed the Officers Named by Sir William Howe and continued by the Commissioners, to the duty that Act required; so that I still continue to Act as Superintendent of the Port of New York under a Military appointment and with Instructions from the Commander in Chief similar to those I received from Sir William Howe, the Commissioners, Lord Carlisle &c; such as prohibiting the exportation of all stores and provisions, without his special order, to admit all goods coming by licenses signed by persons authorised to grant them; Transports and all other vessels in Government service and prizes exempted from the authority of the Superintendents office.

The Intercourse Act, suspending all Trade in the Revolted Provinces during its continuance, the Powers of the Revenue Officers of course must stop during



that Period. The Commissioners, Lord Carlisle &c; exerted their suspending Powers in repealing part of the Intercourse Act, and named Officers to perform the duty they pointed out; the Parliament also suspended part of the said Act, when they passed the New York Port Bill, and authorised the Commander in Chief to appoint Officers to perform the duty required by that Act.

I have been thus particular in stating the different arrangements in regard to trade at this Place, as your Excellency is pleased to inform me, that a disappointment has happened in England in regard to Duties, owing it is supposed to some misapprehension here.

The Revenue Officers here could not exact duties, as their Powers are evidently suspended, and all former Acts of Parliament imposing duties expressly made them payable to Revenue Officers. As the Intercourse Act in regard to Licenses has operated, and Trade been regulated at this Port, such a suspension is as absolutely necessary, as it would have been impossible for the Officers to have complied with the Nature of the Oaths to perform all the duties of their Stations, unless an Act of Parliament had passed, repealing not only part of the Navigation Act, but also those parts of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> George the 3<sup>rd</sup> allowing the Warehousing for exporting Foreign Sugars and Coffee.

The immediate and certain supply of his Majesty's Fleets and Armies appears to have been the object of the Licenses allowed to be granted by the Intercourse Act. Wines, fruits &c from Foreign Ports (Madeira & Azores excepted) were by the Act of Navigation prohibited articles in America unless first entered in Great Britain, where the Wines left a considerable duty, and upon landing in America paid a duty of 10/ per Ton;—from the passing of the Intercourse Act, Licenses have been given for bringing wines from the place of growth direct to this City; by which indul-



gence the duty on those wines was not only given up in England but here—however the intention of the Licenses seems by this means to be fulfilled, as the expense of Insurance and freight and the delay of a double voyage is prevented.

Since the Ports under protection have been opened all intercourse with Foreign West India Islands (except in one or two instances) has been stopt, so that no foreign sugars or coffee was brought in here but in prizes. Most of the sugars brought in has been white, the duty on which, and on Foreign Coffee, when laid was meant to act as a prohibition, or at least to oblige the owner to export them to Great Britain, as no duty was payable on them here if warehoused and exported within the twelve months, so that this part of the Acts the owners of the Sugars and Coffee would always gladly have availed themselves of, but as they come under the denomination of Stores, and our supplies of these articles depending chiefly upon captures, the quantity has never been so great as to admit of the Commander in Chief's allowing of exportation, except of late in the article of Coffee occasioned by the large quantity brought in the French East India Ships taken by Admiral Graves.

This short state of Duties, fully shows that it is impossible in the present state of Mercantile affairs for any Revenue Officer to act as such at any Port in America under Protection, until that Port is put at the Peace of His Majesty, when Commerce will return to its proper channel, and the Revenue Officers be enabled to resume their proper Functions.

In order to give your Excellency every information in my power in regard to the article of American duties, I must beg leave to refer you to the annexed Letters, by which your Excellency will see my early wish to give information on that subject, and in what manner I have acted in consequence of the orders I have received.

Nos 1 and 2 my letters addressed to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, dated 12<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1778, in which I mention the suspension of the Powers of the Revenue Officers in America, and the situation that Prizes and their Cargoes were in, with my advice to the Judge of the Admiralty in regard to Duties, founded on that clause of the Intercourse Act which makes prize goods liable to Duties at the Ports which that Act admitted of their being brought into. This advice was given in order to prevent confusion and disputes, should any future Act of Parliament open, for Prizes, the Ports in America, not at His Majesty's Peace, but under Protection, and restore the power of the Revenue Officers, or appoint others to receive those Duties at such Ports.

The Act of Parliament that empowered the Commissioners to grant Licenses for Prizes to come into Ports under Protection, repealed no other Clause of the Intercourse Act, but what related to such Ports, so that no Powers were restored or granted to any other Persons but to the Commissioners, by whose Licenses alone Prize goods could be exported from the above mentioned Ports. Those letters No 1 and 2 were wrote to show that if duties were to be received at such Ports, some alteration in the Acts was Necessary.

No 3 is John Robinson Esq<sup>re</sup>'s letter dated 8<sup>th</sup> April 1779, in answer to No 1 and 2, by which I have directions from the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury to receive such Duties from the Agents of the several Prizes, in whose hands I stated the money to be in. A desire to show a ready compliance with the Treasury order, made me apply to the Agents and Judge of the Admiralty, but at the same time to guard against any future inconvenience, I delayed remitting any money till such time as I gave their Lordships a fuller account of what related to Duties. No 4, my letter to John Robinson Esq<sup>r</sup>, was wrote with this in-

tention. This I thought more necessary to do, as His Majesty's Commissioners Lord Carlisle &c., whose powers enabled them to suspend all Acts of Parliament relative to America passed since 1763, had in all their Proclamations issued here, avoided giving any particular powers or orders in regard to duties, and as the Judge of the Admiralty had declined paying the duties, on the Cargoes, lodged in his hands; and as all the Agents, but four, declared they had retained no duties, saying it was the opinion of their employers that the Acts of Parliament did not direct it, and finding that what Duties was retained, were by no means such as the Acts of Parliament required. In this letter I also promised to give my opinion on several subjects, wishing that Government might be prepared with every plan necessary to offer when a general Reconciliation may take place. I am uncertain whether this letter was ever received.

No 5 is Sir Grey Cooper's letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> February 1780, ordering me to remit such duties as I might have received, to the Cashier of the American Customs.

Nº 6 is my Letter dated 3<sup>d</sup> July 1780, to Charles Stewart Esq<sup>r</sup>., the Cashier enclosing Remittances.

Nº 7 is my letter dated 3<sup>d</sup> July 1780 to John Robinson Esq<sup>r</sup> enclosing Notarial Copies of the Agents accounts of Duties received, by virtue of his letter of 8<sup>th</sup> April 1779.

Nº 8 is my letter dated 3<sup>d</sup> July 1780, to Sir Grey Cooper, informing him of my having complied with the orders contained in his letter of 17<sup>th</sup> February 1780, with my reasons for not having made Remittances sooner.

Nºs 9 and 10 are copies of Licenses, by which the Produce of Foreign Countrys are brought from the place of growth direct to this City. These I thought necessary to Subjoin as in the course of the annexed letters, they are often alluded to.

490 *Letter from Lieut. Governor Andrew Elliot.*

I shall no further intrude upon your Excellency's time but to assure you that I am with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

A. Elliot.\*

To Gov<sup>r</sup> Robertson.

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\* Original letter in the possession of Earl Cathcart, and contributed by Eugene Devereux.

LETTER OF REV. JEREMIAH BELKNAP TO  
REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, LL.D., 1785.

[The following letter appears only in part in the "Life of Reverend Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.," Vol. II, page 233, and so much of the original of local interest has been omitted, that we print it in full.]

Dover Nov. 18, 1785.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 15th. rec'd yesterday by Mr. Low, has cut me out a day's work to answer it. I am sorry I missed of the letter you sent me at New York. Perhaps it may now be on its way back like one Mrs. Belknap sent me while there and which I rec'd by the last Post from thence.

The history of my tour\* is an object of your curiosity and I am disposed to gratify it, but should rather do it viva voci, if it were in my power. If air balloons were as common as Hackney coaches and as easily managed, you might call and spend an evening with me once a week, and I could do the same with you, this would save the trouble of writing, but 'till this new mode of travelling is more improved we must be content to go on in the old way, and converse by paper. My tour, like our *ultra montane* excursion has just taught me *how to go again*, for tho' I minuted down in my pocket book every object, that I could previously judge worth seeing, or hearing, or enquiring, and did not omit anything, which from those hints or from after knowledge I thought material, yet now I am returned I think I might have seen, and heard, and learned, more than I did, and I suppose if I were to go again, I should come home in much the same state. This is like rising

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\* He refers to his exploration of the White Mountains.



from table with an appetite which physicians say is a sure way to preserve health.

I know but little of the Agricultural Society and believe there is little known of it for it is yet in an infantile state. Col. Pickering told me they were endeavouring to form connexion and correspondence and get it information and were in hopes by and by of doing something in the way of encouraging experiments by premiums, but to speak in the sea phrase, they are not "yet under way." The "Philosophical Society" is neglected by most of its members, scarce ten can be got together unless upon some *very special occasion*. One meeting came in course, while I was there and I signified my desire of being present to my worthy-friend Dr. Clarkson, who is a member and gave me some reason to hope that he would go with me, but when the hour arrived, I found his indifference so great that I could not urge the matter and was prevailed upon to stay and spend the evening with him, which he said was much more agreeable. Thus I sacrificed my philosophy to friendship for that time, and I did not repent it, when I afterward learned that only five or six members were together, and that their only entertainment was a long dissertation which Dr. Franklin sent them on a method of remedying smokey chimneys. Now I have mentioned this veteran philosopher I must tell you, they say he has another communication to make respecting the anchoring of ships at sea, to keep them from drifting with currents in a calm, the anchor is to be in the form of an umbrella. He has also a lamp which with only three small wicks gives a lustre equal to six candles, a pipe is introduced into the midst which supplies fresh and cool air to the lights. This might suggest an improvement to the lamps in Lighthouses, and perhaps save oil.

I tell you things, just as they come up in the vortex of memory and if you look for any other method in

my letters, you will be disappointed. It is to be wished for the benefit of mankind that the old Don would disburthen himself of all his philosophical hints, experiments and conjectures before he makes his exit, which must be soon, as he has completed four fifths of a century, and is obliged to use the warm bath every day to ease the pain of the stone. His bathing vessel is said to be a curiosity; it is copper, in the form of a *slipper*, he sets in the *heel* and his legs go under the *vamp*, on the instep he has a place to fix his book, and here he sits and enjoys himself. About the time I left the city of Philadelphia, they chose him president of the Executive Council, his accepting the office is a sure mark of senility, but would it not be a capital subject for a historical painting. The Dr. placed at the head of the Council board in his bathing slipper! Truce! here my friend, I must now give you some account of a picture exhibition which was worth going 400 miles to see.

Mr. Peale the celebrated painter has fitted up a room to receive company ornamented with portraits of the most eminent persons in the civil and military lines in America. The light enters through a dome or cupola, and the windows have screens and curtains movable by lines and springs the movers unseen in an adjoining apartment. In the partition is fixed a frame, where the painted scenery is placed and the other apartment has moveable scenery, &c., and other machinery by which (and the combinations of light shade) the following effects are produced. .

1. A night-piece, so dark that terrestrial objects are just discernable from the sky, the approach of day from the earliest dawn to sun-rise, the objects gradually enlightened, the music of birds accompanying the scene, which at length presents a beautiful Villa.

2. A view of Market street. The gradual approach of night. The lamps lighted and reflecting on the pave-

ment and sides of the houses, then extinguished by the approach of morn.

3. A view of various pieces of architecture at different distances. The approach of a thunder-storm, clouds gather, lightning appears, thunder is heard, rain is seen and heard to descend, then it clears up with a rainbow, which appears faint at first, but grows vivid, and complete, exterior and interior, then gradually disappears.

4. Milton's description of the rising of Pandemonium realized

"There stood a hill not far whose grisly top,  
Belch'd fire and rolling smoke."

(read the whole passage) a chasm is seen in the mountains from whence rise flames and smoke, in horrid disorder, then you hear "Dulcet symphonies and voices sweet." The temple rises in the midst of the flames and the doors fly open, presenting the appearance of heated metals, the colors changing from red to orange, yellow, green, blue, grey, and at last fade away. (You might possibly expect I had seen the Devil in this part of the scenery, but his infernal majesty did not deign to show himself. I think on the same principles however, a volcano might be added, and I wish Peale had a copy of Vesuveus in our Philosophy room at Cambridge.)

5. A view of the Schuylkill, a waterfall and mill; here you see the water rolling over the fall, the wheel in motion slashing the spray of water, and the stream running under the arches of a bridge.

In the interval of the scenes a band of music performs, and a curious set of pendant *fans* in two rows overhead, vibrate to refresh the air of the room. The expense of this entertainment, which lasts about two hours, is only  $\frac{1}{2}$  a-dollar. I assure you I was highly gratified, and so I believe were the whole company about 60. You ask whether the society are about print-

ing another Vol. I asked the same question and was told that though their papers had been scattered, and some lost in the course of the war, yet, they have enough for another Vol. but nobody puts it forward. Probably the publication of ours, may give them a jog for they will not like to be rivaled by the New Englanders, especially as they think themselves before us in point of improvements. In some respects there is a foundation for this opinion, and the most candid New England men must subscribe to it.

Having heard nothing of our Italian Count [Castiglione] at the southward, I am confirmed in a suspicion which I entertained before I went thither, viz. that he has gone from Lake Champlain into Canada, where he has doubtless found some *pabulum* for his hobby-horse. The approach of a Canadian winter may by this time have made it eligible for him to proceed towards the Tropics.

Our worthy friend Little, has sent me an extract from his journal, accompanied with a plan of the upper Penobscot river, in one crotch of which is a mountain which the Indians call Taddon—the highest—and say it is bald-pated like our Laconian mountains, and exceeds them in altitude. Asking their pardon, however, I think them very poor judges, as it is well known they have no mode of mensuration, and are afraid to ascend high mountains, lest they should invade the territory of *Hobamocks*.

Notwithstanding, it is a subject worth enquiring into, and I shall examine seafaring people as I meet with them, how far the Penobscot hills are visable at sea, which when their distance from the coast is known, may enable us to give some guess. I wish you would bear this in mind when you see any intelligent seamen. Now I am upon the subject of mountains I remember Mr. Rittenhouse told me he had lately returned from beyond the Ohio (where he has been surveying)

that the Allegheny Mountains are not more than half a mile perpendicular, as he judges on the eastern side, and that on the western, the land is so high that they scarce appeared to be mountains. This corresponds with Dr. Meyer's theory, who says that the eastern side of all mountains are steepest, owing to the descent of the waters of the deluge. This is the case with our White Mountains, as I told him, and as far as I can recollect, with all the mountains that I am acquainted with, but I rather suspect the *Andes* are an exception, and if so there must be some other cause assigned—this however by the by.

Mr. Rittenhouse gave me a stone, full of petrified sea-shells, which he brought from beyond the Ohio. He also showed me a sample of Alum ore from thence, and two immense crystals hexagonal and pointed, and very transparent the largest of which I judged weighed as much as 7 or 8 lbs.—they were found in Virginia. In that country are many curiosities, but the most valuable are coal mines. From one in the neighborhood of Richmond, coals are brought by sea to Philadelphia, and are well esteemed at the forges. In the neighborhood of Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, is an oil-spring, lately discovered, the quality and medicinal virtues unknown at present. But I shall never have done, unless I break off at once. I will enclose you the seeds of the Persimmon, a fruit natural in Pennsylvania, and the Pomegranate of Carolina. I know not whether this climate will suit them but I am sure they will stand the chance of a fairer trial in your garden, than in mine. My son watched the Indian Tobacco during my absence, but no sign of a blossom was to be seen.

You speak of a Committee who are to invent ways and means to raise funds for premiums &c. Will it be deemed impertinent for me to offer a thought on this subject? I have thought (and I suppose the



thought originated from the delivery of Gov. Bowdoin's inaugural oration) that an annual oration or some public exercise of the scientific kind under the direction of our Academy might be a pleasing and popular affair, and that on such an occasion there might be a voluntary collection for the general purpose of encouraging science, to be applied to particular uses as the Academy shall direct and an annual account of receipts & disbursements exhibited. If this thought should be started among our *banking* gentry *they* would doubtless improve it into a *fund*, the interest only of which should be applied to scientific purposes. To this, I would strongly object, as a very tardy and inefficacious method of doing any good, and as tending to weaken the springs of benevolence. No sir. Let the *hearts* of good generous friends of science be the *fund*, and let it be drawn upon annually, and the whole draught be applied to promote the cause, and if the matter be honestly, discreetly and generously managed this fund will never fail. The funding principle which I oppose is I know very strong, and among politicians very prevalent. But my proposal is made to philosophers who know something of the human heart. Funds for pious and charitable uses (witness the Convention fund for Ministers' widows) are apt to gather very slowly, and are subject to the accidents of depreciated currency, bankruptcies &c. &c., but if the whole of what is collected be honorably applied, the end will be better answered, and the donors better pleased. Consult my friend, your own heart, suppose you can afford to give one dollar per year to some charitable and public spirited purpose, which you are fond of promoting, would not you be better pleased and more ready to give your dollar the next year, if you knew that the *whole* of it was immediately employed in promoting the end for which you gave it, than to reflect that you must either give 16 dollars at

once, or be 16 years in giving them, that at the end of that term one dollar may arise, by way of 6 per cent interest, to be applied to the purpose, and perhaps you may never live to see it, or the fund may by some mismanagement or unavoidable misfortune fail of accumulating and the thing never be done. These friends seem to go upon a supposition that *Charity will fail*, and therefore what she gives at once, must be laid up in bank that it may last forever, and the annual dribblings of interest only be the instrument of doing good. But I should rather trust to the warm glow of benevolence exerted by an honest and generous appreciation, and I doubt not it would be as easy to raise cash in the way I propose as it is for Dr. Meyers to fill his coffers with the free-will offerings of the votaries of science.

But I have done, and it is time I should. Mrs. B. desires her kind respects to yourself and lady and therein joins with your sincere and affectionate  
friend

Jere Belknap.

Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler.

LETTERS OF BENJAMIN WEST.

London, Newman Street Aug<sup>t</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1800

Dear Brother,

Thos. Cuthbert, the young gentleman you favoured with a letter of introduction to me, being to return to Philad<sup>a</sup> I have desired he would take charge of this letter to you. He has but recently appeared in London, having spent most of his time in Ireland since his arrival in Europe; this has prevented me the opportunity of showing him those marks of attention that I should otherways have done from your recommendation, and his own modest, and sensible deportment.

My son R. L. Wests return to England from your side the water was somewhat unexpected, for when he left this country, I had calculated on his residing some years in America. His situation in the State of New York, was made very unpleasant to him, for had he remained there, and not have noticed the fraudulent proceedings of a person that had a commission to purchase Land in that state for a friend of mine in England (and that to a great amount) he felt—after discovering the fraud—that had he, not have returned to England to explain what was the proceedings of that agent, that he would participate in the guilt: he therefore lost no time to lay the whole before me, which does honour to his principles and activity. It was my son's intention to have spent the last winter with you, and his friends in Philad<sup>a</sup>; but the disappointment to him and myself has been reciprocal. I must suppose his passing through that city would appear somewhat singuler to our friends, not to have seen him, but when they know the cause, I am persuaded they will honour his fortitude, and his love of justice; he has informed me that M<sup>r</sup> Cuthbert takes charge of his letter to you, in which he states to you the cause of his return to

England, whether he will revisit America or not, is at present uncertain, if he should, your advice is what he will most esteem; he expresses with affection the attention he received from yourself and family; and it afforded great satisfaction the account he gave me of his journey through Pennsylvania, and interview with you, and has often expressed himself, that had he found America, and Americans, what he experienced while with you, he should have left that country with a greater desire of returning to it. I am sorry to say, that the Land jobbers in that country have caused many from Europe to regret they ever visited the country, their deceptive principles have brought a stigma on the American character, which the fair, honourable, and just men among you will have a long labour to do away.

I much lament that my son did not see M<sup>r</sup> Drinker that he might have inspected the purchase I made of Land under his friendship at the recommendation of Doc<sup>r</sup> Edwards; for on my sons passing through the neighbourhood of that country, I made the purchase in, a Land survayor gave him a description of the quality of the Land in the District where I made the purchase, and from that description the land is not of that quality to fully justify the purchase—but of this I hope there is a mistake. Nevertheless it will be a satisfaction to me to ascertain the truth, and I shall esteem it a favour, if you have an opportunity to investigate the fact, that you will transmit to me the result [ ? ] enquire.

We have one of the hottest summers, I ever experienced in England, tho to me, I confess it is agreeable, having in general to much wet weather in this country. It, does not agree so well with M<sup>rs</sup> West, as with me, her health is but indiferent; she desires to be remembered to yourself and family, and I beg my love to all.

To Doc<sup>r</sup> Morris, W<sup>m</sup> Savory, and Doc<sup>r</sup> Shelcross present my respects, and inform the later that his Brother

the Cap<sup>a</sup> was to have dined with me yesterday in company with M<sup>r</sup> Cuthbert but was disappointed in seeing him,

I am Dear Brother with great affection

Your Obliged

W<sup>m</sup> West Esq<sup>r</sup>

Benj<sup>n</sup> West.

To Hannah West,—Widow of my Brother William West, of Upper Darby, Delewar County Pennsylvania—or if demised to her Heirs at Law.

With this paper I enclose the statement of Queries as to the estate of Shiplake in Oxfordshire—and the estate at Banghurst in Hampshire.

There having been a multitude of embarrassments arising from the situation of the two estates, as you will see by the Queries which are stated. From those and other circumstances occasioned by the attorney in whose hands all the Papers were concerning the two Estates—has been the cause of the procrastination attendant on the business. But that attorney being dead, I have nearly come into possession of all the Deeds and Papers requisite for settling the estates: and have placed them in the hands of Richard Phillips, a respectable gentleman in the Law—and of the community of Friends, who with myself, are desirously anxious to have the business of those Estates happily terminated: which now much depend on the promptitude with which the points in the Queries are answered and forwarded to me in London.

Now My Dear Sister, have the goodness to make my affectionate regard to all my Relatives—and I shall be much obliged, by being informed, if any of my Brothers and Sisters are living, and in which part of America they and their children are, not having heard from, or of them for many years.

My two sons are well, my eldest has a Daughter and my Youngest son a Boy; but my Dear M<sup>rs</sup> West has much declined in her health—they are at present in town with me, and request to be affectionately remem-



bered to you, and their relations, and to whom present my affections also.

With friendship and with sincerity

I am My Dear Sister

Yours truly

London June 20<sup>th</sup> 1814

Benj<sup>m</sup> West.

Newman Street London,

October 15<sup>th</sup> 1814.

Dear Sister

I hope that the papers relating to your property in this Country, which I sent you in May last by a private hand, have been duly received. The Lawyer whom I have employed in your affairs since Mr. Dean's death is now with me on the subject of a proposal made by a tenant of a small part of the Oxfordshire property to purchase it at a fair price, and the Lawyer is going to Shiplake in the ensueing Week to endeavour to arrange the terms. Until the information required by the papers sent you in May is transmitted to me, no effectual sale can be made, because proper legal Deeds of Conveyance cannot be signed to a Purchaser. If therefore the treaty proceeds, the sum fixed for the purchase must be invested in the Bank on Government Funds in mine and the purchasers names (or persons named by us) there to remain until I am lawfully enabled to sign the Conveyances. This will sufficiently explain to you the cause of my present application that the information required by the papers sent you should be immediately obtained, by your employing your Lawyer in America to attend to it, and the result should be without loss of time transmitted to me to be laid before the Lawyer I have employed, that the whole of the property may be brought to sale as soon as can be, as Land is becoming of less value in this country owing to the recent great fall of the price of Corn and the effect of the Peace.

I beg my Love to yourself and all my relations in America.

I am my Dear Sister,

Yours truly,

Benj<sup>m</sup> West.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LETTER OF RACHEL PRESTON TO JONATHAN AND MARY DICKINSON.—

Philadelphia y<sup>e</sup> 10 y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>mo</sup> 1707

My Dear friend Jonathan &amp; Mary Dickinson,

Sum accident haping which brought pattrick back after he left this place with Intentions to proceed his viage which has given me an opportunity to put on borde a small box directed to be left with your brother Gomersell wherein is four botells of Syrup of Cloves three of Rose watter three Rose Cakes two dear skins which I got thomas griffith to chuse as y<sup>e</sup> best to be had in y<sup>e</sup> towne y<sup>e</sup> Rose watter I got from (illegible) which is reputed much beter then any y<sup>e</sup> is made hear it is all I could possibly procuer at present I have layd out severall ways and am not out of hopes of haveing a littell more to send with y<sup>e</sup> huney as soon as any new comes in, which with Indeared love conclude this with only telling you my husband is downe in y<sup>e</sup> lower Countys bouth your sons are well all our famelys in health poor Martha Chalkly Martha Claypool Mary holt and Ann Story all in a very weak wasting condition old William Woodmonson, Ruth Durket and Eliz bolton latly dead I myselfe in a poor cresy uncomfortable Estate however desier to be contented and with abundance of love to you bouth and our beloved friends John and William when it shall please God thay shall arive amongst you ther with which shall subscribe your affectionall friend tho much disordered at present

Rachell Preston

	£	s	d
Anthony Morris and Daniel Brintnall is debter to			
Mary dickinson marchandiz for a box of all spice			
quantity forty pound at 2/6 per pound	5	—	—
Shipt by her order two dear skins at	1	3	—
four botells of syrup cloves gelliflowers at	1	4	—
three botells of Rose Water at 4/6 per botel	—	13	6
two and sixpence for a permit	—	2	6
	3	3	0

LETTER OF ROBERT CARTER TO JONATHAN DICKINSON.—

the 25<sup>th</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> mo: 1702

Loveing friend Jonathan Dickinson,

I received thine wherein thee requested to buy a Deer of me by Tom pryor & he not haveing opportunity to send desiered me to convey it to Robert Barber, I considering it might be hazardous of the loss of him in a straining place am willing to acquaint thee that it will be best to convey it at once to Towne or into the vessel, as to the price if through divine providence thou arive at thy desiered port thou mayest make me some small returne according to thy pleasure, so with dear love to thee & thy wife

I am thy very Loveing friend

Robert Carter.

COPIES OF SOME GLOUCESTER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY RECORDS.—The originals of the following documents are filed in Box No. 31, Clerk's Office, Woodbury, New Jersey.

William M. Mervine.

*The examination of Michael Tolyn, 1774.*

The voluntary Examination of Michael Tolyn Labourer taken before me James Bowman one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace and for the County of Gloucester, who declared that the Watch he exchanged with Richard Johnson on Sunday the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1774 he bought at a Vendue in May Fair 1774 in Philadelphia opposite the Coffee House for which he gave four dollars, the Watch was set up at three Dollars, that he lived with Mr. Tonkins about four months that he never took any particular notice of any watch in the family, nor ever opened a watch there to look at it, nor ever took it from the place where the same had been usually kept except once or twice to carry it to M<sup>r</sup> Tonkins, that about May Fair 1774 he received four Dollars from Mr. Harrison with whom he then lived, had one Doll<sup>r</sup> in his pocket besides or thereabouts with which money he intended to buy some things towards Housekeeping but that he thought proper to buy the watch, and on his examination further saith he is not the least acquainted with the Value of the Watch or whether he had a Bargain or not that the man who acted as Vendue Master sold Isaac Burrough's Horse the same day and also two other Watches immediately or soon after the Watch he bought was put up for Sale.

This examination  
signed or marked by  
the Examinant this  
18 day of June 1774  
James Bowman

The mark of  
Michael Tolyn

*The examination of Benjamin Smith, 1774.*

The Examination of Benjamin Smith, shoemaker, taken before us the subscribers two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Gloucester upon his solemn affirmation being one of the People called Quakers touching his Legal Settlement who affirmed that he was Born in England and came over to Philadelphia in the Spring of the year 1754, as he believes and then lived one year with Benjamin Koudal, and afterwards six months with John Comings in the said City of Philadelphia, and then he removed over to Haddonfield Newton Township, Gloucester County, and lived with Thomas Comyngs nearly two years and worked at his Business with him and to the best of his knowledge paid Poors Tax during that Time, and then went away to the New Mills in Burlington County with an intention to work at his Business, but disliking his Situation, he stayed but one night and then returned to Thomas Comyngs and worked with him near a Twelve month, and then went to Jacob Clements and worked for him nearly two years and after that he worked about the neighbourhood on his own account and that he rented a shop in the Town of Gloucester for which he paid forty shillings a year and paid Rent two years and that he Boarded and Lodged in the same House with Lawrence Scheannean the best part of that time nearly one year and a half removed into Newton Township and made his home with sd Lawrence Scheannean six years at a place of John Glover's and worked about him for his Livelihood ever since and then removed to Gloucester Town and worked about the Neighbourhood at his Trade to the present Time

and Lodged with the said Lawrence Scheannean until about three months before he broke his leg, and further this Examinant saith not.

Benj<sup>a</sup> Smith

Affirmed before us the

29th July 1772.

Jn. Hinchman

James Bowman

Upon maturely considering the Examination taken before us of Benjamin Smith, shoe maker, we are of Opinion and do adjudge his Settlement to be in Newtown Township under the Law passed in the 13 Geo. 2 G that he hath gained no other Settlement since and all persons concerned, are to take due notice and govern themselves accordingly

Gloucester

29<sup>a</sup> July 1774

Jn. Hinchman

James Bowman

*The examination of Lettice Early, 1774.*

The Examination of Lettice Earley taken upon Oath before us the Subscribers two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Gloucester who Deposed that she was born in Ireland and came over with Captain Desart between two and three years ago to Philadelphia as a freewoman having paid three pounds Sterling for her passage, that she had Lodgings there about a week, and afterwards she went to Isaac Inskep's where she lived and stay'd with him about nine months & then afterwards she went to Jesse Chow's where she lived and remained with him about One year and five months in Greenwich Township, and she then went to James Duffields where she stay'd about Eleven Days and further this Examinant Deposeth not.

The mark of

Lettice Early

Sworn before us this

29th Day of July 1774

Jn. Hinchman

James Bowman

"This Indenture, Made the Fifteenth Day of March in the fifteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third King of Great Britain, &c. And in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-four Between James Vaulone of the Parish of St. Luke Oldstreet in the County of Middlesex watch finisher of the one Part, and Peter Osborne of Philadelphia Mariner of the other Part."

Witnesseth that the said James Vaulone agreed to, and with the said Peter Osborne, "as a faithful servant well and truly serve Peter Osborne, his executors and Administrators or assigns, in the Plantation beyond the Seas, for the space of five years next ensuing his Arrival in the sd Plantation, in the Employment of a servant." James Vaulone was 17 years of age. Said Peter Osborne was to provide James Vaulone "all necessary Clothes, Meat, Drink, Washing and Lodging, fitting and convenient for him as Covenant Servants in such Cases are usually provided for and allowed."

Acknowledged before Thomas Pattinson of Gravesend.

"City of Philadelphia.

In Consideration of Twenty one Pounds paid me I do assign the within named servants to serve Elijah Clark & his Assigns the Term within Mentioned Commencing the 6<sup>th</sup> Instant the day of Arrival from Bristol. Witness my hand May 10<sup>th</sup> 1775.

Peter Osborne."

Signed Before

Sam<sup>l</sup> Rhoads, May<sup>r</sup>.



"ENGLISH COPY OF THE ACT OF CAPITULATION OF QUEBEC."—We are indebted to Dr. S. Weir Mitchell for the following certified "English copy of the Act of Capitulation of Quebec:"

(18th. Sept. 1759)

#### ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

DEMANDED BY MR. DE RAMSAY, THE KING'S LIEUTENANT, COMMANDING THE HIGH AND LOW TOWNS OF QUEBEC, CHIEF OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF ST. LEWIS, TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GENERAL OF THE TROOPS OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.—"THE CAPITULATION DEMANDED ON THE PART OF THE ENEMY. AND GRANTED BY THEIR EXCELLENCIES ADMIRAL SAUNDERS AND GENERAL TOWNSHEND, ETC. ETC. IS IN MANNER AND FORM "HEREAFTER EXPRESSED."

##### I.

Mr. de Ramsay demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be sent back to the army in safety, and by the shortest route, with arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds for each of them.—"The Garrison of the town, composed of Land forces, marines and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, with two pieces of french cannon, and twelve rounds for each piece; and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, to be sent to the first port in France."

##### II.

That the inhabitants shall be preserved in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.—"Granted, upon their laying down their arms."

##### III.

That the inhabitants shall not be accountable for having carried arms in the defence of the town, for as much as they were compelled to it, and that the inhabitants of the colonies, of both crowns, equally serve as militia.—"Granted."

##### IV.

That the effects of the absent officers and citizens shall not be touched.—"Granted."

##### V.

That the inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by their Britannic and most Christian Majesties.—"Granted."

##### VI.

That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion shall be maintained; and that safe guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to his Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside in it constantly, to exercise, freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred offices of the Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall be decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties.—"The free exercise of the roman religion is granted, likewise safe guards to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and with decency, the functions of his office, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties."



VII.

That the artillery and warlike stores shall be faithfully given up, and that an inventory of them shall be made out.—“Granted.”

VIII.

That the sick and wounded, the commissaries, Chaplains, Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and other people employed in the service of the hospitals, shall be treated conformably to the cartel of the 6th. of February, 1759, settled between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties,—“Granted.”

IX.

That before delivering up the gate and the entrance of the town to the English troops, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be posted as safeguards upon the churches, convents, and principal habitations.—“Granted.”

X.

That the KING'S LIEUTENANT, commanding in Quebec, shall be permitted to send information to the marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General, of the reduction of the place, as also that the General may send advice thereof to the french Ministry.—“Granted.”

XI.

That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being subject to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or for the non-execution of any preceding capitulations.—“Granted.”

Duplicates hereof taken and executed by, and between us, at the camp before Quebec, this 18th. Day of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS,  
GEORGE TOWNSHEND,  
DE RAMSAY.

Copie certifiée exacte du page 2 et 3 d' un ouvrage intitulé: “A collection of the Acts passed in the Parliament of Great Britain and of other Public Acts relative to Canada”—Quebec, Printed by P. E. Desbarats, Law Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty 1800—Vol 2 Statuts du Canada 1759-1791

Ernest Myrand

Bibliothécaire de la Législature de Québec

Québec, 23 o/uin 1913.

GOVERNOR GEORGE THOMAS'S HOUSE ROBBED.

STOLEN out of the Governor's House by a Chimney Sweeper, as is supposed, a large plain silver Stock Buckle of an uncommon Make, and a silver Teaspoon gilt with the Governor's Crest upon it.

Whoever shall bring the said Buckle and Spoon, or either of them, to the Printer so that the Thief may be convicted, shall be well rewarded. [*Penna. Gazette*, 1743.]

LETTER OF DR. WILLIAM IRVINE WILSON to his father Hugh Wilson, while a student at the Medical Department, University of Pennsylvania, 1816:—

Through the kindness of Mrs. William Potter Wilson of Rosemont, we have received a copy of the following letter, written by Dr. William Irvine Wilson at the beginning of his medical course in Philadelphia.

The first of the family to settle in America was Hugh Wilson, who was born in 1689, and came to this country from Ireland and became a prominent settler in that part of old Bucks county, now Northampton county, known as the “Forks of the Delaware.” He was

early made a Justice of the Peace, and in 1740 built a grist mill, which was noted in the entire region and which was only torn down in 1857. His son, Thomas, supplied the Continental Army with flour, and being paid in Continental money, lost so heavily, that he sold his land and removed to Union county.

Dr. Wilson's mother was Catharine Irvine, the daughter of Capt. William Irvine, who was the cousin of General William Irvine, of the Revolution.

Dr. Wilson was the father of Col. William Potter Wilson, of the Civil War, and the father-in-law of Gov. Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania.

J. C. Wylie.

Philadelphia, Novr. 17th, 1816.

To Mr. Hugh Wilson  
near Deerstown  
Union County, Penna.

Honored Father,

It is with peculiar satisfaction I now address you. After a very pleasant but rather expensive journey I arrived here and have succeeded in getting excellent lodging at the rate of Five dollars per week. I could obtain none on more reasonable terms within a proper distance of the University. Dougal Van Valzah and myself room together. There are about seven others in the house besides. There are between four and five hundred students, who when crowded into one room make a pretty respectable appearance. We attend six Professors in the day, each of them lecture an hour. Five of them lecture before dinner, viz: Doctor Dorsey on *Materia Medica* or Principal Medicines. Doctor Chapman on the *Institutes and Practice of Physic*. Doctor Physic on *Surgery*. Doctor Cox on *Chemistry*. Doctor Wister on *Anatomy*. Doctor James on *Midwifery* in the afternoon. I have attended the Hospital and Almshouse each once, but I shall not be able to take the Ticket of either for want of money, this will be something against me but I must put up with it.

I will now give you an account of my expenses since I left home. For the journey I expended \$15 Dollars including stage hire. For Tickets \$120. For boarding \$10. For wood and candles \$6.60. Discount \$11. Expenses before I came to my lodging \$3. Washing and shoe blacking, &c. \$2. Which amounts to \$177.60 cents, leaving me a very light purse. If I could in any way do it I would take Cooper's Ticket for Chemistry and the Hospital Ticket. I expect I shall need some money for the purpose of getting a subject to dissect. As to any information relative to Mr. McCurley's money I refer you to Dr. Dougal. I think with a little trouble some if not the whole might be had. I did see Mr. Duncan. Several of the merchants are down. Dry goods are remarkably low and the price for country produce excellent. Flour selling at \$14.00 per barrel.

I have been endeavoring to take Notes from the Professors' lectures, this is a difficult piece of business and with me more especially as I am an indifferent penman. But I believe I shall succeed, although it confines me rather too closely. This place affords many advantages, and I hope by close application to improve them and consequently myself. I hope you will not forget to write to me, and let me know your present situation and prospects, and if you can with convenience let me have some money in time to pay my next month's boarding I shall feel myself much obliged. To be here without money is not very pleasant. But I need not speak of this, I know you will do what you can for me. Give my sincere love to all the family, letting them know that neither change of scene, crowd nor business nor amusement can for any length of time erase one of you from my

memory. I shall thank you much to write by the first opportunity. Mention to Francis that I expect it as a duty from him to write me a letter every month. From Elizabeth and Margaret I must have one soon. My clothes I suppose will be sent on before this reaches you. If they should not let there be three shirts sent, if they are it is of no material consequence.

Give my respects to all my friends who have the goodness to enquire for me. When you write direct Philada. South Fourth Street No. 3.

I have nothing more to add than that with much esteem and respect I remain

Your obliged and dutiful son

William Irvine Wilson.

### Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—Biographical information is asked, or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.

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Cooke, Thomas J. A.	Va.	Lightfoot, Philip L.	Va.
Cooper, Thomas	Va.	Lloyd, Horatio Nelson	
Covington, Calvin Cole	N. C.		Dist. Columbia
Crain, William T.	La.	Longstreet, William S.	N. J.
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Feamster, Harvey	Va.	Maulsby, George	Pa.
Fithian, Joel	Pa.	Miller, Charles E.	Va.
Flemming, Thomas A.	Md.	Moore, Richard Dudley	Ga.
Ford, Edward Willard	N. Y.	Morgan, Daniel Stacy	Va.
Ford, John Pryor	Ala.	Moss, Lemuel S. E.	Va.
Forsyth, William B.	Va.	Musgrave, Joseph P., Jr.	Pa.
French, William, Jr.	Va.	Nagle, Peter F.	Pa.
Friend, Nathaniel G.	Va.	Nash, Thomas Penn	Va.
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Gregg, William	Pa.	Nesbitt, James King	N. C.
		Orrick, Charles E.	Va.
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Pawling, Henry De Witt	Pa.	Trigg, Daniel	Va.
Perkins, James M.	Tenn.	Tunstall, Richard C.	Va.
Perry, Algernon Sidney	N. C.	Turnbull, Charles	Miss.
Potts, Thomas Read	Pa.	Vaiden, Thomas J.	Va.
Price, William B.	Va.	Wade, Anderson	Va.
Prince, John	Del.	Walker, Benjamin J.	Va.
Scott, Samuel	Va.	Wallace, John Young	Pa.
Scott, William D.	Va.	Wickes, Simon Alexander	Md.
Shields, Alfred W.	Va.	Wilkinson, Benjamin R.	Va.
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Stuart, Richard Henry	Va.	Yates, William	Va.
Taliaferro, Benjamin F.	Va.		

**Book Notices.**

YEAR BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY, 1913. New York. 8vo, pp. 228. Illustrated.

The thirteenth issue of the Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society of New York has made its appearance, the first issue having been printed in 1900. To the energy and enthusiasm of Director Ferree, given to the compilation of the book, a tribute of admiration is due by all Pennsylvanians. This Year Book should be found on the shelves of every county library in the Commonwealth. In addition to the lists of officers and members of the Society, annual reports, anniversaries and memorials, and biographical sketches, the proceedings of the fourteenth annual festival to commemorate the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Constitution of the United States, are given at length. The large number of illustrations are appropriate and interesting.

MEMOIRS OF THE CAMACS OF Co DOWN, with some account of their predecessors, to which is added brief sketches of some of the families with whom they intermarried. By William Masters Camac. Philadelphia, 1913. 4to, pp. 287. Illustrated. Privately printed.

In this handsome memorial volume the purpose is to record not alone the history of an ancient Irish family exclusively, but to deal generally with such as have for generations back found their home in this country, and have won distinction for the family name in some one or the other of the varied walks of life. The peculiar interest in this work lies in its value as a contribution to their local family history, and affiliations with the Penn, Masters, Lawrence, Markoe, Rush, McIlvaine and other families of honorable and historical fame. Four pedigree charts, and a plan of the Masters' estate, are inserted. Mr. Camac's researches have been made with patient care and accuracy, and as a specimen of artistic typography the book is deserving of high praise, and the illustrations with which its pages are embellished are beautifully executed.

GENEALOGIES OF THE BRUMBACH FAMILIES Including the variations of the original name Brumbaugh, Brumbach, Brumback, Brombaugh, Brownback, and many other connected families. By Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, M.S., M.D. 1913. 4to, pp. 875 Illustrated. In green buckram, \$8.00; half morocco, \$10.00. Edition limited to 1000 copies.

After many years of untiring zeal and patient research, Dr. Brumbaugh, the compiler and publisher, has completed his monu-



mental work, genealogies of the Brumbach families. The genealogical material and historical information he has collected abroad and in this country has been expertly arranged. Immigrant lists, Bible records, marriage certificates, births, deaths, intermarriages, and data secured from unpublished manuscripts relating to the various immigrants, dates of settlement, much of it hitherto inaccessible, make up the chronicles of a family whose ramifications are far reaching and many members of which are eminent in the church, the professions, and civil and mercantile life. The work is especially a valuable contribution to Pennsylvania genealogies and should be widely distributed, and the plan of the work will meet general commendation. Typographically it will be admired and among the two hundred pages of illustrations will be found the von Brumbach arms in colors. A very full index of forty-five pages reveals the names of those who are mentioned in the text, and will be appreciated by all who consult the work.

THE PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, ACTS AND PROCEEDINGS. EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY, 1913. Svo, pp. 81.

This valuable report, compiled by the energetic Secretary of the Federation, Dr. S. P. Heilman, gives a list of the societies; the meetings held, the addresses made, the special work of committees, and the activities of each Society during the preceeding year. An important work which is claiming the attention of the Federation, is the compilation of county bibliographies, and that of Lancaster county is expected to be ready for publication next year. This work is in charge of the Librarian of the Historical Society of the county.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, MARCH 13, 1913. HON. NOBBIS STANLEY BARRATT, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 61. Illustrated.

This admirable address of Judge Barratt, which treats of an interesting and important epoch in the history of the Commonwealth, has been prepared with the same care and research that characterizes all his historical writings. It is copiously illustrated, and the appendix contains a list of the officers and members of the society.

J. G. ROSENGARTEN's valuable paper, "A Counsel of Perfection: A Plan for an Automatic Collection and Distribution of a State Tax for Higher Education," read before the American Philosophical Society, April 17th of this year, has been printed in pamphlet form.

THE ROYAL DESCENT AND COLONIAL ANCESTRY OF MRS. HARLEY CALVIN GAGE. 8vo, pp. 32.

This pedigree covers an unbroken period of over fourteen hundred years of royal and imperial descent, from the monarchs of many civilized nations, including: Guelph, Prince of the Scyrr; Preain, King of the Franks; Charlemagne; Alfred the Great; Hugh Capet; William the Conqueror, the Kings of France, Italy, England, Spain and Portugal; the Emperors of Russia, Germany, Austria and the Holy Roman Empire and others. In her Colonial lines, she claims descent from Governors Dudley, Bradstreet and Roberts; Rev. Increase and Cotton Mather, William Williams and Jonathan Ashley, all of Massachusetts. The references are numerous, and the compilation has been undertaken with care.

THE GENEALOGICAL REGISTER. Volume I. Edited by William M. Mervine. Philadelphia, 1913. Svo, pp. 332. Illustrated.

Owing to the prominence given in recent years to heredity, interest in genealogical matters is today exceedingly strong. Of this fact,



the work under notice, is an unmistakable proof. In a work of this kind, value depends upon accuracy, and a close examination of its contents indicates a sincere intention to secure correctness. The clear arrangement of the material, the foot note references to the sources of information, and the valuable records of Colonial and Revolutionary service, are of peculiar interest. Among the well known families dealt with are, the Harrison, Waln, Morris, Nixon, Parsons, Patterson, Cresson and Peale of Pennsylvania; Rodman, of Long Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; McIlvaine, of New Jersey, including the Shippen Family; Hunt, of New Jersey and New York; McClintock, of Ireland and Pennsylvania; Bishop, of New York and New Jersey; Carstairs, of Scotland and Philadelphia; Lightfoot, of Virginia; Alden, of New England; Woodruff, of England and New Jersey; Denison, of New England, with Avery, Swan, Wheeler, Gallup, Stanton, Miner and Bradford, of New England, Steel, Seymour, Wygatt, Baxter, White and Meachun, and Murray of Maryland. A copious index will be found very helpful. As a sample of book making it is very attractive.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK PAPERS, 1771-1781. Edited by Prof. James Alton James. Vol. VIII. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Springfield, 1913. 8vo, pp. 715. Illustrated.

The present volume, the third of the Virginia Series, contains all the available Clark papers prior to 1781. The remainder of this material will be published in a fourth volume, which is to follow; and it is planned to complete the series with a fifth volume on the financing of the Revolution in the West, dealing especially with the contributions and influence of Oliver Pollock. The aim throughout has been to interpret events connected with the chief phases of the Revolution in the west, and the general arrangement of the documents has generally been chronological. A complete list of the printed documents and the full titles of books to which reference has been made, with a very full index, will be aiding to the reader.

WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Vol. I. 1779-1796. New York, 1913. The Macmillan Co. 8vo, pp. 508. Price, \$8.50 net.

More than fifty years of the life of John Quincy Adams, son of the second President of the United States, and himself sixth President, 1825-1829, were passed in the public service and almost one-half of that service was in Europe, as diplomatic representative of the United States in Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, and Russia. He resided abroad in the period of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, and, in his despatches to the Department of State, he described fully the events as they passed before his eyes. He supplemented his official despatches with letters, quite as detailed but in a different vein, to family and friends. Throughout his life he engaged in many controversies, wrote much upon public questions, and delivered addresses upon many subjects. From this mass of writings a selection has been made for these volumes, to include what is of permanent historical value, and what is essential to a comprehension of the man in all his private and public situations. Nothing is suppressed which can contribute to this purpose, and the text is printed as it was written. The scope of the work is wide and the manifold activities of Mr. Adams such, that his grandsons could have made no better selection of an editor than Mr. Ford, who is noted for his knowledge and the care and pains he bestows on all his literary work. In form, printing and paper, the book is deserving of praise.

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January 12, 1914.

May 11, 1914.

March 9, 1914.

November 9, 1914.

January 11, 1915.

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