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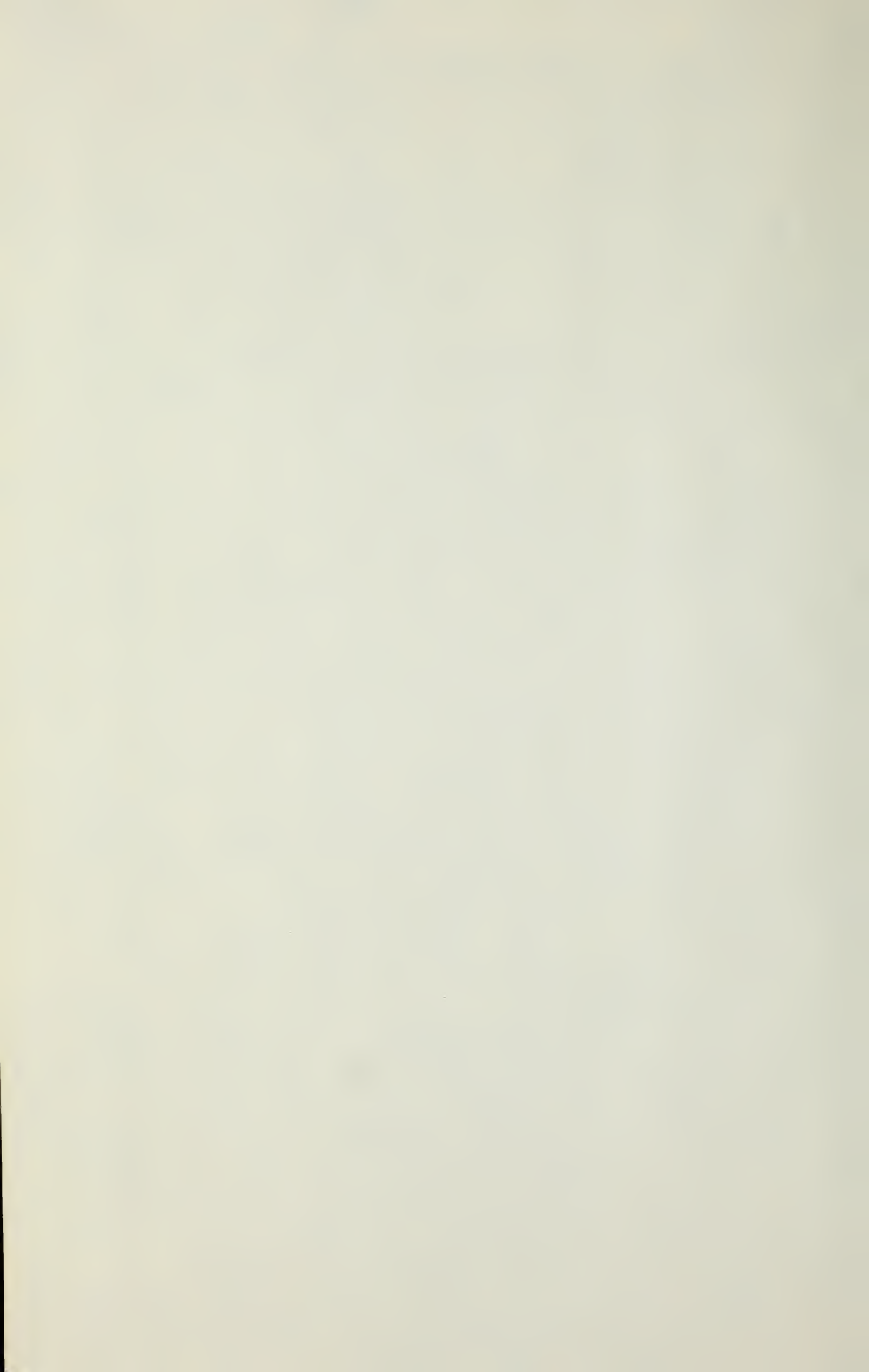
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The
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OF

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Vol. XLI

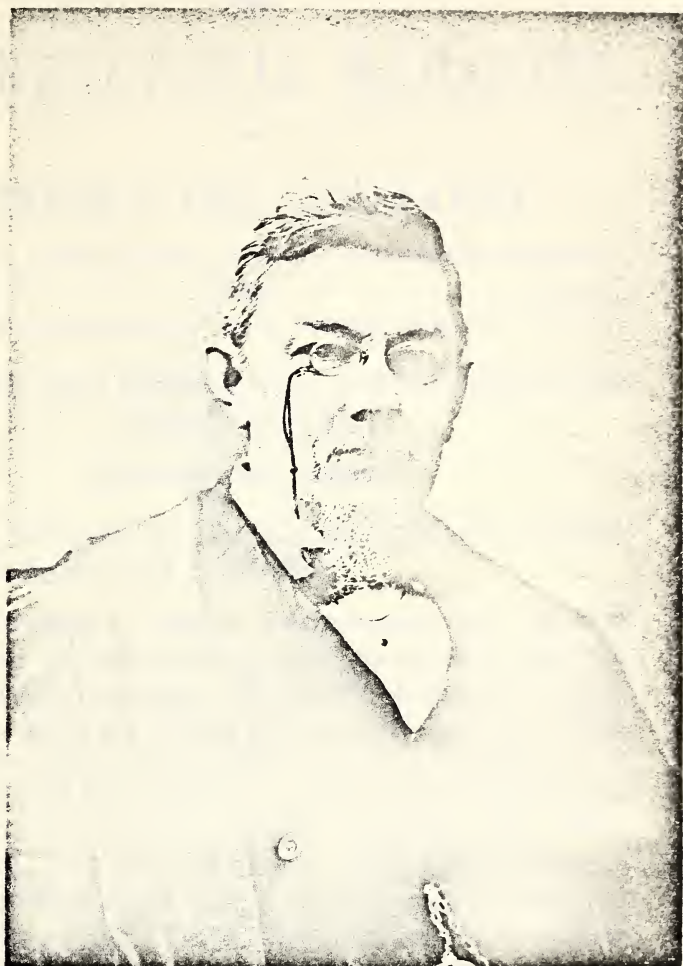
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Very Truly Yrs
Sam W. Pinner

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLI.

1917.

No. 1.

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF SAMUEL WHITAKER
PENNYPACKER.

BY HAMPTON L. CARSON.

Fellow Members of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Ladies and Gentlemen:

This meeting is held to commemorate the life and services of one who loved to enter these halls, and who will enter them no more. His active membership began in March, 1872. In 1876 he became a Councillor, in 1885 a Vice President, and in 1900 he became President, and was re-elected for sixteen successive years, holding the office at the time of his death—September 2nd, 1916. He was also one of the Trustees of the Gilpin Library, the Dreer Manuscripts Trust, the Publication Fund and the Building Fund. In all these positions he served us without stint of strength or lapse of interest. The importance, the variety and laboriousness of the duties circumscribed by this circle of offices can be best appreciated by his colleagues, who bear cheerful testimony to his fidelity, his zeal and his effectiveness. It is no exaggeration to say that the promotion of the purposes of this great Institution formed a serious part of his labors in life, nor is it too much to say that during his admin-

istration his spirit controlled and animated our deliberations. A meeting from which he was absent was like an engine under half steam; a meeting at which he was present moved under full pressure. The bow of Ulysses now stands against the wall unstrung, and none there be in all Ithaca who can bend it.

Ancestry.

His character, while in the main simple in its outlines, was in many respects complex and difficult of analysis, but the key to it lies in a careful study of his ancestry. James Nasmyth, the inventor of the steam hammer, in his Autobiography, wrote these words: "Our history begins long before we are born. We represent the hereditary influences of our race, and our ancestors virtually live in us. The sentiment of ancestry seems to be inherent in human nature, especially in the more civilized races. At all events we cannot help having a due regard for our forefathers. Our curiosity is stimulated by their immediate or indirect influence upon ourselves. It may be a generous enthusiasm, or as some might say, a harmless vanity to take pride in the honor of their name. The gifts of nature, however, are more valuable than those of fortune, and no line of ancestry, however honorable, can absolve us from the duty of diligent application and perseverance, and from the practice of the virtues of self control and self help." These striking and helpful words are applicable to Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker. Those who have been baffled in their efforts to understand him, those who were puzzled by seemingly contradictory traits, those who regarded his public career as a paradox, must seek an explanation in the diverse elements of his descent, which like streams of distant origin took tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they flowed. Dutch, Norman-French, Anglo-Saxon and Welsh blood commingled in his veins. Dierck, the first Count of Holland in the ninth century, whose son married Hildegarde, the daughter of Louis of France, and

Philippa, the granddaughter of Charles of Valois, who married Edward III of England in the fourteenth century, are to be found in the first line of descent. There also were Joan of Beaufort, Elizabeth Stradling, Barbara Aubrey and Elizabeth Bevan, all of Welsh descent. In the second line, which sprang from John of Gaunt—"time honored Lancaster"—were Eleanor Somerset and Watkin Vaughan of England and of Wales. Some of these men had built churches, founded colleges or been pilgrims to the Holy Land; some had been sailors and been rescued from pirates; some had been men of restless ambition, or jolly dogs rejoicing in good living; some of these women had languished in lonely towers, ransomed prisoners, or stitched upon tapestries. As this blood filtered through dukes and earls to counts and knights and esquires, it finally became blended with that of the common people. The earliest of the Pannebakers, or, in Dutch, Pannebakkers, were tile makers in Holland, and disciples of Menno Simon, the founder of the sect now known as Mennonites. Children of persecution and often burned as heretics at the stake, their descendants welcomed the approaches of the early Quaker preachers offering them inducements to seek refuge in the land of Penn. Hendrick Pannebaker, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, the founder of the American family, left his home in Crefelt, a city on the Rhine, near the borders of Holland, and became one of the earliest settlers in Germantown, and a friend of Francis Daniel Pastorius. His grandson, Matthias, the great-grandfather of the subject of this address, became a Bishop in the Mennonite Church. Since then the family has become widely scattered, extending from Canada to Mexico and California, and all through the eastern and middle counties of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The men have been lawyers, judges, physicians, farmers, soldiers, authors, publishers and preachers,

and the women members of Quaker meeting, or the Church, and gentle mothers of modest citizens.

At the Pennypacker Reunion, held October 4th, 1877, our late President in describing a member of the family who had become a Senator of the United States, said: "Reverdy Johnson wrote to me of Isaac S., of Virginia, that possessing 'sterling integrity he had the confidence of every man in the Senate.' Thaddeus Stevens complained of Elijah F. that he was 'too damned honest,' and this trait, which seems to crop out even in our politicians, I think we may claim as a family characteristic." He also said: "Physically we are generally large, with dark hair and eyes, and if we could get our neighbors to repeat to us the comments they sometimes make in our absence, we would probably learn that we wear full sized stockings and are not handsome." "This pedigree," as Governor Pennypacker once wrote, "is not without a certain philosophical value," and he tersely declared: "Man is a result as well as a cause."

Personal
Characteris-
tics.

Here then you have the key to his character. He had unusual pride of ancestry combined with extreme democratic simplicity; he had an imposing carriage of the head and a rustic slouch of the body; he had a peculiar twang of utterance, but his speech was accurate and polished. While he never forgot his patrician blood he never consciously reminded one of it. On State occasions he bore himself with lofty dignity; on informal occasions with unconventional affability. I have seen him receive the President of the United States and Governors of other States, surrounded by glittering staffs, with exact but not overstrained formality, and I have seen him, even while standing in front of the Governor's chair, which was to him an emblem of authority and influence, talk easily with farmers, mine laborers and timid school teachers, in a way which disarmed embarrassment without inviting familiarity. He combined breadth of view and liberality of sentiment with

marked racial bias, his Dutch strain predominating and inspiring some of his most eloquent utterances; while singularly tolerant of other men's views he was aggressively insistent upon his own; kindly and even gentle at heart he was inflexible in the performance of duty however distasteful; a man of definite egotism, he displayed the most unselfish modesty; with an entire absence of guile and the ingenuousness of a child, he knew mankind's badness and hated evil: loyal to his friends, he refused to listen to the tale-bearer; it was not that he closed his eyes to their imperfections, but that he was sympathetically astigmatic; hospitable by nature he preferred men of Pennsylvania birth or ancestry to those coming from other States however renowned they became: he placed Rittenhouse above Franklin, and Matthew Stanley Quay above Thaddeus Stevens and Stephen Gallatin; endowed with the faculty of clearly expressing his thoughts he delighted in mystery of suggestion; serious and at times grave to sadness he rioted in humor and sparkled with wit; of the most recondite learning, he could talk with detailed knowledge of the most ordinary affairs; reluctant to provoke encounters he could and did bear himself with the most heroic and splendid courage. "He was a man; take him for all in all, I ne'er shall look upon his like again."

He was born in Phoenixville, Pa., on the 9th of April, 1843. His father, Isaac Anderson Pennypacker, was a graduate in medicine of the University of Pennsylvania in 1835, and Professor of Theory and Practice in the Philadelphia College of Medicine, which was later merged in Jefferson Medical College. His mother was Anna M. Whitaker, a daughter of Joseph Whitaker, a wealthy ironmaster. His grandfather was Matthias Pennypacker of Pickering, Chester County, Pa., who was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1837; a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and a

Parentage.

corporator of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. His grandmother was Sarah Anderson, daughter of Isaac Anderson, who had been a lieutenant in the Revolution, and a member of Congress from 1803 to 1807, in the days of Jefferson, and later a Presidential Elector.

Schooling.

His earliest teachers were his parents. His mother taught him to read before he was four years old, and his father, who was skilled in observing a child's processes of thought, was his daily instructor in conduct. While still very young he attended a school in the neighborhood, kept by a Mrs. Heilig, and he well remembered the stool and the paper cap intended for "the fool." Before he was eight years old he had devoured Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* for the story, and knew *Æsop's* fables by heart. Later he delighted in tales of adventure, particularly those concerning *Hernando Cortez*, *Henry Hudson*, *Captain John Smith*, and the American patriots, *Putnam*, *Marion* and *Sergeant Champ*. Then he read "*Nick of the Woods*," and to the end of his life he thought it the best tale of Indian warfare. At eleven he became interested in natural history, elementary astronomy and even dipped into *Whitaker on Arianism*. *Guizot's Washington* gave him an early bent toward American history, which became a passion. As a lad, he attended a public school on "*Tunnel Hill*," now a part of *Phoenixville*, and had as schoolfellows the children of the Irish workers in the iron mills and several Indian boys and girls of a Canadian tribe encamped on the *Pickering creek*. He was an apt pupil, and led in grammar, geography and arithmetic. He also used his fists upon one *John Bradley*, to whom years later, when a judge, he granted a license to sell liquor in Philadelphia. At his father's house he frequently saw the famous traveler, *Bayard Taylor*, and listened with boyish rapture to tales of adventure in foreign lands. He also saw

Daniel Webster, William H. Seward, Neal Dow of Maine, and younger men who in time became distinguished, among them Wayne MacVeagh. In the fall of 1854, Dr. Pennypacker removed from Phoenixville to Philadelphia, living on Chestnut Street west of 18th Street, becoming one of the founders of The Philadelphia City Institute, and of the Howard Hospital. The boy was then sent to the Northeast Grammar School under the presidency of Aaron B. Ivins, a noted teacher with a genius for mathematics. His progress was rapid, for in nine months he had passed from the Fifth form to the First. He then entered the West Philadelphia Institute, established by Professor Ephraim D. Saunders, who insisted, with the aid of a native of France, upon the exclusive use of the French language in all of the school exercises and even upon the playground. In this way the future Governor acquired a ready use of French which he never lost. His schoolmate Gregory B. Keen writes of these days: "He had come fresh from the N. E. Grammar School full of notions as to the importance of English grammar, which he ventilated freely to us youngsters who knew nothing about it, in competition with our equally strong opinions as to the value of Latin grammar, which we were all studying, and which he knew nothing about. . . . His favorite game at school was 'shinny.'" In 1856 he had the misfortune to lose his father, who died at the early age of 44, and the family returned to Phoenixville. Already it had been planned that the boy should go to college and study law, and his preparatory studies were superintended at the Grovemont Seminary by the Rev. Joel E. Bradley, who had translated the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek. He became proficient in French, Latin and Greek, reading four books of the *Æneid*, the *Georgics*, *Sallust*, *Horace* and *Livy*; and the *Anabasis*, the New Testament, *Herodotus* and four books of *Homer*. The Latin he never

forgot, and preferred Virgil to Homer. In mathematics he mastered algebra and geometry and studied the elements of philosophy, chemistry and history. His school days ended in 1859. In preparing for the Sophomore class in Yale, he read far beyond the college requirements, but owing partly to lack of means and partly to the outbreak of the Civil War he had to abandon all thought of a college education. Various efforts were made to secure clerical positions, all of which happily failed. While acting as President of the Young Men's Literary Union, he took part in debates and public entertainments, followed by a pedestrian trip across Eastern Pennsylvania and into Maryland. He also spent a summer in the drug store of a cousin in Kensington, and in a short time sold drugs and put up prescriptions. In the winter of 1861-62 he helped to keep the books of the firm of Whitaker & Condon which sold in Philadelphia the product of his grandfather's iron furnaces. The following winter he taught a public school, consisting of about sixty pupils, on a hill near his birthplace, and it is said that never was there in that locality a better teacher, and never were pupils better prepared.

**Military
Service.**

In his twentieth year he enlisted as a private in the 26th Emergency Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. This was not militia service as the hasty might infer. I have been informed by the best authority that it was a service which tested patriotism, because the enlistment being for an emergency, its possible duration was indefinite, and in this respect the volunteer yielded more to the Government than the nine or twelve months men. The regiment saw service in the Gettysburg campaign, under the command of Colonel Jennings, and was in contact with White's Confederate Cavalry of Early's command at such a time and at such a place as to determine in part the scene of the great battle. It lost about 170 men who were captured by the enemy,

and, although consisting of raw recruits, acted with such firmness as to be mentioned in the dispatches of General Early. Private Pennypacker shortly afterward wrote a sprightly and interesting account of his experiences under the title of "Six Weeks in Uniform."

After he was mustered out of service he entered as a student the law offices of the accomplished Peter McCall, Esq., then occupying the chair of Pleading and Practice in the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania. A gentleman, who entered the same office shortly after Pennypacker had left it, writes me: "There was a sort of tradition among the students that he had been recognized as one of the ablest, if not the ablest of his period, and also (I think) that he had held on to his rather rugged manner and strong Republican views, untempered by the influence of Mr. McCall himself, who, as you know, was intensely Anti-Republican and whose personality did impress all of us to an extraordinary degree. Nobody could be in daily contact with him without wanting to be like him, and I rather think that Pennypacker had to make an effort not to yield a little in regard to views which I suppose I ought to label as 'reactionary' in the parlance of the present day."

Law Studies.

After a novitiate of three years, during which he attended the lectures at the Law School delivered by George Sharswood, Peter McCall and the late P. Pemberton Morris, he was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar May 19th, 1866, and graduated from the Law Department in July of the same year. Among his fellow classmates were Chief Justice Fell, the late Judge Wiltbank, the late Judge McCarthy, and Samuel S. Hollingsworth, Silas W. Pettit, Rufus E. Shapley, George W. Biddle, Jr., B. Franklin Fisher, J. Granville Leach and the singular but picturesque Damon Y. Kilgore. His early practice was slender, and he amused himself by writing a Charade on the word Dramatic, and by

diligent attendance upon "the early meetings of the Penn Club, which were really distinctive and brought together men not affectedly Bohemian but indulging in the spirit of freedom in thought and speech and the flavor of simplicity which just suited his nature." Here he became intimate with the contributors to the *Penn Monthly* under the editorship of Wharton Barker, with Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, and the late Judge Henry Reed, and notably with the rarely gifted Henry Armitt Brown, whom he guided over the hills of Valley Forge when preparing his wonderful oration, and to whose memory a few weeks later he paid a touching tribute.

Historical
Studies.

In 1870 he became President of the Law Academy, which had been founded under the auspices of Peter S. Duponceau. About the same time he devoted himself to historical studies, particularly those relating to Pennsylvania; his first efforts, as he himself has described them, dating from 1873 when he formed the design of writing the history of the Mennonites, a people whom he regarded as the most interesting who had come to America. The task was one of extreme difficulty, requiring a preliminary knowledge of the German and Dutch languages. No collection of their books had ever been made in this country, and nothing of value had been published except some papers in Pennsylvania Dutch, which were descriptive rather than historical, so that the structure had to be erected from its foundation. At the end of ten years Mr. Pennypacker had mastered the languages just named, had collected books and manuscripts, pored over journals, diaries, letter-books, old deeds, wills, court records, bibles, hymn-books, the imprints of the Ephrata press, and the publications of Christopher Saur, all of which he read with ease in the original, no matter how time-stained, or, if in manuscript, no matter how crabbed the handwriting; saturating himself at the

same time with local traditions and tramping all over Montgomery, Chester and Lancaster counties upon visits to aged citizens, exploring garrets and old farm houses, and conferring with Professor Oswald Seidensticker, Julius F. Sachse, A. H. Cassel of Harleysville, who were toilers in similar fields, and particularly with Robert Ellis Thompson, who had written an article on "The German Mystics as American Colonists." The results were stated in seven papers entitled "The Settlement of Germantown, and the Causes which led to It"; "David Rittenhouse, the American Astronomer"; "Christopher Dock, the Pious Schoolmaster on the Skippack and his Works"; "Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer Spiegel"; "Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania"; "Abraham and Dirck OP Den Graeff"; "Zionitsher Weyrauch's Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg." These were collected into a volume of "Historical and Biographical Sketches," published in 1883, modestly called "a torso," although, with confidence in the extent of his researches, he declared: "I believe the work so far as it has gone to be thorough, and if it should not progress to the end, I shall at least have the satisfaction of having contributed something to the history of a people who are in every way worthy of the most careful study, and who will sooner or later attract wide attention." In 1899, in a separate volume, entitled "The Settlement of Germantown," which is the ripest of his historical works, and in the papers entitled "German Immigration"; "The Dutch Patroons of Pennsylvania"; "The Pennsylvania Dutchman and Wherein He has Excelled"; "Johann Gottfried Seelig," and "Sower and Beissel," constituting important parts of his "Pennsylvania in American History," published in 1910, he confirmed and extended the outcome of his special studies based on original sources of information to be found in the vast collections of this Society.

It was this special line of work which gave him his

reputation as *the* expert in Pennsylvania Dutch history, but those who rashly fancied that he had neglected other phases of our Pennsylvania growth did not know him. He was thoroughly well informed of all that had been done by English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch-Irish, Swedish and Huguenot settlers, and on occasions would pour out a raking fire of facts which overwhelmed his opponents. As he had made the field of Pennsylvania Dutch history his own, and had been the first to make it prominent, his reputation as a specialist overshadowed his other labors.

In Politics.

In 1880 he became interested in the Anti-Third Term campaign waged against the candidacy of General Grant, and became an active member of the Anti-Third Term League of Philadelphia of which the eminent scholar, historian and publicist, Henry Charles Lea, the future Attorney General of the United States, Wayne MacVeagh, the energetic and ever active banker-citizen, Wharton Barker, the refined and intellectual Henry Reed, later a judge of Court of Common Pleas No. 3 of Philadelphia County, the zealous maltster T. Morris Perot, and spirited merchant John McLaughlin were leading spirits. They all went to Chicago in July, and met on the train the celebrated Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, Green B. Raum of Indiana and Stewart L. Woodford, Lt.-Governor of New York, later our Minister to Spain at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Rarely, if ever, did I listen to as brilliant and eloquent discussions as took place by the hour in the smoking car in which Ingersoll, MacVeagh, and Woodford were the most animated participants, spurred on by questions and criticisms from Barker and Pennypacker. The Philadelphians all slept, or rather tried in vain to sleep, in the same room in the Palmer House, the cots being arranged in rows like those of a hospital ward, the men on the ends next to the door insisting that the windows be kept open, the men nearest to the

windows insisting on closing them because of a sharp breeze from the Lake, and the men in the middle arguing first with one faction and then with the other as successive experiments were made. In the morning we attended the Convention as spectators from the gallery; saw Don Cameron hand the gavel to Senator Geo. F. Hoar, heard Conkling's masterpiece in placing in nomination the man "from Appomattox and its famous apple-tree," and Garfield's speech nominating John Sherman, which attracted all eyes to him as a possible dark horse, which he subsequently proved to be. The balloting was tedious and Mr. Pennypacker and myself withdrew and returned home before the adjournment, followed by the news of the nomination of Garfield and the rout of that stalwart band of 306 who never wavered in their support of Grant. On that return journey I first became acquainted with the depth and variety of the stores of knowledge possessed by Pennypacker. He poured forth an inexhaustible stream of information on Constitutional law, history, philosophy and literature to which I listened completely overwhelmed. But the incident which impressed me most, and which I recall as though it were of yesterday, was that one afternoon a woman who occupied the opposite section from ours with a boy of about four or five years of age became train-sick and suffered from headache, and the future Governor of Pennsylvania, after binding her head with a handkerchief steeped in iced water, drew the boy to the opposite end of the car and kept him amused for more than an hour with stories of birds and animals and Indians, thus giving the mother a chance to sleep.

In 1882, Mr. Pennypacker was active in the Independent Movement, which nominated John Stewart, at present an Associate Justice of our Supreme Court, for Governor, ran for the Legislature on an independent ticket in his legislative district and was defeated, but

at a public meeting reading his famous open letter to Governor Hoyt, which led the latter to proclaim himself as in favor of the movement, causing one of the greatest political uproars of the time.

Law Practice.

At the Bar for many years Mr. Pennypacker's practice was small and rather slow in development. But in time his industry, learning and sound judgment brought to him important clients. In 1884, in the leading case of *Commonwealth ex rel. Sellers vs. The Phoenix Iron Company*, reported on appeal in 105 Pa. State, 111, he established, after some years of discussion, the principle that a minority stockholder in a private corporation, who was denied access to corporate records and information as to corporate affairs, might have a mandamus to compel the production of such books and papers as were essential to him for an accurate ascertainment of his rights as a stockholder, a victory which was confirmed in a second phase of the same litigation in 113 Pa. State, 563. These cases were the forerunners of that long line of authorities which have been relied upon by counsel in conducting investigations of the affairs of the huge trade combinations which in recent years have become known as Trusts. A year or two later he was retained as private counsel by an eminent banking house in a matter which attracted the attention of English solicitors, who were much impressed by the clearness and cogency of Mr. Pennypacker's views as expressed in a written opinion, and still later he prepared a most elaborate, original and satisfactory trust agreement for the guidance and control of trustees charged with the management of most important concessions from the Government of China touching the establishment of a Chinese American Bank,—a paper which, being one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of its kind, attracted the attention of Mr. Evarts, Mr. Olney and Mr. Cushing, then in the heyday of their fame as active practitioners, and which

has served as a basic model for subsequent business enterprises on similar lines.

At the same time he was carrying on special work on the literature of the law, acting as reporter-in-chief for Court of Common Pleas No. 3 of Philadelphia County, his labors in this field being reported in Vol. 2 (1876) to Vol. 23 (1888) inclusive of the *Weekly Notes of Cases*. In 1879 he published his *Supplementary Index to the Common Law Reports* arranged under titles, a work of laborious industry, which unquestionably laid a broad foundation for the legal knowledge which he subsequently displayed as a judge in administering common law principles. This was followed in 1881-84 by the publication of four volumes of an average of 580 pages each, of decisions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, containing cases not to be found in the official State Reports because excluded under the act of June 12th, 1878, and known to the profession as *Pennypacker's Reports*. He once told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that he was often amused while on the bench by the efforts of counsel to cite cases from his own volumes, as if they had a higher authority than those officially reported. Later, he made a most important contribution to our judicial history by extracting from our Colonial Records and Colonial Archives 76 cases, coming before the judges between the years 1683 and 1713, and published in 1892 in a separate volume entitled *Colonial Cases*; a task of pertinacious digging through masses of other matter, much of it most wearisome, contained in 26 volumes, imperfectly indexed, and which he therefore had to examine page by page. He also delivered an Historical Address upon Congress Hall and its Associations, at the last session of the Court of Common Pleas No. 2 in that venerated building, September 16th, 1895, which takes its place with Mr. Justice Mitchell's address upon the passing of the old District Court as a classic contribution to the history of our old legal shrines.

**Judicial
Career.**

In January, 1889, he was appointed by Governor Beaver to the vacancy in Court of Common Pleas No. 2 of Philadelphia County occasioned by the election of James T. Mitchell to the Supreme Court, an appointment made by a Governor who in 1882 had been defeated for that office in part by the exertions of the sturdy appointee, who was selected in obedience to the spirit of harmony and reconciliation which had reunited the wings of the Republican Party in Pennsylvania, as well as in recognition of his abilities and attainments. The appointment was followed by a popular election for the term of ten years, and again in 1899 by a re-election to a second term. In the year 1897 he became President Judge of his Court, through the retirement of the venerable jurist J. I. Clark Hare. His colleagues during his thirteen years of judicial service were Judges Hare, Fell, subsequently Chief Justice, Jenkins, Mayer Sulzberger who like Erskine surrendered a splendid career at the bar to wear a judicial robe, and the late Judge Wiltbank, a master of equity jurisprudence. If the action and reaction of intellect upon intellect in close associations can produce, as they must, the most agreeable as well as lasting results, then truly no years of the late Governor's entire career were more fruitful, for never in the judicial history of Philadelphia County was there at any one time in any one court a more remarkable combination and display of purely intellectual power than in the concentrated rays of minds so variously and so richly equipped. The Court was like that of the King's Bench when Mansfield, Buller, Yates and Ashhurst sat side by side.

The duties of the judges in a court of original jurisdiction, or what may be called a court of first instance, differ from those of judges in an Appellate or Supreme Court in this: the judges of the appellate court deal with facts established by the verdict of a jury or found by

an equity judge in the court below, and apply the fixed principles of law to these facts, correcting whatever errors in law may have been committed by the judges below. The judges in the lower courts, however, are charged with the difficult, delicate and onerous duties of ascertaining what the facts are in each contested litigation in order to prepare the way for a proper discharge of duty by the appellate judges. They come in contact with active life and with all the contentions, prejudices, passions and weaknesses incident to human nature in waging battles in the court room, which are a civilized substitute for the old savagery which settled disputes by force and not by law. Hence a *nisi prius* judge, as he is called, should have a knowledge of human nature, a sensitive appreciation of the merits of the controversy, infinite patience, the faculty of close attention to the evidence, and self-repression so as to guard against a too hasty determination of the matters in dispute. He must have complete knowledge of practice, of the rules of evidence, and common sense in their application, and he must be ready and dexterous in his expediting of the public business. He must be a master, moreover, of the machinery of legal business known as "Motions and Rules," and as well posted in equity proceedings as in those at common law. In these respects the demands upon the knowledge and sufficiency of a Pennsylvania judge are far more constant and exacting than those prevailing in England where the business is highly specialized.

Judge Pennypacker met these requirements to the satisfaction of the profession and of the public. His manner at *nisi prius* was admirable. He rarely interrupted counsel unless they strayed beyond the limits of the case; he ruled points of evidence promptly and firmly; his charges to juries were clear and precise. He avoided extraneous discussions of the law and mystifying qualifications of principles. In disposing of

motions and rules he was prompt and decisive. He worked in perfect harmony with his colleagues, and the result was a businesslike administration. Although thousands of cases came before him, he wrote but few opinions comparatively. A few instances will suffice to show his judicial manner.

The case of *People's Passenger Railway Co. vs. Marshall St. Railway Co.* (20 Phila., 203, A. D. 1890) involved the right to lay tracks upon certain streets. The opinion is characteristic of his method, but it is especially interesting as containing the germ of a thought expressed thirteen years later in his Inaugural Address and in two of the most celebrated of his veto messages as Governor. He said: "Individual property may be taken by the State by the right of eminent domain, but this power can only be exercised when it appears that the property so taken is in some way necessary for the maintenance of the general welfare. It would seem, therefore, that the citizen ought at least to have the judgment of his representatives in the Legislature, or of some one representing the Commonwealth which exercises the right, that the property so taken from him is needed for a public purpose. This Act authorizes 'any number of persons not less than five,' without regard to their responsibility, to say when a highway of the city may be entered upon and occupied by a railway. It is quite clear from observation of the ways of men and ordinary human experience that the action of these 'any number of persons not less than five' will be determined, not by a careful consideration of whether the public welfare demands it, but by the prospect of profit and advantage to be secured by themselves. If the duty of judging in so important a matter may in this way be delegated by the Legislature, and the number of railroad, railway, telephone, telegraph companies and other similar corporations, requiring the exercise of the right of emi-

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ment domain, continues to increase, it can be readily seen that in the near future the control of his property by the citizen will be very much limited.”

In *Shepp vs. Jones*, 3 Dist. Rep., 539 (1894), a disputed trade mark case, he concisely said: “No man has a right to sell his goods as those of a rival by means liable to impose on purchasers, and may be restrained by injunction, if he does so. The rule is based on honesty, and ought to be upheld.”

In *Comm. ex rel. vs. Gratz, et al.*, 5 Dist. Rep., 341 (1896), he refused to mandamus the Board of Education in the selection of a teacher, because the duty of choice lay with the Board and involved such discretion that a court could not interfere.

In *Carroll vs. the City of Philadelphia, et al.*, and *The Penn Asphalt Paving Co.*, 6 Dist. Rep., 397 (1897), he courageously upheld, against a combination of contractors, freedom of competitive bidding. The case was one of street paving, involving the use of asphalt. The specifications called for “sheet lake asphalt,” and it was held that the advertisement for bids could not, by setting up “a standard with a double head,” limit the standard to two grades known as Bermudez and Trinidad, and thus exclude competitive bidding by owners of other grades. To do so would be to limit the bidding to those who controlled the two classes. Aside from this unshackled determination the opinion is interesting as displaying his peculiar learning. In giving a history of asphalt he invoked an authority unknown to counsel, the Dutch author Joannes de Laet, whose work on Trinidad had been published in Leyden in 1630.

In refusing the application for a Charter by The First Church of Christ Scientist, 6 Dist. Rep., 745 (1897), he declared that where the purpose of a corporation is only to inculcate a creed or to promulgate a form of worship, no question can arise as to the

propriety of such purpose, because under the Constitution of Pennsylvania private belief is beyond public control, and there can be no interference with the rights of conscience, but where the purpose of a proposed corporation, as set forth in the application, necessarily imports a system for the treatment of diseases to be carried into effect by persons trained for the purpose, who may receive compensation for their services, and where the knowledge and training of such healers do not conform to the tests required by law, the courts will refuse to confirm such charter under the guise of a charter for a church or religious body.

After quoting the provisions of the Act of March 24, 1877, P. L. 42, which established a policy which the courts must be careful not to thwart, he said: "To grant this charter would be to sanction a system of dealing with disease totally at variance with any contemplated by the Act of 1877 and different from any taught in 'a chartered medical school.' It is possible," he gravely added, "that the method proposed is correct, but the most important of truths which run counter to long established and popular currents of thought must ever pass through a period of test and trial before they are accepted. Reforms are proverbially slow." Then he adds, with a touch of characteristic humor, "It may be, as we are told in *Science and Health*, that to look a tiger in the eye with faith is to send him frightened into the jungle; but men, as they are at present informed, are more apt to rely, however mistakenly, upon rifles. . . . Should they in the lapse of time become convinced by the teachings of *Science and Health* that their course is erroneous, no doubt a future legislature will repeal the Act of 1877, but for the present its policy must be enforced."

In *Madden vs. Electric Light Co.*, 7 Dist. Pa., 364 (1898), he held that where a majority of the stockholders of a corporation chose to make an improvident

contract, a minority interest had no redress unless the act of the majority was not in good faith. Moreover, the internal management of a foreign corporation operating under a license in Pennsylvania was exclusively under the jurisdiction of the foreign court, and could not be inquired into in Pennsylvania. The same result was reached in *Hartley vs. Welsh*, 8 Dist. R., 546 (1899).

In refusing a new trial in *Feingold vs. Traction Co.*, 7 Dist. 445 (1898), he said that the true rule touching the degree of care demanded from railway officials toward infant trespassers is that force cannot be used to the injury of child trespassers, but that responsibility for care over them rested with their parents or guardians. Cars are not for the benefit of trespassers. To require the stopping of a car in order to put off intruders might be, upon certain occasions, a great embarrassment to both the company and the passengers. "A school of trespassing children could lawfully stop the running of a railroad."

In *Granger vs. Pigot*, 10 Dist. R. 327 (1901), he enforced the equitable principle that a trustee cannot be permitted to buy the trust property at his own sale, or secure to himself any individual benefit from such purchase. "Officers ought to be protected from the temptation to exercise their control over the acts of the corporation in such a way as to benefit themselves as individuals, at the expense of the estates for which the corporation may be trustee. We hold, therefore, that it is contrary to public policy, and against good morals, to permit the secretary of a financial corporation to buy, for his own benefit, stock held by the corporation in a trust capacity."

In *Connor vs. Sterling*, 10 Dist., 437 (1901), he dealt with evidence in a murder case. He ruled that a photograph, proved to have been taken from life and to resemble the person intended, might be used in evidence

for the purpose of identification; but where its offer might affect so serious a question as one of life or death, the offer ought to be accompanied with proof of the circumstances under which the photograph was taken, and of its subsequent custody and history; nor should extraneous matter be written upon its back, containing unproved statements likely to create in the minds of the jury impressions unfavorable to the defendant.

It must not be concluded by laymen from the foregoing examples of his judicial work that Judge Pennypacker discovered any new legal principles or invented anything in the realm of law. He was too good a judge to do that. It is not the function of a judge to legislate. His province is to declare and not to make the law. No better description of what a judge should be was ever given than by Alexander Simpson, Jr., in the following words:

“An ideal court, it has been said, is one in which justice is judicially administered. Necessarily, therefore, an ideal judge is one who judicially administers justice. But what a wide vista that opens! May I delay you a moment to briefly point out what it does mean as applied to a Common Pleas Judge in this State? It means not only that the judge must be honest, industrious, learned and sober, but that he must have patience to hear all that is to be said, keeping his mind receptive until the last word is spoken in argument, though his own rulings are being criticised, at the same time by appropriate inquiry bringing out all that is valuable in the argument, and yet must have a keen legal sense enabling him to understand, and often on the spur of the moment to apply to the particular case under consideration the foundation principles abstracted from the arguments and authorities presented. It means that he must be in touch alike with the individual citizen and the community as a man, solicitous

to preserve individual rights and yet equally solicitous to conserve the general public good; anxious that matters of discretion may be as few as possible, yet doubly anxious because of increased responsibility when they do arise; with abundant friendships, yet blind to the counsel and suitors before him, and to everything, whether of poverty, wealth, influence, friendship or otherwise, possessed by them, save, and save only, the facts and the law applicable to the particular case. He must have a broad and philosophical mind in a sound and healthy body; must be able to see not merely the rights and justice of the particular case, with a keen desire to decide it in that way, but to see also the effects its decision will have upon the body of the law; must be able to avoid posing for or being influenced by present public applause, and yet constantly recognizing that the greatest good to the greatest number, within the limitations necessary to protect the minority, is the end and aim of all republican government. He must steadily bear in mind the fact that the judiciary is not the law-making body in the community, and yet recognize that under the common law his decisions, on the novel questions constantly arising, may establish rules of action with the same effect as legislation. He must have the horse-sense to know that men in other walks of life than his own are actuated by motives that influence him but little; that, therefore, juries drawn from all classes of the community are better able than he is to judge of those motives, and yet be willing to take his just share of responsibility for every verdict rendered before him, and to set aside or modify it when justice so demands. It means that he must profoundly love the institutions of his country; must have a genius for and love of the law he administers; must have a proper respect for the place that he occupies, and yet be approachable; must be modest and civil, yet dignified and firm in his demeanor; must be prompt, clear and con-

sistent in his rulings, and plain, direct and concise in his charges, and yet must recognize that he is but human, and, therefore, the other lawyers who practice before him may be right and he be wrong; must loyally follow the decisions of the appellate courts, whether or not appealing to his legal sense, to the end that the law may not be looked upon as uncertain, nor made the subject of reproach; and more than all these, with an abiding sense of responsibility to his conscience and his God, he must so act as to avoid the least appearance of evil, that every one, including the unsuccessful suitors before him, will at once recognize that he does in fact possess all these qualities. He who enters a court presided over by such a judge as I have described knows at once that he has entered a place instinct with justice; though blind as the Goddess herself, he sees and feels that there justice is judicially administered."

The words just quoted are taken from Mr. Simpson's speech in placing Judge Pennypacker in nomination for a second term, and their value as a portraiture of the man is fixed by the circumstance that Mr. Simpson is well known as the most candid and outspoken critic of the judges that the Bar has seen during the past fifty years.

Nomination
as Governor.

We are now to view Judge Pennypacker in a totally different rôle. In June, 1902, he was nominated by the Republican Party for the office of Governor, after a spirited contest in the Convention with the late Mr. Justice John P. Elkin of the Supreme Court. The younger men of the party led by Elkin, who then held the office of Attorney General under Governor Stone, favored Elkin, the older men, led by Senator Quay, favored Pennypacker. A sharp encounter occurred between the leaders, in which the latter won. I recall as one of the pleasantries of the occasion that Frank B. McClain, then a member of the House from Lancaster County, and now Lt.-Governor of the State, a man of

the most engaging presence and captivating powers of oratory, in seconding Mr. Elkin's nomination plucked an American Beauty rose from his button-hole and holding it above his head, exclaimed: "The red rose of Lancaster blooms for the plowboy from Indiana County." In nominating Pennypacker I countered by describing the raw recruit in blue who on the night of July 1st, 1863, had slept on the steps of the Capitol he had volunteered to defend against the invading hordes of Lee, and snatched a white rose from a bowl which stood on the table of the presiding officer. It was the white rose that won, although the victor had in his veins the blood of "time honored Lancaster."

The campaign was a warm one. Both Judge Pennypacker and his opponent, the Hon. Robert E. Pattison, who had twice been Governor, appeared upon the stump, the latter a veteran campaigner, the former without much previous experience. A writer in the *Yale Review* referring to Pennypacker has remarked: "His lot as a candidate was not a particularly happy one because he had had no experience as a campaigner. He had been accustomed to speaking his mind freely and directly without equivocation, subterfuge, or indirection. The voters of the State were not prepared for such frank declarations, but they could not escape the conviction that he was an entirely honest man, and moreover, a courageous one, even though they did not approve his backers." The writer's impressions correspond with my own, but he either failed to notice, or else omitted to express, that as the campaign went on the speaking improved and the candidacy became stronger until toward the close the result was clearly in sight. At a meeting in Chester during the last week, Democratic hopes having sunk perceptibly, Candidate Pennypacker provoked shouts of laughter by comparing the Democratic party to a turtle which had been run over in the village street, and a crowd having gath-

ered, an Irishman, who observed a slight wiggling of the tail, exclaimed: "The baste is dead but is not yet sensible of it."

Judge Pennypacker was elected by a plurality of more than 150,000 votes.

As Governor.

The man who had been elected Governor of Pennsylvania was thus described by the gifted journalist, James Creelman, who personally traveled from New York to Harrisburg for the express purpose of seeing with his own eyes the most talked about Governor in all the States, and this too when he had been but three months in office: "A stalwart burly man . . . of impressive physique, wide-shouldered, deep-chested, strong-limbed—such a husky frame of bone and brawn as the Boers have. He is Dutch on his father's side: otherwise he is English, German and Welsh—all stubborn bloods. His immense head, high cheek bones and narrow, pendulous gray beard suggest at once the Mandarin of Northern China. The dark eyes, the high forehead, wide at the base and narrow at the top; the dark skin, heavy jaws and short nose heighten the impression of Mongol Magisterialism. It is easy to find such a powerful, bony, almost savagely impassive countenance in the Yamens of Manchuria. The very look is Mandarin-like. The Governor was dressed in sober gray, and where stockings usually show themselves, the legs of old fashioned top boots worn in warm weather revealed the staid unfrivolous Pennsylvanian. The white refined hands alone gave a hint of the scholar and naturalist. All else was half farmer, half mandarin. . . . The Governor's family history reaches back through two hundred years of Pennsylvania history. One of his ancestors was employed by William Penn. He was born sixty years ago and received an academic education, after which he was a school teacher. When the Civil War broke out he volunteered as a soldier. He served in the regiment which

first engaged the Confederate Army in the battle of Gettysburg. After the war he was graduated from the law school of the University of Pennsylvania and was admitted to the bar. In 1866 he was elected President of the Bancroft Literary Union and President of the Law Academy. In 1889 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia by Governor Beaver. In the same year he was elected to the same position for a term of ten years. At the time of his nomination for Governor by the Republicans he was a President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia. He is President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and of the Philobiblon Club, Vice-President of the Sons of the Revolution and of the Colonial Society, Past Commander of the Frederick Taylor Post No. 19, Grand Army of the Republic, member of the Society of Colonial Wars, and member of the Society of the War of 1812. He is also a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and a member of the Valley Forge Commission. He is the author of more than fifty books and papers. His library of early Pennsylvania publications contains over eight thousand books and manuscripts. . . . So that it will be seen that this strong-limbed cool Governor who has put his name and seal upon a law intended to intimidate the press of Pennsylvania, this lawyer who reminded his people that the Philadelphia cartoonist who caricatured his person would, a hundred years ago, have been drawn and quartered and had his head stuck on a pole, is not a political lout, not an ignorant ruffian, but a man of learning, of refined tastes, of quiet personal courage, of stainless official record on the bench and wide experience of the dignities and amenities of life."

Such was the impression made in a single interview upon a visitor coming from another State, and who regarded the Governor's relations to the press-libel law with a hostile eye. From the sketch which I have

given of his career, and from the graphic strokes of the pen portraiture I have just exhibited it is impossible to extract any elements which could be fashioned into a tool of unprincipled politicians, or into a fool in the conduct of the public business. And yet such was the effort of his critics to make him appear, when they disliked his conclusions. A review of his official acts, now that time has cooled the blood and purified the vision, will be his all-sufficient vindication. When waves beat high and boil furiously it is evident that they encounter strong resistance, and when the storm subsides the solid rock appears against which they had dashed themselves in vain.

The Inaugural Address, delivered January 20th, 1903, was a State paper of unusual merit. Apart from its literary excellence, which was to be expected from the pen of so accomplished a writer, it stated a definite policy, which was rigorously adhered to. The Governor had a statesmanlike view of the objects to be aimed at, and a determined purpose to reach them, however difficult the task. Much of the resistance that he encountered and much of the criticism and abuse that were poured upon him was due to the persistent courage with which he pursued his plans. A less clear-sighted man would have become bewildered, a less brave man would have been intimidated. He fought corporate interests, personal prejudices, entrenched customs, popular fallacies, combinations of politicians, protests of well meaning but misinformed citizens, and the concentrated fire of a hostile press without fear and without flinching. Now that ten years have passed since the close of four years of strenuous conflict it is possible to review the field with calmness and estimate the value of the victories that he won.

His
Programme.

I cannot do better in indicating to you how carefully he had thought out his programme in advance, and how far he succeeded in carrying it into effect, than by ana-

lyzing his Inaugural Address, and, after stating separately each proposition, describing what he did or attempted to do, and what he finally accomplished. The Inaugural is the key to his Gubernatorial career.

He opened with a characteristic tribute to the greatness of Pennsylvania, a State with a population greater than that of England in the time of Elizabeth, twice that of Holland when the leading maritime power of the world, and twice that of the United States when Washington became President; a State of boundless resources, with princely annual revenues, and substantially out of debt; a State which paid each year for the maintenance of public schools and charities more than any other American Commonwealth, accomplishing these results without a State tax upon land or houses, and with a tax rate in her large cities less than in any other of the leading municipalities of the country. The Governorship of such a State was, therefore, an office which was one of the great executive places of the earth. No man, whatever his capacity, or what the manner in which he had been called, might approach it save with humble steps, and with a grave sense of its importance and responsibilities, and he pledged himself to see to it, so far as he might be able, that under the Constitution the laws were faithfully administered.

With judicial circumspection, a trait that was born in him and cultivated by long practice, he expressed a wish "always within reasonable limits to confer with all persons who may have facts to impart or conclusions to present," and he declared it to be his "purpose to consult especially with those who in common parlance are called politicians." He declared that "there is no more dangerous public vice than the prevalent affectation of disrespect for those who are engaged in the performance of the work of the cities, the Commonwealth and the Nation, because it is in effect an attack on popular government, and its tendency is to under-

mine our institutions." I once heard President McKinley avow similar sentiments. This was not a surrender to evil influences; it was a wise and philosophic opening of the mind to sources of knowledge which an autocratic, self-sufficient and impracticable egotist would have rejected. As a matter of fact the Governor fought and overcame politicians quite as frequently as he agreed with them when his judgment convinced him that their plans were proper.

Legislative
Vices.

He insisted that "*there is too much legislation,*" that it was "far better to leave the law alone unless the necessity for change was plain." In this he agreed with Blackstone, Sharswood, and the best informed of our experienced publicists. As a result of the firm hand that he imposed on legislative action, both by advice and the exercise of the veto power, he cut the bulk of our legislation to half of what it had been before him, and what it became after him. The soundness of his position has been amply sustained by our recent experiences in struggling with a perfect mania for legislation. A statute is the panacea of the legislative quack. To enable you to appreciate this let me tell you that within the past five years the State legislatures and Congress have passed more than sixty thousand laws. He declared that "*the modern tendency to invent new crimes ought to be curbed.*" To confuse the distinction between mere breaches of contract and crimes was to bring the law itself into disrepute. Without reverting to historical illustrations he clearly had in mind the intolerable condition once existing in England when more than three hundred offences were punishable by death. He was opposed to the reckless disposition to impose imprisonment upon acts "which were never known to be offenses until they became statutory." To those of you who are not familiar with the extent of this vice let me say that within the past ten years more than one thousand laws have been passed in the aggregate in

the States and by Congress to legislate men into jail.

Here are some samples of the laws that he vetoed. Vetoed.
An Act was passed making it a misdemeanor to advertise by any written notices offering legal services in a divorce case. The Governor met it by saying: "It is true that to advertise publicly is unprofessional and not to be commended, but it is not essentially a crime and not such an offense against morals and propriety as to render the offender subject to imprisonment. . . . If our morals are to be improved in this respect by legislation, it must be by making more stringent the laws allowing divorces and not by the effort to make criminal that which is only incidental to the system." An Act made it the duty of every justice of the peace within one week after he had rendered judgment to file a transcript of the proceeding with the prothonotary of the county court, under pain of fine and imprisonment. The Governor disposed of it by saying: "There may be many reasons why a transcript could not be filed within a week. The serious illness of a justice, the destruction by fire of his docket, and many other unforeseen occurrences might prevent it, but objection is put upon the broader ground that the failure to perform such a ministerial duty is not in itself essentially a crime and ought not to be so treated." An Act prescribed imprisonment for not less than ten days or more than ninety days for practicing the occupation of barber without having obtained a certificate of registration. The Governor declared that compliance with the Act could properly be compelled by the imposition of penalties, but a failure to comply ought not to be treated as a crime. An Act was aimed at the importation and sale of carcasses of lambs or sheep with the hoofs on. The Governor tersely remarked that, "if a farmer chose to buy a slaughtered lamb from his neighbor to take to market, and the hoofs were left

on, the seller becomes a criminal. . . . The bill is not approved." An Act made it unlawful for gypsies to encamp without written permission of the owner of the land, and punished the offence by fine and imprisonment. The Governor disposed of the matter by saying: "Under our law the owner of lands may make a lease for three years by parole (word of mouth). A lease at will or a mere license is a less estate than a lease of three years, and there seems to be no reason why the owner could not give permission by word of mouth." A bill prohibited liquor dealers under pain of imprisonment from giving away eatables in the form of meals or lunch, except crackers, cheese and pretzels. The Governor declared: "There seems to be no reason why it should be an offense for a man who is making a sale to give something in addition if he chooses to do it. If it is wrong to make a gift, why should there be an exception in favor of the pretzels and cheese? A roll or a piece of bread would appear to be as innocent as cheese. It is not wise to enact legislation which is so easily evaded. There would be no difficulty in selling the crackers, cheese and pretzels, and giving away the liquor, or in selling all for the price of the liquor." Another bill imposed imprisonment in the county jail for five days for spitting in public places. The Governor said: "The purpose of the bill appears to be an effort to make people nice and cleanly in their habits by legislation. Among the thousands of people who go to a circus, one or more may have a cold: catarrh or sudden contact between the teeth and tongue may cause a flow of saliva. Imprisonment seems to be severe punishment for yielding to what cannot always be prevented. If spittoons were provided, there would be stronger reason for such legislation. It would be better to have a well digested health regulation." An Act authorized sheriffs to acquire and maintain two bloodhounds for tracking criminals. The Governor de-

clared: "It is far better that a person charged with crime should escape than that the means provided for in this act should be used for his capture." Another Act related to the use of bottles and jars in the delivery of milk and cream. The Governor described the bill as "an example of that inconsiderate spirit which would visit with fine and imprisonment an act to which no criminality can properly attach. Articles used in trade ought not to be protected by imprisoning the people who use them, nor should the fact of their criminality depend upon a notice given by an interested owner, complaining of a misuse of the article hired."

I might give you many other illustrations, but these will suffice. The general principle underlying the Governor's vetoes was that the indiscriminate use of imprisonment took from the prison much of its effect as a restraint upon those who did evil. Juries would refuse to convict where they believed the charge ought not to be sustained, even though the facts came within the terms of a statute, and thus men would be daily taught to disregard the law.

The next subject dwelt upon in the Inaugural was the Constitutional direction that at the completion of each United States census there should be a Senatorial and Representative *reapportionment of the State*. This was a matter of vital consequence as going to the root of representative government, and avoiding the evils of "rotten boroughs." It was also a matter of much difficulty, and the task had been vainly attempted by Governor Pattison. Such was the uproar and opposition that attended his efforts that successive Governors had evaded the task, which became all the more difficult with the lapse of time. Such were the inequalities and injustices existing that Governor Pennypacker resolved upon correction. It was a long fight and a hard fight. Practical politicians, election officers, men who declared that their constituencies would be

Reapportionment.

destroyed, or party majorities disturbed if not endangered, were all in league to obstruct him. He was even told that it was mathematically impossible. At two regular sessions of the Legislature no one would undertake the preparation of a bill, though many were the conferences between the Governor and the leaders. The end of his term was approaching, and he saw this great Constitutional mandate deliberately disobeyed. Finally he undertook the task himself, mapped out a bill, submitted it to criticism, to discussion, to argument, to modification, and with a mastery of figures little suspected in political calculations and a determined purpose to do his duty which confounded the foes of change, he at last brought all opposition to an end, called a special session of the Legislature to consider nine important and pressing subjects, of which this was one, and had the satisfaction of seeing written upon the statute book a just and rational rearrangement of the political geography of the State. I recall most vividly the scenes of those three years and a half of battle, the maps that were made, the maps that were unmade, the reams of paper containing election returns, estimates of disaster, predictions of party defeat in this district or in that, the unseating of this man, and the seating of that, the groans of the dethroned, the moans of the wounded, and the final triumph of the clear-headed determined occupant of the Governor's chair, sustained as he was by the loyal support of a few who though often denounced as political leaders proved themselves to be true servants of the people. The newspapers made little of it comparatively, and the people stood in silent indifference to what had been done, but nevertheless they owe their present basis of representation to the inflexible resolution of Samuel W. Pennypacker.

The next cardinal purpose of the Governor was the *simplification of the ballot*. The then existing ballot

law, suggested by well meaning but overzealous reformers, had proved in practice to be both cumbersome and inefficient. It needed either careful amendment or reconstruction. The Governor emphatically declared that "our system of government depended primarily upon the right of every elector to vote according to his judgment and preference, without interference by or obstruction from any other person or influence, and to have all the votes accurately counted." He pointed out that in providing the necessary means it ought to be remembered that the more simple they are and the less complicated the device the more likely are they to be effective. He urged that the plan to be adopted ought to be one easy for the voters to understand. He denounced as "mere vicious theorizing the thought that something ought to be done by means of the law to encourage any particular form of voting, making it easy for one or difficult for another," and stood for the equal rights of Independents, Prohibitionists, Socialists, Democrats or Republicans to vote their full party tickets if they so willed.

Serious attention was given to these recommendations, and various efforts were made to simplify procedure, notably by the Act of 29th April, 1903, amending the existing election laws by regulating the methods of nomination, the arrangement of groups of party candidates, and by direction as to how ballots should be printed "so as to give each voter a clear opportunity to designate his choice of candidates," accompanied by printed instructions for the guidance of the unwary or uninitiated citizen. The purity and freedom from interference of elections were guarded by provisions controlling the police force and the actions of election officers. This good work was followed up at the special session called in January, 1906, by several Acts providing for the personal registration of electors in cities of the first, second and third classes, as a condition of

their right to vote; by the establishment of uniform primaries, by prohibitions of corrupt practices, and by the restriction of the political activities of municipal officers, clerks and employees. In the study and preparation of this series of statutes, which constitute an important and valuable part of our election code, the Governor was anxious to secure the best and most just results, and was ever alert to guard against the mischiefs of impracticable reforming enthusiasms on the one hand, and subtle practical artifices on the other. The difficulty of maintaining a steady balance between these equally dangerous extremes can only be appreciated by one who has had the opportunity of actual observation.

Eminent
Domain.

A fifth topic, emphasized in the Inaugural, was that of *eminent domain*, which involved the power of the State to take private property for public use upon compensation to the property owner. While explaining that the Constitutions of both the United States and the State protected the citizen in his individual right of property, he admitted the qualification that where there was public need, for the good of the community, the State might intervene, and upon compensation, compel him to surrender his individual right for the general welfare. "The danger as well as the vice of the situation lies in the unrestrained power of a few individuals, bound together under the mysterious potencies of corporations, to seize upon private property upon a mere declaration of their covetousness, and foul streams, cut through forests, and destroy homesteads." In the Governor's view, before any franchise was granted, either by special or general law, involving a disturbance of the individual right of property, and before any exercise of the enormous power of eminent domain by a private or public corporation, there ought to be express assent by the State itself, based upon an ascertainment of the public need.

In this he announced the wholesome principle that, "while the test was public necessity to which a citizen must yield, the determination of the existence of such a necessity should not be left to the *ex parte* choice of a corporation interested in the acquisition, but should be lodged in an independent and impartial officer or official body to pass on the question in advance of condemnation." I call your attention to this as one of the best illustrations of the Governor's fairmindedness and perfect poise. What he said seems to have been regarded as a challenge, for very shortly two bills reached him, both of which he vetoed. One of them conferred upon cities the right of eminent domain to remove dams, booms and other obstructions from streams flowing near cities. "This bill," said he, "if it became a law, would grant to the cities a most dangerous power. The power is given to remove not an obstruction within the limits of the municipality, but an obstruction upon any stream of water which flows near the corporate limits. With the city authorities rests the power to determine whether the obstruction impedes the natural flow of the stream. The foundations of a bridge may be an obstruction and a dam certainly would constitute an obstruction. Under this bill, therefore, since the Delaware river flows near the City of Philadelphia, that city would be permitted to remove any dams which may exist upon the river. The Susquehanna river flows near the City of Harrisburg. Under this bill that city would be permitted to remove all railroad bridges which cross the river." The other bill gave to railroads the power to condemn dwelling houses "for yards and shops," or for "any other proper corporate purpose," whenever "in the judgment of the directors" it was necessary to construct, straighten, widen or improve the railroad. The Governor said: "When the land of a citizen is taken by a railroad, it is taken by the Commonwealth, because the

public necessities require the sacrifice. Is it then more to the interest of the Commonwealth that there should be an absolutely straight line between New York or Chicago, because that is the logical end toward which one alternative takes us, or is it more to the interest of the Commonwealth that the citizen should be permitted to rear his family at his own fireside undisturbed, with all that this means for the preservation of the race and its virtues? It seems to me that it is possible to take a middle course to avoid both Scylla and Charybdis and to this extent at least to put the exercise of the right of eminent domain where in principle it belongs. There may be a house about which there can be no sentiment and little value owned by a man without family, which he proposes to sell at an enormous price because it stands in the line of a great public improvement. There may be a home typical of all that there is good in American life, around which cluster the associations of centuries and which ought to be preserved regardless of trade. There may be a railroad organized at a venture without public need, destined to end in failure after the destruction of much which is more useful than itself. Is it wise to leave the determination of what ought to be saved and what may be destroyed to a board of interested directors? Is it wise to have judgment rendered by one of the parties? The bill ought to have provided for a tribunal representing the State which could decide upon the necessity and, while being just to the railroads, could protect the citizen. If we are to go further with the grants of the right to take private property, and any one who has kept pace with recently projected legislation can see whither we are else drifting, some such plan ought to be adopted."

The same view is expressed in his veto of a bill relating to cemeteries. He declared: "It has become a frequent device, when one man wants to get possession

of the property which belongs to another, to organize a corporation, and persuade the Commonwealth to surrender to this corporation a power which ought never to be exercised except for the purposes of the Commonwealth itself, looking to the good of the people. This bill proposes to give to another class of corporations the right of eminent domain. . . . If incorporated cemetery associations should desire to extend their lands, there seems to be no good reason why they should not buy them and pay for them, as all individuals conducting business interests are compelled to do."

The next subject discussed in the Inaugural concerned the *conflicts between concentrated capital and organized labor*, which had been of frequent occurrence in Pennsylvania, resulting in cessation of production, loss of profits and of wages, violations of law and disturbance of large communities. The Governor with his usual impartiality stated both sides of the controversy:—that "it was to the good of the State to encourage production under proper safeguards against violence and terror, for nothing but harm could result from unused resources in the hands of either individuals or corporations. On the other hand, the State was interested in bringing about conditions in which in the distribution of rewards from business ventures capital should have less of profit and labor more of compensation. But no capitalist should be strong enough, and no laborer should be insignificant enough to escape obedience to the law. No employer and no laborer should be encouraged to violate his contract, and above all no man should be permitted to interfere upon any pretence whatever with another who might choose to sell his labor, and violence, from whatever source arising, should be promptly and rigidly suppressed, using whatever force might be necessary for the purpose." The results of these just reflections were embodied in

State
Constabulary.

the Act of 2nd of May, 1905, which established the now celebrated and much admired State constabulary. I shall never forget the morning when the Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth laid upon the Governor's table an armful of commissions and asked for his signature. "What are these, sir?" "Commissions." "Commissions for what?" "For Coal and Iron police." "Pray what are they?" "Special officers to maintain law and order about the properties of coal and iron mines and other industrial establishments." "Are the names filled in?" "Yes, Governor." "Who suggested the names?" "The companies themselves." "Take them away! I will never put the police powers of the State in the hands of the nominees of one of the parties to a controversy. We must have an independent constabulary." No finer example of practical wisdom in the maintenance of law and order, without taking sides in a controversy, can be found in any State, and the results as attested by eleven years of experience have justified the Governor's sagacity.

Conservation.

Then came the important matter of the *Conservation of Natural Resources*, suggested and enforced years before it had attracted the attention of Congress or of other States, or had aroused the sleeping faculties of the Nation. "The commercial idea put briefly and in gross," said the Governor, "is that forests, coal, oil and iron are to be sent into the market as soon and as rapidly as possible, in order that they may be converted into money and the man of the day may live in luxury and enjoyment. The duty of the statesman is to look beyond the indulgence of the time, to regard these resources as gifts of Providence, to be husbanded with care and used as need requires rather than wasted or poured upon glutted markets, with a sense that when once exhausted they can never be restored." The Governor's suggestion that a slight tax should be imposed upon some of our productions, the proceeds to

be applied to the betterment of our roads, which he argued would not be a serious burden, but would result in securing for our own people a proportion of the benefit of the natural deposits, was not acted on, but the establishment of good roads was embodied in the Good Roads bill of 15th of April, 1903, and the creation of the State Highway Department. The acquisition of large bodies of lands to be reforested,—a policy which had been inaugurated by Governor Stone,—was promoted by the Act of 13th May, 1903, which directed the Commissioner of Forestry to establish a school at the Mont Alto Reservation for practical instruction in forestry and to prepare forest wardens for the proper care of the State lands.

The next topic dwelt upon in the Inaugural lay very close to the Governor's heart and his illustrations displayed his characteristic touches as a historian. "No people," he said, "are ever really great who are neglectful of their shrines and have no pride in their achievements. The history of the world shows that a correct sentiment is a more lasting and potent force than either accumulated money or concentrated authority. The theses which Luther nailed to the church door at Wittenberg still sway the minds of men and the Fuggers disappeared when they died. What would have been the influence of Greece without the memories of Marathon, or of England without those of Runnymede? Around Fort Duquesne, in Western Pennsylvania, at one head of the great river of the world was to a large extent determined in the French and Indian War the question whether the American continent should be dominated by Latin or Teuton, involving the destinies of the human race, and around Philadelphia, in Eastern Pennsylvania, the real struggle of the Revolutionary War occurred. The good example set by Philadelphia in its care of Independence Hall and Congress Hall should be followed by the State. The fields

Historic
Shrines.

of Fort Necessity, where Washington first became known; of Bushy Run, where Bouquet won his important victory, and the camp ground of Valley Forge should be tenderly cared for and preserved." He had the satisfaction of seeing the Valley Forge Commission well established and generously supported. Later he successfully headed off a movement in Congress to take the control away from Pennsylvania and lodge it in a National Commission. He did so in a characteristic letter to Senator Penrose, which proved effective: "Our State Commission has secured the lines there (Valley Forge), has laid out avenues and is doing its work well. We want to do everything we can to help them and to prevent the interference which comes from persons outside the State and certain well-meaning but ill-advised women within it. Pennsylvania is rich enough and capable enough to take care of Independence Hall, Valley Forge, and her battlefields, and make them tell their lesson to the nation. After she had expended large sums of money in marking and erecting monuments at Gettysburg, it was transferred to the United States Government and the result was that after Grover Cleveland had been elected President the bronze New York monument was put in the cemetery in the very center of the field, which was in every aspect of it a Pennsylvania battle. I do not propose, if I can help it, to have this course repeated as to Valley Forge, and should the matter come up in Congress, I rely upon you to help me. Should a bill be presented, you can probably kill it easily by having added to it that the Government also take Bunker Hill from Massachusetts and Stony Point from New York."

University of
Pennsylvania.

The Inaugural next dealt with the unique relation occupied by the University of Pennsylvania to the State. As early as April 1891, the Governor, in an elaborate article contributed to the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY*, had examined in

detail and traced with care the history of the University in its relation to the State, emphasizing the statutory obligations created by the Legislature in obedience to the mandate of the Constitution of 1776 that "all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." He had followed this in 1899 by a minute and convincing presentation of facts to a special committee of the Trustees to inquire into the origin of the University of Pennsylvania in support of a demonstrable origin in the charitable school established in 1740, subsequently expanded into an academy, a college, a university, without losing its original feature as a part of the general scheme. With this matter in view, he declared: "It shall be my effort to restore the relation of patronage and control, the outgrowth of colonial conditions and made a constitutional requirement, and to regain and retain for the State the credit of this early and unprecedented recognition of the cause of learning." In pursuance of this purpose he not only attended frequently the meetings of the Trustees, but revived the old custom of having the Board meet once a year in the State Capitol, when he presided *ex officio*.

The next topic dwelt upon in the Inaugural, the statutory regulation of the public press, I shall reserve for special consideration.

He then dwelt upon the importance of a real State pride; the elimination of separate interests of city and country; the need of Pittsburgh to aid Philadelphia in finding an outlet to the sea, and of Philadelphia to aid Pittsburgh in her effort to unite the vast population of the head waters of the Ohio, and entreated both to act not for themselves alone, but for the good of the State and its people. He had the satisfaction of seeing both of these purposes generously nurtured by liberal legislative appropriations for the enlargement and improvement of the navigation of the Delaware and Allegheny rivers.

State
Enterprise.

**Summary of
Results.**

From the foregoing review of the Governor's elaborate and well-considered programme you will perceive that he succeeded in all his aims, save the one that I have reserved, and even as to this he achieved a partial but lasting success. He had reduced the bulk of legislation; he had curbed the invention of new crimes; he had reapportioned the State; he had reformed the ballot laws; he had safeguarded the purity of elections; he had restricted the power of eminent domain; he had established an impartial police force; he had conserved the natural resources of the State; he had improved her public roads; he had honored her historic shrines; he had reconsecrated her greatest educational institution; he had awakened State pride and State coöperation by fostering commerce upon the greatest of our natural highways. Add to these the achievements of the special session of 1906—the honor of which belongs to him alone—the creation of a Greater Pittsburgh; the protection of the State funds deposited in banks and trust companies; the personal registration of voters; the Act against corrupt practices at elections; the prohibition of officers, clerks, and employees of cities of the first class from taking an active part in political movements and elections; the control of State appropriations for the erection of County bridges; the abolition of fees in the offices of the Secretary of the Commonwealth and the Insurance Commission; the improvement of primary election laws; the establishment of a civil service system; the regulation of nomination and election expenses, and requiring that full accounts to be publicly filed. Here you have a body of constructive legislation of lasting value unparalleled by any corresponding period of four years since the days of Franklin. I challenge controversy on this point. President Roosevelt declared, in speaking of the results of the special session only, that no such complete results of reformatory and progressive legisla-

tion in so short a period of time had been attained in any other State of the Union. Had he known of what else had been done he could scarcely have been more emphatic. The *Yale Review* devoted a whole article to the record of the special session, and declared that through the Governor's vigorous action "in a single month there had been placed on the statute books of Pennsylvania a most remarkable set of laws." Even the great daily journals, which had been the most exacting, the most persistent and relentless of his critics, were emphatic in his praise.

But besides these achievements of the highest order, there is a second class to which I must call your attention. He established the following Departments: Public Printing and Binding; State Highways; State Fisheries; Factory Inspection; the State Police. He established also the Bureau of Mines; of Vital Statistics; of Economic Zoölogy; and a State Museum of objects illustrating the fauna and flora of the State, and its mineralogy, geology, archeology, arts and history, the latter securing for the first time an orderly arrangement of the records of the State. He regulated the hours of labor and the employment of minors in the industries and manufactories of the State. He provided for the erection of a State Hospital for the treatment and care of the criminal insane, which has become one of the model institutions of the country. He provided a system of humane education in our public schools, forbidding experiments in such schools upon any living creature. He authorized and appointed a Commission to codify the laws of divorce and to co-operate with the other States in securing uniformity of divorce legislation in the United States. By increasing the salaries of the judges he gave them an adequate income so essential to good judicial work. He signed a well drawn and practicable Pure Food Act and avoided the mischief of baking-powder bills. He revised the tax-

ing systems of the counties of less than one million inhabitants, and by the creation of the Water Supply Commission he rescued the streams and springs of the State from speculative or monopolistic appropriation.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of his statesmanship, breadth of view, rational progressiveness, care of the public health and morals, conservation of natural resources, of his pride in the State's history, and his eagerness to promote her welfare, but these must suffice as illustrations of his acts as a constituent part of the legislature, through his power to approve or veto bills. It is now in order to consider him as an administrator.

**Administra-
tive Work.**

In this respect he was altogether admirable. But little is known by the public of the exacting duties imposed upon the Governor, and it will not be out of place to describe some of their features which will stand as a fair sample of his entire term, as he was expected to reside at the Capital, and devote himself continuously to the routine duties of the office. The Legislature met but once in two years, remained in session from the second week in January until the middle of May, and devoted on an average but four days a week to its labors, assembling on Monday evenings and adjourning on Thursday afternoons, so as to allow the non-resident members to attend to their private business at week ends. As against an eight months' legislative service, the Governor, who even in the summer months enjoyed but slight relaxation, toiled more than five times as long. While the Legislature was in session his official routine was much interrupted by the calls of Senators and Representatives to discuss pending bills whose name was legion, and by the visits of strangers attracted by a meeting of the Legislature, and particularly by swarms of citizens from all parts of the State interested in educational and charitable appropriations for universities, colleges, schools, hospitals

and asylums, and markedly suspicious of everybody's avarice except their own. They were followed by flights of office seekers and their backers, looking for judge-ships, clerkships, prison appointments, justiceships of the peace because of vacancies, membership on State boards or commissions, or requesting letters of recommendation to corporation officers, based on some slight campaign acquaintance with the Governor or from having served as a juror in his court, or from having known him when a schoolboy. The Governor, however busy, having been elected by the people was "a public servant," and had, therefore, to postpone the reading of his mail, which was choked with similar requests, and reserve for a quieter hour the consideration of approval or veto of the bills, which were being weekly certified to his table by the presiding officer of the Senate and the Speaker of the House as having been passed by both those bodies. When the Legislature adjourned, for thirty days thereafter the strain was still greater, for it was found that in the closing days five hundred bills or more had been hurriedly passed, and that the Governor must examine all these within the time limit lest they become laws, and further that the appropriations exceeded the revenues by millions of dollars, thus imposing on the Executive the odious and unjust task of paring them down, or of vetoing them outright, provoking very often a howl of rage. "If he had only let our bill go through," shrieked citizen A., who was deaf to similar shouts from the majority of the alphabet.

Hard though the task was, he accomplished it. Being Humor. in the best of health and spirits, punctual, attentive, diligent and capable, accustomed to hard work, and ready with his tongue and pen, he disposed of duties that were new to him with noticeable ease. At times his humor, at times his philosophy aided him. A bill had been passed prohibiting the killing of bears, ex-

cept in the month of November, and with any other weapon than a gun. The original form in which he dictated his veto message was as follows: "I would gladly sign a bill properly drawn for the protection of this interesting animal, but unfortunately this Act compels a judge to send a man to jail who kills a bear in any other month of the year than November, and with any other weapon than a gun. Suppose a man with an axe in his hand, and chopping wood in the month of July, is attacked by a bear with cubs, the bear won't wait till November, and won't let him go get a gun." I begged him to allow it to remain in that form, but he thought it too crude for a veto message, and whipped it into the shape in which it finally appeared. The humor is still there but the point is blunted. A railroad bill authorized one railroad company to purchase a part or parts of another railroad company's property. He said: "I do not know what is meant by 'a part or parts.' There was once a man who was cut into pieces. One piece consisted of a fragment of his finger nail, the other piece of the remainder of his body." Of his philosophy I will give but two illustrations. A State officer had refused to perform a ministerial duty under a mandatory statute. The duty was so plain that I prepared to apply for a mandamus. Before doing so, I had a talk with the Governor, and after reading the statute declared: "I do not see why he cannot see his duty, the law is specific." Looking out of the window the Governor asked: "Carson, can you see those hills on the other side of the Susquehanna?" "Certainly," I replied, "but what has that to do with the case?" "You can see them, you say? I slept on those hills three nights before the battle of Gettysburg." He then gave me a graphic account of the experiences of his regiment. I was interested in the narrative, but after it was over, said: "That is very diverting, but what has it got to do with the case?"

His answer was: "You say that you can see those hills. Your eyesight is perfect, but suppose I asked the same question of Mr. D.?" (naming a spectacled clerk in the office). "His answer would be 'No, Governor, I cannot see the hills.' I would not be disturbed, because the poor fellow is near-sighted." And then bursting into laughter, he said: "Your man is *intellectually near-sighted*; pity him, but mandamus him."

On another occasion, after three hours of continuous labor in silence, the Governor dropped his pen and asked me if I knew who Cornelius Plockhoy was. Fortunately I had read The Settlement of Germantown and replied in the affirmative. He then discoursed on Plockhoy's socialistic views, and at the end of ten minutes resumed his interrupted work with the remark: "I do not smoke tobacco, but I do enjoy a little intellectual smoke."

A striking example of the Governor's care in the Charters. transaction of the public business was presented by his practice of personally scrutinizing all applications for charters for business corporations. On the second day of his term, observing that the form of charter in use gave no information as to the capital subscribed, or the names of the stockholders, he called for the original papers on file in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. His quick eye soon discovered several instances where the authorized capital was but \$1000. He instantly suspended action, and refused in writing to approve the charter of the Donora Light, Heat and Power Co., using that as a test case, stating: "It is manifest that the cash which has been paid into the treasury and the whole amount of the capital stock, if all of it had been paid, would be entirely inadequate for the purposes of the corporation. A charter ought not to be granted where it is manifest that the corporation would not be able to perform its functions." (27 Penna. County Court Reports, 463.) Alarm spread

from the Secretary's office to all parts of the State. The Governor's refusal, it was declared, would destroy the business of the Commonwealth, curtail the revenues, and drive all applicants into other States, New Jersey and Delaware in particular, and breed a plague of foreign corporations seeking to do business in Pennsylvania. Protests from corporation lawyers, eminent in the profession, flowed in daily. A day was set for solemn argument upon an application for a rehearing. The leaders of the bar in Dauphin County, sustained by colleagues from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton. Reading and Lancaster, appeared in opposition and a discussion, as in a court room, followed, lasting for nearly three hours. In less than a week, the Governor handed down a carefully written opinion (12 Pa. Dist. Rep., p. 115). He explained that, unless the practice were changed, "any three irresponsible persons may secure the grant of most important privileges without the necessity of advancing money to assure the carrying out of the purpose of the corporation," and the charter if granted would constitute a contract, the obligation of which the State could not impair. Men of straw could easily be used for the purpose. "Traffic in charters would be thus encouraged." "Approval" by the Governor meant something more than a mere clerical function. It meant that he must be satisfied that a substantial capital had been subscribed by responsible persons to insure good faith. With the possible consequences of his refusal to accept a nominal sum he had nothing to do. It was his duty to see that the charter was based on actual value. He reaffirmed his previous ruling and established the position that at least five times the amount previously required would be exacted in the future. In less than a year he had quintupled the revenues of the State from this single source, and instead of driving charters elsewhere there was an enormous increase in the number of applications, be-

cause it was recognized that a Pennsylvania charter was not to be bought for a song, or made the cover for speculative schemes.

In the matter of pardons he exercised the same circumspection. Although, under the law, he could not extend executive clemency except upon a favorable recommendation of the Board of Pardons, he sometimes refused to concur in their action. Notably, in the famous Cutaire case, which presented the dramatic features of that of Eugene Aram—the discovery of human bones sixteen years after the mysterious disappearance of a living person—he wrote an opinion refusing to liberate the prisoner whose death sentence had been commuted years before to life imprisonment: and in the Kate Edwards case, which had been heard three times by the Board of Pardons, and which led to an Act of Assembly at the instance of Chief Justice Mitchell, he withheld the death warrant, because he declared he could not hang a woman years after her male confederate had been acquitted, the evidence showing that either both were guilty or both were innocent. In this connection, it may be said that although the Governor was personally strongly opposed to capital punishment, he never hesitated to sign death warrants when required by law. It cost him, however, much mental anguish, which was noticeable for hours.

Pardons.

In the same cautious way he handled all requisitions for the extradition of criminals, in doubtful cases sending the papers to the Attorney-General.

Judges.

In the selection of judges for vacancies to be filled by Gubernatorial appointment he deliberated long. Admonished of the danger of haste, through the declination of the appointee, the selection of George Tucker Bispham, before actual tender of the place, having obtained publicity through an accident, he pondered even when a particular appointment was strenuously pressed. I recall that a certain eminent lawyer

was unanimously supported by the citizens and interests of his county in the upper part of the State. The unanimity of the support made the Governor cautious, and he made some independent inquiries of his own. He learned that the candidate was interested financially and officially in all the public utilities of his neighborhood. "How can I appoint him?" he asked; "he would be disqualified to sit as a judge in perhaps the most important litigation of his county." He selected another man of merit, and three weeks later it was bruited about that the local bank, the electric light company and the trolley company had all failed and carried down in the crash the very man who had been so persistently urged.

In the *Yale Review* of August, 1907, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, an accomplished student of State affairs, wrote: "Governor Pennypacker himself set the example of careful, conscientious, faithful discharge of the executive duties of his office. He was at his desk in the executive building every morning at 9 o'clock on practically every working day of the year. He remained throughout the day, accessible to all who had business to transact with him, and carefully considered every subject presented to him. As an illustration of how he conducted the executive work, I may cite an instance which I personally observed. I was in his office on one occasion by appointment. The Auditor-General preceded me by a few minutes, his business relating to the execution of a contract. The Governor asked in the first place for the Act of Assembly authorizing the work covered by the contract. He examined that carefully to make sure that he had the authority to execute the contract. Then he examined the contract itself to see whether it was in conformity with the law and adequately protected the interests of the State. Then he asked for a certificate from the State Treasurer to make sure that the money involved was in the

Treasury and available. After he had satisfied himself on all these points and that the contract was in legal form, he attached his signature. He took nothing for granted and acted only after he was fully informed as to the circumstances."

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of In Camp. the State he was an annual visitor to the camps of the National Guard, and became deeply interested in the inspection of arms, uniforms and equipment. I am indebted to Adjutant-General Stewart for the following anecdotes. At his first camp the Governor inquired with some anxiety as to whether it was usual to review the troops on horseback, and on being told that it was, after a few minutes of hesitation, said: "General Stewart, as I have been so long unaccustomed to the saddle, and have many responsibilities upon me I shall not mount. It is too great a risk." The reply was, "Then the staff must dismount." "Be it so," said the Governor, "if I can walk, they can do so also." The inspection then proceeded, the Governor following closely with his eyes the examination of arms and accoutrements as conducted by Inspector-General Sweeney, who, in passing rapidly down the lines, halted in front of a private and called his attention to the fact that his bayonet was not properly adjusted, but was turned the wrong way. The Governor after watching the method of correction took the weapon into his own hands and adjusted it to the musket several times and passed on. The next year a General of the Regular Army of the United States conducted the inspection, and overlooked a misplaced bayonet. The Governor waited until the line had been passed and then said, "General, I think that you have passed a man with a misplaced bayonet." "Impossible," was the reply; "a bayonet cannot be misplaced." The Governor smiled, and returning to the man took his weapon from him and brought it to the General, and made a demonstra-

tion. A hearty laugh followed at the expense of the regular army officer, who said: "Well, I am a graduate of West Point, and I never knew before that a bayonet could get out of its proper groove."

At the inauguration of President Roosevelt a portion of the National Guard of Pennsylvania attended under the command of Governor Pennypacker, who asked General Stewart to provide him with a horse. In view of his previous unwillingness to mount, the General expressed surprise and intimated that it was probably more dangerous to ride a strange horse through crowded streets with excited citizens waving flags and hats than on a decorously conducted parade ground. The Governor's reply was characteristic: "General Stewart, in Pennsylvania I was Commander-in-Chief and could do as I pleased; here in Washington on an occasion like this I am under orders as a Division Commander. I have looked at the orders and they require that all officers shall be mounted. I shall not set an example of disobedience, and I shall not withdraw from my command. See that I have a horse." While riding down Pennsylvania Avenue, an old man on the sidewalk exclaimed: "Here comes the Governor of Pennsylvania, I wonder if he has his ancestral boots!" "There they are," said the Governor, thrusting out his foot and drawing up his trouser leg, and laughing heartily.

**Governor's
Duties.**

To give you correct information as to the multiplicity of duties exacted of Governor Pennypacker let me say that in addition to those which I have described, which may be called his major duties, he was also President of the State Board of Agriculture, a Trustee of the State Library, a Commissioner of Public Grounds and Buildings, the President of the Commission of Soldiers' Orphan Schools, of the College and University Council, of the State Live Stock Sanitary Board, of the Board to Pass upon the Necessity for

the Construction of Elevated and Underground Passenger Railways; of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission; of the Commission for the Erection of a Statue of Governor Curtin at Bellefonte; of the Commission for the erection of a Soldiers' Monument at Middle Spring; of the Commission to purchase a silver service for the Battleship Pennsylvania, and a Trustee of Allegheny College and of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Erie. He was also *ex officio* a visitor to the Philadelphia City and County prisons, of the penitentiaries of the State, and of the several lunatic hospitals, and the soldiers' orphan schools. He signed all patents for lands issued in the name and by the authority of the State. He had power to remit fines and forfeitures, to grant reprieves and commutations of sentence. He demanded fugitives from justice from the Executive of any other State or territory, and issued warrants for the arrest of persons resident in this State upon the requisition of the Governor of any other State or territory. He authenticated under the seal of the State records and instruments of writing intended for use in other States or territories. These constituted his minor duties, but occupied much of his time and attention, as none of them, not even excepting his visitatorial rights over public institutions, were ever neglected.

In his mode of life at Harrisburg the Governor was simple and unaffected. His public receptions, while hospitable, were modest and inexpensive. There was an entire absence of display. His annual dinners to the members of the State judiciary resembled the cordial gatherings of friends for talk and reasonable relaxation rather than formal affairs. His biennial receptions of the Senators and members of the House were popularly attended by tradesmen and farmers and modest citizens of the neighborhood, as well as by Statesmen, Congressmen, and local magnates. He

Simplicity
of Life.

drove no carriages at State expense as he and his family preferred to go about on foot. If he was in haste to catch a train he used a depot hack. He paid his own railway fares and never accepted a pass, at a time when passes were common. He maintained no press staff, and though friendly with reporters, with whom he was personally popular, he never entertained them until the last fortnight of his administration. He never directly or indirectly sought to curry favor or moderate criticism. He took pleasure in feeding the squirrels on the Capitol grounds, and always had his pockets filled with nuts for their use. He superintended the pruning of the trees and shrubs on the Capitol Hill and delighted in long tramps up the banks of the Susquehanna, or in excursions to Wetzell's swamp in search of flowers and insects, or to the river islands to pick up Indian arrow heads or stone implements. He liked to talk to fishermen in shad season and enjoyed simple suppers at road-side inns. The loungers about the doorways never knew to whom they were listening, unless some one recognized him and called him "Governor." He was in high spirit when visiting the forestry reservations or the fish hatcheries, and told ghost stories in the moonlight to the wondering foresters. He publicly thanked by letter the newspaper which had aided him by a useful suggestion and never was heard to utter an opprobrious epithet even when sorely tried. He was considerate and kindly to the clerks and messengers in all the Departments, and won their hearts by his simplicity and manliness.

Avoidance of
Strike by
Proclamation.

In the spring of 1906 the clouds of an impending strike gathered in the anthracite region, threatening a repetition of the devastation, loss and gloom so frequently resulting from violence and rioting. Without waiting for armies of strikers to march out of the mines, and gather as pickets to intimidate others in the neigh-

borhood of the breakers, and without waiting for the ripening of the crisis requiring the presence of the State Constabulary or the calling out of the National Guard, the Governor by a bold and resolute stroke, which was entirely original, maintained unbroken peace and good order. He issued the following proclamation on May 2d, 1906: "Whereas, industrial disturbances have recently arisen in various parts of the Commonwealth accompanied by manifestations of violence and disorder; Now therefore I, Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker Governor of Pennsylvania do issue this my proclamation and call upon all citizens by their conduct, example and utterances, whether printed or verbal, to assist in the maintenance of the law. Times of commotion furnish the test of the capacity of the people for self government. Every man is entitled to labor and get for his labor the highest compensation he can lawfully secure. There is no law to compel him to labor unless he so chooses and he may cease to labor whenever he considers it to be to his interest so to cease. The laboring man out of whose efforts wealth arises has the sympathy of all disinterested people in his lawful struggles to secure a larger proportion of the profit which results from his labor. What he earns belongs to him and if he invests his earnings the law protects his property, just as the rights of property of all men must be protected. He has no right to interfere with another man who may want to labor. Violence has no place among us and will not be tolerated. Let all men in quietness and soberness keep the peace and attend to their affairs, with the knowledge that it is the purpose of the Commonwealth to see that the principles herein outlined are enforced."

No higher encomium could be pronounced upon the result accomplished by this quiet but determined attitude than that contained in the following letter:

“Reading Terminal.

Philadelphia, Penna.

May 10th, 1906.

My dear Governor Pennypacker:

When I was pressed by the New York interests to urge the Governor of Pennsylvania to take a decided stand for law and order I told them that I knew the Governor of Pennsylvania; that he would perform his duty without suggestions from any one; that no person in the Commonwealth better understood what was his duty; and that he had the character and the courage to perform it. I have received a number of telegrams congratulating the Commonwealth on the stand taken by you; and I only want to say to you now that your action was a most potential factor in bringing about a solution of the problem.

Yours very truly,

Geo. F. Baer.”

With this solid background of character and achievement before us we can view in proper perspective the stormy features of his career. His critics and opponents were of two classes, those who misjudged him, and those who fought him from “policy.” I seriously doubt whether he had any real enemies, certainly no personally malignant foes. His friends who understood him were staunch and loyal, and were bound to him by “hooks of steel.”

Quayism.

The first murmurs of discontent came from those who disliked his admiration of Senator Quay. They asserted that Quayism had spoiled him. There were some people to whom the mere mention of Quay’s name caused a spasm affecting the vision, just as the shadow of King Richard in the bush caused the horse of the Saracen to shy. They never were able to discriminate between personal opinions and official acts. It is true that Mr. Pennypacker personally liked Senator Quay,

and that he sincerely admired his political leadership and its results. But this is a totally different thing from approval of Quay's system or an adoption of his methods, both of which were absolutely foreign to his nature, and wholly unknown to him in practice. His wrath had been greatly stirred by an anonymous attack on Pennsylvania in the *Atlantic Monthly* of October, 1901, as it was evident from the time of its appearance, being coincident with an approaching election, and from its use of local incidents that it was a covert political document intended for use in Pennsylvania by an unknown Pennsylvanian who attempted to belittle the really great features in Pennsylvania history. Judge Pennypacker's reply was crushing and convincing, and would have stirred every heart, if he had not added a eulogy of Mr. Quay. He did not use the expression that "Quay was greater than Webster." That was a phrase devised by a critic, and its brevity and point gave it a meretricious circulation. What he did was to draw a parallel between Webster's surrender to the Slave power, evoking the designation of "Ichabod" given him by Whittier, and Quay's success in electing Harrison as President, the defeat of the Force bill, and the success of the McKinley Tariff bill. If any one will read the address upon Mr. Quay delivered by the Governor on the occasion of the memorial services, March 22d, 1905, and read it wittingly, he will find that the marrow of the eulogy is expressed in this sentence: "In the capacity for the building up and the maintenance of political forces and for their application to the accomplishment of public ends, it may well be doubted whether the country ever before produced the equal of Mr. Quay." And the candid reader will find toward the close of the eulogy this sentence also: "He was not without faults. If his conduct sometimes fell below the highest ethical standards, where is the man who can honestly scan his own life and throw a

stone? Though he cared nothing for the mere accumulation of money, and was little 'afflicted with the mania for owning things,' he exulted in the exercise of power and like the war horse in Job smelled 'the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting.' He regarded men and their aims too much as mere counters to be used for his purpose. He cared too little for their comments." Here then is the distinction. While he admired and greatly admired the man as a statesman and what he had done for Pennsylvania and the Nation at large, he did not deny, while he sought to soften, his weaknesses. But we are considering not Mr. Pennypacker's personal views but his acts and conduct as Governor, and it is only because his critics failed to notice the distinction that I am at the pains to state it. The Governor's methods and the Governor's acts were not those of "Quayism." He never bullied men; he never applied the screws of power, he never manipulated caucuses or conventions, he never maneuvered for position, he never schemed, he never coerced a legislature; he never trafficked in places; he never tempted men; he never bought them. He simply did not know what such things were. He never surrendered his judgment to Mr. Quay: he never acted under his dictation. He selected his cabinet largely on purely personal grounds. The Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, the State Librarian, the Commander of the State Constabulary, the head of the Health Department, and the Private Secretary were not Quay men, in fact several had been actively anti-Quay. The Superintendent of Public Education was a lifelong Democrat; the first appointment to the Supreme Court was of a lifelong Democrat; the second appointment to the Supreme Court was of the man who had led the Independent revolt in 1882. The first judicial appointment to a lower court was also of an Independent. The Secretary of the Commonwealth, who

died in office, the Banking Commissioner, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Dairy and Food Commissioner, coming from other parts of the State where the Governor had no acquaintances politically, were, it is true, agreeable to Mr. Quay, but they all made admirable State officers, and proved to be zealous and efficient. In the choice of great State officers, the Auditor General, the State Treasurer and the Secretary of Internal Affairs, the Governor had no part, as they held constitutional offices, and were elected by the people. On fair analysis, it is clear that so far as administrative selections were concerned the Governor was remarkably free from Mr. Quay's influence.

As to the Insurance Commissionership, which was filled by Mr. Israel W. Durham, a Quay lieutenant, the Governor did not hesitate to call Mr. Durham's attention to his frequent absences from the office, which subsequently proved to be due to an incurable disease, and he directed a court contest, which was conducted by the Attorney General in person, over the fees of the office, which had become inordinately large, and after a judicial decision that under the statute the fees belonged to the Commissioner, the Governor put his heel upon the whole matter by making the abolition of the fees in this Department a subject matter of the amended call of the Special Session of the Legislature in 1906, and the evil was stamped out forever.

In Legislative matters it was equally clear from the first three months of the Governor's term, when he freely exercised the veto power, that he was a persistent foe to jobs. The only visit that Senator Quay ever made to Harrisburg during Governor Pennypacker's administration was in April, 1903, and he did so on the Governor's invitation. Five bills had passed the House, one to make it easy to consolidate water, gas and electric companies, another to license race-track gambling, another to repeal potential grants in the

Susquehanna Canal, the Kingston dam, and a filtration bill, all of which were favorites with the politicians. The Senator was plainly told that if the bills passed the Senate they would be vetoed. They were all killed in the Senate. A leading newspaper declared: "These five sensational reversals of schemes to which the Gang was committed followed directly upon a visit to Harrisburg by Senator Quay. He conferred with Governor Pennypacker for the greater part of the day, and departed with an abstracted air upon him, declaring in positive terms that he was not interested in any pending legislation save the libel bill. It may be that he was not. It may be that he made a special plea with the Governor to veto the grab bills when they reached him. Those who are sufficiently imaginative to accept these pleasant fancies may do so." A zealous and observant friend of the Governor, in calling his attention to this utterance, wrote: "I enclose you an editorial, which I consider the highest compliment I have ever seen paid to man. It is so evidently wrested, by the mere force of virtue, from an unwilling critic, that it speaks volumes." The next year there was no session of the Legislature, and during that year Mr. Quay died.

Refusal of
Supreme
Court
Justiceship.

The next storm that assailed him was stirred up primarily by the conflicting ambitions of others, and secondarily by those who misjudged him and who ought to have known him better. Through the death of Chief Justice McCollum and the consequent promotion of Mr. Justice Mitchell a vacancy occurred in the Supreme Court, which was filled by the appointment by Governor Pennypacker of Samuel Gustine Thompson on November 25th, 1903. Mr. Thompson was a Democrat, but was considered best qualified to sit because of his having been previously a member of the Supreme Court under an appointment by Governor Pattison to fill a vacancy in an unexpired term. As the vacancy had to be permanently filled at the general election to take

place in November, 1904, the great parties began to consider candidates. Some of the Republican leaders who had suffered under the use of the veto axe and the senatorial defeat of their favorite measures, as just explained, conceived the idea of getting rid of the Governor by putting him into the Supreme Court, and without his knowledge or consent tentatively suggested his name for the place. A newspaper discussion followed, and opposition developed on the ground that the public service could not afford to lose him as Governor. It was the highest kind of a tribute to his value as Governor, particularly as it occurred after the tremendous uproar in the press occasioned by the libel bill, and I have taken it up out of the order of date solely because of its minor importance. All discussion proceeded without a word from the Governor until the argument took the turn of a denial of right on the part of the Governor to surrender his place for a seat in the highest tribunal in the State. As he considered this an invasion of his personal and official right to determine his own actions he asserted his right in a public letter which was widely printed in the press, explaining that John Jay had resigned the Chief Justiceship of the United States to become Governor of New York, and other Governors had been chosen during their terms of office as such to United States Senatorships, or had accepted foreign missions and all without a denial of their right to do so, without stating what he would do if the nomination were tendered him. In private he reiterated these views, and denied the right to force his hand, for he felt the delicacy of declining a nomination which had not yet been offered. Instantly it was assumed that he intended to accept, and those who ought to have known and trusted him became his critics. Leading members of his own bar, strange to say, addressed him in protest and urged him to make known his determination. This gave him much pain, but he preserved a

dignified silence in public, and only in private letters reasserted his rights without divulging what he would do. Finally in April, 1904, he was called upon by a Committee, consisting of the Hon. David H. Lane, Senator Sheppard, Senator John M. Scott and Hon. Henry F. Walton, then Speaker of the House, appointed to notify him that the Philadelphia delegation had unanimously endorsed him for the nomination for Supreme Court Justice. He quietly drew from the drawer of his desk a paper which he read in the following terms: "In view of the possibility of some such action as you have taken I have given careful consideration to the subject in a conscientious effort to reach a correct conclusion. I have examined the matter in all of its relations so far as I have been able to understand them, and I have concluded not to be a candidate and not to permit my name to be presented to the Convention. In so doing I want further to say to you that this expression of unstinted confidence coming from the people of the City which you represent and wherein my judicial work was done will ever be one of the grateful memories of my life." The paper was signed "Sam'l W. Pennypacker," and was handed on request to Speaker Walton, who has preserved it. It was printed throughout the State, and in less than four days letters poured in, two of them, I am happy to say, from gentlemen who had distrusted him. One read as follows: "My dear sir: If you meant, from the outset, to decline this nomination, I offer my sincere apology for ever having doubted you. But if you have yielded your own judgment and have made the splendid personal sacrifice of giving up for the sake of a professional ideal, an office to which you believe yourself fully entitled, there is no measure to the honor and gratitude which are due you." Another read: "I never lost faith even when those who wished you would accept the nomination, and those who wished you would not, alike concluded that you would. Personally, I

could not see how you could go wrong in such a matter." A third read: "I desire to present to you an expression of my extreme gratification and approval of your course in declining the nomination of the Supreme Judgeship; as far as I am able to discover in my daily intercourse, my opinions on this matter are shared by all intelligent non-partisan men of both parties. To my knowledge your presence and influence last session put a complete stopper on the corruption which has become such an unfortunate and prominent feature of our legislative sessions in later years; it was the presence of a thoroughly honest and capable man 'on the Hill' that brought these desirable results, and we cannot afford to lose such a man, even to get a good judge." A fourth read: "Permit me, without any intention of fulsomeness, to thank you, in the name of the common mass of unknown voters and citizens to which I belong, for the magnificent rejection of place and power, made by you yesterday." And a fifth read: "It would be difficult to express fully my estimate of the character of your act in refusing the nomination to the Supreme Court. In quality it is the same as that of Washington in resigning his Commission. I can recall no other instances of such complete and faithful devotion to a high sense of public duty in which self interest bore no part. This act alone will make your name illustrious in our annals. The people have never had and never will have a truer representative; calumny, detraction and abuse have had their day; and from this day forth the people will know you as you are, a man with the simple straightforward traits of Lincoln, with equal courage and endurance, and a fearless faith."

We now enter the real storm belt. The first, the most violent and the most prolonged of the veritable tempests to which the Governor was exposed grew out of his approval of the Act of 12th May, 1903, popularly

The Press
Libel Law.

known as "The Press Muzzler." In my analysis of the Programme mapped out by the Inaugural Address I reserved this subject for special consideration, and it is now in order to consider it. The Inaugural contains these words: "The doctrine of the liberty of the press, conceived at a time when it was necessary to disclose the movements of arbitrary power, has become in recent days too often a cover for base and ignoble purposes, and, like the sanctuaries of old, a place of retreat where any wrongdoer may secure immunity from punishment. Sensational journals have arisen all over the land, the owners in concealment and the writers and purveyors undesignated, and they have thriven by propagating crime and disseminating falsehood and scandal, by promulgating dissension and anarchy, by attacks upon individuals and by assaults upon government and the agencies of the people." He declared that "they are a terror to the household, a detriment to the public service and an impediment to the courts of justice. It would be helpful and profitable to reputable journalism if they could be suppressed." He predicted that "the time is now at hand, and may have already come, when society will find means to prevent this development of vicious life, which constitutes the most conspicuous instance of existing ills." He declared: "I know of no reason why Pennsylvania, which has been foremost in so many directions in the past, should not take the lead in a needed effort to improve manners and morals by such a reform." He declared that "Our Constitution imposes responsibility for the abuse of the liberty of the press," and he made two suggestions for the consideration of the Legislature; first, "whether or not it would be well to extend to such cases the law of negligence as developed by the decisions of our courts, so that there should be liability in damages for the physical and mental suffering caused by publication made 'without reasonable care';" second, "an

inquiry as to the propriety of requiring the names and residences of the owners of newspapers to be published with each issue;" and added, "It may be that on consideration the Legislature in its wisdom will be able to devise other means which, while protecting journals of good repute, will tend to eliminate the unworthy."

These passages introduce us to the *casus belli*. Let me at the outset correct three widely prevalent but mistaken notions: first, that the Governor's attitude toward the press was inspired by personal sensitiveness over the use of cartoons; second, that the bill was in its most stringent features the work of his hands; third, that the bill contained provisions destructive of the liberty of the press. As to the first: The Governor was not a man of small and mean resentments, and would never have regarded a personal grievance as a basis for State-wide legislation, but, apart from this, it is sufficient to state that it was *after and not before* the approval of the bill that the malice, venom and ferocity of the cartoonists were set loose. Prior to that time the cartoons had been good-natured pieces of humor, such as those relating to the Governor's paternal boots, or the way in which he wore his beard, or, at the worst, his friendly relations to Senator Quay. In proof of this, all that need be done is to look at the newspapers of the campaign period preceding his election, and compare them with the terrific exaggeration of the art of the cartoonist and the satirist after the bill had been approved. As to the second, the Governor's draft of a bill contained only provisions for compensatory damages resulting from negligent publications, and the publication of the names of the owners and managing editors of the papers. It contained no reference to punitive damages resulting from the use of "pictures, cartoons, headlines, displayed type, or any other matter calculated to specially attract attention." Those features and the

punitive damage clause were injected by amendment, without consultation with the Governor, by counsel for men who had smarted under the lash. As to the third, a simple analysis of the bill, section by section, will suffice.

The Governor's main thoughts were contained in the two specific suggestions he had made as quoted above from the Inaugural Address. I recall distinctly a conversation I had with him in June, 1902, more than four months before his election, when strolling about his farm on the banks of the Perkiomen. He was speaking of his experiences as a judge. "I have tried many cases, perhaps a thousand, of injuries to citizens resulting from the negligence of others; of men and women hurt upon railroads, or knocked down in the street by careless drivers of vehicles, or from people throwing things from windows, and I have had to consider whether a little care could have prevented injury; and I have often thought as I have read of injuries to reputation or to business caused by some careless newspaper publication whether the law of negligence rather than of malice ought not to apply." He mentioned three kinds of cases which had impressed him, where a charge had been made and published of official dishonesty against the treasurer of a trust company, which proving false was promptly retracted; where a charge had been made against a worthy citizen of having committed a drunken assault in a public place on a well-known man, the citizen being at the time abroad; and a charge of infidelity against a married man, whose complete innocence was established by an alibi. "Now why," he asked, "is not this negligence? It is not malice, the editor had no malice against people he did not personally know and who were all in private life. The slightest inquiry before, instead of after, the publication would have revealed the truth, and might have prevented the shame, the disgrace and the suffering

so needlessly caused, and also the libel suits which followed." He then dwelt upon the unfairness to the injured party through lack of knowledge of the name of the author of the libel, and mentioned a fact which I did not know—that England had required by Act of Parliament the publication on the editorial page of the names of the owners and managing editors of all newspapers. He also mentioned a case of a mistrial in our United States District Court occasioned by a newspaper publication, which caused the judge to set a verdict aside. As I listened to the reading of the Inaugural I recalled these circumstances and they threw light upon his motives, although his thought as expressed went beyond them.

The Bill, amended as has been stated without his interposition, reached the Governor duly certified by the presiding officers and clerks of both the Senate and the House. As the opposition of the press was strong, a public hearing of all parties interested was fixed for April 21st, 1903, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. It was a most impressive gathering—three hundred editors, the representatives of more than twelve hundred newspapers, dailies, semi-weeklies, bi-weeklies and monthlies, were present in protest—and the large room was crowded to its utmost capacity with members of the Legislature and interested citizens as spectators. The Governor presided, and, alive to the psychology of such an unusual occasion, was heard to remark: "This meeting is morally most significant. The press is asking to be heard before a decision is reached. Perhaps it may occur to some of these worthy gentlemen that that is just what private citizens would claim as their right before being stricken down in reputation and business." The case was argued, in support of the bill, by Richard C. Dale and Alexander Simpson, Jr., both at the height of their eminence at the bar, and in opposition by the Hon. Charles Emory

Smith, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, Hon. Thomas V. Cooper, a member of the House, but appearing as the editor of the *Delaware County American*, and by Cyrus G. Derr, Esq., a leader of the Reading bar and the present president of the Pennsylvania State Bar Association. In a discussion between these accomplished disputants, lasting nearly four hours, every phase of the question was presented. The public, however, was not so well informed. The text of the bill was never printed in the newspapers, so that there was never an opportunity given to citizens to judge for themselves of the character of the proposed legislation. The arguments against the bill were printed in full; the arguments in its favor were stated in a form so abridged as to give little idea of their pertinency, particularly as the text of what was being discussed was suppressed. The bill itself was denounced editorially and a campaign worked up against it, in which some incautious and emotional members of the reverend clergy participated without ever having read a line of the measure. Thus was it made easy—whether intentionally or not matters little—for the public to misjudge the character of the law, and further, for the public to misjudge the Governor in approving it. In his carefully considered approval the Governor writes: “Few persons have read or have had the opportunity of reading the provisions of this bill. In order that the opportunity may be given, I quote the language in full as follows.” The exact text was then stated as a part of the message of approval. Instead of printing this as a part of the document, every newspaper omitted the words of the bill, and opened their concentrated assaults by stating, “The Governor, after quoting the text of the bill, said,” &c., &c. There was no way in which the citizen of that day could accurately inform himself as to the controversy, unless he happened to find legislative copies scattered

over the desks of members, a chance not within the reach of one man in every hundred thousand, and the only way in which the citizen of to-day can inform himself is to take up the Pamphlet Laws of the session of 1903, and turn to pp. 349-359, and as this State document is practically unknown to nine men out of ten, the knowledge essential to a fair judgment does not exist within easy popular reach. Hence an analysis of the bill is plainly in order. Stripped of statutory verbiage, the first section provided that civil actions might be brought against the proprietor, owner, publisher or editor of any newspaper of the State "to recover damages resulting from negligence," on the part of such persons, "in the ascertainment of facts and in making publications affecting the character, reputation or business of citizens."

There is nothing in this section which prohibited publication, any more than the liability to suit against a railroad for negligence in carrying a passenger would forbid the running of the railroad.

The second section provided that in such actions, "if it shall be shown that the publication complained of resulted from negligence on the part of such owner, proprietor, manager or editor, in the ascertainment of the fact or in the publication thereof, compensatory damages may be recovered for injuries to business and reputation resulting from such publication, as well as damages for the physical and mental suffering endured by the injured party or parties."

This too contained no prohibition of publication, but legally put upon the plaintiff the burden of proving negligence on the part of the editor, who was left at entire liberty to show that he had made inquiry or that the circumstances were such as to preclude inquiry; in short, to show as a defence that he had not been negligent.

The section then continued: "and whenever in any such action it shall be shown that the matter com-

plained of is libelous, and that such libelous matter has been given special prominence by use of pictures, cartoons, headlines, displayed type, or any other matter calculated to specially attract attention, the jury shall have the right to award punitive damages against the defendant or defendants." These are the words added to the Governor's draft, and for which he was not responsible. The split infinitive would alone acquit him, but the fact is as stated. This was the usual feature of the law of negligence, that where it was so gross as to be matter of aggravation, or where the injury was accompanied by circumstances of brutality, the jury might add punishment to compensation.

The third section provided for the publication on the editorial page of the names of the owner or editor of the paper, and provision was made for ownership by corporations or partnerships, a feature borrowed from English law, where it had been approved by experience.

The fourth section provided for notice of changes in ownership of the papers, so as to enforce the preceding section.

The fifth section declared it to be a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than five hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars, for a neglect to carry out the provisions of sections three and four. This was the usual sanctioning feature of a law.

These three last sections have become a permanent part of the law of the State, acquiesced in by the entire press, and stand to the credit of the Governor in furnishing protection to the citizen against anonymous or irresponsible libellers.

The sixth section repealed all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the foregoing provisions.

There the statute ended.* It will be seen that the

* In order that the reader may judge for himself of the statute in its entirety, and of the reasons of the Governor in approval, I print the full text of the law and of the Governor's message of approval in Appendix A.

fiercest of the fighting was directed against sections one and two. The Governor in approving the bill declared: "There is nothing in the terms of the bill which prevents any newspaper from making such comments upon legislative measures or upon the official acts of the State, Municipal, County or public officers as are proper for the information of the public or are in the line of legitimate publication." That is a fair comment, and the closest scrutiny of the bill will fail to discover any muzzling of the press in dealing with public servants. The Governor continued: "There are no inhibitions in the bill. It subjects all preliminary inquiries as to facts and their subsequent publication to the test of care. The doctrines of the law of negligence are well known and apparently easy of application. Haste and recklessness in the ascertainment of facts prior to publication, or in the manner of publication, amounting in the judgment of a Court to negligence or the want of that degree of care which a man of ordinary prudence would exercise under the circumstances, will, if proved, give a ground of action for such damages as result from injuries to business and reputation. There is no interference with privileged communications."*

Let me digress a moment as to what was meant by the Governor in referring to "haste and recklessness in the

* That the reader may understand what is meant by this, I subjoin a definition from a well-known legal authority, Odgers on Slander and Libel, page 184. "'Privileged communications' are of two kinds: (1) Absolutely privileged, which are restricted to cases in which it is so much to the public interest that the defendant should speak out his mind fully and freely that all actions in respect to the words used are absolutely forbidden, even though it be alleged that they were used falsely, knowingly, and with express malice. This complete immunity obtains only where the public service or the due administration of justice requires it. . . . (2) Qualified privilege. In less important matters, where the public interest does not require such absolute immunity, the plaintiff will recover in spite of the privilege, if he can prove that the words were not used *bona fide*, but that the defendant used the privileged occasion artfully and knowingly to defame the plaintiff."

ascertainment of facts prior to publication, *or in the manner of publication.*” The following anecdote will convey very clearly the spirit and motive of the Governor’s approval of the Act:

It was told to me by one of our most useful and accomplished public men whose early training as a newspaper man had made him an expert in the art of drafting headlines which constitute so large a part of reportorial skill. “There was a fishing party,” said he, “of which I was one at Harvey Cedars, and the luck being against us and the weather warm we returned unexpectedly early to the piazza of the little inn where we were to dine. There were five of us, one the president of a bank, another the vice-president of a trust company, a third the superintendent of a school, the fourth the head of a manufacturing establishment, and myself. We called for refreshments, which were served on the piazza—a lemonade, a ginger ale and some whiskies and soda. The conversation turned on various matters and finally the superintendent said: ‘I wonder why Governor Pennypacker signed that press-muzzling bill.’ ‘Yes,’ exclaimed the president: ‘so do I. It seems such a foolish thing for a sensible man to do.’ ‘I will tell you,’ I replied. ‘Suppose tomorrow morning there appears on the front page of one of our great dailies the pictures of all of us somewhat distorted, but plainly recognizable, with our names tagged to our clothing, with the headlines in large letters: *‘Strange Doings at Harvey Cedars—A Fishing Party becomes a Drinking Bout—Mr. A., Mr. B., Mr. C., Mr. D. and Mr. E., Seen Drinking in the Open Air—Mysterious Females Hovering About.’* ‘My Heavens, what a lie!’ said the manufacturer. ‘Is it?’ I asked. ‘Didn’t we come down here to fish? Aren’t we drinking in the open air? Didn’t you see the cook and the waitress moving about to get us our dinner?’ ‘Yes, but it is all innocent, and the way you put it, the public

would think we were all carousing in a wrong place.' 'Yes,' I said, 'it is the way it is put, and it is just *that* against which the Governor's bill is meant to protect you.' It was an eye-opener for them," said my informant, and he laughingly added, "Do you know that I had great trouble in quieting the superintendent, who feared that I might have been overheard by some reporter, and that he would get into trouble with his scholars and his wife about the 'Mysterious Females.' "

To resume our examination of the message of approval. The Governor continued: "The bill in its application is not confined to officials, but affects as well the citizen or business man, whose conduct constitutes no part of the right of the public to information. The corporation officer who has been falsely charged with crime; the manufacturer who has been falsely accused of being a drunken brawler; the woman whose domestic griefs have been unfeelingly paraded, or whose chasity is improperly suspected; the student who has been falsely accused of murder; the clergyman who has been cruelly maligned; the quiet citizen whose peace of mind has been destroyed by the publication of evil gossip; the merchant whose credit has been affected by groundless rumors; the sufferers from reckless but not necessarily malicious publications are given the right, not to prohibit publication, but to recover the damages which they have sustained, provided they prove negligence or lack of care on the part of the publishing newspaper. All of these are instances of what has in fact recently occurred."

The foregoing extracts explaining that there was no immunity extended to public servants from legitimate criticism of their acts, and lifting the curtain upon private scenes of writhing victims of the cruelty of negligence, were dropped out of sight, and attention was concentrated upon a single sentence, in which the Gov-

ernor, after describing a cartoon as "asserting to the world that the press is above the law and greater in strength than the Government," had written, "In England a century ago the offender would have been drawn and quartered and his head stuck upon a pole without the gates." It was made to appear as if the Governor favored this form for present-day punishment of those who cartooned him. The reference to bygone times was purely historical, and might have been omitted with advantage, as open to such misconstruction, but the warlike critics of the Governor failed to notice a more aggravated instance of a misleading appeal to history on their own part when Nelan represented the Governor as chuckling over these words: "'I thank God there are no free schools nor printing in Virginia, and I hope we shall not have them these one hundred years; for learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing hath divulged them, and libels against the best Government.'—Governor Berkeley of Virginia to King Charles II of England in 1665." This cartoon was accompanied by the headlines: "Two Governors with a single Thought. Pennypacker sees as did Sir William Berkeley the Evils of Printing. 'God keep us from it,' so wrote an old Colonial tyrant, troubled by disrespect of authority." Another cartoon represented the Governor in a proudly boastful attitude at the base of a pedestal upon which a bust appeared, on the side of which were inscribed the words: "'I will punish this insolent printer who dares to criticize a Governor.'—Gov. Cosby of New York who prosecuted John Zenger, 1735."

No one will find in the bill, nor in the character and career of Governor Pennypacker, any justification for such misrepresentation of his sentiments or his acts. The conscientious student of the period will not fail to ponder the closing words of the Governor's approval. "Since the laws of God and nature are immutable and

inexorable, unless some means are found to uproot some of the tendencies of modern journalism confidence already badly shaken will be utterly lost, and the influence of the press, which has been so potent an agent in the development of civilization and in securing civil liberty, will be gone forever. With a serious sense that the event is of more than ordinary moment, with full knowledge of the importance of the press and of its value to mankind through all past struggles, and with the hope that the greater care and larger measure of responsibility brought about by this law, tending to elevate the meritorious and repress the unworthy, will promote its reform while benefiting the community, I approve the bill." All these words were omitted from the public prints, and the last four words quoted without their splendid and elevated setting.

It is no wonder that the people failed to understand the bill, and failed to understand the Governor. The whole Commonwealth became involved. More than twelve hundred newspapers of all kinds opened their artillery fire, and the cannonading spread until all the big guns of the Nation were in action. The cartoonists of the *Baltimore Herald*, of the *Washington Post*, of the *Washington Star*, of the *Atlanta Constitution*, of the *Denver Post*, of the *Omaha Herald*, of the *St. Louis Post Despatch*, of the *St. Louis Republic*, to name but a few of the many, depicted the Governor as muzzling a bull dog, as crunched by a tiger, as impaling an editor, as Mrs. Partington, as Don Quixote, or as worshipping a strange god called Spleen, and a political tough was seen reading a poster which read: "Pennsylvania new Libel Law Stops Free Utterance, Gags a Free Press, Stops Criticism, Throttles Justice, Suppresses Exposure of Corruption."

The future student, far removed from the passions and prejudices of that day, when he reads with calmness the text of the so-called press-muzzler, and the

Governor's message of approval, will marvel that there should have been such an uproar based on such a palpable misapprehension, and he will not fail to admire the quiet personal and moral courage of the man who faced the fire of so gigantic an engine as the press of America without flinching and without loss of character. Had the Governor been a politician, he would doubtless have retired in safety at the first mutterings of the storm; or had he been less seriously convinced of the necessity for some additional statutory regulation of the press, he would have been content to rely, as some of his legal friends advised, upon the law of libel as resting on the principles of the common law expansively expounded as they had been by a century or two of great judges. But the Governor was not a politician, and he had his own views and stood by them without quaking. No one can say that they were peculiar to himself. Many other men of widely different temperaments have had them. Andrew D. White, one of the most accomplished of our scholars and diplomatists, has lamented in his autobiography the recklessness of the American press in dealing with the characters of our public men; Theodore Roosevelt, who cannot be taunted with being a tool of tyranny or a foe to freedom, has declared that newspapers "habitually and continually, and as a matter of business, practice every form of mendacity known to man, from the suppression of the truth and the suggestion of the false to the lie direct." John A. Sleicher, editor of *Leslie's Weekly*, pleads for "a daily newspaper that shall print less and better news; that shall exercise such censorship over its columns that no one's character shall be assailed, no institution's standing be discredited, no vested right be jeopardized, and no man or woman's motives impugned until the editor has justified his statements." President Hadley urges "that the newspaper reader must get into the habit of seeing whether the statements of

fact in the paper are supported by evidence or not." And James Edward Rogers in his book upon "The American Press," just issued from the University of Chicago Press, states: "The conclusion to which my own study of the subject has led me is that the nature of the American press is essentially sensational and commercial with only a secondary place given to the cultural aspects of human thought, and that as a result its influence on the morals of the community tends in the direction of stimulating love of sensation and interest in purely material things."

There is no danger that Governor Pennypacker will be classed by posterity with Governor Berkeley or Governor Cosby, but he will be regarded as a *propugnator* for the purification and uplifting of the press.

The next storm that burst was local in its extent, but while it lasted it raged with violence. It grew out of the passage of four bills amending the Act of 1st of June, 1885, providing for the better government of cities of the first class, commonly known to Philadelphians as the Bullitt Bill. In the opposition press they were designated as "Ripper Bills." The name had an odious sound and an odious meaning, and the epithet was calculated to mislead. In truth, as approved by the Governor, they were not ripper bills at all. They ripped no one out of office, and they were not to go into effect until after the existing terms of the public officers to be affected had expired, in fact not until after the Governor himself was out of office. Their history was as follows: During Mayor Weaver's term, in the midst of the hottest kind of a conflict between the Mayor and Councils, he removed the Directors of Public Works and of Public Safety and appointed men of his own choice against the interests and views of the local party leaders. The municipal disturbance took place over the lease of the Gas Works to the United Gas Improvement Company. In the regular session of

The Ripper
Bills.

the Legislature of 1905 four bills were introduced providing for the election by Councils of the Directors of Public Works, Public Safety, of Supplies, and of Public Health and Charities, and looking to their immediate effect. There was a strong effort made by politicians of all degrees to induce the Governor to sign them in this shape. It signally failed, as he was opposed to the last named feature. They were then amended so as not to become operative until April 1907. The Governor approved two of the bills and vetoed two. His critics charged that he acted inconsiderately, that he acted unwisely and inconsistently, and that he surrendered to political influences. These charges have no real basis. As to the first: Instead of acting inconsiderately he acted with deliberation. He received a representative delegation of protesting citizens, whose distinguished counsel was not only heard in argument but who filed a printed brief which was attentively read and considered. He received and heard also a counter delegation of citizens headed by another lawyer who, though a rough diamond, was an able and respected constitutional student. He wrote letters to trustworthy friends whose opinions were requested, and received replies by no means unanimous. He discussed the matter with men of the type of Senator Knox as to the various forms of municipal government best suited to varying conditions in the State. He thoughtfully pondered the decision of the Supreme Court in *Commonwealth vs. Moir*, 199 Pa. 534 (1901), which was marked by the ablest constitutional opinion ever written by Chief Justice Mitchell, and by the most powerful dissent of Mr. Justice Dean, so that both sides of the question were fully presented. So much for the charge of lack of consideration. As to the second charge that he acted unwisely—in the judgment of his critics—and that he acted inconsistently. He was firmly convinced—and under the law as expounded from the days of

Chief Justice Black, and George Sharswood to those of Mitchell there can be no doubt of the soundness of his views—that a municipal government was not an independent sovereignty but a mere legislative agency, entirely within the power of the Legislature to create, abolish or amend. Next, he was convinced that under the Bullitt bill the Mayor had too much power, an opinion, by the way, now entertained by many of those who once thought otherwise, and who are now agitating for a change in the Bullitt bill. Next, he was convinced that a change was desirable, and lastly that a considerable body of citizens, many of them of distinction and the highest respectability, desired a change. The personnel of the debaters did not enter into it. Had “the people,” whatever that vague and shifting term may mean, exchanged sides with the politicians, his views would have remained the same. As to inconsistency, it has been said that it would have been better to have vetoed all the bills, as the result of the election of 1907 showed that the people did not want their charter touched. This is hindsight, a common form of wisdom. His conclusion was to submit the question in some shape to the people for self determination, and although the form of the bills made this somewhat awkward, by approving two bills and vetoing two, he created a referendum in accordance with the much discussed theory of the day. In this way he straddled, as some harshly said. In truth, he defined the issue so far as practicable. He gave the politicians far less than what they wanted, and he gave the people more than half of what they wanted. He displeased both sides. I do not say that it was Solomon’s judgment, but it was much like Solomon’s act, who by threatening to kill the child elicited the true mother’s cry. He actually elicited the sentiments of the community. As philosophic Wordsworth has said,

"He is oft the wisest man
Who seems not wise at all."

Lastly, it was said that, in approving two of the bills, he surrendered to political influences. This charge is equally without foundation. By insisting that all the bills should have a prospective and not an immediate effect he cut out the ripper features from all of them. The two bills that he vetoed were those in which the politicians had the most vital interest. Had you heard, as I did, the explosions of wrath from the men who wanted a clean sweep, you would be chary of charging a political surrender. "But why not veto all the bills?" some persistent critic cries. The answer has been given in part, but there is a larger view to be considered. At the time of the discussion, it was by no means clear what the public wanted. There were too many voices, strident all of them and clashing in their clang. The politicians were not all on the one side and "the people" all on the other. The politicians' view was supported by many eminent and respectable citizens. Earnest remonstrants, however sincere, are too apt to overlook the representative features of our government. Behind the politicians stood the legally chosen representatives of the people, their constitutionally authorized agents, to express their views on subjects of government, their duly accredited attorneys in fact. To deny this is to impeach representative government. Until our system is changed government is not to be conducted by masses of men on one side, or by respectable minorities on the other. No Governor is at liberty to disregard the most characteristic and valuable feature of our system. If he were to ignore legislative acts on matters entirely within the powers of that body, it would lead to an administrative dead-lock, or else to a purely arbitrary personal autocracy. It is easy for those without actual practical experience in the administration of affairs, and who hug favorite

theories, to say that a governor ought to do this, or that he ought not to do that, but they would do well to remember the words of Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*, that "there is never a time when critics are lacking ready to teach Hannibal the art of war." The man who really understands the difficulties of the task will refrain from shouting at the man at the wheel when plowing through heavy counter seas, or to change the simile, even the strongest of men when caught in the midst of swaying crowds, rushing from opposite corners, must himself choose his direction, and is not aided materially by advice from a citizen looking out of the top story window.

We are now prepared to understand the Governor's thoughtfully expressed reasons for his action.* He began by comparing a real "ripper" bill with those before him. He explained that the Act of March 7th, 1901, which applied to Pittsburgh and was not passed during his term, "abolished the office of mayor, and provided a chief executive to be called the city recorder, and to be temporarily appointed by the Governor. It removed from office the mayor who had been elected by the people. It provided for a concentration of authority in the hands of the city recorder, who was given the power to appoint the heads of five of the principal departments, as well as members of the sinking fund commission. This act became known even in the decisions of the Courts as 'a ripper.' When the constitutionality of the act was assailed, the Supreme Court decided that the power of the Legislature was unquestionable, and its exercise depended upon legislative discretion." Having thus given the basis for a comparison, he continued: "The present bills raise no constitutional query and they are in every respect the exact antithesis of this Act. They are so drawn as not to take effect until the first Monday of April, 1907, and, therefore, do

* For the full text see Appendix B.

not affect any present incumbents. They remove no official from office. They interfere with no one elected by the people. Instead of concentrating power, their effect would be to disseminate it." He then discussed the various forms of government and gave interesting historical examples of the evil of permitting too great a concentration of power in one individual. He traced the drifts of opinion, and stated that while in the National Government the tendency was toward a concentration of power, the current was running the other way in the States. Then coming to municipal affairs, he said: "The most thoughtful observers and those most familiar with the practical difficulties of the subject would probably concede that it would be better for the administration of public affairs in Philadelphia if the power, which is given by existing laws to the Mayor, could be, in certain directions, at least lessened." His views thus stated are in entire accordance with the freshest expressions of opinion, particularly those appearing recently over the signature of "Penn," whose sane, sound and always well-balanced views command the highest respect. After dwelling on several persuasive confirmations of this thought, and having declared that they indicated dissatisfaction with existing conditions, he then proceeded to answer those who urged him to reverse the determination of the Senate and House, in which all the members of both bodies from Philadelphia had participated, and with admirable self-restraint declared: "We must not lose sight of the principle that the Governor's veto was expected only to extend to those measures which might not receive a two-thirds vote of the Senate and House." This, under the circumstances of the bills having reached his table after the close of the session, gave to the Governor an absolute power of veto which was never intended. "For me to exercise this power arbitrarily with respect to the question raised by these

bills, would be to assume an unusual and illogical position. . . . For the change of the method of government in this municipality much more than two-thirds of each House have voted. If the absolute control of affairs in Philadelphia by an individual were to be preserved, over the almost unanimous vote of the Assembly and of the representatives of Philadelphia to the contrary, by the autocratic exercise of the incidental power of the Governor, it might well be a cause both for uneasiness and complaint." Having reached a decision as to the main line of thought, he stated this qualification, that as sudden changes and radical changes were always accompanied with disadvantages, and while the power of the Mayor might be wisely lessened, it would also be wise not to take it away altogether. The way in which the bills had come to him made it difficult to discriminate exactly in the application of this cautionary view, but the conclusion reached was the most practicable. "Should further changes in the method of appointing directors prove by experience to be necessary and advantageous, they can be made at some future session."

It is submitted that the future students of our affairs will find as little to condemn in the Governor's disposition of the matters just reviewed as in the libel bill. Certainly no one will impugn his motives.

The next storm that broke differed in its character and in its direction from those which have been described. In the controversies which raged over the libel bill and the ripper bills the attacks were concentrated upon the Governor himself; in the Capitol scandal the attacks were made upon the Auditor General and a former State Treasurer, who were charged with having conspired with the Superintendent of Public Grounds and Buildings, the architect and the contractor to defraud the State. No one ever whispered or ever intimated that the Governor was a party to the

The Capitol
Case.

fraud. It was known of all men that such a thing was an impossibility. Joel Hawes, an American writer of the early part of the last century, in one of his "Lectures to Young Men," forcibly said: "A good character is in all cases the fruit of personal exertion. It is not inherited from parents; it is not created by external advantages; it is no necessary appendage of birth, wealth or talents or station; but it is the result of one's own endeavors—the fruit and reward of good principles manifested in a course of virtuous and honorable action." It was Governor Pennypacker's character which made him armor-proof against suspicion and calumny. The worst that was said was that his vigilance was relaxed and that he had been stupidly blind. It is proper to examine these criticisms. Both of them are inconsiderate. No one has ever charged that the Governor did something which he ought not to have done, hence the criticisms are negative rather than positive. They do not inform us of what, in the judgment of the critics, the Governor might have done, nor do they tell us what the critics themselves would have done had they been in his place, nor do they even intimate what it was that the Governor did not see. They simply assume that there was something which he ought to have seen and could have seen had he been vigilant. Before there can be sanity of criticism there must be sanity of statement based on knowledge. Let there be no confusion of thought in the matter. The Governor was not the Auditor General, he was not the State Treasurer, he was not the Superintendent of Public Grounds and Buildings, he was not the contractor, he was not the architect. He was charged with none of their duties and possessed none of their powers. He was one of three members of the Board of Public Grounds and Buildings, and in passing the bills for the furnishing and equipment of the Capitol, he relied, and had a right to rely, on the vigilance and

honesty of his subordinates. For every dollar of expenditure, he had furnished to him with the bills the oath of the contractor, then a business man of unimpeached reputation, to their accuracy; the certificates of the architect, also under oath, to the fact that they were correct and in accordance with the contract; the certificates of the Superintendent of Public Grounds and Buildings that the goods had been delivered and were in possession of the State, and all were accompanied by the joinder of the Auditor General and State Treasurer in what were technically called "treasury settlements," and it was not until he had all of these papers involving the separate official action of four State officers that he approved the bills. He could not have found the cunningly concealed overcharges, because they were buried in a mass of thousands of items contained in the Quantities Book in the office of the Auditor General, which had been prepared and kept by that officer for his own guidance. It required the services of the New York Audit Company at a later day to ferret these items out and it involved nine months of time, so craftily had the contractor supplied goods under one schedule, which should have been supplied under another. Had the Governor put aside all his other duties and turned himself into an expert book-keeper he could not have found the juggled items, even had he suspected them, because their detection as to overcharges depended upon tracing way-bills, packages, and the identification of articles by both measurement and scales. But at the time of approval of the bills there was no ground for suspicion; no one had made a charge, no one had sounded a note of warning, and none of the disappointed bidders, nor any of the citizens who were subsequently called to testify upon the trial, after the din had been kept up for nearly a year, were on hand with evidence. The real point is that the Governor was not required to look; it was

no more a part of his official duty to turn up such items than it would be the duty of the president of a trust company to examine each week the ledger accounts of his depositors to see whether they were properly credited or had overdrawn their accounts, or whether a clerk had made false entries to cover his embezzlements; or of the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to spend his time in the auditing department, or in the supply department, or in looking after switch tenders or the men in the signal towers; or of the president of a steamship company to inspect the boilers and engines of an ocean liner so as to secure the safety of the passengers; or of a general in command of a million or two of men to discover shortages in food or munition supplies. In our complicated modern life men in the highest positions are obliged to rely on their subordinates, and on the good faith and honesty of their colaborers. It is out of reason as well as outside the bounds of practical administration to do otherwise. *Omnia præsumuntur esse rite acta* is a maxim based upon the broadest experience. In a great Commonwealth, where the Governor was loaded down with multifarious and exacting duties, some of which I have described, there is no room for any just or candid man to assert that he ought to have seen that which was concealed from notice, or to suspect that which was not suspected, or to smell rottenness which was so deeply buried as to be deodorized until exhumed by professional spades. He was not employed as a detective, he was elected to be Governor. When the charge was made in the midst of a political campaign, and but three months before the expiration of the Governor's term, that there had been crookedness in the Capitol accounts, he met it with promptitude and directness. He instantly called in the Auditor General, prepared and published a statement showing every cent which had been expended either by the Commissioners of Public Grounds and Buildings or by the Capitol

Commission in each and every way in connection with the building and equipment of the Capitol. This put the people in possession of the actual figures of expenditure. At the same time the Attorney General conducted an investigation to enable him to ascertain whether there was ground for instituting either criminal or civil proceedings against the contractors, the architect and the State officers. All of the papers on file were examined, a laborious and voluminous task, and all were found to be regular on their face. No facts, no testimony, no evidence which would be competent in a court of law were produced by the man who had made the charge. It was clear that deep probing would be necessary, and exhaustive and searching interrogatories were addressed to every one who had had the slightest connection with the contracts, and their written answers were obtained. Before the work could be completed the official terms of both the Governor and the Attorney General expired. A report was filed and printed covering three hundred and seventy pages of what had been done up to that time, dealing with "the evidence thus far submitted—and speaking of that only," a limitation which was persistently ignored by the public press, which failed to notice that the report was necessarily limited to the early stages of the inquiry and was not intended to be final and complete. After insisting on "the need for a very searching examination," and calling attention to the necessity of establishing fraud by the testimony of competent "experts in the line of the work criticised," the suggestion was made that "the contracts and the vouchers should be placed in the hands of an audit company, or experts well known," a suggestion which was acted on by the employment of the New York Audit Company, and the subsequent proceedings were based upon the very lines of inquiry instituted by the Governor and the Attorney General. No future study of the matter can be complete without careful examination of this preliminary

work. The spirit of the Governor shines forth electrically in his exclamation on the witness stand before the legislative investigating committee: "If we did not get good work, we were all deceived, and if the State has been defrauded it is an especially wicked thing. It would be, in my judgment, not only a fraud but a species of treason."

I have examined at length all the grounds of actual criticism of a great and good man. I state it deliberately and without qualification, there is nothing which furnishes a pretext for a charge of maladministration or of negligent administration. There never was a more painstaking or conscientious public servant than Samuel W. Pennypacker. He devoted his whole time and his full strength to the performance of his duties. He cherished no ambitions to be served by intrigue, he laid no traps, he planned no schemes, he stirred no factional quarrels, he meditated no vengeance. I do not claim for him infallibility of judgment. No one can claim that in this world of uncertain factors. I do not claim that his estimates of men were unerring, for he was too tender-hearted and unsuspicious to detect evil readily. I do not claim for him that uncanny distrust which avoids the snares which the unscrupulous spread, but which would convert a generous mind into an odious skeptic of the good in human nature, but I can and do claim that in conscientiousness he was unsurpassed. "A still and quiet conscience is a peace above all earthly dignities," or, as Old South puts it, in one of his sermons, "A palsy may as well shake an oak, or a fever dry up a fountain, as either of them shake, dry up, or impair the strength of conscience. For it lies within; it centers in the heart; it grows into the very substance of the soul, so that it accompanies a man to his grave; he never outlives it, because he cannot outlive himself."

July, 1913 (P. L. 1374), consisting of seven members charged with the supervision, investigation and regulation of all railroads, canals, street railways, stage lines, express companies, baggage transfer companies, pipe lines, ferry companies, common carriers, Pullman car companies, tunnel companies, turnpikes, bridges, wharves, grain elevators, telegraph, telephone, gas, electric, water, heat, and refrigerating companies, and like public service companies within the State. The ample and elaborate powers given constituted the most extraordinary grant of power to a quasi judicial body that had ever been attempted in the history of the State, and called for men of the highest capacity and varied experience. Ex-Governor Pennypacker was one of those selected, became the president of the Commission and was in active service until within two months of his death. He died with his armor on.

I cannot dwell upon Mr. Pennypacker's tastes, accomplishments and achievements as a book collector and a bibliophile without repeating what I have already said about them in an address recently delivered before The Philobiblon Club. It is sufficient to say that in these respects he was unique, and had he done nothing else he would be remembered by scholars as a remarkable man.

As a
Collector.

I now turn to his services to this Society. The three administrations preceding that of Governor Pennypacker were notable for the large accessions of early Pennsylvania imprints, principally from the presses of William Bradford and his descendants, Reynier Jansen, Benjamin Franklin and his successors, Robert Bell, the Dunlaps, Joseph Cruikshank, Christopher Saur and his descendants, the Ephrata Community and Henry Miller; for the increase in membership on the removal of the Society to the "Picture House," on the Spruce Street front of the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the purchase of the Patterson mansion.

Services to
the Historical
Society.

Governor Pennypacker's administration of sixteen

years marks an epoch in the history of the Society. It should not be forgotten that we owe very largely to him the present enlarged building, through the assistance of State appropriations. He was distinctively qualified to fill the office of president by his experience as a vice-president and councillor, and the sympathetic interest he took in the objects of its organization; his profound and intelligent knowledge of the history of the Commonwealth, and the pride which he took in its elucidation, as shown by his numerous addresses and writings. Even during his absence of four years at Harrisburg, as Governor of the Commonwealth, his interest in its prosperity was never abated; he attended meetings of the Society and Council, and conferred with the Librarian on purchases of rare Americana and other matters pertaining to the Library. It was during this absence that the sale of the valuable collection of Americana of Bishop Hurst took place in New York. At his conference with the Librarian in the executive office, as both turned over the pages of their catalogues, his opinions were tersely expressed: "I would buy that," or "try to secure this work," and fortunately for the Society, many valuable additions were secured for its collections, one in particular being the personal Day Book of President Washington, kept during his occupancy of the Morris mansion on Market Street, the "White House" of the then Capital of the Nation. The additions to the collection of rare Americana were in nowise abated, but the increase in the Manuscript Division became unprecedently large and valuable.

It may be stated that the accession of books to the Library number 24,340 bound volumes, Letter-books 351, and Manuscripts, 166,134; among the latter, Penn and Penn-Physick, including miniatures of Admiral Penn and wife, with letters to the Founder; William Penn's Journals when in Ireland and Holland, and correspondence; there are also collections under the fol-

lowing names: Isaac Norris; James Logan; Pastorius; Franklin; Hamilton; Rawle; Wharton; Shippen-Burd; Washington; Wayne (Orderly Books, one of the 14th British Foot, captured at Stony Point, and papers relating to the Western Expedition); Cadwalader; Robert Morris; John Nixon; John Dickinson; Clymer; Reed-Forde; Gratz; Chaloner-White; Cox-Parrish; Wharton; Humphreys; Proud; John F. Watson; Sergeant; Hollingsworth-Morris; Governor George Wolf; Carpenter; Ashhurst; Hooper; Mendenhall; Jay Cooke; Alexander H. Stephens; and United States Bank and Northampton and Chester County documents.

The accessions to the Gilpin Library were 222 volumes of rare Americana; 28 Letter-books; 117 Manuscripts; 7 bound volumes of correspondence of Benjamin West and original drawings; Holmes' Map of Pennsylvania, 1681, as it came from the press, and General Duportail's original plan of the encampment at Valley Forge.

It may be stated here that there are 3877 bound volumes of manuscripts now on the shelves of the Manuscript Division, and material awaiting repair and binding sufficient to add 3000 volumes.

Governor Pennypacker's historical writings are models of careful research and devoted study; they have the power to hold the interest of the general reader and his admirable accuracy satisfies the exigencies of the student. He had an unrivaled acquaintance with all that had been published and an astounding amount of new and valuable unpublished information on the history of the Commonwealth. His translations are uniformly well performed, and the spirit of the original always faithfully preserved in its English translation. Referring to two of his recent works he wrote: "The entire edition of my 'Pennsylvania in American History' was sold within two weeks, and copies are now being bought at \$10.00 each;" and that

'Pennsylvania the Keystone' has already gone through four editions, covering 12,000 copies."

As a Penn-
sylvanian.

Finally, he is to be considered as a Pennsylvanian. A Chinese philosopher once wrote: "He who sincerely loves his country leaves the fragrance of a good name to a hundred centuries." His State pride and his State patriotism were abnormal, I had almost said colossal. It did not spring from the sickly and bitter root of provincialism. It was not nourished by prejudice, nor did it thrive upon detraction or jealousy of the other parts of the country. It sprang from knowledge, from insight into the diviner meanings of those mysterious decrees of Providence which mixed in our latitude the martyred blood wrung from the suffering brows of Holland, Sweden, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Germany, Switzerland and France, to be distilled by the fierce fires of revolution into the most precious elixir of the ages.

Consider, Pennsylvanians, of what a State ye are the citizens; a State which in its origin was the sanctuary to which the persecuted of all creeds and races fled for safety; a State inspired by Mercy, Justice, Truth and Peace; upon whose soil were fought those battles in colonial, revolutionary and fratricidal days, which determined the course of critical events; and in whose holiest shrine were composed and adopted those documents which chart the channels of national power; a State from whose veins of wealth and from whose roaring looms the labor of the world is quickened; a State of struggle and achievement; and of the most generous humanities in the service of mankind; a State whose history ought to stir the hearts, uplift the pride, and command the love of all her loyal sons and daughters.

It was this State which your late President knew and thoroughly understood; whose reputation he was ever ready to defend against disloyalty or ignorance, and whose interests he faithfully served until the shaft of the insatiate archer struck him down.

APPENDIX A

Pamphlet Laws of Pa. } No. 265
1903—p. 349.

“AN ACT

“To authorize civil actions for the recovery of damages arising from newspaper publications negligently made; defining the character of such damages; and requiring every newspaper published in this Commonwealth to print, in a conspicuous place in each issue, the names of the owners, proprietors or publishers, and the managing editors of the same; and making a violation of this act a misdemeanor, and fixing a penalty therefor.

“SECTION 1. Be it enacted &c., That from and after the passage of this act, civil actions may be brought against the proprietor, owner, publisher, or managing editor of any newspaper published in this Commonwealth, whether the same be published monthly, bi-weekly, semi-weekly or daily, to recover damages resulting from negligence on the part of such owner, proprietor or managing editor in the ascertainment of facts and in making publications affecting the character, reputation or business of citizens.

“SECTION 2. In all civil actions which may be hereafter brought against the proprietor, owner, publisher or managing editor of any newspaper published in this Commonwealth, whether the same be published monthly, bi-weekly, semi-weekly or daily, and whether such owner be an individual, partnership, limited partnership, joint-stock company, or corporation, if it shall be shown that the publication complained of resulted from negligence on the part of such owner, proprietor, manager or editor, in the ascertainment of the facts or in the publication thereof, compensatory damages may be recovered for injuries to business and reputation

resulting from such publication, as well as damages for the physical and mental suffering endured by the injured party or parties; and whenever in any such action it shall be shown that the matter complained of is libelous, and that such libelous matter has been given special prominence by the use of pictures, cartoons, headlines, displayed type, or any other matter calculated to specially attract attention, the jury shall have the right to award punitive damages against the defendant or defendants.

“SECTION 3. That from and after the passage of this act, each and every newspaper published in this Commonwealth, whether the same be published monthly, bi-weekly, semi-weekly or daily shall publish in every copy of every issue, on the editorial page, in a conspicuous position, at the top of reading matter, the name of the owner, owners, proprietor or proprietors of such newspapers, together with the name of the managing editor thereof; and if said newspaper or newspapers shall be owned or published by a corporation, then the name of the corporation shall be published, together with the names of the president, secretary, treasurer, and managing editor thereof; and if the said newspaper or newspapers shall be owned or published by a partnership or partnership limited, then the names of the partners, or officers and managers, of said partnership or partnership limited, shall be published in like manner.

“SECTION 4. In the event of any change being made in the proprietor, owner, publisher or managing editor of any newspaper, or in the office of president, secretary or treasurer of any corporation owning and publishing said newspaper, or any change in the name of the co-partners, the said change or changes shall be duly set forth in the next edition, or issue, of said newspaper, following said change or changes.

“SECTION 5. Any person, firm, limited partnership

or corporation, publishing a newspaper in Pennsylvania, which omits, fails or neglects to carry out the provisions of sections three and four of this act, and make the publication required by the preceding sections, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor; and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than five hundred dollars, nor more than one thousand dollars.

“SECTION 6. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith be and the same are hereby repealed.

“Approved—The 12th day of May, A. D. 1903.”

THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE OF APPROVAL.

“The questions raised by the Senate Bill No. 690 are of very grave importance. They affect large business interests, the freedom of speech and the press, the right of the citizen to be informed concerning current affairs and the conduct of government, as well as his right to protect his reputation and home from the injuries that result from careless or negligent, as well as malicious false report. They are of importance for the further reason that, whichever way decided, the fact that they are raised indicates a widespread dissatisfaction with existing conditions, and their correct decision is likely to have an effect within and without the Commonwealth. They are deserving, therefore, of the most careful consideration, and the conclusion, unaffected by any personal feeling and unswayed by any fear of personal consequences, ought to be reached upon the plane of what will be for the good of the people.

Few persons have read or have had the opportunity of reading the provisions of this bill. In order that the opportunity may be given, I quote the language in full as follows:

“That from and after the passage of this act, civil actions may be brought against the proprietor, owner, publisher or managing editor of any newspaper pub-

lished in this Commonwealth, whether the same be published monthly, bi-weekly, semi-weekly, or daily, to recover damages resulting from negligence on the part of such owner, proprietor or managing editor in the ascertainment of facts and in making publications affecting the character, reputation or business of citizens.

“SECTION 2. In all civil actions which may be hereafter brought against the proprietor, owner, publisher or managing editor of any newspaper published in this Commonwealth, whether the same be published monthly, bi-weekly, semi-weekly or daily, and whether such owner be an individual, partnership, limited partnership, joint stock company or corporation, if it shall be shown that the publication complained of resulted from negligence on the part of such owner, proprietor, manager or editor, in the ascertainment of the facts or in the publication thereof, compensatory damages may be recovered for injuries to business and reputation resulting from such publication, as well as damages for the physical and mental suffering endured by the injured party or parties; and whenever in any such action it shall be shown that the matter complained of is libelous, and that such libelous matter has been given special prominence by the use of pictures, cartoons, headlines, displayed type, or any other matter calculated to specially attract attention, the jury shall have the right to award punitive damages against the defendant or defendants.

“SECTION 3. That from and after the passage of this act each and every newspaper published in this Commonwealth, whether the same be published monthly, bi-weekly, semi-weekly or daily, shall publish in every copy of every issue, on the editorial page, in a conspicuous position at the top of reading matter, the name of the owner, owners, proprietor or proprietors of such newspapers, together with the name of the managing editor thereof; and if said newspaper or newspapers shall be owned or published by a corporation, then the name of the corporation shall be published, together with the names of the president, secretary, treasurer and managing editor thereof; and if the said newspaper or newspapers shall be owned or published by a partnership or partnership limited, then the names of the partners, or officers and managers, of said partner-

ship or partnership limited, shall be published in like manner.

“SECTION 4. In the event of any change being made in the proprietor, owner, publisher or managing editor of any newspaper, or in the office of president, secretary or treasurer of any corporation owning and publishing said newspaper, or any change in the name of the co-partners, the said change or changes shall be duly set forth in the next edition, or issue, of said newspaper following said change or changes.

“SECTION 5. Any person, firm, limited partnership or corporation, publishing a newspaper in Pennsylvania, which omits, fails or neglects to carry out the provisions of sections three and four of this act, and make the publication required by the preceding sections, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than five hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars.

“SECTION 6. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith be and the same are hereby repealed.”

There is nothing in the terms of the bill which prevents any newspaper from making such comments upon legislative measures or upon the official acts of State, municipal, county or public officers as are proper for the information of the public or are in the line of legitimate public discussion. There are no inhibitions in the bill. It subjects all preliminary inquiries as to facts and their subsequent publication to the test of care. The doctrines of the law of negligence are well known and apparently easy of application. Haste and recklessness in the ascertainment of facts prior to publication, or in the manner of publication, amounting in the judgment of a court to negligence or the want of that degree of care which a man of ordinary prudence would exercise under the circumstances, will, if proved, give a ground of action for such damages as result from injuries to business and reputation. There is no interference with “privileged communications.”

The bill in its application is not confined to officials, but affects as well the citizen or business man, whose

conduct constitutes no part of the right of the public to information. The corporation officer who has been falsely charged with crime; the manufacturer who has been falsely accused of being a drunken brawler; the woman whose domestic griefs have been unfeelingly paraded, or whose chastity is improperly suspected; the student who has been falsely accused of murder; the clergyman who has been cruelly maligned; the quiet citizen whose peace of mind has been destroyed by the publication of evil gossip; the merchant whose credit has been affected by groundless rumors; the sufferers from reckless but not necessarily malicious publications, are given the right, not to prohibit publication, but to recover the damages which they have sustained, provided they prove negligence or lack of care on the part of the publishing newspaper. All of these are instances of what has in fact recently occurred.

Within a few days, in a leading article on the first page of a daily journal, under large headlines, upon a rumor of unknown source as to the name of a suggested appointee to the position of Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, when no appointment had been made and no utterance, official or otherwise, had emanated from any member of that court, that high tribunal was subjected to a covert assault under the words "Machine After Control of the Supreme Court."

A mayor of our chief city has been called a traitor, a senator of the United States has been denounced as a yokel with sodden brain, and within the last quarter of a century, two Presidents of the United States have been murdered, and in each instance the cause was easily traceable to inflammatory and careless newspaper utterance. A cartoon in a daily journal of May 2d defines the question with entire precision. An ugly little dwarf, representing the Governor of the Commonwealth, stands on a crude stool. The stool is subordinate to and placed alongside of a huge printing press

with wheels as large as those of an ox-team, and all are so arranged as to give the idea that when the press starts the stool and its occupant will be thrown to the ground. Put into words, the cartoon asserts to the world that the press is above the law and greater in strength than the government. No self-respecting people will permit such an attitude to be long maintained. In England a century ago the offender would have been drawn and quartered and his head stuck upon a pole without the gates. In America to-day this is the kind of arrogance which "goeth before a fall."

If such abuse of the privileges allowed to the press is to go unpunished, if such tales are permitted to be poured into the ears of men, and to be profitable, it is idle to contend that reputable newspapers can maintain their purity. Evil communications corrupt good manners. One rotten apple will ere long spoil all in the barrel. The flaring headlines, the meretricious art, the sensational devices and the disregard of truth, in time will creep over them all. Men are affected by proximity and professional sympathy. When recently a verdict of \$25,000 was rendered against a journal for libel, this entirely proper item of news only reached the public by the methods of a hundred years ago. It was unpublished, and each man whispered the fact to his neighbor. It is equally idle to contend that untrue statements and vicious assaults produce no effect and that the upright are unharmed. A whole generation of young men are being trained to a familiarity with crime and to disrespect for government. Even the Legislature recently, by an act which passed both Houses, held the threat of imprisonment over justices of the peace for what would have been at most only a neglect of duty. Bishops, too, hurry into print without investigation, and with only such information as comes from muddy sources, to express their disregard for those whom the people have entrusted with authority. Both

incidents indicate a tone which is already too prevalent and is being steadily cultivated to the public detriment. Were a stranger from Mars by some accident to read our daily press, he would conclude that the world is inhabited by criminals and governed by scoundrels. It is sad to reflect that some historian of five hundred years hence, misled by what he reads, will probably study the statesman whom we know to be able and strong, generous and kindly, keeping his promises and paying his debts, and depict him with the features of an owl and the propensities of a Nero or Caligula. The motive which leads to the degradation of the press is very plain and by no means unusual. It is the same motive which causes men to put deleterious chemicals into food, weak iron into the boilers of engines, and wood into the flues of houses,—the desire to produce cheaply in order that there may be a profitable sale. There is no animosity toward the poor creature who may take copperas into his stomach or scandal into his mind, but the willingness to do injury for a reward needs the supervision and restraint of the law in each instance alike. Where the conscience of the individual is too hardened to prevent him from going astray, where trade associations have become a bond of sympathy rather than a curb for wrong conduct, and injuries are inflicted upon others, then the law ought to lay its heavy hand upon those who offend, whether they be weak or whether they be strong. It is not the individual attacked who is alone concerned. The Commonwealth is interested that those who render her service should be treated with deference and respect, so that when they go forth in the performance of her functions those to whom they are sent may feel that they are vested with authority. Let there be no mistake about it. In the long run, society always finds a way to protect itself. For continual, persistent public violation of the law, the publication so offending may be abated by the courts as a public nuisance.

When, during the war of the Rebellion, a New York journal forged a proclamation with the name of the President attached to it, to the great injury of the nation then in the midst of a struggle for life, Mr. Lincoln promptly suppressed the publication. The liberty of the press to scatter injurious falsehood no more bound him than the withes bound Samson. He established a precedent which no doubt will be followed in the future should a like occasion demand it. The existence and growth of the evil is recognized by all observing men, has been pointed out in repeated warnings by the Supreme Court, and was frankly acknowledged by the representatives of the press at the hearing upon the present bill. I listened in vain to hear any remedy they might be able to suggest. Many years' experience on the Bench has led me to the conclusion that crimes are widely propagated not by the malice but by the recklessness of the press, and that in certain classes of cases, among them murder, the accused were at times convicted or acquitted before they reached the court room. But for the unfortunate decision that the Legislature could limit the courts in imposing punishment for contempt to acts occurring within the court room, as though violation of an order had some relation to doors and windows, the courts could have prevented this interference with the performance of their functions and this aggression upon personal liberty. Such a condition of things is much to be deplored and it ought to be prevented if possible. The bill offers as a remedy for these ills, or some of them, the application of the principles of the law of negligence to the publication of newspapers. All that this means is that they shall exercise "reasonable care" in the ascertainment of facts and the announcement of comment which may injuriously affect the reputation or business of other people. It is a law of almost universal application in the affairs of men. When we walk the streets or drive

a horse, or light a fire or make a shoe or build a house, we must take care that we do not cause harm to others. It applies to the gatherer of garbage. Why should it not apply to the gatherer of news? It applies to the lawyer, the doctor and the dentist, in the exercise of his profession. Why should it not apply to the editor? It is impossible to give any logical reason which will bear examination why they should be exempt. The damages provided for by the bill follow the ordinary rule of damages for want of reasonable care. When a man is bitten by a dog or gored by a bull, or cut or burned, or overturned or is run over by a hand cart or street car, through negligence, he may recover compensation for physical and mental suffering. This measure of damage is peculiarly applicable and in fact essential in the cases of injuries intended to be guarded against by the bill. When a woman is falsely called a strumpet, it does not break her arm or rob her of her wardrobe. It hurts her feelings, and if she cannot get compensation for her mental suffering she can get nothing. If malicious untruth is emphasized by picture and headline, punitive damages are awarded. Is there any good reason to the contrary? If a man gouges out the eyes or rubs pepper into the wounds of his adversary, or cuts the tongue out of his neighbor's horse, the damages are always left to the discretion of a jury.

An upright and worthy gentleman, trained to the law, who has worn a sword in the service of his country, and who bears a name honored in Pennsylvania for more than two hundred years because of its connection with an impressive and heroic event, is sent by the people to the Legislature, and in the performance of his duty and upon the responsibility of his oath introduces a proper bill which is not agreeable to the press. It is not shown that the bill would be harmful or unwise. The policy is not confronted with argument pointing out its error or weakness. But some outcast is hired

to pervert his name from Pusey into "pussy" and to draw contorted cats which are scattered broadcast over the land in the hope that the vile and vulgar will snicker at his wife and children when they pass. Could the most just and kindly of judges, could any friend of the press meaning to be fair, say that should he bring suit against the newspapers which committed this outrage and indecency he ought not to be permitted to recover what a jury shall regard as compensation?

The bill provides, under penalty, that the names of the owner, proprietor, publisher and managing editor shall be printed with each issue. The purpose of the provision is that it may be known who is responsible for the publication. Every business man prints upon his bills and letterheads and puts in front of his store, his name. Every doctor and every lawyer puts his name on his office door. The law provides that a record shall be made, open to the public, of those who compose partnerships and limited partnerships. And yet every day pages of material are printed purporting to be a record of current affairs of the world, and claiming the right to sit in supervision upon the courtesies of the parlor and the doings of public officials, and no one knows what their origin, whence they come, who is he who writes them or who is responsible for them. If the vendor of a horse were to insist upon wearing a mask so as to escape identification, who would buy of him? The Veiled Prophet, though preaching about piety and virtue, was so veiled because both hideous in appearance and libertine in conduct. No harm and much good may come from requiring such publicity. These are all of the provisions of the bill, and no one of them would seem to be uncalled for, unjust or unduly harsh.

Since the Constitution of this State, in its declaration concerning liberty of the press, directs that there shall be responsibility "for the abuse of that liberty," and since the test is that publications shall not be "mali-

ciously or negligently made," it would appear to be in entire accord with that instrument that newspapers should be held accountable in damages for negligence. Some technical objections are made to the bill. It is urged that since weekly newspapers are nowhere mentioned, it offends against that provision of the Constitution which prevents special legislation. A careful examination shows that the enacting clauses are in general words, "each and every newspaper" and "any newspaper," and that the enumeration of the different kinds of newspapers is mere description and unessential. The omission of the word "weekly" was unwise but in no sense fatal. If hereafter a newspaper should be issued every other day or twice a day, and thus not be included in the descriptive words used, it would, as well as the journals published weekly, be covered by the general enacting words, and be subject to the provisions of the bill. All of the provisions relate to one general subject and appear to be sufficiently described in the title. It is further urged that the bill ought not to become a law because not read upon three several days in the House of Representatives before its final passage. If it was not so read, then undoubtedly there was a failure upon the part of the House to perform its duty. Whenever, however, the bill is signed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, it is an official certificate that it has been passed in accordance with the constitutional requirements and the rules governing the action of those bodies. But little thought is needed to see that the Governor has no responsibility for, and can exercise no supervision over, the manner of the deliberations of the Legislature. He has no part or parcel in them, he has no place on the floor, and save by report and unofficially has no knowledge of what occurs there, except as they give it to him. The two houses constitute a separate branch of the government, and were he to interfere it would be an encroachment and lead to

untold commotions. He can no more dispute their certifications than could they inquire into his motives for signing a bill or withholding his approval. If they should assert that it was properly passed and he should assert to the contrary, who is to decide the disputed question of fact, he who officially knows nothing about it, or they who are given the power? If it is proper legislation in correct form, how could he justify himself in disapproving it on the ground that the motives were impure or the manner of passing it informal? In the case of *Kilgore vs. Magee*, 85 Penna. 412, where it was alleged that the bill had not been read three times, the Supreme Court said that the duty of seeing that this mandate was observed was solely that of the members, and further: "In regard to the passage of the law and the alleged disregard of the forms of legislation required by the Constitution, we think the subject is not within the pale of judicial inquiry." This furnishes a safe rule to follow. The purpose of the reading upon three different days is not to allow time for those interested to impress their views upon the legislators, but to insure that the legislators have the opportunity for hearing and voting advisedly. In the present case there was more than the usual opportunity given for preliminary discussion by the people. Some such legislation was recommended in the Inaugural address. A bill concerning cartoons was introduced early in the session and widely published. This bill was read three times in the Senate and once in the House. A similar bill had been read twice in the House when the present bill was substituted, so that if the allegation of irregularity be correct, at least we can be assured that the action taken was preceded by numerous forewarnings.

The proposed legislation has been regarded by a large proportion of the reputable press with great misgivings. It is natural that this should be the case. The future is ever uncertain, and the easy way to avoid the dangers ahead is to stand still. This is nevertheless

not a wise course. The boy conscious of many lapses, who is invited by a stern father into a private room, enters with a vague dread, and yet the purpose may only be to arrange for the coming holidays. When the gardener comes with his hoe into the garden which has been left to run wild, it is safe to say that it is the mullein and not the pea which is likely to suffer.

This bill may not be the best possible legislation, but the purpose is commendable, and should experience show it to be defective, something better may be devised. It ought to be cordially and cheerfully accepted by the reputable press, for they have a special interest in its becoming a law. Where the tares occupy the ground, the wheat perishes. It threatens them with no danger. Seeking to utter the truth and not the falsehood, what have they to fear? Into our courts where learned judges administer the law with fidelity and juries are drawn from the masses of the people well fitted to determine who is the wrongdoer, they are not likely to be summoned, or if summoned they may go with entire safety. This much is certain. Since the laws of God and nature are immutable and inexorable, unless means are found to uproot some of the tendencies of modern journalism confidence already badly shaken will be utterly lost, and the influence of the press, which has been so potent an agent in the development of civilization and in securing civil liberty, will be gone forever.

With a serious sense that the event is of more than ordinary moment, with full knowledge of the importance of the press, and of its value to mankind through all past struggles, and with the hope and belief that the greater care and larger measure of responsibility brought about by this law, tending to elevate the meritorious and repress the unworthy, will promote its welfare while benefiting the community, I approve the bill.

SAML. W. PENNYPACKER.

APPENDIX B

Pamphlet Laws of Pa. } No. 242
1905—p. 390.

“AN ACT

“To amend an act, entitled ‘An act to provide for the better government of cities of the first class in this Commonwealth,’ approved the first day of June, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, by amending section one of article three of said act, by vesting in the Director of the Department of Public Safety certain powers, therein given to the Mayor; and amending section one of article twelve of said act by providing for the election of the Director of the Department of Public Safety and the Director of the Department of Public Works by the members of the select and common councils of cities of the first class, and providing for their removal.

“SECTION 1. Be it enacted, &c., That so much of section one, article three of the act, entitled ‘An act to provide for the better government of cities of the first class in this Commonwealth,’ approved the first day of June, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, which reads as follows:

“SECTION 1. No policeman or fireman shall be dismissed without his written consent, except by the decision of a court either of trial or of inquiry duly *determined and certified in writing to the mayor*, which court shall be composed of persons belonging to the police or fire force equal or superior in official position therein to the accused. Such decision shall only be determined by trial of charges with plain specifications made by, or lodged with, the Director of the department of public safety, of which trial the accused shall have due notice, and at which he shall have the right to be present in person. The persons composing such court shall be appointed and sworn by the director of the

department of public safety to perform their duties impartially and without fear or favor, and the person of highest rank in such court shall have the same authority to issue and enforce process to secure the attendance of witnesses, and to administer oaths to witnesses, as is possessed by any justice of the peace in this Commonwealth,' shall be amended to read as follows:

"SECTION 1. No policeman or fireman shall be dismissed without his written consent, except by the decision of a court either of trial or of inquiry, *of which decision notice shall be given, in writing, to the Director of the Department of Public Safety*, which court shall be composed of persons belonging to the police or fire force equal or superior in official position therein to the accused. Such decision shall only be determined by trial of charges, with plain specifications made by, or lodged with, the Director of the Department of Public Safety, of which trial the accused shall have due notice, and at which he shall have the right to be present in person. The persons composing such court shall be appointed and sworn by the Director of the Department of Public Safety to perform their duties impartially and without fear or favor, and the person of highest rank in such court shall have the same authority to issue and enforce process to secure the attendance of witnesses, and to administer oaths to witnesses, as is possessed by any justice of the peace in this Commonwealth.

"SECTION 2. That so much of section one, article three of said act, which reads as follows:

'SECTION 1. The finding of the court of trial or inquiry, as aforesaid, shall be of no effect until approved by *the Mayor*,' shall be amended to read as follows:

"SECTION 1. The finding of the court of trial or inquiry, as aforesaid, shall be of no effect until approved by *the Director of the Department of Public Safety*.

“SECTION 3. That so much of section one, article twelve of said act, which reads as follows:

‘Section 1. The mayor shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the select council, appoint the following officers, who shall hold office during the term for which the appointing Mayor was elected, and until their successors shall be respectively appointed and qualified:

I. The Director of the Department of Public Safety.

II. The Director of the Department of Public Works, shall be amended to read as follows:

“SECTION 1. The Director of the Department of Public Safety and the Director of the Department of Public Works shall be elected by a vote of a majority of all the members of select and common councils of said cities, in joint session, for a term of three years, and until their successors shall be respectively elected and qualified, and shall be subject to removal by a vote of a majority of all the members of the select and common councils in said cities, in joint session.

“SECTION 4. This act shall not take effect until the first Monday of April, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and seven.

All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

Approved—The 5th day of May, A. D. 1905.

SAML. W. PENNYPACKER.

THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE OF APPROVAL AND DISAPPROVAL.

“I file herewith, in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, with my objections, Senate bill No. 479, entitled, ‘An act to amend section five of an act,’ entitled “A supplement to an act, entitled ‘An act to provide for the better government of cities of the first class in this Commonwealth, amending articles two, three, ten and twelve, and providing for a Department

of Public Health and Charities, in lieu of the Department of Charities and Correction,' approved the eighth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and three, so as to provide for the election of the Director of the Department of Public Health and Charities by the members of the select and common councils of said cities and providing for his removal."

Senate bills Nos. 441, 479 and 480, all relating to the government of cities of the first class, may well be considered together. We are told in Genesis that when Jacob wanted to deceive his father into conferring upon him the blessing which was intended for Esau, he covered his hands and his neck with goatskin. It generally happens in all serious inquiries that it is necessary to look beneath the mere surface indications if we are earnestly desirous to reach a correct conclusion. The act of March the 7th, 1901, "for the government of cities of the second class," in effect annulled the previous charters of those municipalities. It abolished the office of mayor, and provided a chief executive to be called the city recorder, and to be temporarily appointed by the Governor. It removed from office the mayor who had been elected by the people. It provided for a concentration of authority in the hands of the city recorder, who was given the power to appoint the heads of five of the principal departments, as well as the members of the sinking fund commission. This act became known even in the decisions of the courts as a "ripper." When the constitutionality of the act was assailed, the Supreme Court decided that the power of the Legislature was unquestionable, and its exercise depended upon legislative discretion. The present bills raise no constitutional query and they are in every respect the exact antitheses of this act. They are so drawn as not to take effect until the first Monday of April, 1907, and, therefore, do not affect any present incumbents. They remove no official from office. They

interfere with no one elected by the people. Instead of concentrating power, their effect would be to disseminate it. They provide that certain heads of departments, instead of being appointed by the mayor under existing laws, shall be elected by the members of councils, and in this way give the people much greater control over these heads of departments. The mayor is now elected for a term of four years, and during this period is beyond the reach of the people, except through the process of impeachment. The members of councils are in large part elected each year, and at the end of two years all of the members of common council, and at the end of three years all of the members of select council, may be changed. The provision that the bills shall not go into effect until the first Monday of April, 1907, is in the nature of a referendum, for the reason that, if these bills should not be approved by the people, disapproval can be expressed in the election of members of the Senate and House, who will have ample time before the date named to have the acts repealed. The principles they invoke are much larger and broader than the affairs of any municipality, and the contest that has resulted is the manifestation of a struggle which has been waged throughout the existence of all governments, past and present, and is not yet determined. Whether it is more conducive to the welfare of human society, and to the development of good government and its proper administration, to have power concentrated in an individual, and responsibility fixed, or to have it vested in representatives of the people, whose tenure depends upon their carrying out the popular will, is still an open question. The history of most nations, states and municipalities, shows that there has been a continual shifting from one system to the other, as the evils which have resulted from each by long continuance have impressed themselves upon the people. Whether Charlemagne, building up an empire which

meant the rehabilitation of Europe, or Abraham Lincoln, representing a government of the people and by the people, was the more beneficent in his work, may be open to discussion. Whether Nero, setting fire to Rome for the amusement of an emperor, or Robespierre, cutting off the heads of his enemies in the name of the populace, was the more harmful, is equally uncertain. In France, the efforts of the Bourbons to concentrate power was followed by the Revolution, and that again by the empire of Napoleon. In England, the arbitrary exercise of authority by the Stuarts was followed by the establishment of the Commonwealth under Cromwell, and thereupon succeeded the restoration and the limited monarchy of 1688. So far as we can gather light from the experience of the past, the concentration of power seems to be the more dangerous. There have been few instances of such dissemination of power as to lead to anarchy, and these, like the revolt of the Anabaptists of Munster, and the French Revolution, have been of brief duration, but instances in which all authority has been grasped by individuals to the public disadvantage have been very numerous. Pope sought a solution of the problem by writing:

“For forms of government let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best.”

In this country the opposite currents of thought have been in existence, and have alternated in control ever since the adoption of our national constitution. The efforts of Washington, Hamilton and Adams to concentrate executive authority led, in a few years, to the overthrow and destruction of the Federalist party. The Democrats and Jefferson, advocating the other view, then came into power and for fifty years, in the main, had control of the government. For the last forty years the drift has been in the opposite direction; but who can say that we have reached a final solution of the problem? At the present time the tendency in

the national government is toward a concentration of power, and in the different state governments the current is running in the direction of entrusting executive authority to the representatives of the people. The most thoughtful observers and those most familiar with the practical difficulties of the subject would probably concede that it would be better for the administration of public affairs in Philadelphia if the power, which is given by existing laws to the mayor, could be, in certain directions at least, lessened. He has, in effect, absolute control over the contracts for all the public work, over an army of police and attendants, and over all the affairs of the municipality. He, in substance, has the appointment of officials, of greater or lesser importance, estimated to be in number from seven thousand to twelve thousand. If this great authority could be exercised intelligently, and only as a trust for the good of the people, it would undoubtedly be the best system of government; but if, unfortunately, it should fall into corrupt or even incapable hands it would prove to be the very worst. One of the most important principles of all good government is the proper maintenance of the distinction between legislative and executive functions, and one of the gravest dangers to be feared is the absorption through encroachment of the functions of one department by the other. Such encroachment may come from the executive as well as from the legislative branch of government. The authority of the mayor can be exercised in such a way as not only to be felt in the legislation of councils, but to dominate them. The seat of the councilman, which he holds for a very brief period, is dependent upon the good will of the mayor, and he can hardly be expected to resist the influence when called upon to legislate. The power of the mayor, should he fail to exercise conscientious self-restraint, may be used also in politics. In this aspect of the matter, the bills are of importance to the whole

Commonwealth, for the reason that Philadelphia, with its large delegation in the legislature and in political conventions, has a great influence in determining questions which affect the State. Since the passage of the Bullitt Bill, one mayor of Philadelphia sought to become the President of the United States. Another was selected for the special purpose of overthrowing the then existing political control of the Commonwealth, and the effort very nearly succeeded. Such conditions and such possibilities certainly give rise to proper apprehension. While there is great difference of view as to the propriety of the proposed legislation, undoubtedly many of those most capable of judging correctly are of the opinion that the present system has not proved to be, upon the whole, advantageous to the municipality. The most influential political leader in Philadelphia is of the opinion that it has proven to be harmful. Since he has had long experience, and the opportunity for close observation, his conclusions are, at least, entitled to careful consideration. Many of the most competent lawyers are in accord with this view. It has been announced far and wide over the land, and is believed by many good people, that, under the succeeding mayors, contracts for public work have been awarded to corrupt favorites, that the police have been in league with the keepers of dives and bawdy-houses, and that these improper relations have been supported by those in authority. However much we may disbelieve these charges, and however much we may deprecate their inconsiderate publication, they nevertheless indicate a dissatisfaction, upon the part of those who make them, with existing conditions. Upon this important subject, upon which men may well differ in their conclusions, the Governor is urged to reverse the determination of the Senate and House, in which all of the representatives of Philadelphia, in both Senate and House, participated. The Constitution gives the

Governor a power of veto, but it was never intended to be an absolute veto. If he disapproves of a measure it may nevertheless become a law by a vote of two-thirds of the members of both Senate and House. It is true that after adjournment of the Assembly he may disapprove of the bills which then remain, but this provision was intended only to prevent the manifest inconvenience of inaction. It was supposed by those who drafted the Constitution that bills would be considered by the Assembly during its session, that few would be left at its close, and for them it would be necessary to make provision. The effect of leaving the mass of legislation until the closing days of the session gives to the Governor an absolute power of negation which was never intended, and, incidentally, it may be said that at some time great harm will result to the Commonwealth because of this practice. We must not, however, lose sight of the principle that the Governor's veto was expected only to extend to those measures which might not receive a two-thirds vote of the Senate and House. For him to exercise his power arbitrarily with respect to the question raised by these bills, would be indeed to assume an unusual and illogical position. This question is not one of ordinary legislation, but it goes to the very foundations of government, involving all the interests, not only of this municipality, but the principles which affect all civilizations. For the change of the method of government in this municipality much more than two-thirds of each House have voted. If the absolute control of affairs in Philadelphia by an individual were to be preserved, over the almost unanimous vote of the Assembly and of the representatives of Philadelphia to the contrary, by the autocratic exercise of the incidental power of the Governor, it might well be a cause both for uneasiness and for complaint.

Having now reached a decision as to the line of thought which ought to determine the action of the

Governor upon the main question, this qualification yet remains to be made. Whatever system of government may be the better, it is certainly true that a radical and sudden change from one plan to another is always accompanied with disturbances and disadvantages. In my view it would be wiser to lessen the power of the mayor. It would be wiser not to take it away. There is a certain propriety in having the Director of Public Works, who has charge of the contracts for which councils make the appropriations, subject to the control of councils. There is also a certain propriety in having the Director of Safety, who has charge of the police and the maintenance of the peace, appointed by the mayor, who is responsible for good order. Had there been four separate bills, one for each department, this thought could have been enforced, but in the shape they have come to me it is impossible to secure such a result. Nevertheless a modification of the proposed plan it is possible to make, by approving the bill which changes the method of selecting the Directors of the Departments of Public Works and Public Safety, and disapproving the two bills which change the method of selecting the Directors of the Departments of Supplies and of Public Health and Charities. The maintenance of a proper conservatism in the conduct of important affairs is a different proposition from an interference with the determination of a fundamental principle of government by the Legislature. Should further changes in the method of appointing directors prove by experience to be necessary or advantageous, they can be made at some future session.

For these reasons I approve Senate bill No. 441, and disapprove of Senate bills Nos. 479 and 480, the 5th day of May, A. D. 1905."

SAML. W. PENNYPACKER.

APPENDIX C

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PRESENTATION OF PORTRAIT OF COLONEL WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE, AND AN ADDRESS ON HIS MILITARY RECORD.

At a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held November 13, 1916, Vice-president Hon. Charlemagne Tower presiding, a portrait in oil of the late Colonel William Brooke Rawle, a Vice-president of the Society, was presented by Vice-president John Frederick Lewis, Esq., on behalf of his widow, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Vice-president, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has always been fortunate in the loyalty of its members, and that loyalty has often received added distinction because it has passed from father to son and sometimes to the third and fourth generations. William Brooke Rawle not only inherited his interest in the society, of which his great-grandfather was the first President and his grandfather one of the founders and Vice-presidents, but by reason of that enthusiasm, which was one of his chief characteristics, increased that interest until it became one of the moving impulses of his life.

He was born in Philadelphia August 29, 1843, the son of Charles Wallace Brooke, a brilliant young member of the Bar, who died at the early age of 36, and Elizabeth Tilghman Rawle, the only daughter of William Rawle, Jr., one of Philadelphia's most eminent lawyers. Upon his father's side he was a descendant of John Brooke of Hagg, near Hudders-Field, Yorkshire, England, who emigrated to America in 1699, to take up land which he had previously purchased in Pennsylvania. John Brooke died in what is now Cam-

den, New Jersey, a few days after landing, but the two sons he brought with him settled in Limerick Township, now part of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, upon a tract of land which had been conveyed to their father direct from William Penn. Descended from this John Brooke was Captain John Brooke of the Revolutionary Army, whose son Robert Brooke, a well known civil engineer of Philadelphia, was the grandfather of the subject of this memorial.

Upon his mother's side, Colonel Brooke Rawle was a descendant of Francis Rawle, and his son Francis, Jr., who came to Philadelphia from Plymouth, England, in 1686. The Rawles were Lords of the Manor of Tresparett in Cornwall and were of an ancient English County family.

William Rawle, Sr., the great-grandfather of Colonel Brooke Rawle, besides being an eminent jurist, was a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania from 1796 until his death in 1836, when he was succeeded by his son William Rawle, Jr., who served until 1855. The elder William after being elected the first President of the Historical Society was annually re-elected until his death in 1836, and the younger William served as one of the Councillors of the Society from 1825 until 1842 and as Vice-president from thence until 1851.

Colonel Brooke Rawle's mother, Elizabeth Tilghman Rawle, was a granddaughter of Edward Tilghman, another eminent Philadelphia lawyer, and a great-granddaughter of Benjamin Chew, one of the Chief Justices of Pennsylvania before the Revolution. Both the Brooke and Rawle families were Quakers and emigrated to America to escape religious persecution.

Young Brooke Rawle was but six years old when his father died, but the tender care of his mother saw him well prepared for college at the Episcopal Academy of Philadelphia and at Doctor Faies' Classical Institute, formerly situated on the east side of Thirteenth street

above Spruce. He entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1863. During his senior year he was granted leave of absence by the University Trustees in order that he might enter the army, which he promptly did, receiving his Baccalaureate degree while in active service on the battlefield of Gettysburg. He was subsequently honored with the degree of Master of Arts by his Alma Mater.

Leaving his distinguished military career for abler treatment than mine, we note that at the close of the war he began the study of law in the office of his uncle, the late William Henry Rawle. Admitted to the Bar in 1867, he associated himself with his uncle, and upon the death of the latter, succeeded to the practice of the office. Shortly before his admission to the Bar he changed his name by legal authority to William Brooke Rawle.

He was elected an active member of the Historical Society October 21, 1872, and at once took the liveliest interest in its welfare. He was elected Recording Secretary May 27, 1878, and by virtue of his office became a member of the Council, of which also he acted as Secretary from October 27, 1879, to December 29, 1881. After serving as Recording Secretary of the Society for fifteen years, he resigned and was made a Councilor in May, 1893, and elected a Vice-president of the Society May 14, 1900. It is no easy task to recite, even superficially, all he did for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Regular in attendance at its meetings and at the meetings of its Council, his judgment was quick, decisive and sound. His views were always broadminded and directed toward the constant widening of the Society's sphere of usefulness and increasing the advantages it extended to its members. Impulsive at times in jumping at conclusions, he was singularly deferential to the opinions of others and never failed to give them due consideration and always



Yours very truly
Wm Brooke Fiske

safely reached correct answers to the many problems he was called upon to solve.

When the late Ferdinand J. Dreer, by formal deed March 1, 1890, presented to the Society the Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, contained in 197 bound volumes and costing over \$100,000, he named Colonel Brooke Rawle as one of the original Trustees.

On April 6, 1894, Colonel Brooke Rawle was appointed one of the Trustees of the Gilpin Library. These two great collections are among the most precious possessions of the Society, and in their care he discharged his duties with fidelity and skill and with entire satisfaction to his fellow members.

After the death of Mr. Brinton Coxe, a meeting of the Council was held September 27, 1892, and a committee of three appointed to report at a future meeting the name of some one to succeed Mr. Coxe as President of the Society and to make a report to the Society after the Committee's suggestion had been approved by the Council. Colonel Brooke Rawle acted as Chairman of this Committee, and upon his recommendation, Doctor Charles J. Stillé was elected President, thereby securing the benefits of Doctor Stillé's long and admirable administration of its affairs and that abiding interest in it which finally led Doctor Stillé to make splendid provision for it in his will.

Probably the most important work of Colonel Brooke Rawle in behalf of the Society was his service in 1893 in conjunction with the late Major J. Edward Carpenter as a Committee to draft new By-Laws for the Society. Their report was submitted to the Council, November 27, 1893, and after discussion and amendment at several Council meetings, was finally adopted by the Society May 7, 1894, and the By-Laws thus prepared have ever since served it as simple and effective rules for the transaction of its more or less complicated business.

In 1893 he prepared an exhaustive report upon the various Trust Funds belonging to the Society. It was printed with the Annual Report of the Council for the year ending December 31, 1894, and subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form under the title "The Origin, Constitution and Present Status of the Several Funds and Trusts of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, or in which it is Beneficially Interested."

At a meeting of the Council held November 23, 1896, he recommended the creation of the Pennsylvania Historical Study Encouragement Fund, with the object of promoting the systematic editing and publishing of books relating to the history of Pennsylvania. His recommendation was accepted by the Council at a meeting held December 28, 1896, and he was elected one of the original trustees of this fund, the income of which has been most useful in carrying out the purpose for which it was created.

The purchase of the present property of the Society at 13th and Locust Streets, formerly the residence of General Robert Patterson, was brought about largely by reason of his earnest advocacy, and when the old dwelling was seen to be gradually nearing the end of its usefulness for the Society's purpose, a building fund was established with his coöperation, and at a meeting of the Council March 25, 1901, he was appointed one of three original Trustees with the special duty of appealing to the generosity of the members of the Society, in order to meet its future wants by extending the capacity of its building or erecting a fireproof building for the preservation of its large collections. At a meeting of the Council held May 25, 1903, he was appointed a member of a Committee upon a fireproof building for the Society, whose duty it was to make a further appeal for contributions for the erection of a new building and, after the approval of the Council, to enter into a contract to erect such a struc-

ture. Colonel Brooke Rawle was constant in his attendance at the meetings of these trustees, and of the committee, and it was during the long and dreary years required to plan and erect the Society's present commodious building that the writer was most intimately brought in contact with him. His assistance as a member of committee was invaluable. He spared neither his time nor his purse in the work, and after the plans of the building had been adopted, he was consistently loyal in the efforts which finally resulted in the erection of one of the most fireproof buildings in any city of the United States.

After the completion of the building and the safe deposit there of its treasures Colonel Brooke Rawle directed his interest toward the Manuscript Department of the Society.

At a meeting of the Council October 23, 1905, he introduced a resolution which inaugurated the systematic repairing, binding and calendaring of all the manuscripts in the Society's collection. He started off the work at once with a liberal contribution and continued it annually thereafter until the work was placed upon a permanent basis by reason of its own demonstrated merits. Even then he did not forget it, but by his will bequeathed for its maintenance and development one-third of his whole fortune.

Colonel Brooke Rawle's practice as a lawyer was chiefly that of an adviser, and his large clientele found in his opinions comprehensive knowledge of the law, coupled with an application of that strong common sense which always distinguished him. He represented many important interests, among which probably the most conspicuous was that of the Penn Estates in America. He took an active part in the work of the old Law Association of Philadelphia; was a member of its Book Committee and served as its Treasurer from 1879 to 1890, in which office his careful and methodical

habits were invaluable in collecting and preserving its funds and therewith increasing its great collection of books. He took special pride in his own office library, which contained books first gathered by his great-grandfather Rawle in 1781 and which had been constantly added to until the shelves supported nearly three thousand volumes. This library he presented to the City of Philadelphia, with the condition that it should be housed in the Free Library Building to be erected upon the Parkway, and to be there retained as the Rawle Library of Philadelphia for unrestricted public reference. He bequeathed to the City the sum of \$10,000 as a Trust Fund, the income of which should be applied to the maintenance of the Library and the purchase of additional books.

Colonel Brooke Rawle was a man of extremely wide activities. He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution and a member of its Board of Managers. He was a member of the Society of the War of 1812; the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania; the Swedish Colonial Society; the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania; the American Philosophical Society; the Philadelphia Club; the University Club; the Penn Club; the Pennsylvania History Club, and of many literary and charitable organizations. During his later years he traveled extensively, but his gradually declining health occasioned his death on November 30, 1915.

Colonel Brooke Rawle was married February 7, 1872, to Elizabeth Norris Pepper, daughter of Henry Pepper of Philadelphia, and it is through her generosity that the Society possesses an admirable picture of its former Vice-president, painted by that well known artist, our fellow townsman, Hugh H. Breckenridge.

It is now fitting that formal presentation of this portrait be made at the Society's meeting, and its formal acceptance be entered upon the minutes.

At the conclusion of the address of Mr. Lewis, a summary of the military services of Col. Rawle during the Civil war was given by Francis Rawle, Esq.:

Mr. Vice-president, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When Sumter was fired on, in April 1861, William Brooke Rawle (then William Rawle Brooke) was a member of the Sophomore class in the University of Pennsylvania and but seventeen years old. The University authorities having given leave of absence to undergraduates who should volunteer, he gave notice to them in October, 1862, of his intention to enlist and to remain a member of his class in order to receive his degree at Commencement. He applied for a commission, preferably in the cavalry, and spent that fall and the winter of 1862-1863 in an unsuccessful attempt to recruit a cavalry regiment. In May, 1863, he received his commission (dated to rank from December 18th, 1862) as second lieutenant in Company C, Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, and was mustered into the service on May 18th, 1863, at Potomac Creek Station, Virginia. This celebrated regiment was recruited early in 1861, and had originally been known as "Young's Kentucky Light Cavalry." It was the first volunteer cavalry regiment organized for three years service and the first to take the field. The youthful Lieutenant soon saw active service.

Plattsburg had its prototype at the University of Pennsylvania in those days. A company of students was formed in the spring of 1861, called the "University Light Infantry," under the superintendence of Professor Coppeé, an old West Pointer. Brooke Rawle was fourth sergeant. Doubtless, with this experience, he somewhat more easily fell into the army routine when, two years later, in the spring of 1863, he faced the stern realities of a military life.

On June 9th, 1863, after but three weeks spent in

patrolling, reconnoitering and picketing near Warrenton, he took part in the celebrated cavalry fight at Brandy Station. This was the first cavalry battle in which the recently organized Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac went into action as a body. It has been said by the historian of the "Campaigns of Stuart's Cavalry" that it had one result of incalculable value—"it *made* the Federal Cavalry and gave them that confidence in themselves and their officers which enabled them to contest so fiercely their subsequent battle-fields." On June 21st took place the reconnoissance in force from Aldie through Middleburg to Upperville, to uncover Lee's advance down the Valley west of the Blue Ridge, and at each of these places a hard fight. The next day the regiment covered the falling back of the Corps to Aldie. Two days later he received the command of his company—barely five weeks after he had been mustered in.

The regiment, covering the rear of the Federal army on its march into Maryland and at the crossing of the Potomac, and pushing ahead by forced marches, arrived at Gettysburg as a part of the Second Cavalry Division under the command of Gen. David McM. Gregg on the second day of the battle and took a position on Meade's right flank. On the same day Gen. J. E. B. Stuart's Confederate Cavalry division had reached Gettysburg and gone into position on Lee's left flank with the intention at attacking Meade's rear simultaneously with Pickett's charge on Cemetery Ridge. Stuart's division numbered between six and seven thousand, while Gregg had not more than five thousand, of whom not over three thousand were actually engaged during the day. The fight began at about two o'clock on July 3d and went on for an hour with varying fortunes, but with no decisive result. At three o'clock Pickett moved forward in his charge on Cemetery Ridge. Stuart's object, as he has recorded it, was to "effect a surprise upon the

enemy's rear." It was timed so as to strike Meade's rear at the moment that Pickett was moving up to the assault of Cemetery Ridge. Just at the hour of three, Stuart brought up his last reserve and made his grand attack on Gregg's force. The Confederate brigades of Hampton and Fitz Hugh Lee were seen in the distance, coming from a screen of woods in the rear. They advanced in close columns of squadrons with sabres drawn, and were met by the fire of two batteries under which the front of the Confederate column seemed to waver, but those behind pressed on. Then Custer rushed in on the front of the advancing enemy with the First Michigan—Custer himself four lengths ahead of his men—but outnumbered by the Confederates in front of him three or four to one. Walter Newhall, gallant soldier and gentleman, had been sent with orders to Captain Treichel, who had but a score of men of the Third Pennsylvania, to charge the Confederate right flank as it passed him. Only sixteen of his men could get to their horses. This little band, with five officers, struck the enemy, charging at Hampton's color guard. In the fierce struggle nearly every officer and man was wounded. Newhall was about to seize the colors when a sabre cut was aimed at his head. As he parried it, the color bearer struck him full in the face with his color staff and he fell senseless.

It was then that the supreme moment of his life came to the young Captain, as he was then. With but thirty men of his company he was posted on the slope of Lott's Wood, on the Confederate left flank. Captain Miller, with a like number of men from another company of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, was in command of the little squadron. In a letter written four days after the battle, Captain Miller said: "At Brooke's (Rawle's) suggestion, I ordered him to close up the squadron whilst I looked out for a point to strike." Miller's squadron charged down the incline, fired a vol-

ley, and with sabres drawn struck the overwhelming mass of the enemy behind the colors and about two-thirds of the way down the column. Going through and through, they cut off the rear portion of the enemy's column and drove it back past Rummel's barn and up to the battery in the rear.

Col. McIntosh, with his staff and orderlies and such scattered men from a Michigan and other regiments as he could get together, charged in on the Confederate flanks with their sabres. Captain Thomas of the staff, seeing that a little more was needed to turn the tide, cut his way over to the woods on the right, where he knew he could find Hart who had mounted his squadron of the First New Jersey. In the *melée*, near the Confederate colors, was an officer of high rank, and Thomas and Hart headed the squadron for that part of the fight. Then it was that Wade Hampton was wounded.

By this time the edges of the Confederate column had begun to wear away, and the outside men to draw back. As Hart's squadron and the other small parties charged in from all sides, the enemy turned. Then there was a pell-mell rush, our men following in close pursuit. Many prisoners were captured, and many of our men, through their impetuosity, were carried away by the overpowering current of the retreat.

The pursuit was kept up past Rummel's, and the enemy was driven back into the woods beyond. The line of fences, and the farm building, the key-point of the field, which in the beginning of the fight had been in their possession, remained in ours until the end.

General Gregg, in command of the Federal Cavalry, has described the engagement in an address before the Loyal Legion in 1907. Speaking of the final results and of their importance, he says:

"The pursuit was kept up to Rummel's Barn, and as night was fast approaching, the engagement terminated in a desultory firing on the picket lines, ours holding

the advanced position. Of the troops engaged on the field the preponderance in numbers was largely in favor of the rebels. Our total loss in killed, wounded and missing was 254, the bulk of this loss falling on the Michigan Brigade. When official reports were made, the victory in the engagement was claimed by both commanders. To whom does it fairly belong? Let General Stuart's report decide the question. I quote from this: 'I moved the command (Jenkins' Brigade) and W. H. F. Lee's secretly through the woods to a position, and hoped to effect a surprise upon the enemy's rear;' and again, 'my plan was to employ the enemy in front with sharpshooters and move a command of cavalry upon the left flank from the position held by me;' again, 'notwithstanding the favorable results attained, I would have preferred a different method of attack as already indicated, but I soon saw that entanglement by the force of circumstances narrated was unavoidable, and determined to make the best fight possible.' General Stuart had in view the accomplishment of certain purposes; his plans were disarranged by being compelled to enter into a fierce encounter with a smaller force of Union troops. His was to do, ours to prevent. Could he have reached the rear of our army with his force of perhaps 6,000 bold and tried troopers, disastrous consequences might have resulted. It was in anticipation of a possible attempt of the enemy to force his way to our rear, between our position and the right of our infantry, that Colonel J. Irvin Gregg's Brigade was held in reserve to meet such a movement. In this engagement all of the regiments, those of the 2d division and Custer's Brigade, behaved with great gallantry and were ably handled by their own and their brigade commanders. Never were batteries more effectively served than were Randol's and Pennington's."

History in appraising General Gregg's victory will

remember that Stuart was the greatest cavalry leader in the Confederate army—their Prince Rupert as they called him.

This cavalry fight has been called the “most dramatic charge of cavalry ever made on American soil.” Custer said of it in his report: “I challenge the annals of warfare to produce a more brilliant or successful charge of cavalry.” I have always felt that it bore a resemblance to the charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava—to my mind a more inspiring contest than the charge of the Light Brigade, so famous in poetry. For his gallant feat of arms Captain Miller received a Congressional Medal. If, as I understand it, the medal is conferred for some act of military value indicating initiative and courage, done without orders, Captain Miller’s honor was most properly bestowed. When he saw that Custer was being overweighted, he turned to Lieutenant Rawle and said: “My orders were to hold this position, but something ought to be done, and if you will stick by me in case I am court-martialed, I will order the charge.” With vehemence suited to the occasion, Brooke Rawle replied that he would, and the charge was ordered. Captain Miller is today a venerable and honored survivor of the war in which he rendered this high service.

On the morning of that same day, at the Commencement exercises of the University of Pennsylvania, Captain Brooke Rawle received his A. B. degree with his graduating class.

After Gettysburg the regiment followed the retreat of the Confederate forces. There was a skirmish at Old Antietam Forge on July 10; one at Harper’s Ferry on July 14; a fight at Shepherdstown, on July 16, in the pursuit of the enemy to and across the Potomac. September 13, it was engaged in the cavalry action at Culpeper Court House; in skirmishes with Confederate Infantry at Rapidan Station, on September 14

to 17, and on October 15, in the cavalry fight near Yates' Ford.

In the fight at Parker's Store, November 29, Captain Rawle rendered a service which deserves special mention as indicating initiative and a soldierly ability to grasp a situation. As early as it was light on that day, being on patrol duty with eighteen of his men, near Parker's Store where two Federal regiments were encamped, he discovered an unknown wood road running to the rear and southward from the Plank Road on which these regiments lay and a quarter of a mile from the Federal camp. He reported the fact to the Lieutenant-Colonel in command at the Store who told him not to concern himself about the road as another brigade had pickets out to the southward. Nevertheless, still anxious, he stationed one of his men about a hundred and fifty yards from the intersection of this wood road and the Plank Road and again reported to the officer in command at the Store, but he merely received orders, somewhat irritably given, to return to his post and withdraw his vedette. He returned to his post but left the vedette where he had stationed him. He then ordered six of his men to stand to horse. An hour and a half later the vedette saw a party of enemy cavalry coming toward him. He fired his last carbine cartridge, emptied his pistol and rode back as fast as he could to his reserve. It turned out to be nearly a whole regiment of Confederate Cavalry under a North Carolina field officer. Captain Rawle with his sergeant galloped off in the rear of his six men who had been mounted, firing their pistols at their pursuers to give the alarm to the Federal troops at Parker's Store.

Meantime the rest of Wade Hampton's entire brigade of Confederate Cavalry advanced in two columns by the wood road and the road running from the Store southeastward, and swooped down on the two Federal regiments at Parker's Store which, owing to Captain

Rawle's alarm, had partly formed in fighting order. So impetuous was the Confederate attack and from three different directions, and so overwhelming the number of the enemy that the Federal troops, having less than one round of carbine ammunition per man, were soon forced back into the woods. The enemy captured the wagons and horses along the road, rations and forage, blankets and clothing. As the alarm spread, Captain Pottor with a squadron of the Third Pennsylvania which had been cut off, made a circuit of the woods and joined the First Massachusetts. There as many as could, rallied and made such resistance as they could with but one round of ammunition in their carbines, and with their pistols, until the Second Brigade came down the Plank Road from New Hope Church. The Second Pennsylvania charged past the Store and cleared the road and recaptured the wagons, and finally the enemy was driven off. Prisoners who were captured told that Wade Hampton had fully expected to "gobble" both Federal regiments but that the whole affair on their part had turned out a dismal failure.

The regiment took an active part in the Richmond campaign from May 4 to June 16, 1864: the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House; the skirmish at Guinney's Bridge; the battles of North Anna and Cold Harbor. The siege of Petersburg began June 16: the regiment was present at the battle of Petersburg Mine on July 30. On October 15, Captain Rawle was commissioned as Captain of Company D of the Veteran Battalion. He was present at the battle of Hatcher's Run on December 9-10 and at Fort Stedman March 25.

In the Appomattox Campaign, the regiment was engaged in keeping open communications between General Sheridan and the Cavalry Corps at Dinwiddie Court House and Five Forks, and the left of the Infantry line.

The record of a cavalry regiment in an active campaign is a story of almost daily marching and fighting. Its purpose is to be in constant contact with the enemy. It is the eyes and ears of the force. Perhaps many of their contacts will be called engagements rather than battles, but both call for rather special individual initiative, readiness and courage. Col. Brooke Rawle has told us that he took part in all the principal engagements of his regiment except two.

On April 3 Captain Rawle entered Petersburg early in the morning as escort to General Grant and General Meade. He was engaged in the pursuit of General Lee's army until its surrender. As captain commanding his squadron, he escorted General Meade between the two lines of battle at the surrender of Gen. Lee at Appomattox Court House on April 9, for which he received his brevet as Lieutenant-Colonel.

He was detailed for Provost Marshal duty at Richmond from May 4 until he was there mustered out with the regiment on August 7 and returned to Philadelphia.

He was brevetted Major of U. S. Volunteers to date from March 13, 1865, "for services at Hatcher's Run, Va. (December 9, 1864)" and Lieut.-Colonel to date from April 9, 1865, "for services in the campaign terminating in Lee's surrender." The President appointed him in October, 1866, a Second Lieutenant in the 7th U. S. Cavalry, but he declined the appointment. He had returned to civil life as soon as the war was over and became a student at law in Philadelphia.

All his life Brooke Rawle was deeply and fundamentally imbued with the military idea. His active services ended, he became a student and historian of the war. For some reason its historians had overlooked the great importance of Gregg's Cavalry fight and victory at Gettysburg. Even the otherwise careful and elaborate government maps of the field of battle omitted that

part of the field. The ground on which the fight took place forms no part of the national park. Brooke Rawle's labors had much to do with correcting this historical error. In 1881, a meeting of the survivors of that part of the battle was held and in October, 1884, a monumental shaft was erected upon the field of this engagement, with appropriate ceremonies. There was a fitness in having Colonel Brooke Rawle deliver the historical address. It is probably the most carefully prepared account of Gregg's fight which we have. His chief contribution to the history of the regiment was as chairman of the Regimental History Committee of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry Association, which prepared and published in 1905 a most complete and valuable history of that celebrated regiment.

Perhaps this record needs no word of commendation or appreciation, but I must add to it what Captain William E. Miller has very recently said: "Col. Rawle was a loyal friend, a superb soldier and feared nothing"—the laconic but comprehensive statement of a soldier under whom he served.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Book Notices.

FRONTIER FORTS OF PENNSYLVANIA: REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO LOCATE THE SITE OF THE FRONTIER FORTS OF PENNSYLVANIA. Second Edition. Edited by Thomas Lynch Montgomery, Litt. D. Harrisburg, Pa., 1916. 2 vols. 627+728. Illustrated.

It will give pleasure to all who are interested in our Colonial history to learn that a Second Edition of this well known and popular work, edited by Dr. Montgomery, State Librarian, has recently been published. It has been given an attractive setting through paper, printing and wealth of illustrations.

ANDREW JOHNSON, MILITARY GOVERNOR OF TENNESSEE. By Clifton R. Hall, Ph.D. Princeton University Press, 1916. 8vo. pp. 234. Price \$1.50 net.

In this book as its title implies, Prof. Hall traces the personality of Andrew Johnson, when the burden of military government and reconstruction in Tennessee rested principally upon his shoulders. It is based largely on the Johnson Papers, in the Library of Congress, the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies and contemporary local newspapers. He shows the lesson learned by Johnson in reconstructing his own State constituted a training for the work to which he was so suddenly and unexpectedly called in a national capacity. Always unpopular with the leaders in his State, the studied contempt with which the pro-Southern citizens treated him he returned by a hatred of violent intensity. "Treason must be made odious and treason punished," was a constantly reiterated expression of his. His fidelity to the Union and his State was never questioned, and on resigning the Governorship, in 1865, Stanton wrote to him, thanking him for his patriotic and able services, in one of the darkest hours of the great struggle for national existence. The work is an acceptable contribution to our Civil War history.

MOUNT VERNON, WASHINGTON'S HOME AND THE NATION'S SHRINE. By Paul Wiltach. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1916. 8vo. pp. 301. Price, \$2.00 net.

This is the history of Mount Vernon, the best beloved name in the United States, from the first deed of gift to the land, through Colonial and Revolutionary days and including its acquisition by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, and contains much new and hitherto unpublished material about the mansion, its occupants and its grounds. Mount Vernon was the shrine of Washington's greatest happiness, and he took the keenest interest in its improvement and upkeep. The calls of public duty made his long absences endurable, but when on his return, he had passed through the gates and they were closed behind him, it was with a profound relief and tranquil delight. Only one-half of all the years of his ownership was he able to give to domestic, social and agricultural activities. The six years respite from official life, from the end of his military services to his call to the Presidency, he called his "furlough." An Appendix contains a brief of title to Mount Vernon; a table of Washington's visits during his two

terms as President; a list of those born, married and buried at Mount Vernon; names of the Regents and Vice-Regents of the Mount Vernon Association of the Union. Mr. Wilstach is to be congratulated on the success of his researches, and this story of the home of the Father of his Country is deserving of the widest distribution. The text is very liberally illustrated and the publishers have made an artistic book.

THE BALKAN WARS—1912, 1913. By Jacob Gould Schurman. pp. 140. Price \$1.00. Princeton University Press, 1916.

In October, 1914, we first noticed this valuable work, but the interest has so far exceeded the expectations of the publishers that they have issued a third edition to meet the demand.

THE RECORDS OF HOLY TRINITY (OLD SWEDES) CHURCH, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE, FROM 1697 TO 1773. 8vo, pp. 772. Illustrated.

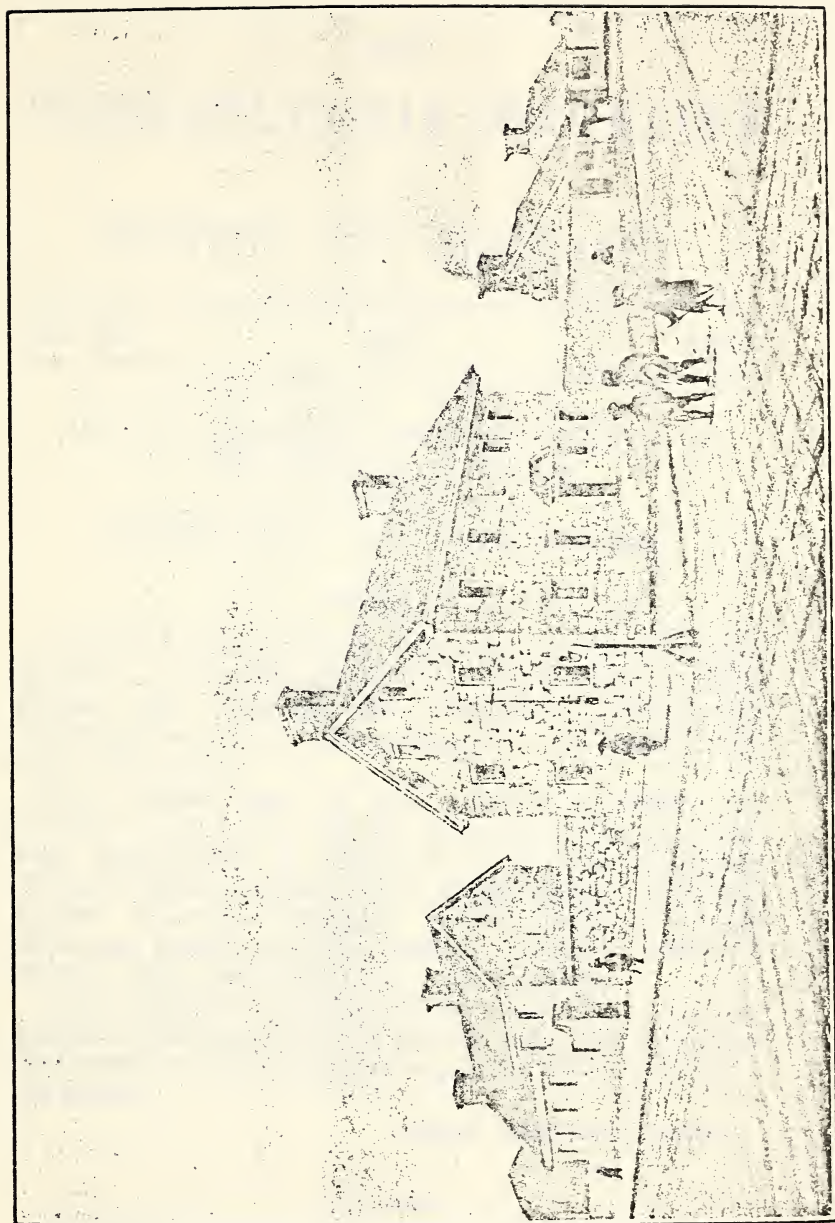
The Swedish Colonial Society of Pennsylvania has issued to its members handsomely bound copies of this work, translated from the original Swedish by the late Horace Burr, with an abstract of the English records from 1773 to 1810, originally published by the Historical Society of Delaware in 1890. The venerable structure, the history of the building of which is related in these records, is now in an excellent state of preservation, and stated worship is held within its consecrated walls.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CUBA, 1492-1586. By I. A. Wright. New York, 1916. The Macmillan Co. 8vo, pp. 390. Price \$2.00.

This is a history of Cuba from its discovery by Columbus in 1492, through the year 1586, when Sir Francis Drake, in sailing along the north shore of the island after his successful raid on other Spanish settlements of the West Indies, closed the first era of the colony's history. The author has compiled his work from the letters and reports of the island's governors, of her royal officials, of her bishops and lesser clergy, of her municipal and ecclesiastical councils, of her distinguished and of even her humble citizens, and other documentary data available to students in the archives of the Indies at Seville, Spain. Cuba remained so long under Spanish domination that the documentary material is very large and well preserved. The author therefore feels justified in stating that the sources of Cuban history have been heretofore unknown and that the history of the island has not been written until the present work.

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE. By Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York, The MacMillan Company, 1916. 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 597-767. Maps. Price \$4.25.

No period of history can be more interesting or illuminating than that with which Prof. Hayes's book is concerned, especially now, when a war of tremendous magnitude and meaning is attracting the attention of the whole civilized world and arousing a desire in the minds of all intelligent persons to know something of the past that has produced it. The author has chosen the world discoveries, the mighty commercial expansion, and the religious turmoil of Europe in the sixteenth century, for with that date modern world politics and the steady growth of nationalism may be said to begin, and the great central theme of modern history emerges—the rise of the bourgeoisie. Not only has he devoted several admirable chapters to social and economic developments, but he has vitalized every part of the narrative by injecting some social or economic explanation of the chief political facts. As a text book it will afford a secure foundation for a college course, and the critical bibliographies are so arranged as to be helpful to the judicious instructor.



PRISON, S. W. CORNER THIRD AND MARKET STREETS, IN WHICH SAMUEL R. FISHER WAS CONFINED.

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JOURNAL OF SAMUEL ROWLAND FISHER, OF
PHILADELPHIA, 1779-1781.

CONTRIBUTED BY ANNA WHARTON MORRIS.

PREFACE.

Samuel Rowland Fisher, the writer of the following Journal, was great-grandson to the Quaker John Fisher, who, with his wife Margaret, accompanied William Penn on his first voyage to America, in the ship "Welcome."

The original copy of this Journal is written in Samuel's own hand. On the flyleaf are signatures of four generations to whom the book has belonged: Thomas Gilpin, brother-in-law of the author; Deborah Fisher Wharton, daughter of the author; Joseph Wharton, grandson of the author, and Anna Wharton Morris, great-granddaughter of the author.

The "old gaol" described in the Journal was not the prison at Sixth and Walnut streets, but a still older one that stood on the southwest corner of Third and Market streets.

Anna Wharton Morris.

JOURNAL.

From the beginning of the 3rd mo 1779. I daily was informed by my acquaintance of a Letter of mine to

my Brother Jabez at New York being in the hands of Thomas McKean, called Chief Justice, & Jonathan Sargeant, called State's Attorney, being also delivered to Joseph Reed & his Associates, called the Council of the State of Pennsylvania, also that the contents of it were variously told by sundry Others who had either seen or been informed of it—many acquaintance seemed very uneasy on my account, lest my life might be questioned on account thereof & I was often told that I should be taken up—but at least 3 weeks elapsed before it was put in execution—On the 30th of the Month as soon as I returned from the Youth's Meeting at Market Street, I was informed that my Brother Thomas had received some hurt & whilst I was gone to see him, James Claypoole called at my father's for me, & being told of my absence went away—My Brother told me, he with John James who were appointed by the Southern district Monthly Meeting for that purpose, had been to visit — Matlack, son of Timothy, on account of his having taken Arms under some of the present usurpers against the King & Government, that they had conversation with the son, who treated them civilly & were going away when Timothy came & after enquiring their business, & being told it, he gave them some little very abusive language & immediately taking up a Hickory Walking Stick, way lay'd them in the passage, gave them many hard blows over the head & shoulders, following them some distance in the street till he had broken his stick—On my return home I was told James Claypoole had called for me, & soon after eating my dinner, he came again abt. 2 O'Clk P.M. & informed me he had a warrant from Thomas McKean to take me before him, which he producing was as follows [text omitted in original] he took me in the presence of Fenwick Fisher, Samuel Emlen Jun., William Mathews, William Penrose & several Women friends from Hopewell Virginia, Ruth Jackson, Rachel Hollingsworth &

Sarah Brown—My Brother Miers walked with me to the house of Thomas McKean, who not being at home he told me I might go home and mentioned his intention of calling in the morning.

31st. Stay'd at home till abt 15 Minutes after 10 O'Clk & he not appearing went to Pine Street Meeting, where I had been about 15 Minutes, when he came in & spoke something which I did not distinctly hear, upon which I walked out & thought best to go with him notwithstanding his singular mode of procedure. Samuel Smith & my Brother Miers accompanied me to the house of Thomas McKean in Water Street above Arch Street where after his informing me of the cause of my being sent for touching a Letter which he had in his hand, I informed him I had never written any Letter which I was ashamed to acknowledge, nor had ever conveyed any Intelligence to the Brittish Army, neither meddled in any warlike Affairs in any shape, that I was principled against any such thing in my own Mind & to the same purport—After which he reaching out the Letter, asked me if it was my writing, to which I replied I did not chuse to answer. Upon which he said I should put him to the necessity of sending for witnesses to prove the Handwriting & immediately demanded my Bro. Miers to give evidence thereon, but he refusing to comply, McKean threatened to commit him to Goal for the refusal & had wrote a few lines of his Mittimus, when he abated from the anger in which he appeared & desisted from writing, saying he would first try to get proof without my father or Brother, but in case of deficiency he should call upon them, tho' my Brother said such a manner of proceedure was not legal, after which he said he would summon some persons to prove the Handwriting at 3 O'Clk in the afternoon, when I must appear again. At 3 O'Clk Sacheverill Wood a person employed under Claypoole called for me, I walked with him & stopt in my way at the house of

John Drinker, from whence I was accompanied to the house of Thomas McKean by William Norton, John Drinker & Samuel Smith, where we found James Claypoole & four persons summoned there to prove the hand-writing viz: Andrew Doz, Paul Cox, Nathaniel Donnell & Sampson Levy & McKean informed me he had also summoned Timothy Matlack & my Brother Thomas. Timothy sent word in writing which he read to me, that he was engaged so that he could not attend & my Brother Thomas was unwell of the wounds given him by Timothy & had not been out since—Upon this he was preparing to administer the Oath to the persons he had summoned, when I asked him if I might read the Letter, which he refused or if I might hear it read which he also refused. I asked how then I was to know whether it was mine or not and assuring him that I would answer clearly either negatively or affirmatively—Upon this he rose out of his chair & said, Mr. Fisher I would have you to observe that you are not bound to answer, neither do I ask you to answer, putting the Letter into my hand, which after I had read I returned to him & told him it was mine or my writing & that the reason of my not chusing to answer in the Morning was not my own sentiments, but the advice of some of my friends, that I had never written any Letter I was ashamed to acknowledge & desired he would read the whole of it to the Company which he accordingly did—he said the whole tenor of my Letter carried an Air of disaffection & clearly shewed that I held myself a Brittish Subject, particularly naming that part touching the Congress Bills; the words Province and Lower Counties &c at a time when the Independence of the States was so firmly settled & acceded to by one of the greatest Powers in the World & he made little doubt but Spain by this time had acknowledged it—that my mentioning the price of Flour to be from 30/ to 35/ per cwt. clearly shewed I owned no other Money than

Gold & Silver, for it was well known that Flour at that time was from £12 to £14 per cwt. I gave him an account of my conscientious refusal of the Bills issued for carrying on this War, & the sufferings of my father, Brother & Self for the same which he said he never heard of, which seemed strange to me, as he was one of the Committee who advertised my Bro. & Self for our Refusal of the Congress Bills I also gave him an account particularly of our sundry other losses on account of our conscientious Nonconformity to the times, which also he said he knew nothing of—he asked if I was one of those who were sent to Winchester, I answered I was; then he said he knew nothing of me, but recollected my name being among those that were sent to Virginia I asked for a copy of my Letter but was refused—he demanded my giving Bail or entering into recognizance for my appearance at the next City Court so called to be held the 21st of next month, upon which I informed him I had objections in my Mind, which I could not get over because I was firmly persuaded I had done nothing worthy of any Punishment—he read many Law Cases in several Books & a paper called an Act against conveying Intelligence to the Enemies of the united States & of this State, which latter he said was what I might suffer under, if found guilty—he kept me probably about 2 hours after he had written a Mittimus endeavoring to bring me to consent to give Bail or enter into recognizance. Andrew Doz offered to be Bail for me, which I told him I could not accept of—John Ewing a Presbyterian Parson came in toward the latter part urged my giving security, & walking toward me, in a smooth soft tone told me, that the security was not demanded under any new Law, but by the Old Laws of Pennsylvania. At length about Sun Set I was dismissed & Ordered to Goal & the Mittimus given to James Claypoole, upon which I walked slowly down Water Street to Arch Street, where I turned up to

Front Street & halted with William Norton, Samuel Smith & my Brother Miers, till James Claypoole came up & told me I might go home, I suppose according to the Law under the King a Sheriff may let any prisoner go at Large at his own Risque & I am ready to conclude McKean & Claypoole were convinced of my Innocence for I was favoured to be quite easy in mind. I accordingly walked home not supposing any further Notice would be taken in the matter before the 21st next Month—

Copy of the Mittimus obtained of James Claypoole,
4 mo:

“Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ss:

“The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the Keeper of our Goal for our City & County of Philadelphia, or to his deputy, greeting—

Whereas Samuel R. Fisher late of said City & County Yeoman, is arrested for attempting to convey Intelligence to Enemies of the United States of America & of us against the form & effect of an act of Assembly in such case made & provided—

And, whereas, the said Samuel R. Fisher hath confessed before Thomas McKean, Esquire, Chief Justice of our Supream Court, that he did write a Letter dated 2 mo. 19th 1779, directed to his Brother Jabez Maud Fisher, New York and that the same was signed by him, wherein he gives Intelligence that within a week past he had been at the Western Quarterly Meeting much to his satisfaction where friends were much clearer of the Measures than any other circuit he was acquainted with & that they seem to gain strength by bearing a faithful testimony against the Currency issued for carrying on the present War as well as other parts of Friends’ known principles and Profession— And also that the prospect of their not being sufficient

in some places of Grain for Bread till next Harvest seems well founded that flour sold there from 30/ to 35/ per cwt. &c. which said Letter was sent towards New York and intercepted in New Jersey—

We therefore command you and each of you that you receive him there to remain till he be delivered from your Custody according to Law, he having refused to enter into recognizance for his appearance at the next City Court of Sessions to be held for our said city.

Witness: Thomas McKean, Esquire, Chief Justice of our Supreme Court at Philadelphia the 31st of March in the Year of our Lord 1779—

Thomas McKean.”

I usually rode many times a week sometimes every day to my father's Farm distant four Miles, having the Care of management of it & as I afterwards understood that Timothy Matlack having observed me riding out was much displeased with it & on seventh day the 3d of the fourth Month, Jas. Claypoole not being in town, he sent a Messenger on purpose with a Letter to Germantown to him, charging him with Neglecting to put the Laws in Execution and directing him to come to Town and put me to Goal, in consequence of which John O'Kelly employed under Claypoole called at my father's for me & I being at the Farm he was told I should be at home in the Evening & on my return about Dusk O'Kelly addressed me as I entered the Door & told me I must either give Bail or go to Goal. I informed him he already knew I could not give Bail, & asked him if he had any Orders, he told me he had and produced the Mittimus. I told him I should be glad to be informed if any fresh directions were given relative to me & requested him to go to Claypoole & enquire whether he had any fresh Orders, telling I refused not to go to Goal, accordingly he went & shortly returned with Sacheverill Wood, the person whom T. Matlack had sent to Germantown, with the above men-

tioned letter which he produced, Upon which I washed myself & Before I could get away James Claypoole appeared, seemingly very anxious for my being in Goal, whither I was conducted by Claypoole, O'Kelly & Wood, between 8 & 9 O'Clk, where I was put into a Room of the Goalers without the prison & my friends had access to me freely from early in the Morning till Bed time & I was neither locked, barr'd nor bolted, but used frequently to go without the Goal Door in the Evening & John OKelly came once & after asking me whether I had been to see my father & my answering negatively, Offered at any time to go with me to see him, he being ill & confined during most of the time of my 3 weeks imprisonment, during which James Stephens who had been appointed to attend the Bridge at the Middle Ferry on Schuylkill & examine all persons going in or out, while the Brittish Army lay in & near the City, was tryed for his Life at what they call the Supreme Court being charged with what they call Treason & honorably acquitted, Samuel Garrigues Senior was also tryed for the same thing & acquitted, but not so honorably, on account of his having taken the Test made by the present Powers and producing Evidences in his behalf of things not consistent with the Trust reposed in him by the Brittish. William Whitefield & George Harding were also tryed for going about with the Brittish Soldiery to collect the Fire Arms of the Inhabitants, the first was acquitted & the latter found guilty on the Morning of the 8th of the fourth Month, & either that day or the next, John OKelly informed me he would be condemned & reprieved either in the Dungeon or at the Gallows, but relied upon my prudence not to inform Harding or any of his connections thereof. I occasionally had some conversation with Harding in the Goal Yard & found by his account he had not taken the Test, nor ever had any thing to do with the present System carried on in America—In

the same Room with me was a Person who assumed the title of Baron de List & also said that he was a Colonel in the German Troops in Brittish pay & was taken prisoner while the Brittish Troops lay in this City, he is a person of what is called a polite Education abt. 22 Years of age, spoke broken English, put in here for debt, upon inquiry I found him to be a deserter and no higher than a Corporal, & a very loose, disorderly Man, after being about 12 days with me, the Goaler Stokeley Hossman took some offence at some words of his & removed him within the Goal, admitting him sometimes a few hours in my Room. I was favored with my health & my mind in a good degree supported under my tryals, the Goaler is a very rough, hard-hearted Man & seems to have as strong a delusion of the present times as any person I have ever met with, so that I had great occasion to be continually watching my words & actions; his Wife is a kind, affectionate Woman & always treated me with respect. Once in conversation with some others who were very open against friends & others, that could not join in the Measures, she said that they were not bad people—it was only a difference in sentiment—I continued in Goal till about 4 O'Clk P. M. of the 24th of the fourth Month, when James Claypoole called and took me to the Court house. My Brothers Thomas & Miers, Benjamin Wynkoop, John Parrish & Joseph Bringhurst, who were sitting with me at the time walked with me to the Court House where Isaac Howell, John Ord, Plunket Fleeson & Benjamin Paschall sat on the Bench. John Ord asked me if I would give security for my appearance at next Court, I answered I could not do it & they could not be ignorant of my being already 3 weeks in Goal on account of my refusal to enter into recognizance & that it was a conscientious matter with me. John Ord then said I must go to Goal. I told them my refusal did not arise from a desire to absent

myself, for that I should not go away. William Lewis & Andrew Robeson, two Lawyers, urged the hardship & unprecedentedness of sending a Person back to Goal who was ready for tryal, upon which I desired them to take notice that I had spoke to no person whatever or Council, nor desired any to speak on my behalf & the Lawyers continuing to go on, I again repeated that no Lawyer was desired to speak for me. John Morris who officiated instead of Jonathan Sergeant, who is called State's Attorney, seemed displeased at my saying it was a conscientious matter with me & that I would not give nor let any person give security for me, as there were several of my friends present & calling to my cousin B. Wynkoop asked him to be security, but he knowing my sentiments refused, & Benj. Paschall spoke to me, saying Sammy, you say you don't intend to go away, & I told him I did say so, & that I intended to follow my lawful concerns & should go out of town whenever I had occasion, or this purport, upon which Plunket Fleeson said: Mr. Fisher, the Court has nothing further to say to you, but I not moving for some minutes, he repeated nearly the same words, upon which I walked back to the Goal & there told Stokely Hossman that I was ordered to go home, upon which he said, I thought you would comply to the Court. I told him he was mistaken that I had not complied. He then said I cannot let you go without orders. I told him it was not material, I was easy to stay, for that I had come to Goal from the Court house to wait till a person came to take home my Bedding &c. However shortly after he said, I can take your word, I told him I should stay till my things could be taken away. soon after came James Claypoole & told Hossman in my hearing, that I had entered into recognizance, upon which I asked him how he could say so when he knew the Contrary, upon which he immediately said, well then you said you would not go away. I stayed

till all my things were sent home & then I told Hossman who had not said a word about his fees, that I could pay no fees, he said he knew it, then I said I have not money with me but as thou put me in One of thy Rooms without the Prison, I mean to call & make thee a compensation for the use thy Room, Chairs, &c—he said it was very well. Tis most probable if Jonathan Sargeant had not this day been engaged at what they call the Supream Court, where David Franks was having a Tryal, he would had me tryed & John Morris being an acquaintance of mine & lately one of our Society, I believe did not chuse to be active therein. I omitted in its due place to mention that as soon as Claypoole had conducted me from the Goal into the Court house, John Haley, called Clerk of the Court, read to me the following paper (a copy of which some of the Lawyers had taken & sent to me in the Goal some days before) and being demanded to answer guilty or not guilty, I said I am entirely innocent.

“City of Philadelphia, ss:

April Session, 1779.

“The grand Inquest for the City of Philadelphia upon their Oaths & Affirmations do present that Samuel R. Fisher, late of the City aforesaid, Merchant, on the 2nd day of February in the Year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred & seventy nine, at the City aforesaid and within the Jurisdiction of this Court, & within this State, little regarding the Laws & Acts of the general Assembly of this Commonwealth & not fearing the penalties therein contained, did then & there attempt to convey Intelligence to the Enemies of this State and to the United States of America and to that End and there did falsly and traitorously, maliciously & advisedly, write & cause to be written sundry Letters & writings containing Intelligence to the Enemies aforesaid, and did then and there attempt to convey & send

the same to the Enemies aforesaid, to wit, to Jabez Maud Fisher, one of the Enemies aforesaid, then being at the City of New York & within the actual dominion of the King of Great Britain and then and there did also in the further prosecution of the said false and traitorous intention and attempt falsly and traitorously, maliciously & advisedly write & cause to be written, One certain Letter & writing of Intelligence aforesaid & the same so written did attempt to send & convey to the said Jabez Maud Fisher then being at the City of New York & within the actual dominion of the King of Great Britain, the tenor of which said Letter & Writing followeth in these words viz.

To Jabez Maud Fisher, New York.

Philad. 2d Mo. 19th 1779.

Dear Brother—

My last to thee was of the 6th Instant p. P. Rice I also wrote a few days before p. ——— Edwards, who was a returning Prisoner, both which expect have reached thy hands some time ago, none have reached our hands from thee of later date than the 26th Ult. p. Wilson. Within a week past I have been at the Western Quarterly Meeting much to my satisfaction, where friends are much clearer of the measure than any other circuit I am acquainted with, and they seem to gain strength by bearing a faithful testimony against the Currency issued for carrying on the present War, as well as other parts of friends known principles & profession.

I should be glad thou would inform me what thou can of Thomas Carrington, where he was when thou left England and whether thou hast heard any thing of him since thy coming to New York, as his family & friends would be pleased to hear from him, if any letters are on this side for his Wife or Thomas Wood-

ward to whom he commonly writes I should be glad thou would forward them.

Our friend Nicholas Waln has laid the concern of his mind & draft to visit friends in England before our last Monthly Meeting, yet it does not seem probable he can be ready to embark till after our next Yearly Meeting—At the Quarterly Meeting in Chester County I met with Cousins Fenwick & Isaiah Rowland, with many other of our relatives from the lower Counties, where all our acquaintance are well & pretty quiet, except that their Goods & Effects are seized for taxes laid by the present powers there, the same is done also in many parts of the province, tho I know not of any friends effects being taken in this City or County, except for Militia fines & Substitute Money so-called.

Thou hast doubtless heard of T. Eddy being taken up in Jersey. He gave Bail to appear at Court and returned home with the Loss of every thing to a considerable amount. I think it may be well to be very cautious indeed of sending any thing for our family, perhaps to omit it entirely for the present. The Leather thou mentions long since to have sent I hope remains in thy possession, as we should be sorry for a miscarriage of it, I should like to have Silk Sagathy enough to make me a Summer Coat, but I never seemed easy to send for any thing. We have nothing here that I know of very material or interesting lately—The prospect of there not being sufficient of Grain for bread till harvest seems well founded. Flour now sells from 30/ to 35/ p. ct.

We all continue to be favored with health & a good degree of patience, which hope may continue till we are favoured to meet again.

Thy Affectionate Brother,

Samuel R. Fisher.

2nd mo. 22nd, 1779

Dear Brother:

The above I wrote intending for another Conveyance, but as this seems likely to reach thy hands sooner, I thought of adding a few lines to inform thee how anxiously I am at heart concerned for thy welfare in every respect, my mind being frequently impressed with a feeling for thy situation, that I cannot well express in words at present—Acquit thyself with uprightness & Integrity to the feelings of thy own Mind & thou will thereby experience a support which will surmount every thing that is permitted to assault thee—With this thou will receive an answer to thine to me of the 2nd Instant, whereby thou will be at liberty to embark as soon as convenient. May the blessing of heaven attend thee on the Voyage, inform me p. what Vessell thou goes. We shall be anxious to hear of thy Arrival.

Brother Thomas has thoughts of sending Billy Logan to New York to go with thee. I have some doubt of his being able to do it in time to reach thee, however, I have told him it will not do for thee to wait for him, if a Conveyance thou art free to embark in presents. I have also mentioned to him the propriety of committing him here to a person in whom he can confide that will undertake to go with him to England & take the whole Care of him—Brother thinks with me that thou must not be delayed by this circumstance, as conveyances suitable are not frequent.

If thou leaves anything behind thee, forward me a List of them with information in whose hands they are—

“Against the duty of his allegiance, against the form of the Act of Assembly in such case made and provided, & against the peace & dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,

Witnesses

Jona D. Sergeant,
James Claypoole Esq Sworn”

Atty. Gen'l.

On first day Morning the 25th of 4th mo. I unexpectedly attended the funeral of Israel Pemberton, who died the 22nd & a few days after I was riding out of Town I met Joseph Reed in the Street & he looked very earnestly at me, so that I was apprehensive I should be again sent to Goal, & the more so as Benjamin Paschall told an acquaintance of mine that he expected blame for permitting me to have my liberty, & from this time I very rarely rode but walked many times in a week to & from my father's farm, being still constantly pressed with such a weight, as much as I could well bear, which remain'd with me till 5th day the 22nd of the 7th month 1779 I walked to the farm in the Morning & about noon my Brother Thomas came out for me & I came to Town with him about 3 O'Clk being sent for I walked up to the Court house, where John Ord, Isaac Howell & Benjamin Paschall sat on the Bench, when John Haley again read the paper called the Bill of Indictment & told me I had plead not guilty. I answered I had said I was entirely innocent, which he acknowledged. Then John Ord said, Mr. Fisher are you ready for your tryal? I said I have nothing to do with the Tryal & if you will try me it must be your Act & I cannot see how you can try me, as I have never taken the Test, upon which John Ord said, Mr. Fisher, you despise the Authority of the Court. Jonathan Sergeant, called States Attorney, whom I dont recollect ever to have seen before, asked me whether I had any objections to any of the Jury. I told him I had nothing to do with the Tryal, after which they were sworn & Sergeant produced my letter & asked me whether it was mine. I told him I wrote it & delivered it open to John Montgomery, a Clergyman, who had a pass to go into New York & that he told me before I wrote the whole of it & at the time I delivered it to him, that he would deliver it & all

others that he undertook to convey, to the Commanding Officer at the Lines for examination & that under this clear expectation I sent the Letter, desiring him to inform me how & in what manner he came by the Letter, and where it had been stopt, he acknowledged himself at a loss therein. Notwithstanding my owning the letter he sent for Thomas McKean, Andrew Doz & John Ewing to prove my confession thereof, most probably expecting to find something I had said when at McKean's that might tend to criminate me. When he was about to swear McKean, I told him I did not desire any qualification to be taken concerning me & could take his word for any thing he said, but Sergeant seemed angry at my saying so, & said, if you can take his word the Court will not; upon which he was sworn, when he related the most material parts of what passed, as he thought, nearly as I have related above.

Andrew Doz appeared & excused himself; John Ewing appeared & was sworn, he seemed somewhat confused, but upon my asking him if he did apprehend he came in toward the Conclusion, when little passed but about my giving Bail or entring into Recognizance; he said it was so. Sergeant asked him if he heard me acknowledge the letter. He said he did not. Sergeant then with the Letter in his hand said I had given a false representation of the Quakers, for to his own knowledge they were generally on their side, a very few only excepted; That the part of the Letter concerning Nicholas Waln was innocent & it had been well for me if the other parts had been as free of exception; that it appeared I was longing for the Onions & Garlick of Egypt; that many said they were very desirous of peace, whose desires meant nothing short of a close union with & as it were hugging Great Britain in our Arms again; that I was giving the Enemy very material Intelligence in respect to the Scarcity of pro-

visions; that indeed it had been very alarming before the late harvest, & that he believed many of the disaffected had been greatly disappointed in their desires on that account, that the unrelenting Enemy might thereby make the more easy conquest, but that as providence had blessed the late Harvest with Abundance, there was now no fear on that head; he inferred that I was accessory to the destructions of the towns on the Coast of Connecticut, by encouraging the Enemy and expatiated very largely thereon as it were laying the whole of it to me, (alluding to an expedition from New York under Sir George Collier, by which several towns &c were destroyed, the News of which came to town a day or two before) & also said that if the Enemy had not been encouraged by our Intestine Enemies, they would long ago have given up the matter of Independence.

William Lewis, a Lawyer formerly under the King, who had taken the Test to the present Rulers & plead under them several times, was desirous of speaking in my behalf, but was not permitted because I would not allow him to be my Council, on which account some pains was taken by John Ord & others & time spent to persuade me to say he was my Council, but I told them I could not consent thereto. I told them there were several persons present that knew I had given the letter open to John Montgomery & that Montgomery frequently said he would carry none but what were open & should deliver all to the commanding officer at the Lines; but that I could not consent that any person should take a qualification thereon on my behalf, upon which much time was taken & many things said by John Ord & his Companions to induce my consent thereto, as they said nothing could be said thereon without, but I continued unshaken in my sentiments thereon & they were about to proceed without, when some of the 12 Men desiring the persons might be qualified &

they themselves being anxious to speak what they knew, they were qualified—One of them that he was present & saw me deliver a Letter on the 23rd of February last to John Montgomery, unsealed & open; the other that he saw me deliver a Letter at the same time, not observing whether sealed or not, but that he many times heard John Montgomery, who lodged at his house, express his determination not to carry any sealed letters & to deliver all he had to be inspected before he entered the brittish lines. Upon which I said I did not apprehend myself a person of any uncommon abilities, perhaps inferior to most present, but I must be judged to be a Blockhead indeed to undertake to convey intelligence in an open letter with my name signed to it, & send it subject to inspection before it could enter the Brittish Lines, & that I never had either inclination or intention to convey any intelligence to the Brittish Army; that if I had been desirous of doing such things, I had frequent opportunities by persons going privately, who offered to convey letters for me, but not knowing their Errands & concluding a letter free of exception sent privately might when discovered in these times be made a pretence to injure me, I carefully avoided writing by those who had not passes,—that I did believe it would be as easy to prevail upon any there present to convey Intelligence to the brittish Army as upon me, for if I had chose to do such things I could safely have done it in another language or in Characters, without any name, so that if discovered, no difficulty could arise to me, & lastly that if the contents of my letter were in their view offensive, it could not by them be called intelligence to the Enemy, as it was subject to be stopt before it could enter the brittish Lines.

Sergeant immediately said, he tells you he never has conveyed any intelligence, but he seems to know so well how it may be done, that there is reason to believe he

may have done it frequently. he then read a printed paper called the Act of Assembly, by which they were trying me, & by which I was told I was liable to forfeit half my Goods & Chattles, Lands & Tenements & to imprisonment during the War. I told them of the Losses my father, brothers & self had suffered on account of our not contributing the proffitts on our Goods to the Town of Boston & on account of our refusal of the Congress Bills, to a very great amount, so that I could not certainly say I had any property at all, as my father had never given me any thing—that my refusal of the Congress Bills had in every instance been attended with Loss to me, & the only benefit that had yet arisen was that I had been instrumental thereby in saving the property of some Orphans to whom I administered in the year 1774, whose Monies I had lately reced in Gold & Silver & they had lately returned to England & that John Pringle & Blair McClanahan knew those Orphans & the truth of what I said thereon. They were about to finish when I asked for my letter & began to give my reasons for writing the letter to my Brother, viz:

That my Brother Jabez had been a long time absent from home & now was likely to be longer separated from us, that our Conscientious refusal of the Congress Bills being known to him & not having originated from their present depreciation, but from the first issuing of them when they passed equal to their nominal value in Gold & Silver & being now upwards of 4 years standing, I thought it might be some consolation to him to know that we had some Companions, tho' the number of refusers compared with the whole of the people was very small.

That most of the relatives of our family lived in the lower Counties & it was natural for me to inform my Brother of their health & situation in the present Calamities. That the Leather spoke of in my letter

was Boot Legs & Vamps of a late invention of Splitt Skins, which the Inventor had sent as a present to my father & brothers. That my brother Jabez had wrote me of friends in England having entered into large subscriptions for the benefit of friends here & that he should be glad to have it in his power to inform friends there what prospect there might be of relief being wanted & I was desirous he might know our wanting or not wanting relief would depend upon the ensuing harvest.

With respect to Billy Logan's being sent to his Mother, application had been made for liberty for his going to New York & it was refused.

After which Sergeant gave the 12 Men my letter & the paper called the Act of Assembly, by which they were trying me, & some Constables were sworn to keep them without Meat or Drink, when they went upstairs & I was told I might go home & return at 7 O'Clk that evening, which I accordingly did, but upon my return in the Evening & waiting about an hour, the 12 Men being sent to, word came from them, that they were not agreed, upon which I was told to come again at 10 O'Clk next morning.

7 mo. 23.—I went to the Court house about 10 O'Clk. a great number of the violent party came there, in a little time the 12 Men came down & delivered a paper in which they had agreed that I was not guilty of holding a Correspondence inimical to the Independence of America, but Sergeant would by no means admit of its' being received & they were sent back & the Constables ordered to keep them as before & I was told to go to a friends house near & they would send word when I was wanted. About half past 11 I was called when the 12 Men returned & delivered verbally the same Judgment they had given before in writing, at which Sergeant seemed very angry. I then mentioned their unfairness in not taking their Judgment, & my

Brother Miers spoke a few words, purporting that by legal usage I was cleared of the matter laid against me. Isaac Howell immediately joined in sentiment with my Brother, when Sergeant being much displeased with his speaking, said tis strange that Mr. Fisher will not allow he has any Council & here Council will be speaking on his behalf. I then said I had not objected to my Brothers speaking, upon which Sergeant said he shall speak but he must first be qualified (meaning take the Test to the present Rulers) & looking to those on the Bench Isaac Howell said, Yes, Yes; which put a final stop to my Brothers saying anything.

Then Sergeant tried if he could get some of the 12 Men to dissent from the Judgment, when one or two of them drew back a little, upon which they were ordered out again, tho' John Brooks said you may as well keep us here, for if we are kept six days & nights more I can never agree to any thing else without wronging my Conscience, yet they were sent out. By this time the spirit of rage & violence appeared, some threats were thrown out against my Brother for attempting to speak by some Committee Men & tis very probable that threats were made use of to the 12 Men for they returned again in about 1½ hours absence, & being all asked separately every One said Guilty; upon which Sergeant asked John Ord whether they would pass sentence then or take time; John Ord said they would take time & told me I might go home & come again in the Morning. I went home, got my dinner & in less than two hours was sent for to the Courthouse to have sentence passed upon me. I went up there & John Ord asked me, Mr. Fisher have you any thing to say why sentence should not be passed upon you. I only said, I have much to say, but tis like attempting to throw feathers against the wind. Jno Ord then said you are sentenced to the forfeiture of One half your lands & tenements, Goods & Chattles & imprison-

ment during the War & you are committed to the Custody of the Sheriff. (I well understood that he meant my going to Goal seeing that however some moderation appeared with those on the bench, some of the Committee or Constitutional Society so called had frightened them & Sergeant continued very violent), I said I should be glad you would speak plain & say whether I am to go home or go to Goal. Upon which Ord said again, you are committed to the Custody of the Sheriff. Upon which John OKelly said Mr. Claypoole is sick & cannot attend, I should be very glad to let Mr. Fisher go home, but what shall I do with Mr. Burns, pointing to him & saying there he is, he won't let me, upon this Sergeant said, come Mr. Kelly enough of that, let us hear no more of that, by which it clearly appeared that a Mob party had prevented the 12 Men from exercising their own Judgment & those on the Bench from shewing any Moderation, for it was evident that Burns had been sent by the party to make their Wills be put into execution.

I was conducted by Kelly to Goal about 5 O'Clk. 23d of 7th mo. & put into the same room I had been in before, where my friends had access to me & I the liberty of the Goaler's Rooms till the afternoon of the 3rd of the 8th month, when Cadwalader Dickenson, a Shoemaker & a very active Statesman of the present times came in & Stokeley Hossman, the Goaler, asked me to walk into a Room & set down with Dickenson, of which I took no notice till he repeated it much louder, when I complied, Hossman handed me a Chair & presently after brought a Glass of Drink. I told them I did not chuse to drink. Dickenson (who was one of the 12 Men that brought in Abraham Carlisle Guilty) observed as it were to me what a pity it was that there should be such a difference amongst Neighbours & fellow Citizens in sentiment, & how happy we should be if we could all unite with one Mind &c. I took no more notice of his

Conversation apparently than if I had been asleep—he soon grew tired and went away. Shortly after which Hossman conducted me within the Goal & shewed me a large Room, which he said was to be my apartment, adding that it was the best in the house, which I afterwards found to be true.

I was desirous of knowing the reason of my being moved here, but could not fully find it out. Hossman said it was his own Act, but withal gave me to understand that some had thought I had too much liberty. Probably Dickenson was the cause of my removal.

It seemed a little hard at first, but in a few days I found myself much better satisfied in my room alone than I had been in Hossman's Room. Sometimes my friends could not readily be admitted as there was no Turnkey for some days till the 9th of this month when Peter Todon was hired by Hossman.

On the first of this month Marshall a Presbyterean Seceder preacher, preached in the Yard to the prisoners. I was within hearing & out of sight during the time.

On the 2nd & 3rd of this month there was town Meetings in the State-house & great Strife between those called the Constitutional & Republican Societies, in which the former got the better of the latter.

Here I met with George Harding who had been taken out to the Gallows with a Rope about his neck to be hanged about the beginning of last fifth Month & just as he was about to step into the Cart, he was reprimed & brought back again. He was the only person I had any freedom of communication with & serves as a Companion for me in the day time when I have not my friends with me. He appears a sober Man, has gone thro' much tryals from the present powers & is now confined without knowing when or how he may be pardoned or discharged.

On the 22nd of the 8th Month George Duffield, a

Presbytereian preacher of Pine Street Meeting house, preached to the prisoners in the Yard (I staid in my Room).

8th mo. 26th.—Ten of the Men confined here for various misdemeanors were taken by a Guard from this Goal & put on board the Congress frigate Confederacy now lying at Chester.

I enjoyed much calmness of mind & a secret support which was cause of great satisfaction, particularly in my solitary evenings, for which I have great reason to be thankful tho the prospect on the part of the Brittish Subjects was very gloomy, as there was great rejoicings in town at several times on account of the french taking two brittish Isles in the West Indies & some of Washington's Army taking Stony Point fort on the North River, with about 400 Brittish prisoners, whom they marched into this City.

During the Yearly Meeting, which began the 26th of the 9th mo: a great number of friends called to see me, some that I had no knowledge of. Their visits were very acceptable & the more so not One of them said anything in censure of my Conduct, which I concluded in my Mind carried with it a Sympathy for me, & that if I was acting on mistaken principles, some of them would have had to give me a hint of it; this conclusion on the visits of so many friends served as a support against the Censures of some of my friends in the City, which sometimes was hard to bear, very hard indeed, that those very men who should have used their kind endeavours to strengthen me, should bear hard upon me.

On the 27th 9 mo: One of the militia of the City so called (who came to see Joseph Wirt, who had been sent here the 25th Instant & is shortly to be tryed for Treason as they call it) told T. Wirt in my hearing that the Militia were about to take up all the Tories & Quakers & would certainly create a most dreadful scene

in the City, that they had chosen a Man out of every Company for that purpose & given them the name of the Committee of Privates, that they would begin that afternoon; I have no reason to disbelieve him. Providentially they were not permitted to disturb the Yearly Meeting, during which I was informed that it had been considered in Congress to take up friends & prevent their holding the Meeting & also that the Crier had publicly cried in some parts of the City that the Quakers had agreed in the Yearly Meeting to acknowledge & accede to the Independence of America, & this was so much talked of that some of the Tories seemed afraid of the Truth of it & were very inquisitive to know whether it was well founded.

On seventh day the 2nd of 10th month, Joseph Wirt, who when in Goal seemed in fear of their taking his life, was taken to the State house & acquitted & the next day he came to see George Harding & myself.

I had ——— Sweres two or three Nights in my Room & John Hastings a Sea Captain for about a week, all the rest of the time from the 3rd of 8th mo: to 4th of 10 mo: I was entirely alone in my Room, which was locked up about Sunset & open about Sun Rise.

Here is a most dissolutely wicked Company of Men & Women & I am thankful in being hitherto preserved from being tainted with it & may that divine hand which has hitherto preserved & supported me continue to protect me from the many snares which await my Steps, for I am clear beyond all doubt that nothing short of that divine Arm can carry through the many tryals which now fall to the Lot of the Inhabitants of this Land.

The Yearly meeting concluded on second day at noon the 4th of the 10th month, at the breaking up of which John Drinker was taken from Pine Street Meeting house, the Committee of Privates now beginning the matter they had intended a week before; they ransacked

Joseph Wirt's house to find him to no purpose, while some of them went to Mathew Johns's near the Swedes Church & finding him stacking Hay, they ordered him down & marched him with them. They also took up Buckbridge Sims & Thomas Story, which four they marched separately to Burns's Tavern on the Commons, from whence they were brought into the City under Guard. The Militia by this time had collected at the house of James Wilson, Lawyer, the S. W. Corner of Walnut & third Streets, for some of the Republican Society & others understanding themselves to be upon the list of those that were to be apprehended, had assembled with Wilson armed & determined not to be taken, so that there soon began a fierce firing & it is generally allowed the Militia began first, who probably had done much more Mischief had not their Powder & Ball been shortly expended. I heard the noise & could see part of the Mob from the Goal Window. Several were killed and others wounded. I could only learn the names of three killed. ——— Campbell, called a Captain in the Invalids in the house, a Negroe Lad & George ——— a Barber in the Street, this latter I had known to attend to shave people in the Goal, & who I am credibly informed called out to his neighbours that day in Cherry Alley to turn out & bring their Spades with them for they were to hang & bury the Tories. He was a very strongly deluded man, both as to the present measures & his own Condition, for I once heard him say in conversation with some in the Goal, that he was certain his peace was made & his Salvation sure, so that he had no concern about it & this not long before his death. At the same time he was a Man much & frequently addicted to Excess in drinking & also as I was informed had been very abusive to Abijah Wright, when in this Goal, who was hanged for being a Guide to some of the Britttish Army while they lay in this City.

From the Goal I saw Joseph Reed, Timothy Matlack, James Claypoole & John OKelly on horseback come down Market Street, the two first with drawn Swords in their hands, they rode round the corner of third Street & proceeded to Wilson's house, where with a number of those called the City Lighthorse they dispersed & took up those called Militia, some of whom they brought to Goal & soon returned to Market Street, at the corner of which I saw them meet some of the Militia, who had got two brass feild pieces & were going with them to join their Companions, with much difficulty Reed, Matlack, Claypoole & Kelly, with sundry assistants forced the Militia into Goal, not without many strokes of their Swords & taking hold of the horses led away the feild peices. Reed's party with the Lighthorse were frequently putting some into Goal this afternoon till the number amounted to 27. Reed's party all went away, when an attempt was made by a collection of people in the Street to break the Goal & let out the Militia & had not Hossman got a hint of it & very suddenly shut the Outer Door they might have accomplished their purpose, but in a little time some Lighthorse returned & a parcel of the Bucks & Blades of the town were stationed under Arms, also some Artillery Men & feild peices, both which remained all night, as it was said a party from Germantown were coming to assist.

A little before dark John Drinker, Buckridge Sims, Thomas Story & Mathew Johns came into my Room & informed me they had been under Guard in the Street near Wilson's house during all the firing & were afterwards taken out a second time to Burns's Tavern & from thence had been on their way home by order of some of the Lighthorse, but accidentally meeting Joseph Reed in Arch Street, they were by him ordered to Goal, as he said for the safety of their own persons from violence.

The 27 Militia Men, so called, were in a Room directly under us very noisy & turbulent, so that we were not fond of going much out of our Room; the City being in great confusion & many speaking very free against Joseph Reed for his Conduct toward the Militia, so called, whom it seems most probable & I have no reason to doubt Reed had encouraged to take up friends & the Tories not expecting any opposition, but very providentially it had not been permitted during the Yearly Meeting, & when it did break out, those called the Militia having mixed in their list of friends or others called Tories some of the Republican Society, so called, who would not be taken caused this disturbance, whereby the Stroke was almost entirely diverted from the quiet & best part of the Inhabitants of the City, who could not be objected against on any other account, but their attachment to the Cause & Government of Great Britain.

The 27 Men under us continued very noisy all night & the Morning of the 5th they were let out about noon by order from Reed & his Companions, who began to be alarmed for their own safety, as I was informed, for many in the City spoke very free against him & 'twas said threatened to shoot him.

The 27 Men as soon as they got into the Street drew up in a line, gave three very loud Huzzas & then walked home, being first told it was expected they would each enter into recognizance to appear at Court.

Those called the Militia, as I was informed, were desired to meet the next day at the State house, where Jos. Reed with several of his partizans & some Presbyterian preachers, in very mild and humble terms harangued them in order to pacify them & remove the great uneasiness which spread amongst them.

Some persons on behalf of the prisoners in my Room called on Jos. Reed many times, without being able to see him for several days, he was always either sick or

not to be spoke with, most probably conscious that this late affair had much shaken his authority in the minds of the people & the utmost of his artifice & deceit, with that of his emissaries was now necessary to be exerted.

10th mo: 8th, John Drinker, Buckridge Sims, Mathew Johns & Thomas Story sent word to James Claypoole that they desired to speak with him on account of its being propagated in the City that they are prisoners by their own Consent, in order to know on what ground they are detained here.

Claypoole came accordingly & said he had been with Jos. Reed on the occasion & was authorized to say that for the preservation of the peace of the City it was determined that their confinement should be continued untill the return of Thomas McKean (now at Lancaster holding a Court of Oyer & Terminer, so called) or untill Reed who is now sick should so far recover as to give further attention to their case, & also said that Mittimus's for their imprisonment would be made out; he added that the resolution for their detention was made two days ago & confirmed by preemptory orders from Reed this morning.

B. Sims acknowledges he consented to go to prison for one night, being assured that nothing was meant thereby but the safety of his person from violence. About 3 O'Clk the Goaler came & read a letter from Timothy Matlack to him, containing nearly the same as Claypoole said in the morning & setting forth that suspicions having generally prevailed among the people respecting them, ought to induce them to submit to a few days confinement for their own safety & in consideration of the hurry & disturbance of the times, which engaged the attention of those who should take notice of their case. A copy of this letter was demanded of Hossman, but he refused & read it again.

10th mo: 13th.—John Drinker discharged by orders from Jos. Reed, in consequence of the application of

some friends. Reed's letter of discharge for J. D. said that the other gentlemen were to apply for discharge by their friends in the same manner, which was accordingly done by several on behalf of each.

B. Sims was discharged 10 mo: 14—the application on behalf of Johns & Story tho' repeated for many succeeding days was to no purpose, Reed alledging that suspicions were entertained against them.

10 mo: 16.—John Drinker's bedding remained in our room & I understood that the Goaler the evening he was released threatened him before he got out of Goal to lock him up again on account of his refusal to pay Turnkey fees, yet he did let him go, probably then determining to keep his bedding till the fees were paid. J. D. sent for his bedding to no purpose & wrote a letter to Stokeley demanding it without any effect.

The wife of Dr. Chovet hearing of it came here with a servant for it this day & having paid the fees Hossman came up with her into our room & demanded our shewing J. D's. bedding. I fully knowing J. D's. sentiments on this head declined shewing it as did also Mathew Johns & Thomas Story; upon which Hossman said he wondered Mr. Drinker had not sent for his bedding, adding I have not detained it—finding we did not tell he got angry & said Mr. Fisher I have shewn you much favour, but now I will take another course. Chovet's wife asked which were our several bedding & having by that means of some present found which belonged to J. D. I told Hossman I had received a Letter from J. D. by which I knew he had an objection in his mind against complying with such unjust demands, that I had an objection myself & therefore could not do any thing to give countenance thereto, he was in liquor & very angry & went away so.

There was now much talk in town of an intended invasion of New York and the Militia (so called) of the city & province were ordered to be in readiness to

join Washington's Army, who was to attack New York by land, while the Count de Estaing with a french fleet were to make an attack by water. Many Shalloops & Schooners were loaded with potatoes, Turnips, Onions & other vegetables, Beef, Pork, flour Bread &c for the french fleet & sent down to Reedy Island, many hundreds of Cattle, Sheep & Hogs were driven down to Cape May & Cape Hinlopen, to be ready for De Estaing & there were daily rumors of his being on the Coast, as well as some account of his intended attack upon Georgia.

The following was delivered at my fathers for me, as a similar one had been at the time of my being confined in the Mason's Lodge previous to my being sent to Winchester. What views they could have in thus notifying a prisoner tis difficult to say, unless it might be merely to have a pretence to obtain the fine they had fixed for non-Compliance.

“Philadelphia 16th October 1779

“Sir

You being drawn in the second Class of Capt. William McCullough's Company & Colonel Sharp Delany's Battalion. You are hereby desired to parade at the State house Yard on the 20th Instant at 10 O'Clock with your Arms & accoutrements agreeable to the Militia Law of this State: Therefore fail not.

Take Notice an Appeal will be held at the same time & place.

By order of Sharp Delaney, Esq., Col.

William McCullough, Capt.

To Mr. Sam'l Fisher.”

10th mo: 18th.—Peter Miller who had been taken up some time before & given Bail in forty thousand pounds to appear & take a tryal for Treason, so called, was taken up again by a Special writing from Jos. Reed & his Associates & brought to Goal & by his own re-

quest put into my Room. He had been long sick and when brought here was scarcely able to come, & while in Goal he had a very bad fever, so that being a very gross Man our Room was very offensive, which with Peter's wife's very assiduous exertions & applications brought about his being let out again upon a fresh Bail of forty thousand pounds to appear about the 20th of next month.

The same evening upon hearing Peter Todon come upstairs and open the door of George Harding's room, called to him to open our door, which he did & informed us that a pardon was come for Harding, conditioned that he left the State (as they call it) immediately & if he returned back to suffer death. He took his leave of us & went home that Evening & stayed till next evening, when I heard he went into the Jerseys, leaving his wife & Children, as she was sick & could not be moved. George Harding's Houses & Lots had been confiscated & sold about a Month before.

The reports of De Estaing's being hourly expected on the Coast, as well as of his being in Georgia, continued daily circulating & great preparations for Washington's attack upon New York still went on.

The Goaler from the time he said he would take another course with me to the 19th Inst. was very fickle in admitting or not admitting our friends to see us, on which day a paper was pasted up purporting that Intrigues were carrying on among the prisoners & that no person whatever should be admitted within the Goal, nor even to speak with us at the Grate, without a written Order from the President or Council, the chief Judge, a Justice or the high Sheriff &c signed by James Claypoole, so that not one of our relatives or friends were admitted till the 2nd of 11 month (about 14 days) except Peter Miller's wife & Children on account of his Sickness, tho in a few days our friends were allowed to speak with us at the Grate at which we received our

victuals till the 11 mo: 2nd—no application was made for admittance in consequence of the above paper. Some of my relatives came almost every day to ask admittance & were sent away.

In the evening of 11mo: 1, Mathew Johns spoke to Hossman of the great hardship of sending away his wife &c, when Hossman told him that there had been Letters & Intrigues carried on. I happened at this time to come within hearing & believing he alluded to the Letter I had from J. Drinker, I stept up & told him that I knew of but one Letter that had come into our Room & that was a very proper One from J. Drinker concerning his bedding, which he had detained; he immediately said he had not detained it. I said I knew he had. He then repeated that he had not detained it. I then told him I knew what was true & what I could prove, Upon which he dropt it & said pray what are you here for. I answered him for doing justly, upon which he said, Then hold to your Sentiments & walked off.

Whether mine or Mathew Johns' conversation, or the repeated solicitation of our friends tended most to produce a Change I cannot say, but on the morning following our friends were admitted freely.

About the 28th of the 10 mo: Dr. B. Rush, who came to see Mathew Johns, who had a sick fit & was some days ill, gave us an account of the total defeat of De Estaing & Lincoln in the attack upon Savannah in Georgia, which I thought remarkably providential in preventing the french from Getting footing on this continent, it afforded me much satisfaction, hoping it may materially tend to disunite the French & Americans & to bring the latter to a sense of their Error & restore peace to the Inhabitants of this Land; not that I have any desire to promote War, but providence has permitted the Calamities of it to overspread the Land as a Judgment upon us for our many transgressions, & who can be an indifferent Spectator that considers what

amazing difficulties, hardships & spilling of Blood, with the lives of many Martyrs for a great length of time have been passed thro in the reformation from Popery & that so great a delusion should have overspread this Land, as that the Leaders here should join themselves to such a restless, deceitful, persecuting Power as France, who certainly could not embark in such a plan with the Americans with any other view than to get the Country to themselves & thereby to establish their power, Religion & Persecution therein & I cannot believe that those who have now set themselves in Power have any other views towards France than to deceive them by specious appearances & get them to join in helping them to throw off a Connection with Great Britain, & if it were possible for America to get from under the King & Government, the Rulers here would then show France that they are equally insincere & treacherous with themselves, if they did not exceed any people that ever undertook to Rule in the violation of Justice, in persecution, Oppression & the laying waste of everything that is truly virtuous & praiseworthy—we have already seen much more of these things than any of us would have expected a few years ago from any people, more especially from the descendants of those who call themselves Protestant Reformers from the Errors of Popery—there is doubtless a very great & general debasement of the principles of some of the people in all religious Societies in this Country, but there is none of them whose leaders had any hand intentionally to join in the measures which have been persued, except the Presbyterians, who have long secretly been meditating their favorite plan of establishing their religion & Politics without being subject to any kind of restraint from any King or Kingly Government, & therefore they have to answer for being the Instruments of involving these Colonies in the present Calamities, & there is one thing will destroy their Character very much with all other

Protestants, which is the building an Altar in One of their Meeting houses & having the popish Mass performed there. I have made this small digression in order to shew upon what principles my sentiments of the present Rulers here & of the Connection with France are built & founded.

11 mo: 15—John Reynell, John Morris, Nicholas Waln & Joseph Bringhurst, being a Committee of Pine Street Monthly Meeting, came to see me. We had not much conversation on the cause of my being here, they appear to have some friendship for me & I hope we parted mutually in a kind disposition.

11 mo: 16—Robert Knox, a member of the present Assembly called & informed Mathew Johns that he had been endeavoring as a neighbour to get him released & Jos. Reed had given orders for his release upon his giving security for his future good behavior, to which M. Johns said I cannot give security unless I am informed what offence I have committed; then Knox said you must remain here, & John Jones, commonly called Bully Jones, who came in with him, said I have done my endeavours, I think you stand in your own Light.

11 mo: 17. Mathew Johns by the advice of Dr. Rush having applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus under the present Rulers, was taken to Thomas McKean & nothing appearing against him he was discharged & Thomas Story finding Mathew Johns had succeeded made the like application & 11 mo: 19 was taken to Thomas McKean & discharged, so that I am now again alone in my Room.

11th mo: 20th. About 3 O'Clk in the morning I was awakened by a person calling Capt. Hossman, which I understood to be on account of some of the Prisoners breaking Goal, & when my door was opened I heard that six had escaped by cutting a hole in the Garret floor & the Roof above & from thence from house to house to a Shed about 10 feet from the ground.

11 mo: 23. Thomas Morgan, who had been some days in Goal, was put into my Room by Hossman. I found him to be a person somewhat insane, had a great inclination for Strong drink, tho' he could get none. I understood he had abused his wife much, who had procured him to be put here. He would mostly sit in one position all day & say very little, at times he looked wild & would break out in fits of Laughter.

11th mo: 25th. Benjamin Horner was put into my Room, being this day taken out of Market Street Meeting & carried to Thomas McKean on suspicion of passing counterfeit Congress Bills, which he told me he had taken of Thomas Watson, Junr., who I understood to be taken & now in another Room. McKean ordered B. Horner to Goal.

11 mo: 26th, at night Horner & Watson were both conducted to Thomas McKean, who examined them separately. He told Horner he had heard him called a man of good character, but that he was too intimate with that great Tory John Drinker. Horner was sent home & Watson Brought back & put into my Room.

11 mo: 27. Joseph Pritchard was brought into my Room, having been this day tryed at what they call the Supreme Court, for having been employed by the Brittish when in this City to attend at the Middle ferry on Schuylkill to inspect all persons going in or out of the City & was also charged with having since used words greatly derogatory of the present Rulers & being by the Jury, so called, found guilty of Misprision of Treason as they term it, he was sentenced to the forfeiture of half his Lands & Tenements, Goods & Chattles, & imprisonment during the War without Bail or Mainprize. McKean in the course of the tryal told Joseph Pritchard that he had attended every Court at Chester as a Spy for the Quakers, tho he had never been there but once; he also expatiated largely on their Independence being most firmly fixed & established

& was very bitter indeed in many expressions against him.

The Scheme of Washington's attack upon & the great expectations amongst the people for some time of his shortly being in possession of New York entirely disconcerted & no more talked of, on account of Prevost's victory at Savannah & those called the militia that had been ordered to be ready were not wanted.

11th mo: 29th. While Jos. Pritchard's Wife was here, James Claypoole, Tom Elton, William Heysham & John McCullough broke into Joseph Pritchard's dwelling house & took an account of all his moveables that were there; & on the day following they came again with porters and carried off almost every thing, except a Table, a few Chairs, some books & other small matters, to a house in Spruce Street, near Second Street, where they were publickly sold by Thomas Hale & Robert Smith, appointed by the present Rulers for the Sale of what they call confiscated Estates.

12 mo: 4. About 2 O'Clock John Elmslie & Daniel Dawson came into our room & told us they were prisoners, relating as follows, that some time in the summer they were notified that they were named for Constables, of which having taken no notice further than to signify their refusal to the persons who called on them to appear at the City Court, so called, in the 7 mo: last; they were this day taken up under a writing called a warrant from Thomas McKean by Alexander Carlisle, called head Constable & conducted by him to the Court house before Thomas McKean & William Augustus Atlee. John Elmslie was first called upon touching his neglect of serving the Office of Constable. He said he had formerly satisfied that office & that by former custom he was exempt from serving again till every man in the ward had served. McKean was very angry & would not give him time or Opportunity to speak & shew how he had satisfied the office.

Daniel Dawson was then asked why he had not attended the Courts as a Constable, & answered that he could not serve that office for ten Years past. McKean asked why, & Daniel said he thought it not lawful for him. McKean asked if he had taken the Oath & Daniel said that no man had a right to demand an Oath of another. McKean said I have a Right, adding I will commit you to Goal during the War, if you give me another word. Daniel said he did not mean to offend any Man. McKean said it was a religious duty to fill up the civil offices. Daniel said he had a desire to keep his hands clean & wished others to do the same. Security being demanded, or that they would enter into recognizance for their appearance at the next Court & they refusing, were conducted to Goal by Thomas McKean's Order, who said he would send them there to cool. John Elmslie chose to mention his having satisfied the office formerly, as he thought he might thereby be the more readily clear, at the same time he expressed himself clear of any leaning to, or approbation of the present Rulers & not satisfied to do any thing under their authority.

The custom of appointing constables in this province formerly was that any person named by the preceeding constables was liable to pay a fine of five pounds in case of their being appointed by the Court & their refusing to serve; they were seldom appointed unless present, but the Court sometimes would send the Staff to absent persons as a token of their being appointed, when they must serve or pay the five pounds. Elmslie & Dawson were neither of them present, nor had the Staff been sent to either of them.

Many friends for many days together came to see Elmslie & Dawson & some advised them to enter into recognizance rather than lay in Goal, but they did not see the propriety of it. Some friends of the Middle & Bank monthly meetings came to visit them & each of

them went seperately to Thomas McKean, the first on account of Elmslie & the latter of Dawson, but without having any reach upon McKean, who charged them with contempt of authority & seemed much chafed by Daniel Dawson's expression about clean hands, saying it meant or implied his being a corrupt Judge & said by neglect of the attendance of the Constables at Court, there had been nobody but the Judges to take care of the prisoners; on this account I had heard they were determined to make some examples. If McKean had not been carried away with a delusion, he might have profited by his observation of their being no person to officiate as Constables & have concluded that it mostly arose from a general disapprobation of their cause & System. McKean could not be brought to say any thing more to the friends than that he would release them upon their entring into recognizance.

Thomas Watson, Junr. was taken out of our room & put into the Room where G. Harding had been, in Company with Peter Musick &— Earhart, who were charged with making & issuing Counterfeit Congress Bills. After about ten days Earhart was released upon bail & Watson & Musick were put into a room on the Criminal side, where they had not been many days before Musick was discovered in an attempt to escape by cutting the Bars of the Window & they were both in consequence thereof put in Irons & kept every night in the dungeon, which seemed very hard & affecting, especially to Watson, who is about 20 Years of age & tenderly educated.

12 mo: 18th. Nicholas Waln called to see me & informed he had just been with Joseph Reed on my account, who had said I must draw up a paper addressed to himself & Council in order to obtain my liberty & Nicholas urged it very close upon me that I must do it. Whether he had given Reed expectation that I would do it I cannot say, but I informed Nicholas I could not do it with ease to my own mind. We could not by any

means unite in sentiments, yet I am conscious of not harbouring in my mind any the least ill will or unkind disposition towards him or any other of my friends.

I forgot to insert in due Course that Thomas Morgan who the longer he stayed discovered the more marks of insanity, yet not so as to be troublesome, was taken out of Goal by his Wife 12 mo: 10.

12 mo: 24. John Reynell, Nicholas Waln, Joseph Marriott, Thomas Hallowell, Joseph Bringhurst & John Haughton came to see me, being a Committee of Pine Street Monthly Meeting, who informed me they had come to a solid Judgment in my case, which was that I must sign & send a paper to the President & Council couched in such terms as I thought would give colour to their unjust proceedings against me. I told them I could not do it, that I believed myself innocent & therefore could not make such an acknowledgment to them. N. Waln said I had been legally tried & found guilty & therefore he could not see how I was innocent.

Joseph Bringhurst said he thought I had done very wrong in mentioning N. Waln's intended visit to England, seeing he did not as yet proceed & it was exposing the matter in public.

John Reynell said in mentioning the Currency issued for carrying on the present War, I had passed a censure upon other friends; in which I believe they all united or said something in confirmation of it; to which I said that it was true & I had no intention of censuring any friends when I wrote; I told them I had been apprehended near nine months, been put to Goal for 3 weeks, been afterwards at liberty 3 months, tryed about 5 months ago, since which time I had been in prison & that till very lately not any of the Monthly Meeting had spoke to me as under any appointment, that if they had attended early to my situation they would have been better acquainted with it; that I should be pleased they would not press the matter upon me, as I was not un-

easy in my mind however hard my situation might appear. They told me if I did not comply with their advice I must be treated with for not complying with the solid Judgment of friends & I might be disowned as the Society were suffering thro' me. I urged them severally to say whether this was the sentiment of each & I think they all said it was except John Reynell, who said nothing; I told them I could not be easy to comply with their advice, that if they did proceed to disown me I should put up with it as well as I could & not make use of any hard or angry expressions or conduct towards them, desiring they would, as I was not uneasy in my situation, let the matter lye quiet. Such a great difference of sentiment naturally caused some close & rather hard words, but I was favoured not to be any way raised with anger. The last words on my part at parting were that I had no hardness in my mind against any of them.

At this time I was unwell & continued so till new Year's day when I was taken worse & kept my Bed several days.

On the 3rd of the 1st mo: 1780, My father, Brother Thomas & Samuel Smith went to Joseph Reed & informed him of my situation, to see whether my sickness would have any effect; Reed did not seem to doubt my being ill, but demanded a Certificate from a Physician of it. Dr. Abraham Chovet drew up a certificate this day purporting that my life was in danger, &c fuller than I was easy with, but I did not know the contents till it was sent by Townsend Speakman who called at Reed's several times & not finding him left the Certificate.

My father & brother & Samuel Smith had a full conversation touching my Conduct & that of our family as to the present Rulers & our sufferings under them for several years past, as I was informed in every particular; Samuel Smith told Reed that Thomas McKean (when I was taken to him by Claypoole) said that he

had my Letter by him a month & had forgot it & signified he did not proceed against me of his own accord, as he was not so clear therein, but that some others thought different; Reed seemd much nettled with what McKean had then said & passd censures upon him for saying so. My father offered to come and lay in Goal in my stead till I am well, but no notice was taken of it.

About 7 O'Clk in the Evening of the same day James Claypoole with Dr. Frederic Phile came into our room after we had been locked up, Phile felt my Pulse & asked me how I felt, to which I answered, they then both went out of the room, when I heard Phile tell Claypoole I was very ill, upon which they came in & Claypoole said he had directions from the President to let me go home upon my giving Bail to return to Goal as soon as I was well. I told him I could not do it if they kept me in Goal till I was carried out, upon which they went away & on the day following Claypoole asked Woodrope Sims to give Bail privately & without my knowledge for my future good behaviour, as they call it, but Woodrope declined it with which I was pleased.

I continued mending slowly most of this month, the weather the coldest & of longest continuance that ever I remember; We have a very comfortable room & fare as well as can be expected in a Goal.

Several of my friends & my near Connections seem very much concerned lest the friends of Pine Street should proceed to deal with me, & very anxious that I may be rightly enabled to conduct myself towards them; for my situation is really critical & hard, yet I desire to be directed by that unerring Wisdom in my own mind, which alone can support & rightly direct my Steps lest I should fall, for as far as I know myself I should be willing to do & comply with anything my friends desire of me, if I thought I should afterwards have satisfaction of mind therein.

It may seem strange for a young person to remain

so long in confinement without any sort of employment. I could not think of any thing that seemd on all accounts agreeable & I have been the more easy in being idle because I have thought that very little business of any sort is carried on in this City at present in an honest manner & if I was out of Goal at present, I should not be willing to undertake any business to get money while I could do without it. I sometimes have employed a little of my time in making Pewter Spoons (it being a part of Daniel Dawson's occupation) when we could get Old Pewter to make them.

1st mo: 27th. James Thornton, John Foreman, John Pemberton, Ezekiel Clever, Joshua Morris, David Bacon & Henry Drinker, being a Committee of the Quarterly Meeting, came to visit me, when I informed them fully how friends of Pine Street Meeting had proceeded towards me, at the same time I informed them that I could not be willing to do as they had required of me; they urged me much to send a representation of my case to the President & Council & gave me a draft of one which they had considered & agreed upon as proper. After perusing it I told them I could not be satisfied to address anything to the President & Council, for that when I was put into the Mason's Lodge I was not easy to sign the first paper sent to them, because of acknowledging them, that I was desirous if anything was sent them, of addressing them by their names as Men & the Instruments of our suffering only, & not as Body I could have any thing more to do with than quietly & patiently to suffer whatever they were permitted to inflict upon me, that altho I afterwards signed the papers to the Council & Congress it was not in consequence of a change in my sentiments, but merely an outside Conformity to the Company I was in, & that if I had been alone I believe I should not have signed any such paper. I also added that the Form & Words of the paper they gave were not satisfactory, But that

I could willingly draw up a representation addressed to them as a Committee of the Meeting clear & full, or if they would approve of carrying a writing addressed to Joseph Reed such as I drew up satisfactory to myself, I would willingly do it; they did not clearly answer me, but left me to draw up a representation by the next Quarterly Meeting.

Thomas Watson's & Peter Musick's Irons were taken off, Watson put again into our Room, but Musick still kept in the Dungeon.

1st mo: 31st. William Rush, Isaac Howell & John Miller, three of those call'd Magistrates Joseph Dean, the Goaler, & two others to me unknown came into our room. I suppose they were making a visit to the Goal. Isaac Howell had some conversation with — Emslie & Dawson, John Miller enquired of me concerning my health; After they left our room I spoke to the Goaler for permission for some of us to go out into the Street & bring in some firewood we had bought; He told me we should be permitted presently & I was returning into our room when Isaac Howell stopt me in the passage & said they had taken into consideration my poor state of health & had condescended to allow me to go to my father's house & be a prisoner there upon my giving security for my future good behaviour. I told him I was an innocent man & was not conscious of having misbehaved. He said I had all the Justice shewn me that was possible, that I had been tryed & found guilty. I said as for guilt I have none & as for Justice you should never make use of the word, you have not even the Shadow of it. He said I had plead not guilty, that if I had been mute it might have been otherwise. I said I did not plead but only said I was entirely innocent, that my letter would do me credit—he asked when or how—I said I believed a time would come when he might see that I was right & he was altogether in the wrong—That it was persecution in a great degree, that

I could not be satisfied in my mind to give any security if they kept me here till I was carried out; By this time he seemed tired of hearing me & walked into another room to his Companions—he appeared to me to be as dark & as much bewildered as any person I have conversed with & his being an apostate Quaker, still keeping to a plain Garb, caused me to speak the plainer to him as being a person whom I think to be in the very gall of bitterness.

2nd mo: 1st. A Woman who was prisoner in the room into which Isaac Howell entered to his Companions when he left me, told Joseph Pritchard that upon Isaac Howell's relating what I had told him, William Rush said, Then let him lay there & rot.

I continued low & poorly, anxiously desirous that I may not be imprudently tenacious of my own prospect respecting my own situation & that the friends of the Quarterly Meeting may see it as it really is.

Thomas Watson let out upon bail, soon after which Peter Musick with 3 thieves broke out of the Dungeon, Musick escaped but the others were all again apprehended in the City.

2 mo: 6. James Thornton, Ezekiel Clever, Joshua Morris, John Pemberton, Samuel Smith, David Bacon & Henry Drinker came to visit me again agreeable to the expectation given 1 mo: 27. They had a meeting with us all, after which they desired a private conference with me, as they had before, only my Bros. Thomas & Miers were present with them; I informed them I believed there was clearness & propriety in friends no way acknowledging the present Rulers, that they were permitted as a chastisement to us, & that the division & difference in the Conduct of friends was the only support of them in their power, & that if friends were brought to see it so & receive the Calamities now in the land in true patience & resignation, the time would come when these oppressors would vanish like smoak before

the Wind. Some of them advanced some arguments that friends might address the present Powers by their names as they had the Government in their hands &c. I told them their power was exactly of a peice & could not be seperated from their paper & Lamp black Bills, which are the greatest Cheat & have been productive of the deepest Calamities that could befall a Country—that I had heard of a paper lately sent by the Meeting of Sufferings to those who now undertake to make Laws, in which they had stiled them the General Assembly, which certainly was not true, as the generality of the people had cautiously avoided voting at Elections during these times & those who had not taken the abjuration & fidelity to those new undertakers at the helm were not permitted to vote if any of them had chose it. I added that I had drawn up a paper touching my Case addressed to Joseph Reed, which I was ready & willing to shew them, tho' no person had seen or heard it except my fellow prisoners. They desired to see what I had written. I handed it to H. Drinker who read it to them. I expressed my desire previous to its being read, that whether they thought fit to make any use of it or not, I was desirous the Contents should not be much talked of. After they had heard it they seemd better satisfied & said very little about the paper they had left with me. James Thornton expressed that he had felt his mind most easy not to urge anything upon me, & mentioned some prospect they had of going to Joseph Reed on my behalf. They did not take the writing I drew up, nor ask me for it, but I trust parted with me in some degree satisfied & I believe they were convinced that altho' I could not think with my friends of Pine Street Meeting, I had no hardness in my mind against any of them. These friends did not go to Joseph Reed or any other in my behalf—neither did they call to see me again; those of them who lived in the Country returned home as soon as the Quarterly Meeting was over; However,

my mind was much easier from this day & a great burthen removed.

Several of my friends & Connections were anxious that the Committee of the Quarterly Meeting might unite with me in sentiment, & the more so as some seemd to be watching for occasion to censure me; It is a great satisfaction to me that these are disappointed.

The following is a Copy of the Writing I had drawn up—

“Friend Joseph Reed

I now address myself to thee, as being at the head of affairs here, in order that thou mayest let all those who have been any way instrumental in the treatment I have received, or who have it in their power to be instrumental in my release, have the opportunity of candidly judging thereon.

Lest it should be concluded or inferrd from my quietly & silently bearing my altogether unjust imprisonment for upwards of six months past, that I feel some uneasiness of mind, I now take the freedom to inform thee that I am entirely conscious of having given no just occasion to any man or body of men to be thus treated & I am thankful in mind that I not only feel this consciousness during my present confinement, but that I felt it before my being sent a prisoner to Winchester & since during the Calamities, which have attended the Inhabitants of this Land, (before blessed & favoured beyond most others). And that however irksome a long confinement may appear I have sometimes been ready to conclude that I have enjoyed more freedom & ease of mind than many others that are not thus restrained, yea & much more than I myself should have enjoyed had I been at liberty on terms not satisfactory to the feelings of my own mind—

And further, I have not been without thoughts, that thou & such others as now bear rule in this City, who

are informed of the cause & nature of my imprisonment, are fully satisfied of my innocence as to the matter wherewith I am charged, but seeing my letter upon the face & during the whole tenor of it, pronounces me to be inimical to the cause of America as you term it, you seem determined thus unjustly to treat me, (I might have said persecute me, but that I would chuse to avoid pronouncing it under that term in order that unprejudiced persons may the more fully exercise their Judgments thereon) in expectation that I might be reduced to the hard necessity of complying with what I knew to be wrong in order to obtain my liberty.

And as I would not wish to deceive thee, I now candidly & without reserve inform thee, that the sentiments contained in my letter to my brother at New York, upon which I have been apprehended, tryed, sentenced & confined are consistent with the feelings of my mind upon the most solid consideration I have been capable of & that at all times since I have been called to account under thy authority for the same, & that I cannot deviate therefrom with peace to my own mind; at the same time I assure thee, that I have studiously endeavoured in my several letters to my brother to avoid giving offence to any & this I think must clearly appear when tis considered that the letter in question was sent open & subject to inspection before it could go into New York.

Yet under the sentiments above expressed, as far as I know myself, I am clear of meddling in any warlike affairs & that if I thought I had thus deviated, I should be desirous of acknowledging it to my friends, by whom I am held as a member & in public, as soon, if not before it was laid to my charge, as having been therein led away from my principles & profession, in order to remove the censure I had thereby occasioned, as far as in my power,—here also I may observe the reasons for the general tenor of my conduct, the loss of my property

with that of my father & brothers rather than contribute One pcent thereof to the town of Boston to a very large amount, because we should have looked upon ourselves by that act as parties to every thing done there, & that it was also contrary to friends principles against putting down & setting up Governments & the promotion of War in the Land—these same reasons hold with respect to the refusal of the Congress Bills, fully & clearly as to being parties to what might be transacted, setting up & pulling down Governments & the promotion of War in the land—Thou mayest remember my being advertised with my Brother as Enemies to our Country for the refusal of said Bills in 2 mo. 1776 & our store & books shut up & we forbid any intercourse or transactions in the way of our business & that our Stores were at two other several times broken open & our Goods taken & carried off to a considerable amount, we not being easy to act therein contrary to what we thought right.

All this suffering & loss of property, I trust I have born without murmuring or making use of any ill or abusive language to or against the persons active therein & I can safely say that I am better satisfied with my losses, yea much better, than if I had avoided them under a Compliance with what I did & do believe would give cause of great uneasyness to my mind.

Can therefore any unprejudiced man or men believe that I should thus quietly be made willg to partake of such a variety of embarassments, difficulties & loss of property merely from a spirit of Obstinacy, surely nay, for even admitting that thou had a clear sense & understanding that I am wrong, even then common charity & a disposition entirely clear of persecution, would induce thee to look at me with compassion as a person carried away with a delusion & endeavour by moderation & calm reason to convince me that I am in the wrong.

And I do most candidly & sincerely inform thee that

I have carefully endeavoured so to conduct myself as to give no occasion of offence to any where I could do it, with ease & satisfaction to my own mind & where I could not, quietly to suffer, thereby to convince those who have been the cause of such suffering at least that I had no evil intention towards them therein.

And as I believe thou art a man of understanding (tho to my knowledge I never exchanged a word with thee) thou mayest readily conclude, that if I had not a religious scruple in my mind against a conformity to the times, I might have passed thro the world without any of the very great hardships imprisonment and as far as I know, total loss of my property, previous to my being apprehended on this matter, at the same time observing that if I had got above those Scruples I might not only have avoided all I have suffered, but possibly by continuing to trade, have acquired something considerable thereby, & I may inform thee that from the commencement of the present rulers, I have thought it right not to carry on any trade, hoping that I may not want the necessaries of life, before I may have satisfaction of mind in some honest business.

I could give thee my reasons for writing the several parts of the letter, but as I gave them fully & clearly to the persons who undertook to try me, I apprehend thou hast heard them. I may repeat that as the letter was open and sent subject to inspection it cannot by you be called Intelligence to the Enemy & therefore that I am held a prisoner for my private sentiments only, nearly the same as if I had delivered it to thee or any other person for perusal before I had sent it, & had been apprehended thereon: And when I was apprehended & conducted to Thomas McKean, I there freely & clearly acknowledged that I wrote the letter in question, well knowing myself to be clear of just occasion of offence, & he amongst other things told me he had had the letter by him a month, that he had forgot it & that it had given him much more trouble than it appeared to give me &c

—Had I been disposed to convey intelligence to the brittish Army, or anything of that nature thou mayest readily conclude me to be void of common understanding, to sign my name to such a thing & send it subject to inspection before it could enter the brittish lines. Several times I have had offers of having letters conveyed to New York by persons going privately, but being unacquainted with their Errands & knowing that if I wrote by such persons and the contents of my letters were free of exception, yet I might be supposed by persons anxious to take some exception however clear to be concernd in any thing they were pleased to imagine in case my letters were found in such hands.

I understand some of those who were active in trying me, have said that if I had employed Council I should have been cleard & that the manner of my conduct was somewhat offensive in my refusal to give bail for my appearance at their Court, for my informing them when there, that I did not see how they could try me, as I had not taken the Test; that I had nothing to do with the tryal & that it must be altogether their doings, if they would proceed therein. My not employing Council in my defence, my not consenting to the qualification of some persons to give evidence in my favour & sundry other matters less material; I then thought & still am clear in the rectitude of my proceedure on this occasion, tho some who I have no doubt are my friends have told me that if I had employed Council, there remains no doubt but I should have been cleared & this seems in some degree confirmed by the twelve Men upon the delivery of their conclusion, saying that I was guilty of holding a correspondence inimical to the independence of America, by which if there had been any justice or fairness they would have discharged me as clear of what I had been charged with, yet the twelve men were sent out a second time, as what they had delivered did not please; they returned a second time with the same determination; yet they were sent out the third time

(tho one of them said if we are kept six nights more I can never say any other without wronging my conscience) and upon their return they being all seperately asked said Guilty; What means were used to produce this or whether any I do not certainly know, only this I am informed that nine of them were of the judgment they gave the first & second time & some of them had said if they knew as much then as they do now of the rights of Jury Men, they would not have altered their verdict, & very few, if any at all of them had ever served under the character of Jury Men at any court before; And I also understand that they are desirous of petitioning my release if I would give them any encouragement so to do, which I have avoided, not knowing exactly what they would ask for, and not chusing to dictate to them, as I cannot be easy to go out of Goal under any other Idea, than that of an innocent man & further—I may add that I have several times been informed that I might be released upon giving security for my future good behaviour, as you call it; Thou mayest rest assured that as I am not conscious of having done amiss, I have a scruple in my mind against giving any manner of security & I hope I may be preserved to bear patiently my confinement, till those who are the cause of it, or have it in their power to discharge me, may see & assert my innocence or until I may be otherwise provisionally restored to my liberty—for as far as I know myself, I would wish to acknowledge any errors I may commit on any occasion: here also I may insert that I have been informed that James Claypoole spoke to an acquaintance of mine, desiring him to give security, privately & without my knowledge for me, which I mention that thou mayest not be deceived in case any such thing should be again attempted; that I have desired none of my friends or acquaintance may in any shape become answerable for me, & I believe none will meddle with it as they are acquainted with my sentiments thereon, viz: that I am not easy to come out un-

less I am entirely cleared & therefore I would wish no further attempt of the kind, but that every thing touching me might be acted in the same open manner in which I now address thee.

And I would wish thee to lay aside prejudice & to consider me as a person who believes himself not carried away by a delusion & whose desire is not thus to make himself noted by suffering but to pass along as much unnoticed & retired from public view as possible, & that anything that has tended to bring me into notice, has arisen from my desire to act such a part, as will afford me, satisfaction & no other motive, & if thou can get clear of prejudice thou mayest be ready to adopt the wise Council of Gamaliel Acts V, 38 & 39, "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men & let them alone; for if this Counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it lest haply ye be found even to fight against God"—

I would not have thee to conclude from my citing the above that I am desirous of giving matters a high Stamp, I have avoided it as much as the nature of the case will admit, & barely supposing me to be desirous of acting the part of a true & honest man, I may have liberty to apply it.

I would further remark that no malice remains in my mind towards any person who have been the cause of my suffering nor am I much solicitous for my release, knowing that if I act with integrity I shall have peace of mind be my lot where it may & if I am mistaken in thinking that some of the present rulers believe me to be innocent, I hope they will all be convinced & direct my discharge accordingly, endeavoring to consider my case as if it were their own—And observing that my health is considerably impaired by my Confinement

Thy Real friend,

Samuel R. Fisher."

2 mo: 6, 1780.

(To be continued.)

ORDERLY BOOK OF GENERAL EDWARD HAND,
VALLEY FORGE, JANUARY, 1778.

[Copied from the original by William B. Read, Esq.]

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE CAMP, JANY. 1st, 1778.

Parole, Ulder,—Signs $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Salem} \\ \text{Amboy} \end{array} \right.$

Major General for Tomorrow De Kalb.
Brigadier Patterson.
Field officers, Col^o Spencer and Major Polk.
Brigade Major McClure.

Details for Guards Tomorrow.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Muhlenberg	0	1	1	1	14
Weedon	0	1	1	1	17
Patterson	0	1	2	2	28
Learned	0	1	1	1	25
Varnum	1	1	2	2	30
Huntington	0	1	2	2	40
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 154

As this day begins the New Year, the General Orders a gill of Spirits to be Served to each non Commissioned officer and soldier and to avoid the irregular and partial distribution of this article (which has been a good deal complained of) he expressly orders that no Spirits shall issue to any part of the troops in future, but in Consequence of General or Special Orders from Head Quarters. A deviation from this rule will be at the risque and peril of the Issuing Commissary.

The Commanding officer of each regiment is to give in a return at orderly time tomorrow, of the number of tailors in the regiment he commands; And no new [uniforms] to be made for the use of any regiment but by a pattern which will be furnished them.

A considerable number of hoes and some axes are ready to be issued at the Quarter Master General's Stores.

Col^o Cook is appointed president of the Court Martial which sits daily at the Bake House to Relieve Col^o Scammel.

VALLEY FORGE HEAD QUARTERS JANUARY 2nd 1778.

Major General for TomorrowGreen.

BrigadierMcIntosh.

Field Officers ..Col^o Bradley, Major Cogswell.

B. MajorBailey.

Parole Southampton & *C. Signs*, Bristol & Burlington.

Detail for Guards.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Muhlenberg	0	1	1	1	15
Weedon	0	1	1	1	18
Patterson	0	1	2	2	29
Learned	0	1	2	1	26
Varnum	0	1	1	2	31
Huntington	1	1	2	2	35
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 154

The Commander-in-Chief to prevent unnecessary application for furloughs, informs the officers that none will be granted by him unless the officers who apply they produce certificates from the Major Generals of the divisions to which they belong that the State of their regiments will admit of their absence from camp. And

it is that the Major Generals, previous to their giving such certificates, will duly inform themselves of the State of the regiment, and whether furloughs requested may be granted without injury to the service. And in determining this, they will consider how very expedient it is that officers remain in camp (where strong necessity does not demand their absence) to improve themselves and their corps in such a regular system of discipline as may be prescribed, and which the quiet and leisure of a fixed camp will afford them opportunities to practice.

All the cartridges in the men's hands are to be collected forthwith, and delivered to the regimental Quarter Masters, except those which are regularly placed in their cartridge boxes which are to be completely filled. The regimental Quarter Masters are to deliver all these Spare cartridges to the persons appointed by the Major Generals of the respective divisions to receive them. And the Major Generals are desired without delay to appoint proper persons for that purpose, who are [to] apply to the commissary of military stores for paper, and cause all the good cartridges to be carefully packed in bundles and the damaged ones to be returned to the commissary—The Brigadiers and officers commanding independent brigades are to make the like appointments for their brigades.

Every Monday Morning the surgeons of regiments are to make returns to the Surgeon General or in his absence to one of the Senior Surgeons present in camp, of all the sick in camp, or otherwise under the immediate care of the regimental surgeons,—specifying the men's names—companies—regiments—and diseases.

Adjutant Marion is appointed Brigade Major *pro tempore* to General Varnum's brigade and is to be respected as such.

After Orders.

Col^o Swift is appointed president of the General Court Martial to sit tomorrow morning at the Bake House in the room of Col^o Cook who is absent.

A Subaltern, Sarjeant, Corporal and 20 men from each of the following brigades Vizt: The first and second Pennsylvania brigades, and from Poor's brigade, are to parade punctually at Nine O'clock tomorrow morning close by the artillery park, where orders will be delivered to the officers. The men are if possible to take Two days provisions with them.

A fatigue party of 90 rank and file besides sargeants are to parade tomorrow morning at 8'clock at Fatland ford, where General Sullivan will give them orders. General Poor's brigade to furnish a Sargeant and 14. Glover's a Sargeant and 15. Learned's a Sargeant and 11. Patterson's a Sargeant and 14. Varnum's a Sargeant and 15. Huntington's a Sargeant and 17. A corporal also from each.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JANU. 3rd.

Parole, Westfield—*C. Signs*—Wilmington, New Castle.

Major General for tomorrow .. Lord Stirling.
 Brigadier Scott.
 Field Officers, L^t Maj. Thayer, Major Bradish.
 Brigade Major McClintock.

Detail.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Woodford	0	1	1	2	26
Scott	0	1	1	1	22
1 st Pennsylvania	0	1	2	2	24
2 ditto	0	1	1	1	18
Maxwell	0	1	2	1	25
Conway	0	1	1	2	26
Glover	1	1	2	2	36
Poor	0	2	2	2	31
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 208

At a General Court Martial held the 28th ultimo, whereof Colo^d Scammel was president,—Capt. Courtney of the Artillery appeared before the Court charged with “Leaving his howitzer in the field in the action of Brandywine, in a cowardly unofficerlike manner.” The Court having considered the charge and evidence are of opinion that Capt. Courtney is guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and do Sentence him (as he has ever supported the character of a brave man) “to be reprimanded by General Knox in the presence of all the Artillery officers.”

The Commander-in-Chief is induced from the State of the evidence, to disapprove the Sentence and orders Capt. Courtney to be discharged of his arrest, without censure.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the following Sentences of the same General Court Martial held the 29th ultimo Vizt.

Ensign Carpenter, charged with “Absenting himself without leave from camp, knowing that the regiment was immediately to go to action”—is found guilty, and sentenced to be cashiered; The sentence is to be executed forthwith.

John McClure, charged with “Suttling in camp, contrary to General Orders”—Pleads guilty. The Court are of opinion that his sufferings in the provost have sufficiently punished him for his crime, and do direct that he be discharged from thence.

The hon^{ble} the Continental Congress have Resolved that the Commander-in-Chief be directed to inform, and he does hereby inform the brave officers and soldiers of the Continental Army now in camp, that as the Situation of the enemy has rendered it necessary for the army to take post in a part of Country not provided with houses, and in consequence thereof to reside in huts,—Congress approving of their Soldierly patience, fidelity and zeal in the cause of their country, direct one

months extraordinary pay to be given to each;—and that Congress are exerting themselves to remedy the inconveniences which the Army have lately experienced from the defects of the Commissary and cloathier's departments.

That after the first day of January instant, the Commissary General of Purchases is from time to time to compute the cost of each part of a ration, agreeable to the prime cost of the several articles composing the same; and by this estimate the Issuing commissaries are to govern themselves, instead of that made in the 38th article of the commissary's regulation passed by Congress the 10th of June last.

And further: That the General should recommend—and he does Strongly recommend to officers of the Army, to draw such a part of their rations only, as may be necessary for their respective subsistence; and to receive the residue in Money at the estimated cost aforesaid, until the difficulties arising from the present deficiency in the commissary's department shall be removed.

Advertisement.

(Taken up at the Artillery park, a large brown Horse, 15 hands high, no brand or earmark: The owner may have him by applying to Lt. Col^o Strobogh at the park.)

The Second brigade of Lord Stirling's division have permission to discharge their arms tomorrow morning at roll call.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE JANY. 4th 1778.

Parole, Litchfield—*C. Signs*—New Haven, Norwich.

Major General for Tomorrow ... The Marquis

La Fayette.

Field Officers .. Major Allison, Major Taylor.

Brigade M Learned.

Detail for Tomorrow.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Woodford	0	1	1	2	18
Scott	0	1	1	1	23
1 st Pennsylvania	0	1	2	2	25
2 ^d ditto	0	1	1	1	19
Maxwell	0	1	2	1	26
Conway	0	1	1	2	27
Glover	0	2	2	2	38
Poor	1	1	2	2	32
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	9	12	13	208

As fast as the men go into the huts, the tents are to be returned immediately to the Quarter Master General. The commanding officers of regiments will see this performed. The Brigadiers are also to pay proper attention to it: and the officers of companies will be answerable for those which have been delivered to them. The Commander-in-Chief is thus pointed, because he is informed that some tents have already been cut up by soldiers, and disposed of; and because all the tents which now are good and can be repaired, will be indispensibly necessary next campaign.

As fast as the tents come into the Quarter Master General's hands, he is to have them washed thoroughly, repaired and stored,—making a return of the whole and the quality of them.

By order of Congress, no officer is allowed to hold Two Commissions in the army. The commanding officers of companies and regiments are to pay strict attention to this order in making out their muster rolls.

Advertisements.

A sorrel Horse 14½ hands high, with two white hind feet was on the 30th ultimo taken up at the quarters of the L^t Col^o of Engineers at Col^o Grenough's plantation about Two Miles from Lord Stirling's quarters. The owner may have him by applying to L^t Col^o Gouvion at Col^o Grenough's.

A General Court Martial is to sit tomorrow morning at nine o'clock at the Bake House for the trial of all Prisoners which shall be brought before them—Col^o Swift is president, a captain from each brigade (those of General Wayne's division excepted) will constitute the members of the court, one orderly Sargeant from each division is to attend the Court.

After Orders.

A fatigue party of a Captain, Subaltern, Two Surgeons, 2 Corporals and 48 men are to parade tomorrow morning at Sunrise on General Glover's brigade parade, and thence march to Fatland ford where they will receive orders from General Sullivan.

Detail.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Poor	1	0	1	1	16
Glover	0	1	0	1	19
Learned	0	0	1	0	13
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 48

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JANY. 5th 1778.

Parole, Fairfield—C. Signs { Milford
Harlem

Major General for Tomorrow De Kalb.

BrigadierHuntington.

Field Officers...L^t Col^o DeHart, Major Talbert.

Brigade MajorKelly.

Details for Guards Tomorrow.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Muhlenberg	0	1	2	2	22
Weedon	0	1	2	2	31
Patterson	0	2	2	2	36
Learned	1	1	2	2	30
Varnum	0	2	2	2	38
Huntington	0	2	2	3	51
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 208

A fatigue party of a Captain, Subaltern, Corp^l and 50 men are to parade tomorrow morning at Sunrise on General Varnum's brigade parade, and thence march to Fatland ford, where they will receive orders from General Sullivan.

Detail.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
General Patterson	0	1	1	1	15
Varnum	1	0	1	0	17
Huntington	0	0	1	1	18

At a General Court Martial held the First instant, whereof Col^o Scammel was president, appeared Denham Ford Commissary in General Greene's division, charged with *Theft*. "The Court having considered the charge and the evidence are of opinion that Denham Ford is guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and do Sentence him to pay M^r Spencer and Mr. Holliway Two hundred Dollars and that after he shall procure a certificate from the aforesaid gentleman of the payment of the above sum, he be brought from the provost Guard,—mounted on a Horse back foremost, without a saddle, his coat turned wrong side out, his hands tied behind him, and he drummed out of the Army (never more to return) by all the drummers of the division to which he belongs, and that the above sentence be published in the newspapers."—

The Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence and orders it to be put in execution.

The officers commanding corps which furnished Seamen to the Gallies in Delaware, are to make inquiry and report to the Adjutant General whether or not they have joined their corps again.

The Commissaries are without delay to provide soap to be issued to the troops. Soft soap is to be procured if hard soap cannot be obtained.

Pursuant to a Resolve of Congress of the First instant. The Commanding officers of the Continental

regiments now in camp, are required to make immediately exact returns of the officers and Soldiers in their respective regiments, to the paymasters thereof; to prevent any imposition in the payment of the one month's pay extraordinary which Congress in their Resolve of the 30th of December last have ordered to be given to the brave officers and Soldiers of the Continental Army, on account of their Soldierly patience, fidelity and zeal, in hutting &c; as expressed in the said resolve.

The daily guards are to parade in the morning precisely at Nine OClock which the officers of the day and Brigade Majors will duly notice.

Advertisement.

The residue of the effects of the late L^t Col^o Smith will be sold tomorrow at Three OClock in the afternoon, at the Park of Artillery. A neat field Bedstead is among the effects.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JANU. 6th 1778.

Parole, Hampton—*C. Signs* { Jamestown.
Springfield.

Major General for TomorrowGreene.

BrigadierPoor.

Field officersL^t Col^o Gray, Major Vernon.

Brigade MajorAlden.

Detail the same as Yesterday.

Detail for fatigue.

		C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
1 st Pennsylvania	Brigade ..	1	0	0	1	20
2 ^d ditto	" ...	0	1	1	1	16
Scott's	" ...	0	0	1	0	12

The fatigue party to parade at Sunrise tomorrow morning on the brigade parade of the 1st Pennsylvania

brigade, and thence march to fatland ford, where they will receive General Sullivan's orders.

The difficulty of procuring forage for such Horses as must necessarily be detained for the common purposes of the camp obliges the Commander-in-Chief to call upon the General officers, and commanding officers of regiments, to see that no officer under their respective commands (except those who are allowed forage by Congress, and even to these it is recommended to part with their Horses if they can) does under any pretence whatsoever keep a horse in camp. The plea of doing it at their own expence will not be admitted, as the evil will not thereby be remedied. A strict compliance with this order is expected from every officer.

The Quarter Master General is, without delay to send for the iron ovens provided by Mr. Erskine, and deliver one to each brigade. He will know at Head Quarters where they now lay.

The General in riding thro' the incampment observing that many huts were covered with tents whilst chimneys were building to others—again repeats his orders to have the tents delivered up the moment the huts are or can be completed; for the doing of which will only allow this week.

And he expects from the General officers commanding the wings and the Second line that they will put this into a train of execution, and see that the order is complied with.

The Spirits which the Commander-in-Chief ordered to be seized, may be delivered by the commissary to the officers in due proportion.

Col^o Dewees, who was nearly ruined by the enemy, complains that the remains of his buildings are likely to be destroyed by this Army.—The Commander-in-Chief positively forbids the least injury to be done to the Walls and chimneys of Col^o Dewees's buildings; and as divers iron plates have been taken from them,

the commanding Officers of Corps are immediately to instruct all the huts of their regiment and make return to the Quarter Master General of all they can find, and the names of the persons in whose possession they are found, that they may be restored when demanded. The Regimental Surgeons are immediately to make returns to Doctor Cochran the Surgeon General of all the men in their regiments who have not had the Small-pox—

They will also call on Dr. Cochran for what sulphur they need for the use of their regiments.

At a General Court Martial held the Second instant, in General Varnum's brigade, of which Major Ward was president, Ensign Benjamin Arnold, of Col^o Angell's regiment charged with getting drunk, and behaving in a disorderly and unsoldier-like manner, in camp, on the 6th of December, with refusing to retire to his quarters when ordered by the Col^o,—Sending him for Answer that he would go when he pleased, and not before. And also with refusing to do his duty when regularly warned, and threatening to leave the service whether he could get a discharge or not, on the 24th of the same month was tried and adjudged guilty of the whole, and by the Court unanimously Sentenced to be discharged with infamy—to be rendered ever hereafter incapable of holding a commission in the Continental Service; and that it should be accounted scandalous for an officer to hold any friendly correspondence with—The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed.

At a General Court Martial held in General Weedon's brigade on the 4th instant, whereof L^t Col^o Simms was president—John ———, a soldier in the 2^d Virginia regiment charged with deserting from his guard, and taking with him Two prisoners in irons—was tried, and found guilty of the crime wherewith he was charged and Sentenced therefor to suffer Death—

The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence; and orders that it be put in execution next Friday at Ten O'clock in the forenoon near the grand parade.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE JANU 7th 1778.

Parole, Warsaw—*C. Signs*, Berlin, Dresden.

Major General for Tomorrow .. Lord Stirling.

Brigadier Patterson.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JANU 8th 1778.

Parole, Newark—*Counter Signs*— { Woodbridge
Chatham

Major General for Tomorrow

Marquis de la Fayette.

Brigadier McIntosh.

Field Officers.. Col^o Grayson, Maj. Holdridge.

Brigade Major Claiborne.

Detail for Guards the same as Yesterday.

Detail for Fatigue.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Learned	1	0	0	1	12
Glover	0	1	1	0	20
Poor	0	0	1	1	16
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 48

To parade tomorrow morning at sunrise on the Grand Parade and thence march to Fatland ford where they will receive General Sullivan's orders—

A Subaltern and Eight Men from General Muhlenberg's and General Glover's brigades and eight men from every other brigade in camp, are to parade tomorrow morning at Nine O'clock precisely, by themselves, on the grand parade. Such men are to be selected as know how to [word left out] and that are in full health. They are to relieve the like parties under

Col^o Byard's command; and take with them their arms, blankets and necessaries.

The Commander-in-Chief is informed that gaming is again creeping into the army; in a more especial manner among the lower staff in the environs of the camp; He therefore in the most solemn terms declares, That this vice, in either officer or soldier shall not, when detected, escape exemplary punishment. And to avoid discrimination between play and gaming—forbids cards and dice under any pretence whatsoever.

Being also informed that many men are rendered unfit for duty by the Itch, he orders and directs the surgeons to look attentively into this matter, and as soon as the men (who are infected with this disorder) are properly disposed in huts, to have them annointed for it.

All issuing commissaries are carefully to save all the horns of cattle and have them seperated from the bones, and then returned to the Q^r Master General who is to store them.

A detachment of a Captain and forty men from each brigade are to attend the execution of John Reily on the grand parade, at ten O'clock tomorrow forenoon.

John Berrien Esq. is appointed Brigade Major to the North Carolina Brigade, and is to be respected as such.

At a General Court Martial held the 5th instant in General Muhlenberg's brigade, of which L^t Col^o Bull was president—Ensign Cocke of the 1st Virginia regiment charged with denying upon oath what he formerly and has since said he knew respecting Captain Crump's behaviour, thereby acting inconsistently with honour and truth—was tried, and found guilty of the charge and by the unanimous opinion of the Court sentenced to be discharged from the service. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be executed forthwith.

The Brigades may receive their quotas of nails at the Quarter Master General's store.

Each brigade is to make a return immediately of the armourers therein, to the Adjutant General.

A flag will go to Philadelphia from the Quarters of the Commissary General of prisoners, at Nine O'clock tomorrow morning.

The Spirits mentioned in the Orders of the 6th instant have not yet come into the Commissary's hands, the waggons sent for that purpose being employed by General Smallwood—Notice will be given when they arrive.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JANU. 9th 1778.

Parole, Blenheim, C. Signs $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Bolton} \\ \text{Bergen} \end{array} \right.$

Major Genl. for Tomorrow ... Baron De Kalb.

Brigadier Maxwell.

Field Officers, L^t Col^o Prentice, Major Sumner.

Brigade Major McCormick.

Detail.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Muhlenberg's	0	2	2	2	22
Weedon's	0	2	2	2	30
Patterson's	0	2	2	2	36
Learned's	0	1	2	2	30
Varnum's	1	1	2	3	40
Huntington's	0	1	2	2	50

For Fatigue.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Patterson	1	0	0	1	20
Weedon	0	0	1	1	16
Muhlenberg	0	1	1	0	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	1	2	2	48

to parade at Fatland ford at the Eight O'clock tomorrow morning.

The execution of John Reiley is respited till tomorrow Ten O'clock in the forenoon, when the detachments

from the several brigades are to attend on the grand parade. Some doubts having arisen with respect to the manner in which the pay-rolls for the months extraordinary pay should be made up, the proceeding therein is to be stayed till further orders.

The order of yesterday for a return of Armourers was intended to include all the Gunsmiths in the respective brigades. Those returns are to be made tomorrow at Orderly time.

The Regimental pay-Masters are to bring in their abstracts for the month of November for examination.

The Major Generals and Brigadiers (or officers commanding the brigades) of each division are to fix on some suitable ground near their respective brigades, where hospitals may be erected one for the sick of each brigade, and as soon as the men can possibly be spared from working at the huts, they are to erect these hospitals. The officers who shall be appointed to superintend the work will receive directions therefor at the Adjutant General's office.

The Brigade Quarter Masters are as soon as possible to make racks for all the horses of their brigades, to prevent a waste of forage.

The General is informed that many officers are frequently passing out of camp without leave, that practice is positively forbidden; and no officer is to go beyond the limits of the camp without written license from the Major General or Brigadier of the division or brigade to which he belongs.

A Subaltern and eight men from Scotts—1st Pennsylvania—2^d ditto—Poors—Maxwells—Conways—and Glovers brigades, are to parade tomorrow morning, at Nine OClock, on the grand parade prepared for a week's command.

Each brigade Quarter Master is to come tomorrow in the forenoon to receive the iron ovens for their brigades.

After Orders.

Major West is appointed field officer of the day in the room of L^t Col^o Prentice who is absent and Major Hart in the room of Major Sumner, absent.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JANU. 10th 1778.

Parole, Boston.—C. Signs. { Cambridge
Medford

Major General for TomorrowGreene.
Brig^rWeedon.
Field Officers ...L^t Col^o Hubly, L^t Col^o North.
Brigade MajorMcGowin.
Detail the same as Yesterday.

Detail for Fatigue.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Huntington's	1	0	1	1	21
Varnum's	0	1	1	1	27
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	1	2	2	48

The Issuing Commissary is hereby authorized to furnish the Generals and other officers of the army with small proportionable quantities of Spirit upon their Orders, whenever it can be spared; of which he is to keep a regular account, and settle with them for it at a reasonable price.

All the Tin canisters that have been issued to the troops, are to be returned forthwith, to the commissary of Military stores, who is to enter the number received of each corps or brigade.

After Orders.

A detachment of 300 Men are to parade tomorrow morning, at Nine O'clock, on the grand parade, to relieve Col^o Morgan's Corps, and prepared for a week's command—Col^o Stevens and Major Ledyard are appointed Field Officers for the detachment.

Another detachment of one hundred and fifty men are to parade at the same time and place, to take post at the Gulph Mill for one week, L^t Col^o Rhea will take the command of this detachment.

Detail of detachment to relieve Col^o Morgan.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	D.	F.	P.
Muhlenberg	1	1	1	1	0	0	15
Weedon	0	1	1	1	1	1	20
Woodford	0	1	1	1	0	0	7
Scott	0	1	1	1	0	0	12
1 st Pennsylvania.	0	1	1	1	0	0	17
2 ^d ditto	0	1	1	1	0	0	15
Maxwell	1	0	1	1	0	0	22
Conway	1	1	1	1	1	1	22
Poor	0	1	1	1	0	0	28
Learned	0	1	1	1	0	0	23
Patterson	0	1	2	2	0	0	27
Varnum	1	1	2	2	1	1	32
Huntington	1	0	2	2	0	0	38
Glover	1	1	2	2	0	0	22
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6	12	18	18	3	3	300

Detail for the Gulph Mills.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	D.	F.	P.
Muhlenberg	0	0	1	1	1	1	8
Weedon	0	1	1	1	0	0	10
Woodford	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
Scott	1	0	0	1	0	0	6
1 st Pennsylvania.	0	1	0	1	0	0	8
2 ^d ditto	0	0	0	1	0	0	7
Maxwell	0	0	0	1	0	0	11
Conway	0	1	1	1	0	0	11
Poor	1	0	1	1	1	1	14
Learned	0	0	1	0	0	0	11
Patterson	1	1	1	0	0	0	14
Varnum	0	1	1	0	0	0	16
Huntington	0	1	1	0	0	0	19
Glover	0	0	1	0	0	0	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3	6	9	9	2	2	150

A very careful sargeant, corporal and nine men of General Glover's brigade are to parade tomorrow morning at nine OClock, at the park of Artillery, prepared for a week's command. The sargeant is to apply to Mr. French Commissary of Military Stores, and take his directions.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JANY. 11th 1778.

Major General for Tomorrow ..Lord Stirling.
 BrigadierWoodford.
 Field OfficersMajor Hay, Major Fenner.
 Brigade MajorMcClure.

Detail for Guards.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Woodford	1	0	0	1	10
Scott	0	2	2	1	17
1 st Pennsylvania	0	2	1	2	23
2 ^d ditto	0	0	1	2	20
Maxwell	0	1	2	1	28
Conway	0	2	2	2	28
Poor	0	1	2	2	38
Glover	0	1	2	2	44
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 208

Detail for Fatigue at Fatland ford.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
1 st Pennsylvania	0	1	0	1	14
2 ^d ditto	0	0	1	0	12
Poor	1	0	1	1	22
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 48

The party to parade at sunrise tomorrow morning in front of the 2^d Pennsylvania regiment and thence to march to fatland ford.

At a General Court Martial held the Third instant in Lord Stirling's division, whereof Lt Col^o Brearly was president John Rea Quarter Master in the Sixth Pennsylvania regiment charged with fraudulent practices in said regiment—ordering Lieut. Gibbons in the provost, and behaviour unbecoming the character of an officer or a gentleman—was tried; and by the unanimous opinion of the Court was found guilty of a breach of the 21st article of the 14th section of the articles of war, and sentenced to be discharged from the service.

At the same Court held the 6th instant, was tried, Lieut. Hays of the 12th Pennsylvania regiment charged with breaking open officers chests at Bethlehem, and ungentlemanlike behaviour. The court unanimously acquit him of the first charge, but find him guilty of a breach of the 5th article of the 18th section of the articles of war, and sentence him to be dismissed from the service.

The Commander-in-Chief approves both these sentences, and orders them to be carried into execution accordingly.

So many days fresh Provisions are to be issued to the Troops tomorrow morning, as will complete them to Wednesday next inclusively.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE JANY. 12th 1778.

Parole, Edenton,—*C. Signs* { Savannah
Charlestown

Major General for tomorrow

The Marquis la Fayette.

Brigadier Scott.

Field Officers Col^o Shrieve, Major Fernal.

Brigade Major Bailey.

Detail for Guards.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Woodford	0	1	1	1	10
Scott	0	1	1	2	17
1 st Pennsylvania	0	1	1	2	23
2 ^d ditto	0	0	1	1	20
Maxwell	1	1	2	1	28
Conway	0	2	2	2	28
Poor	0	2	2	2	38
Glover	0	1	2	2	44
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 208

For Fatigue.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Glover	1	0	1	1	18
Learned	0	1	0	0	14
Patterson	0	0	1	1	16
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 48

The detachment ordered to relieve Col^o Morgan and to take post at the Gulph Mill, are to be on the grand parade, and ready to march at sunrise tomorrow morning, with their provisions completed to next Wednesday inclusively.

The Commissary General of Issues is to keep an exact account of the number of cattle delivered to the army, that the number of hides may thereby be ascertained, and duly accounted for by the commissary of hides.

The Brigade Commissaries are to apply forthwith to their Brigadiers, or officers commanding brigades, and with their approbation, respectively fix upon a plan for collecting all the dirty tallow, and saving the ashes for the purpose of making soft soap for the use of the Army; and also for employing proper persons to boil out the oil from the feet of the bullocks, and preserve

it for the use of the army. This oil is to be put in casks, and delivered to the Quarter Master General.

The Brigade Quarter Masters are to see that the order of the 9th instant for building racks for the horses be duly complied with—that the waggon masters pay proper attention to the horses—and that every soldier caught on horse-back is immediately confined and punished.

L^t Stagg of Col^o Malcom's regiment is appointed brigade Major *pro tempore*, in the brigade, late General Conway's, and is to be respected as such.

A detachment of One hundred and fifty men are to parade tomorrow morning at Nine OClock on the grand parade taking nothing in their packs but their blankets and provisions; Col^o Stewart is to take command of this detachment.

One able camp Colour man from each Brigade to parade Tomorrow morning at Nine OClock at the Adjutant General's Quarters.

Six men from General Glover's brigade are to parade at the Adjutant General's Quarters at Nine OClock tomorrow morning if the weather be fair, to dry the tents returned to the Quarter Master General.

After Orders.

A Subaltern and 16 men are to parade tomorrow at ten OClock in the forenoon at Col^o Biddle's quarters at Moor Hall, to inforce his measures in procuring forage for the Army. The party is to go to Pottsgrove, and will be on command a fortnight or Three weeks.

Detail.

	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Poor	1	0	1	7
Glover	0	1	0	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	1	1	16

Detail for Col^o Stewart's detachment.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Muhlenberg	1	0	1	1	8
Weedon	1	0	1	1	10
Woodford	0	1	1	0	4
Scott	1	0	1	1	6
1 st Pennsylvania	0	1	1	0	8
2 ^d ditto	0	0	1	0	7
Maxwell	0	0	1	1	11
Conway	0	1	0	1	11
Poor	0	1	0	1	14
Glover	0	1	0	1	11
Learned	0	0	0	1	11
Patterson	0	0	0	1	14
Varnum	0	1	1	0	16
Huntington	0	0	1	0	19
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3	6	9	9	150

L^t Col^o Lindley is appointed Field Officer of the day
Tomorrow in room of Major Fernal, sick.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE JAN. 13th 1778.

Major General for Tomorrow, Baron de Kalb.

Brig^r Varnum.

Field Officers ... L^t Col^o Burr, Major Nichols.

Brigade Major McClintock.

Detail for Guards.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Muhlenberg's	0	2	2	2	22
Weedon's	1	1	2	2	30
Learned's	0	1	2	2	30
Patterson's	0	2	2	2	36
Varnum's	0	2	2	2	40
Huntington's	0	1	2	3	50
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	9	12	13	208

For Fatigue.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Woodford	0	0	1	0	7
Scott	0	0	1	0	10
Muhlenberg	1	0	0	1	14
Weedon	0	1	0	1	17
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	1	2	2	48

Major Peters is appointed Field officer of the day for the present day in the room of L^t Col^o Lindley.

The Honourable the Congress having been pleased to call Col^o Pickering to a seat of the Board of War, have appointed Col^o Scammell Adjutant General in his room, who is to be obeyed and respected as such.

At a General Court Martial of which Col^o Swift was president, held the 5th instant, Captain Powell, of the 3rd Virginia regiment, charged "with insulting Lieut. Davis when on his guard, and arresting him upon a groundless foundation"—was tried, and acquitted of the first charge, but found guilty of the second, and sentenced therefor to ask pardon of Lieut. Davis, in presence of the officers of his regiment.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence, and orders it to be executed tomorrow at roll calling.

At the same Court held the 6th instant, Capt. Flagg charged with "Neglect of duty"—1st In suffering the Marquis de la Fayette, when Major General of the day to come in the night to the centre of his picquet without being stopped or challenged. 2^d for "permitting his sentries to have fires in his sight"—was tried, and acquitted by the unanimous opinion of the Court—The Commander-in-Chief approves the verdict.

At the same Court held the 7th instant Capt. Laird charged with "Neglect of duty, in suffering the Major General of the Day to surprise him at his picquet in the night"—was tried and found guilty, and sentenced to

be dismissed from the service. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence.

Lieut. Siegler appeared before the same Court, charged with "striking and wounding inhumanly with his sword, James Quin, a soldier belonging to the 7th Pennsylvania regiment of which wound he died."

Lieut. Siegler confessed the fact but justified it, by being in the line of his duty. The Court having considered the evidence are of opinion that Lieut. Siegler's justification is sufficient, and do acquit him of the charges exhibited against him"—The Commander-in-Chief approves the verdict. The numerous instances of the peaceable inhabitants being plundered and grossly abused by the soldiery, demand the severest examples. They have in General Orders been repeatedly cautioned against the commission of those crimes, and assured that no mercy should be shown to the offenders.—Justice to the sufferers and a regard to the cause we are engaged in (which is essentially injured by such practices) rendered this necessary. At the same time the General desires that such offenders may be corrected with coolness, and that when the case does not require an immediate example, officers would confine and bring them to a regular trial.

At the same Court Martial held the 8th instant Ensign Washburn of Col^o Bigelows regiment charged with "leaving his picquet and going to a house at some distance"—was tried and found guilty. But on account of the circumstances of the case, the Court sentenced to be reprimanded by the Colonel of the regiment he belongs to, in presence of the officers of the regiment. The Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence, and orders it to be executed tomorrow morning at roll-calling; But cautions all officers on guard to avoid the like inattention to duty; as a repetition of the offence will not again meet with the same clemency.

At a General Court Martial held the 10th instant,

whereof Col^o Olney was president,—Lieut. Joseph Fish of Col^o Durkee's regiment charged with "Squandering away public Stores" was tried and found guilty and sentenced to return the Stores so Squandered away (being a firelock) into the public Store, to forfeit all his pay—And to be dismissed from the service. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence; But upon the recommendation of the Court remits that part of it, which respects the forfeiture of pay.

The Court Martial of which Col^o Swift was president is dissolved.

A General Court Martial is to sit tomorrow at Ten OClock in the forenoon, at the Bake House, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Col^o Clark is appointed president of this Court. A Captain from each brigade (excepting Woodford's—Learned's and MacIntosh's) will constitute the members of the Court.

Officers who command guards, are to give the counter sign to the picquets as soon as it is dark.

The Commander-in-Chief is surprised to hear that the Butchers have extorted money from the soldiers for the plucks of beef. The commissaries are therefore directed to issue the head and pluck together at Eight pounds. And the Quarter Masters are to see that the different companies draw it in turn.

The flying hospital huts are to be 15 feet wide, and 25 feet long, in the clear, and the story at least nine feet high—to be covered with boards or shingles only, without any dirt—a window made on each side and a chimney at one end. Two such hospitals are to be made for each brigade in their rear as near the center as may be; And, if the ground admits of it, not more than three, nor less than one hundred yards from it.

(To be continued.)

PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES,
1769-1776.

(Continued from Vol. XL, p. 457.)

1769.

January.

- 2: James Brown—Mary Batton
- 3: David Jones—Mary Brook
- 4: John Williams—Hester John
- 5: William Workman—Rebeck Marriot
- 6: William Price—Elizabeth Woodward
- 7: John Cope—Hannah Edwards
Paul White—Elizabeth Norton
- 10: Humphrey Fullerton—Mary Bazelee
David Cloyd—Anna Boyd
- 11: Jonathan Doil—Anne Matthews
William Ogden—Mary Pinniard
John Balsom—Elizabeth Prince
- 12: John Cooper—Hester Buckman
William Moore—Elizabeth Ball
- 13: Peter Sellar—Mary Tustin
- 14: Stokely Hosman—Hannah Henderson
- 16: John Craig—Rebecka Stephens
Josiah Shivers—Hannah Pond
Hugh Frazer—Ruth Burk
- 21: Alexander Craig—Sarah Thompson
- 23: Nicholas Fooss—Elanor Martin
- 25: William James—Rebecka Williams
- 26: Joseph Demsy Junr—Mary Finny
- 28: Alexander Millar—Dorcas Logan
George Enser—Mary Burk

February.

- 4: Hay King—Hannah Magraw
- 6: Walter Stephens—Mary Christy
Benjamin Harris—Martha Davis
- 6: Peter House—Elizabeth Flysher

- 7: David Swain—Rebecka Evans
Thomas Asherfelder—Anna Henricks
- 10: John Gray—Pamela Leonard
- 13: Abraham Laren—Elizabeth Praul
- 14: William Guy—Margaret Townhend
Henry Van Reed—Anna Eastend
Henry Brubst—Margaret Barnhill
- 15: Thomas Leech—Eve Bilyeu
Laurence Allman—Hannah Thomas
- 17: Robert Shannon—Katharine Blazedell
Nicholas Schneider—Mary Dehaven
- 18: Benjamin Eastburn—Mary Newall
- 20: Thomas Hillbourn—Margaret Johnson
John McDougle—Anne Boyd
- 23: Michael Dogharty—Sarah Shilly
- 24: James Hathorn—Martha Kerr
Conyers Stokeld—Mary Davenport
- 25: William Paul—Alice Connell
- 27: Robert Morris—Mary White
Michael Taylor—Sophia Steffin
Thomas Snowden—Sarah Nicholson
James Goudy—Rachel Davidson
Thomas Carr—Elizabeth Cameron
- 28: John Rees—Jane Lindsay
Anthony Hart—Anne Bayman

March.

- 1: Christian Fiss—Mary Blackwood
Andrew Carson—Jane Hall
- 2: John Wilson—Susannah Stagg
Robert Carson—Elizabeth Moore
- 2: John Howard—Margaret Painter
- 4: John Awlman—Abigail Vanhorn
Peter Jones—Elizabeth Rose
Jonathan Supplee—Eleanor Morris
- 6: Jonathan Redhead—Catharine Carsonbury
- 7: Andrew Gotthard Laven—Margaret Lavairr
- 8: Matthias Lukens—Mercy Gray
- 11: James Hill—Sarah Chapman
- 16: Lewis Johnston Costigan—Mary Lockhar
Samuel Webster—Margaret Adams
- 18: Joshua Ash—Abigail Evans
- 21: Christopel Rew—Anne Moore

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- 22: Daniel Culin—Rebecka Hendrickson
- 30: William Will—Anna Clampffer
James Cooper—Sarah Mullan
Peter Wikoff—Altha Cox
Weldon Parsons—Catharine Mathews
- 31: Michael Brady—Mary Lobb

April.

- 1: W^m Hans—Mary Hall
W^m Dogharty—Mary Bampford
- 4: Joseph Rice—Sarah Robbins
- 5: James Club—Margaret Lamont
- 6: Murdock Kennedy—Susannah Black
- 8: Thomas Marshall—Anna Cox
David Shields—Jane McKim
Joseph Folwell—Ann Billew
- 10: Cuthbert Landreth—Elizabeth Fairbottle
- 13: Ezekiel Merriam—Deborah Jobs
- 14: Jacob Coburn—Sarah Evans
William Tennant—Mary Down
- 14: David Griffin—Mary Skinner
- 15: Hugh Morton—Theodosia Howard
John Harrison—Rachel Allman
- 17: Abraham Pastorius—Eleanor Leech
John Davis—Ann Davis
- 20: Thomas Bateman—Sarah Moore
Jacob Levering—Mary Brownfield
- 24: Henry Mitchell—Martha Vanhorn
William Lollar—Elizabeth Kelsey
Jesper Beson—Mary Smith
Samuel Betson—Elizabeth Malone
- 25: Richard Stillwell—Mary Larue
Isaac Hazlehurst—Juliana Purviance
- 26: Jonathan White—Elizabeth James
Samuel Woodbridge—Sarah Bearden
- 29: Thomas McIlhose—Ann Scott

May.

- 1: John Wilcox—Rebecka Clarke (issued 29th April)
- 2: Asher Mott—Ann Biles
- 4: Hugh Henry—Phebe Morris
Joseph McCoy—Eleanor Stewart

- 6: Thomas Cabe—Rebecca Broadnecks
Robert Walker—Ann Maag
James Allen—Elizabeth Hull
- 8: Berry Hartwell—Martha Spencer
- 10: John Lamb—Mary Cline
Robert Martin—Elizabeth Martin
- 11: Demas Worrall—Elizabeth Collum
Peter Sutter—Sarah Deacon
- 13: Henry Fraley—Susannah Rice
- 17: Martin Lantz—Juliana Hammerstane
Hugh King—Elizabeth Hill
- 17: Thomas Brown—Sarah Daniels
- 19: John Fulton—Mary Dean
- 24: Benjamin Scott—Mary Doan
John Spear—Katharine Kelly
- 27: Philip Jenkins—Jane Allison
- 29: Amos Wickersham—Elizabeth Hays
Thomas Carter—Mary Ward
- 31: Nathan Posset—Mary Denny

June.

- 1: William Bringham—Mary Morris
- 3: Atwood Cowman—Amy Sharald
- 6: Andrew Cape—Sarah Banks
Reese Price—Hannah Roberts
- 7: William Carsen—Martha Hare
- 8: John Reeves—Sarah Patterson
- 9: Jacob Hill—Mary Creesmer
- 10: George Davis—Catharine Jordan
- 12: Philip Ross—Margaret Head
- 14: Thomas Wright—Martha Hays
- 17: Joseph Welden—Mary Kenton
Thomas Willson—Catharine Catan
- 19: George Harvey—Dorothea Hunt
David Richardson—Anne McCasland
William Simpson—Isabella Willson
- 20: Joy Castle—Jane Reed
- 21: Thomas Murfin—Anne Brooks
- 22: John Tuckness—Elizabeth White
Francis Trumble—Hannah Gardner
- 23: Josiah White—Katharine McCool
Thomas Rouch—Jane Goucher
- 23: George Corrie—Eliz^a Gordon

- 24: John Esserwine—Abigail Roberts
- 27: Christian Nail—Elizabeth Taylor
- 28: John Highle—Elizabeth Tinney
- 29: Henry Millar—Mary Hoffman
- Arthur Davis—Elizabeth Murray

July.

- 1: Isaac Buckley—Elizabeth Graham
- William Faris—Abigail Davis
- 3: Samuel Baker—Susannah Wallace
- 5: William Bathkit—Katharine Williams
- 11: James Bennet—Christiana Rainholt
- 12: John Yeumans—Elizabeth Heatcon
- Gilbert Anderson—Mary Doggad
- Andrew Clayton—Margaret Shocksessy
- 13: William Siddons—Ann Ogden
- John Barker—Mary Nelson
- 14: Enoch Barret—Rachel Simmonds
- 15: Daniel McLane—Martha Thorne
- Daniel Haley—Catharine Dordes
- 19: Andrew Coupland—Agnus Bennet
- John Stewart—Eleanor Mears
- 21: William Jamison—Hannah Edminston
- Thomas Taylor—Rosanna Statia
- 24: Benjamin Jones—Tacy Roberts
- Alexander Russell—Jane Hainey
- Casper Hays—Mary Ludwick
- 25: Ephraim Doane—Susannah Griscom
- 28: Brent Spencer—Martha Thompson
- 29: Martin Burry—Martha Skrouse
- 31: Bertles Shee—Cecilia Parke
- 31: Samuel Harvey—Catharine Tenbrook

August.

- 2: John Scotton—Ruth Evans
- 4: James Carswell—Elizabeth McCracken
- 5: Samuel Powell—Elizabeth Willing
- 8: Andrew Woolf—Eve Cribbs
- 15: Job Harvey—Hannah Anderson
- William Moulder—Mary Millar
- 16: John Cox—Mary McCalla
- James Fairy—Elizabeth Kale
- 21: Richard Tyson—Anne Atwell

- 23: Abraham Tustine—Catharine Sellar
- 24: Richard Collins—Elizabeth McCormick
Hugh Read—Mary Dowell
- 25: John Sittfreet—Mary Lavan
- 29: Henry Burkey—Mary Chamberlain
Edward Minton—Mary McCann
- 30: John Montgomery—Jane Blaylock
John Yerkus—Anne Coffin
David Jenkins—Catharine Foreman
- 31: David Provost—Sarah Boulton Loftus

September.

- 1: Robert Bridges—Jemima Shepherd
Patrick Reiley—Anne Brockington
John Gater—Mary Fudge
Peter White—Barbara Care
- 4: Richard Robinson—Elizabeth Coren
Adam Andres—Anne Derling
- 9: Christopher Cornelius—Elizabeth Roberts
- 13: George Burden—Hannah Roe
- 13: James Crozier—Catherine Peterson
John Bray—Judith Cotter
- 14: Frederick Ullery—Catharine Baltiwine
- 20: Amos Thomas—Ruth Bate
William Nealson—Mary Teany
- 21: Peter Greer—Eliz^a Halkerston
Dennis Ryan—Agnus Arnold
- 23: John Davis—Rebecka Davenport
- 25: Patrick Neave—Margaret Ludlow
Jacob Bristol—Sarah Lloyd
- 28: John Harvey—Mary Jamison
- 30: William Newman—Eleanor McGuire
Bernard Lawersuyler—Elizabeth Clampffer

October.

- 2: George Powell—Hannah Ball
Sebastian Jarret—Mary Howell
- 3: William Stewart—Læticia Russel
- 4: Christian Dederer—Elizabeth Harling
Matthew Willson—Isabella Bodly
James Hartley—Elizabeth Cooper
- 6: William Aldworth—Hannah Coffing
- 7: John Harrison—Elizabeth Carwell (Camell?)

- 9: Michael Haines—Sarah Dawny
- 10: Gasper Polumbo—Susannah Ogle
- 11: Andrew Sullivan—Martha McConnelly
Edward Thompson—Sarah Parmely
- 19: Moses Laren—Catharine Lazalier
- 20: Joseph Sallsbagg—Elizabeth Millar
- 24: John Pillager—Rebecka Boyers
Henry Taney—Susannah Hiley
John Roman—Catharine Dittman
- 24: Christopher Jacoby Jun^r—Mary Snyder
- 25: John James—Elizabeth Appleby
James Welsh—Jane Chandler
- 26: John Fullerton Junior—Elizabeth Wincheles
- 28: Thomas Beam (Bean?) Junior—Mary Tillyer
- 30: Francis Ryans—Rose Cook
- 31: Isaac Hendrickson—Margaret Nithermark
Christian Frederick Foaring—Margaret Miller
Daniel Stytes—Lydia Cresse

November.

- 2: James Sutton—Susannah Manington
John Powell—Sarah Willard
Richard Backhouse—Mary Williams
- 4: Thomas Burrow—Catharine Stretch
- 6: Jacob Comley—Rachel Comley
Benjamin Reeder—Elizabeth Harvey
- 8: Edward Hicks—Hannah Ratten
Thomas Clendinnon—Lydia Heslet
- 10: James Caruthers—Sarah May
Daniel Delany—Margaret Dalton
- 11: Jacob Goodshires—Mary Smith
Charles McIntire—Anne Sullivan
- 13: Thomas Warren—Hannah Powel
- 14: John Burton—Mary Matthew
John Vicary—Mary Harvey
- 15: John Anderson—Sarah Flack
Robert Heaton—Sarah Griffith
William Dewees—Sarah Waters
- 18: John Atkinson—Margaret Whitehead
- 21: Robert Gray—Mary Cannan
- 22: John McMurtry—Margaret Robinson
- 23: Benjamin Comley—Elizabeth Dungan
Isaac Baker—Hannah Pacay Cook

- 25: Thomas Owen—Jane Musgrove
- 29: Lawrence Saltar—Dorothy Gordon
Benjamin George Eyre—Hester Boyte

December.

- 1: Thomas Rudolph—Deborah Wright
Gabriel McCann—Mary Bell
- 4: Thomas Moffet—Sarah Willson
- 5: John Forst—Hannah Williams
- 7: David Parsell—Anne Philips
- 8: John Meyers—Alice Slack
- 9: Charles Horton—Mary Tennis
Thomas Lepper—Mary Toland
- 11: Henry Pawling—Rebecka Bull
- 16: Benjamin Vastine—Catharine Heaton
Adam Richey—Rebecka Taylor
- 19: Alexander Brown—Mary Shotsland
Samuel Saunders—Rachel Flower
- 20: Isaac Allen—Sarah Campble
Joseph Johnson—Sarah Morgan
- 23: James Collins—Hannah Brick
Thomas Mills—Hannah Corry
John Parker—Mary Lusk
Christopher Crawford—Mary Culp
- 27: John Adudell—Eleanor Hanse
- 28: Jonathan Adams—Susannah Flower
Joel Clarke—Phœbe Ward
Joseph Keegan—Hannah Walker
James Carswell—Anne Grove
- 30: John Savadge—Mary Coatham
- 30: Warwick Hale—Mary Crispin
Thomas Willson—Anne Price

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January.

- 1: Joseph Hart—Elizabeth Gilbert
William Gillilan—Levina Elliot
- 2: Ebenezer Jones—Rebecka Sturk
- 3: William Pinkerton—Anne Cross
- 5: James Young—Mary Kerr
- 9: John Forrest—Margaret Harkens

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- 10: John Dick—Anne Burchet
Charles Farguson—Anne Musgrove
- 13: William Robinson—Margaret McQuattiat
Matthew Strong—Agnes Gerrard
Charles Young—Anne Smith
- 17: Joseph Dean—Rachel Morris
- 18: Alexander Thompson—Catharine Shee
- 19: Peter Paul—Catharine Grubb
- 22: Charles Hufty—Hermina Dorland
- 23: David Buchanan—Margaret Boggs
- 25: John Vanhorn—Johanna Sheerman
- 26: James Roberts—Mary Fuller
- 29: Silas Hart—Mary Daniel
- 30: John Pennington—Mary Jemison
John Wager—Sarah Harper
- 31: John Johnston—Mary Webster
Edward Vernon—Mary Mathers
Elias Hughes—Sarah Gilbert

February.

- 9: Walter Dugan—Jane Thomas
- 10: Samuel Atkinson—Elizabeth Conaroe
Joseph Alston, Junior—Mary Berry
- 16: James Kirkpatrick—Eleanor Connell
George Everard—Mary Myers
- 19: John Russell—Anne Crispin
- 20: Nicholas Hollingshead—Mary Thompson
- 21: John Doughton—Grace Coles
Richard Mairs—Martha Nash
William Hotton (Holton?)—Mary Smith
William Philips—Abigail Taylor
Lawrence Cook—Catharine McCarty
John Hamilton—Mary Boulby
- 23: Archibald Jackson—Jane Millar
- 26: John Eyrick—Elizabeth Cowsan
David Jackson—Jane Jackson

March.

- 1: Samuel Wallis—Lydia Hollingsworth
Robert Jones—Mary Cox
- 2: Elisha Griffith—Mary Doyle
- 3: William Bell—Margaret Stonematz
- 5: Peter Stretch—Sarah Howell

- 6: Matthew Bennet—Sarah Scattergood
Henry Willock—Catharine Kill
- 7: Henry Christopher Arup—Sophia Beering
- 8: Peter Norie—Margaret Campbell
- 9: Adam Shetzland—Hannah Baker
- 10: Thomas Williamson—Anne Reynolds
Valentine Welch—Catharine Graff (not married)
- 17: John Rabhoom—Sophia Collins
Casper Haas—Catharine Sneek
John Middleton—Mary Griffiths
- 19: Anthony Haines—Susannah Rohr
Henry Willson—Martha Stewart
- 20: Mark Cullan—Anne Carlisle
- 21: William Carson—Mary Hamilton
- 21: John Knowles—Hannah Preston
George Kemp—Susannah Levan
Simon Switzer—Barbara Shunk
- 22: John Pine—Elizabeth Broom
Jedediah Snowden—Anne English
- 26: William Turner—Ruth Miller
- 27: Isaac Morgan—Sarah Davis
Samuel McClure—Martha Kenny
- 28: Joshua Phillips—Sarah Davis

April.

- 2: Daniel Morris—Ruth Clews
- 3: Andrew Philler—Margaret Way
Charles Hoffman—Susanna Regina Hannin
- 6: Jacob Ashmead—Mary Naglee
- 7: Benjamin Morris—Mary Mason
- 9: Henry Kreps—Catharine Campbell
John McGlathery—Mary Lawrence
- 12: Ephraim Falconer—Mary Spafford
Robert Coupar—Mary Dunlap
- 14: Nicholas Hugh—Anne Roberts
Joseph Wright—Sarah Shee
John Blake—Catharine Stephens
John Huffedale—Elizabeth Yerkus
- 18: John Butcher—Anne Thomas
- 19: Jacob Hymer—Mercy Ford
John Linley—Elizabeth Slack
- 20: Mark Hunnyger—Christiana Lochlar

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- 23: Samuel Workman—Mary Robinson
- 24: Anthony Duché—Sarah Falconer
Cornelius Sweers—Hannah Murdoch
- 25: Thomas Rooke—Mary Johnston
- 25: William Marshall—Hannah Ridge
- 26: John McDaniel—Mary Whitebread
Thomas Steel—Mary Bathurst
- 28: Thomas Forrest—Anne Whitpaine
John Lovell—Mary Vinnest
Thomas Whitton—Anne Finney

May.

- 1: William Long—Hannah Maddock
William Weston—Anne Davis
- 3: Christlet Bartling—Elizabeth Honogrot
George Ingels—Mary Rush
- 4: John Patterson—Elizabeth Matson
- 5: Charles Bowman—Mary Nerry
- 9: John Snyder—Elizabeth Waggoner
John Eve—Jane Campbell
James Rowan—Mary Shaw
- 10: William Edwards—Susannah Albertson
- 11: George Pickering—Rebecka Channell
- 16: James Kerr—Mary Landy
Edward Jones—Elizabeth Gibbons
- 17: Hugh James—Eleanor Evans
Aaron Hughes—Mary Pancoast
- 18: John Morgan—Sarah Hencock
- 19: John Hart—Catharine Knowles
- 21: Edward Miller—Margaret Sherer
- 23: Nathaniel Philips—Agnes Marsh
Henry Ash—Philippine Miller
- 26: John Clements—Catharine Mirtle
Henry Grubb—Barbara Kinsley
- 30: Zacharias Neeman—Mary May
John Baxter—Eleanor Tape
- 31: William Keith—Jane Ormes
Joseph Town—Jane Test
Cornelius Vandyke—Elizabeth Yerkus
Thomas Palmer—Elizabeth Murray
John Giffins—Anne Roberts

June.

- 2: Folliard Purdy—Margaret Slack
- 4: Jacob Hughes—Sarah Richards
Richard Whitton—Martha Thomas
Robert Collins—Rachel Maskell
Robert Whitton—Mary Thomas
- 5: Matthew Irwin—Esther Mifflin
- 6: John Torr—Hannah Brannin
- 7: Daniel Ridge—Mary McLaughlan
John Smart—Lydia Jones
James Lees—Susanna Winnimore
- 8: Christopher Martin—Agnes Sneal
- 11: Patrick Higgins—Dorothea Pennyfeather
- 14: Israel Jenkins—Jane McGargy
- 16: Christopher Mintz—Barbara Glouse
- 21: John Ogg—Anne Pew
- 22: Jacob Wentz—Barbara Alsentz
- 25: Thomas Randall—Hester Leech
William Caldwell—Elizabeth Egdar
- 30: Joseph Todd—Anne White
Samuel James—Rachel Haas
John McNeal—Elizabeth Miller

July.

- 2: Joseph Insee—Catharine Fowl
Peter Kurtz—Sarah Younger
- 3: Robert Willson—Rachel Armstrong
- 7: James Barker—Mary Wier
- 9: James Read—Susannah Currey
- 14: William Chapman—Mary Cornely
- 18: John Grant—Orminella Hall
- 19: Valentine Welsh—Phœbe Graff
Henry Dorstman—Catharine Dolneck
- 21: Cowley Wells—Phœbe Jackson
- 23: Hugh McKinley—Elizabeth Dunn
- 25: Edward Fitzrandolph—Mary Sims
- 26: Nicholas Loughman—Mary Snyder
- 28: Michael Rainbow—Catharine Cook
- 30: George Reinholdt—Mary Colbert

August.

- 1: Samuel Rusk—Christiana Gilbert
- 2: James Willson—Elizabeth Singer
Joseph Tatem—Mary Rush

- 3: Edward Capock—Margaret Gale
- 7: John Letetiere—Mary Rogers
James Murray—Mary Glory
Henry Roosen—Jane Stauffer
- 9: Francis Burgess—Mary Macnamara
- 11: Mark McCauslin—Elizabeth Sheed
James Harnet—Jane Glasgow
- 15: Richard Wells—Martha Curry
Matthias Fenton—Rachel Hardy
- 18: George Savadge—Jemima Harvey
Robert Welch—Susannah Bradford
Samuel Harper—Hannah Donnaughey
- 21: Alexander Campbell—Martha McNealy
- 22: Thomas Mitchell—Mary Young
- 23: Henry Kemmerer—Catharine Sheetz
- 28: Peter Rainbow—Martha Thomas
- 29: Caspar Taylor—Elizabeth Heynen
- 31: Robert Porter—Elizabeth Watson

September.

- 1: George Rilling—Mary Miller
Patrick Stafford—Anne Harrae
- 3: Edward Cutbush—Anne Marriot
- 5: Timothy Belsford—Hannah Hedley
- 6: Adam Alexander—Hannah Bailes
- 8: Alexander Rickey—Hester Coates
Richard Butts—Margaret Davis
- 11: George Claypoole—Catharine Dowers
Richard Brakell—Mary Jones
- 13: William Davis—Ann King
Augustine Tallman—Margaret Bankson
- 19: Godfrey Twells—Sarah Standley
- 20: John Keen—Amelia Cook
William Kemble—Sarah Worthington
- 21: Christopher Shultz—Barbara Kyle
- 24: John Johnston—Mary Semple
- 25: George McKowan—Catharine Adams
Collins McCleaster—Sarah Yarnall
- 26: Turbutt Francis—Sarah Mifflin
- 27: John Richardson—Lydia Baker

October.

- 3: William Clamy—Frances Shippey
- 4: John Morrell—Jane Hall
Thomas Cheeseman—Sarah Wiles

- 6: John Greenwood—Margaret Morrison
- 6: Isaac Larue—Gartree Stone
- 8: Joseph Garret—Charity Collins
- 9: Charles Hewet—Anne Pierce
- 10: James Kelley—Margaret Clanderman
Abraham Hacket—Chloe Benn
- 12: Lambert Wilmer—Mary Barker
- 13: Frederick Miller—Catharine Rasbon
- 15: John Cornaghan—Elizabeth Maclean
Henry Test—Rachel Iszard
- 17: Matthew McHenry—Margaret Gregg
- 18: Barnabas Kendry—Rachel Thomas
William Carr—Frances McGrath
Thomas Barclay—Mary Hoops
John Rodman—Susannah Borradiall
- 20: William Houshold—Sarah Willson
- 22: Thomas Powell—Mary Lee
William Griffith—Margaret Rodgers
Isaac Ely—Mary Carson
- 24: George Vananda—Anne Dungan
George Dunn—Mary Curry
Joseph Price—Margaret Agnew
Jonathan Brown—Elizabeth Benning
- 26: William Vaghan—Jane Turner
Francis Cruzen—Mary Blackledge
- 27: Samuel Titus—Deborah Feathers
- 29: James Brown—Catharine McCormick
- 30: John Butcher—Anne Evans
John Stephens—Catharine Roe
- 31: Francis Gottier—Margaret Ferguson
Alexander Ramsay—Martha Dumbar

November.

- 1: Erasmus Kelly—Mary Morgan
- 3: Robert Murray—Hannah Sill
- 5: Charles Maclean—Mary Lee
John Hayward—Anne Watson
- 6: Moses Vancampen—Sarah Overfelt
- 7: William Durf—Christiana Holtzhouser
Isaac Forsyth—Sarah Williams
Thomas Marll—Lydia Reynolds
- 8: Samuel McMichan—Jane McKee
- 10: Joseph Smith—Martha Powel

- 13: Robert Hume—Catharine McClennan
Samuel Kating—Anne Davenport
- 15: Christian Schneider—Anna Maria Johnson
- 19: Andrew Crawford—Judith Smith
John Michael Price—Anne Bowman
David Morris—Mary Ann Chew
- 20: Hugh Thompson—Hannah Welsh
John Edmiston—Sarah Edmiston
- 21: John Moyer—Anna Catharine Wiltmenen
- 22: Duddleston Stocker Reece—Lætitia Port
Peter Long—Mary Ellis
John Sprogell—Anne Crosstan
- 23: Walter Manuel—Elizabeth Mallice
- 24: William Marshall—Mary Fell
- 26: John Williams—Mary Evy
Nicholas Young—Eleanor Trimble
- 27: Henry Read—Alice Turner
Jonathan Evans—Mary Matthias
- 28: Nicholas Nelson—Rebecka Plumber
- 29: John Scull—Mary Shoemaker

December.

- 1: Joseph Gilbert—Euphæmia Rees
John Hewitt—Elizabeth Adams
John Michael Berends—Barbara Schott
James Kelly—Frances Crawford
- 3: George Riddell—Anne Freight
John Thompson—Hannah Parker
- 4: John Murphy—Catharine Gillyan
- 5: Michael Chew—Mary Robinson
David Gladding—Rebecka Ratcliff
Joseph Bullock—Esther Baynton
- 6: Matthias Orrick—Martha Barr
Adam Taylor—Mary Ryning
John Beekman—Elizabeth Renaudet
- 7: John Murray—Mary McPharlin
- 8: Henry Hubbs—Sarah Lownes
James White—Anne Tucker
- 10: William Stutz—Ozella Graffley
- 11: George Orffar—Barbara Crousen
Isaac Williams—Elizabeth Mettlen
- 12: William Smart—Mary Vago
George Campbell Esq^r—Helen Donaldson

- 15: Benjamin Woods—Sarah Pyles
John Ridge—Sarah Britton
- 16: Evan Thomas—Eliz^a Wilmington
- 18: George Campbell—Mary Cavert
Jacob Godshalk—Elizabeth Owen
- 19: Andrew Bunner—Sarah Fisher
Nathaniel Maxwell—Esther Carson
John Butler—Susanna English
- 20: John Pyles—Mary Hall
- 22: Samuel Henry—Margaret Barnhill
- 22: Joseph Janvier—Agnes Hill
Richard Barret—Elizabeth Trapnal
- 26: Benjamin Rittenhouse—Eliz^a Bull
Jonathan Palmer—Esther Roberts
- 27: George Thompson—Jane Hamilton
- 31: William Donaldson—Sarah Griscomb

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January.

- 1: Joseph Fanning—Lydia Grice
- 2: John Anderson—Sarah Jenkins
- 3: John Hogan—Eleanor Henly
- 3: Edward Powel—Mary Keyler
- 5: Alexander Tod—Mary Sharp
Samuel Massey—Lætitia Pryor
- 8: Hugh Morton—Anne Crozier
- 9: Joseph Gladan—Susannah Coates
- 10: Thomas Batt—Catharine McCall
- 14: Jacob Shafer—Mary Abreecken
- 16: James Evans—Mary Brook
- 17: Daniel Oldenburch—Mary Laversweiller
- 19: Daniel Montgomery—Margaret McCleland
John Ringrose—Margaret Crozier
- 21: Michael Stamler—Eliz^a Bamberger
John Streper—Deborah Levering
- 22: Jacob Drake—Eliz^a Neely
John Riale—Anne Rowland
- 24: Caspar Crist—Catharine Syng
William Bellamy—Anne Whitebread
- 31: Gasper Guyger—Ann Pritchard

February.

- 1: John Iliff—Margaret Williams
- 4: Peter Taylor—Elizabeth Montgomery

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- 5: Edmund Richardson—Elizabeth Lycon
- 6: Benjamin Flower—Sarah Pickles
Robert Burton—Hannah Goslin
Jacob Verity—Jennet Blair
- 7: William Walters—Catharine McCarty
Hugh Willson—Lætitia Conn
- 12: John Wall—Hannah Flower
- 13: Joseph Rowand—Rachel Cole
Joseph Brown—Mary Anne Bell
William McDowell—Anne Edwards
- 15: Conrod Leutner—Elizabeth Graffley
Joseph Harding—Martha Addis
- 16: Samuel McCracken—Elizabeth Murchland
- 17: Richard Hartley—Mary Welsh
- 19: Henry Treen—Catharine Gallagher
- 23: James Dean—Mary Gilbert
- 25: William Harper—Richard Kenton
- 27: Robert Ritchie—Helena Smith

March.

- 2: John Taney—Susannah Ritchards
Thomas Coates—Mary Allen
- 4: George Spear—Alice Crosby
Samuel Branston—Anne Hopper
- 6: Jacob Booce—Barbara Harman
- 7: John Dunbar—Mary Cass
- 13: Edward Hanlin—Elizabeth Stewart
- 14: Jacob Evans—Hannah Morris
- 18: John Martin—Rebecka Venaken
- 20: Samuel Hines—Elizabeth Wright
- 21: Middleton Heblethwaite—Margaret Meskell
- 23: William Coffing—Abigail Potts
- 25: Joseph Comley—Rachel Edwards
- 26: George Gordon—Elizabeth Williams
- 28: Joshua Collins—Martha Betterton
Isaiah James—Mary McKinney
William Atkinson—Charity Hayes
- 30: Thomas Fleming—Mary Broadnicks
- 30: James Rowan—Jane McConnell

April.

- 2: Samuel Young—Elizabeth Ecroyad
- 3: Henry Dawkins—Mary McDowell

- 9: Nathan Thomas—Sarah Rhoads
- 10: Daniel Kinnicut—Jane Hyman
- 11: James Leonard—Margaret Rigger
- 12: Carpenter Wharton—Elizabeth Davis
- 13: Arthur Campbell—Eleanor Hurley
- 15: Henry Litman—Elizabeth Murrin
John Oneal—Susannah Johnston
- 16: William Evans—Margaret Davis
Ambrus Barcroft—Phoeby Quimby
Richard Renshaw Jun^r—Anne Young
Edward Rice—Hannah Barcroft
- 17: William Pennell—Elizabeth Pennell
James Giffin—Priscilla Shaw
- 19: William Brown—Anne Appleby
Adam Wertman—Barbara Earhottin
- 20: James Ham—Hannah Jones
- 22: Andrew Forsyth—Elizabeth Williams
- 24: Thomas Bull—Sarah Grono
- 26: Charles Truckenmiller—Susannah Sadler
Richard Thompson—Elizabeth Ozier

May.

- 1: John Jones—Margaret Benson
Cornelius Post—Mary Rees
- 3: Rev^d Morgan Edwards—Elizabeth Singleton
- 4: William Hughes—Mary Callwellin
Nathaniel Jones—Elizabeth Jones
- 7: Thomas Thompson—Margaret Wallace
- 9: Edward Oxley—Margaret Steel
- 10: Thomas Jones—Mary Parker
- 13: Charles Humphrey—Sarah Evans
- 14: Robert Redhead—Elizabeth Perry
Thomas Tisdale—Elizabeth Cresserin
John Ferguson—Mary Magee
John Griffiths—Margaret Lewis
- 16: Charles Fisher—Anne Peirce
- 17: Thomas Jones—Elizabeth Hughes
- 18: Adam Roshaberger—Catharine Hanson
James Ash—Sarah Hinchman
Andrew Tyce—Rosin Blaze
- 20: John Symes—Mary Forrest
Nicholas Rash—Judith Empson
- 21: Daniel Vancourt—Jane Austin

- 22: Joseph Breintnall—Jane Ham
Manassah Thomas—Elizabeth Evans
William Thomas—Mary Pearson
- 23: William Taylor—Margaret Steel
- 27: John O Harra—Sarah Jones
William Corbett—Sarah Phipps
- 29: Nicholas Woollis—Hannah Haycock
Patrick Byrne—Mary Murphey
- 30: Abraham Evans—Sarah Price
John Hutchinson—Lætitia Wright

June.

- 1: William Flennigan—Sarah Albertson
- 5: Daniel Coxe—Sarah Redman
- 6: Zebulon Rudolph—Martha Syng
Richard Davis—Sarah Moore
- 7: Thomas Nelson—Mary Williams
William Shedaker—Sarah Davis
- 8: Charles Lindsay—Anne Moore
- 10: Joseph Eastburn—Anne Owen
Adam Fonnerden—Martha McCannan
- 11: William Ball—Elizabeth Byles
- 12: Joseph Williams—Eleanor Kilmagh
- 13: Paul Dawser—Mary Pass
Thomas Brown—Mary Dunn
David Bradshaw—Patience Farmar
Samuel Powel—Elizabeth Coffin
- 15: James Hanlon—Martha Craig
George Applegate—Mary Lazalier
William Hamilton—Rachel Herring
- 17: John Robins—Elizabeth James
- 18: Anthony Nuss—Elizabeth Maine
- 19: Henry Corry—Elizabeth Flick
James Davis—Eliz^a Isabella Parkes
- 20: Richard Mitchell—Hester Lazalier
- 22: Elizabeth Stratton—Grace Davidson [sic]
- 27: Caleb Smedley—Mary Newberry
- 29: John Sowder—Sarah Felton

July.

- 1: James Davis—Franey Wyson
- 3: Gerard Hoot—Mary Wentz
- 4: James Ruckman—Mary Hart

- 8: Samuel Correy—Ann Singleton
- 9: Ephraim Davis—Isabella Carmack
- 10: William Beaven—Mary Greenway
- 11: Richard Bell—Sarah Coulter
- 15: Samuel Cunrad—Susanna Foulkes
- 15: Martin Shooster—Catharine Shoemaker
- 17: James Alexander—Rachel Craven
John Hazlewood—Hester Leacock
- 18: Christian Smith—Ann Glasgow
- 20: Robert Craig—Sarah Gardiner
- 23: Francis Ravenhill—Anna Nicklin
- 27: Joshua Ward—Margaret Moore
John Paschall Junior—Rachel Smith
Arthur Erwin—Mary Kennedy
- 30: William Johnson—Mary Butler

August.

- 2: William Tharp—Ann Rose
William Wright—Elizabeth Bartram
John Connor—Judith Kennedy
- 5: Abraham Bennet—Martha White
- 8: Jacob Peters—Jane Jones
John Edwards—Martha Moore
- 12: William White—Sarah Kinnard
- 15: John Jones—Mary Rowland
- 17: John McCullough—Jennet Morrison
- 19: John Dunn—Mary Sowder
Robert Patton—Eliz. Sahler
- 20: William Edwards—Jane Carson
Joseph Green—Hester Crispin
- 22: Joseph Rice—Ann Currey
- 26: Patrick Lyons—Mary Nicholson
John May—Mary Cobham
- 27: John Wister—Anne Thoman
- 28: John Young—Liza Taylor
- 29: William Kemble—Eleanor Dunbar
Jonathan Davis—Sybilla Philips
- 30: William Guirey—Eliza Tavers

September.

- 4: Peter Biggs—Sarah Holland
- 5: Thomas Lathbridge—Eleanor Davenport
James Young—Sarah Sleigh
- 9: Joseph Chatham—Eleanor Breatherton

- 10: Reverend John Nevling—Catharine Stonematz
Isaac Harris—Mary White
- 12: James Smithers—Rachel Betterton
Joseph Rigby—Rebecka Deacon
- 13: John Linnington—Susannah Carmalt
Benjamin Mitchell—Susannah Willson
- 14: Henry Leaight—Jane Flood
Thomas Harding—Sarah Kirk
Jacob Clemens—Ann Updegraff
- 18: John Heyl—Mary Stricker
- 21: George Rice—Eleanor Skelton
Jacob Shallus—Elizabeth Melchior
- 23: Thomas Moore—Jane McDonald
Patrick Cannon—Phœbe Howell
- 25: James Irwin—Sarah Green
Thomas Hammitt—Sarah Walker
Nicholas Depui—Lana Shoemaker
- 26: John Meredith—Mary Holton
- 27: Thomas Edward Wallace—Sarah Dennis
- 28: Anthony Fortune—Mary Yeates
- 30: William Busby—Mary Hooper

October.

- 2: James Lander—Elizabeth Suffiance
Stephen Tucker—Ann Dupree
- 4: Thomas Lee—Mary Spencer
- 5: Bernard Evans—Ann Kelly
- 8: W^m Sarnighausen—Elizabeth Jenkins
Gabriel Coxe—Ann Bur
Hyman Saunders—Benjamin Martha Prentice
[sic]
- 10: Benjamin Griffith—Catharine Bartholomew
- 11: Jacob Stillwaggon—Judith Sheghan
- 12: Samuel Snowden—Hannah Gum
Thomas Roker—Mary Crathorne
William Lawrence—Ann Robinson
John Hall—Mary Smith
- 14: Amos Matlack—Hannah Trager
- 15: Henry McDowell—Mary Smith
Jacob Falkenstein—Catharine Hart
- 16: Joseph Fry—Elizabeth Hoffman
Philip Kline—Elizabeth Corbman
- 17: John Keble—Abigail Spicer
- 19: Joseph Boucher—Rachel Walton

- 21: Robert Maxwell—Mary Cooper
George Williams—Mary Hutchinson
- 24: John Sutton—Catharine Bloomfield
William M. Barnet—Elizabeth Stone
Richard Heneby—Jane McKillup
- 25: Aaron Hunter—Mary Shannon
- 26: John Wood—Mary Cannon
John Rogers—Elizabeth Laughran
- 29: Samuel Willis—Elizabeth Lukens
Alexander Thompson—Mary Stewart
- 30: Andrew Bankson Jun^r—Mary Tallman
- 31: Bethanath Hodgkinson—Catharine Simmons
Nathan Collins—Catharine Dobbins
John Williams—Mary Ann Dobbins
- 31: Philip Wager—Mary Keller

November.

- 1: John Campbell—Mary Wood
George Kelly—Mary Young
- 2: James Chaband—Eliz^a Russell
- 6: Philip Worn—Mary Heyl
- 7: Jonathan Coates—Jane Stinson
Andrew Yoacum—Sarah Grant
- 8: John Dixon—Catharine Harpin
- 11: Robert Mitchell—Margaret Hart
- 12: John Gregory—Rachel Stewart
- 13: John Hemminger—Catharine McCarty
- 15: John Thompson—Rebecka Gunning
- 16: Edward Lawrence—Jane Galbreath
- 18: Peter Fox—Catharine Jones
- 21: Daniel Griffith—Elizabeth Rodgers
- 23: Richard Broderick—Mary Sinnot
- 25: Peter Sharp—Ann Wright
Samuel Ash—Martha Pearson
- 27: Richard Sands—Elizabeth Bond
Peter Byrch—Elizabeth Bull
Thomas Green—Catharine Nelson
John Knox—Elizabeth Matlack
- 28: Frederick Hitner—Mary Brown
Henry Branson—Mary Knight
Leonard Wright—Sabina Bower
Josiah Davis—Priscilla Robinson
Samuel Pastorius—Sarah Lincon
- 30: William Bonham—Elizabeth Taggart

December.

- 3: William Carlisle—Kaziah Akerly
David Jones—Mary Cummins
Mordecai Massey—Sarah Griffith
- 4: William Crawford—Ann Hines
John Breese—Susanna Cooper
- 10: David Shaffer—Elizabeth Hay
Isaac Zimmerman—Catharine Saseman
- 11: Samuel Shaw—Sarah Abel
- 14: Edward Moore—Eliz^a Ramsower
John Dungan—Phœbe Corbett
- 16: Jesse Davis—Catharine Humphreys
- 18: James Sample—Jane Anderson
Hugh Knox—Catharine Lewis
William McFarlan—Jane Dick
Samuel Davis—Hannah Price
Benjamin Brelsford Jun^r—Martha Gillmer
- 19: Robert Evans—Martha Taylor
Robert Fitzgerald—Kaziah Scott
- 21: John Badcock—Christiana King
- 24: John Bod—Hannah Morgan
- 28: Adam Guyer—Mary Kearney
- 30: John Cock—Sarah Heslet
Conrod Davis—Mary Hart
- 31: John Mears—Ann Gillis

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

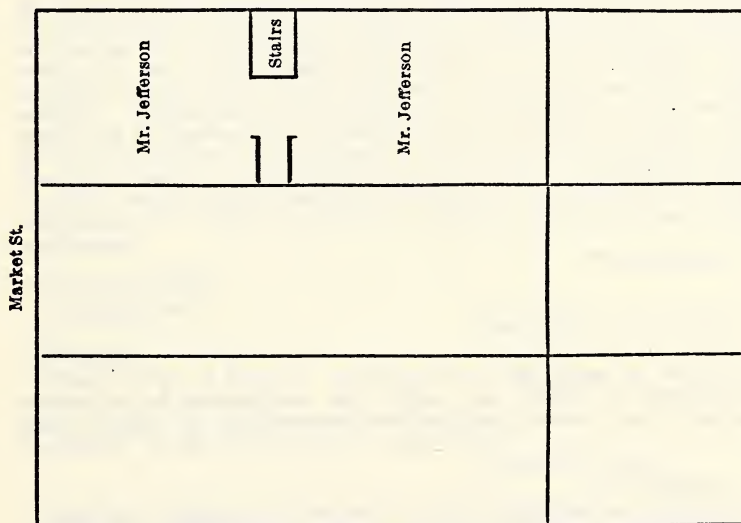
Notes.

THE CHARLES MORTON SMITH FUND.—Mr. Charles Morton Smith, a Councillor of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, desired his wife, Mrs. Anna Ingersoll Smith, to bequeath to it the sum of \$20,000, the income to be used for the purchase of books. At a meeting of the Council, held January 22, 1917, his widow, anticipating the fulfillment of the wish of her husband, presented the Society with her check for this amount.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HOUSE IN WHICH JEFFERSON DREW UP THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Among the numerous pamphlets of the well-known local antiquarian, John McAllister, Jr., in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a copy of the "Eulogium on Thomas Jefferson," delivered before the American Philosophical Society, April 11, 1827, by Nicholas Biddle, in the appendix to which are two letters of Mr. Jefferson to Dr. James Mease, giving his recollections of the house in which he lodged when he drew up the Declaration of Independence. Mr. McAllister has inserted a plan of this house with comments.

Seventh St.



"The above shows the original plan of the house at the south-west corner of Market and Seventh streets. The two rooms on the second story, having the stairway between them, were occupied by Mr. Jefferson in 1776. In one of those rooms he wrote the Declaration of Independence.

"The corner house and the two adjoining houses on Market street became the property of Messrs. Simon and Hyman Gratz, about 1798, and

were for many years occupied by them as their place of business. They added a fourth story to the height; they also closed up the door on Seventh street and removed the stairs. The whole of the second floor of the corner house is one room, but the place where the old stairway came up can be seen by the alteration in the boards of the floor. The corner house was occupied in 1776 by the father of the late Mr. Frederick Graff, who was then an infant. He told me that he could remember hearing his parents say that he had often sat on Mr. Jefferson's knee.

"The sketch of the original plan of the house, from which this copy was made, was drawn for me today by Mr. Hyman Gratz.

"July 6, 1855,
"John McAllister, Jr."

In the late Summer of 1825 Dr. James Mease, of this city, wrote to Mr. Jefferson asking for his recollections of the house in which he had drawn up the Declaration of Independence, who responded in the following letters:

"Monticello, Sep. 16, 1825.

"Dear Sir,

"It is not for me to estimate the importance of the circumstances concerning which your letter of the 8th makes inquiry. They prove, even in their minuteness, the sacred attachments of our fellow citizens to the event of which the paper of July 4, 1776, was but the declaration, the genuine effusion of the soul of our country at that time. Small things may perhaps, like the relics of saints, help to nourish our devotion of the holy bond of our union, and keep it longer alive and warm in our affections. This effect may give importance to circumstances however small.

"At the time of writing that instrument I lodged in the house of a Mr. Graaf, a new brick house three stories high, of which I rented the second floor, consisting of a parlour and bedroom ready furnished. In that parlour I wrote habitually, and in it wrote this paper particularly. So far I state from written proofs in my possession. The proprietor Graaf was a young man, son of a German, and then newly married. I think he was a bricklayer, and that his house was on the south side of Market street, probably between 7th and 8th streets, and if not the only house on that part of the street, I am sure there were few others near it. I have some idea that it was a corner house, but no other recollections throwing any light on the question are worth communication. I will therefore only add assurance of my great respect and esteem.

"Th. Jefferson.

"Dr. James Mease,
"Philadelphia."

"Monticello, Oct. 30, 1825.

"Dear Sir,

"Your letter of Sept. 8, inquiring after the house in which the declaration of independence was written, has excited my curiosity to know whether my recollections were such as to enable you to find out the house. A line on the subject would oblige,

"Dear Sir, Yours,
"Th. Jefferson."

That Mr. Jefferson was correct in his recollections is confirmed by Jacob Hiltzheimer, who resided on the east side of Seventh street opposite the Graaf house, who makes the following entry in his diary under date of July 28, 1777:

"This afternoon paid Jacob Graff, Jr., for the house and lot at the corner of Seventh and High streets, and received the deed for the same."

The sum paid was £1775. On the site of this house now stands a part of the Penn National Bank.

PAY ROLL OF KENT COUNTY (DELAWARE) REPRESENTATIVES, 1759.

The Governm^t of the Lower Counties, to the Representatives of Kent County D^r

1759

May y ^r	To John Brinckle Esq ^r 8 days attend ^e 48/	£	4	0	6
7	To 65 Miles at 6 ^d @ Mile 32/6				
	John Barns to 8 days attend ^e 48/		3	8	0
	To 40 Miles at 6 ^d @ Mile 20				
	John Vining Esq ^r to 8 days attend ^e 48/		3	11	0
	To 46 Miles at 6 ^d @ Mile 23/				
	Vincent Loockerman to attend ^e 48/		3	11	0
	To 46 Miles at 6 ^d @ Mile 23/				
	Joseph Caldwell to attend ^e 48/		3	13	6
	To 51 Miles at 6 ^d @ Mile 25/6				
	Cæsar Rodney to attend ^e 48/		3	14	6
	To 53 Miles at 6 ^d @ Mile 26/6				
			£	21	18 6

Gentlemen

Pay unto the Representatives of Kent County the several Sums above mentioned annexed to their Names and the same will be allowed you on Settlement with the Committee in their acco^t of Interest money

Jacob Kollock Speaker

To the Trustees of the Loan Office
of Kent.

"FORT RITTENHOUSE."—The antiquarian, John McAllister, Jr., has left the following notes in relation to "Fort Rittenhouse": "The residence of David Rittenhouse was at the northwest corner of Arch and Seventh streets. After his decease his daughter, Mrs. Sergeant, occupied it, his other daughter, Mrs. Waters, occupying the adjoining house on Seventh street. Gen. Bright rented a house on Seventh street a few doors above Mrs. Waters for his quarters. His soldiers, who were members of a volunteer company, were sentinels by turns. I went up to the premises several times to see the proceedings. Sentinels with muskets were posted at the front door on Arch street, at the alley gate on Seventh street, and at the door of Mrs. Waters' house; others were pacing up and down the pavement and some were in the garden on the west side of the house, in which stood the observatory. The soldiers who were tried before the United States court were those who were actually doing duty as guards at the time the Marshal, John Smith, made the arrests, March 25, 1809. After being sentenced they were confined in the Debtors' apartment in Prune street. President Madison pardoned them May 6, 1809."

LETTER OF WILLIAM BAIL TO WILLIAM FAIRFAX, OF KING GEORGE, VA.
[Ms. Divis. Hist. Soc. Penna. Drer Coll.]

S^r

I rece^d yours dated the 17th of May: am Sorry I could not get the plott ready Sooner (then am like to doe): I have bin verry much Indisposed, with fevers, tooth Ach, and pain in my head; that have not bin Able to Set to plot, am afraid Shall not have them ready before the Latter End of Next week: Shall Send them as Soon as they are Completed.

I am

Y^r Verry Hum^{bl}e Serv^{tt}

William Bail

June 4th 1737:

VALLEY FORGE.—“Thomas Bradford is appointed Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners. His quarters are at Mr. David Harvard, the next house to the Marquis Lafayette.”—*Gen. Hand's Orderly Book.*

TURNPIKES.—The example in this Province was set by the Directors of the Fire Insurance office of this City, who generously paid for and affixed 29 stones on the York Road from Philadelphia to Trenton Ferry, and 20 stones on the road leading from this City to Maryland and Virginia, which sufficiently informs the Traveller of the several distances within this Province, on those sides of it.—*Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March, 1767.

LETTER OF JOHN JAMES AUDUBON TO THOMAS SULLY. [*Ms. Divis. Hist. Soc. of Penna. Dreer Coll.*]

Thomas Sully Esq^r
Philadelphia—

What answer shall I write My Dear Friend that can prove to you the Glow I felt through my whole frame when I read your last note to me. The sensation resembled the reality of my Possessing The Esteem of Thomas Sully—I kissed it, thanked you, as I was accustomed to do when my Father used to speak to me of Best advises, and never will I forget either of you.

My reception in New York has surpassed my Hopes, I have been met most kindly and had I seen Co^l Trumbull I would have found him the Gentleman you represented, but his absence to Saratoga Springs has deprived me of that pleasure.

New York is now an immense City. Strangers are received here with Less reserve generally than at Phil^a. I found the Acedemy well supplied with Paintings & Sculptures of the Great Masters—The Steam Boats of the Sweet Ohio with all their Swiftness of Motions & beautiful form, do not interest the Eye Like those that are here Tossing over the foaming Billows with the Grace of the Wild Swan. Was I a Painter, Ah could I like Vernet carry in my Minds eye all my mind feels when looking from the Battery at the Moon's tender reflexions on the furthest Sails forcing the Vessel they move into the very winds heart—Express as he does the quick moving Tar hauling in a reef at the yard's end; and make on the Canvas *A Noble Commander Speak as You have done.*—Then my Dear Friend I could Show you New York's harbour and all its Beauties.

how often I have seen in thought Your Lady and all your Sweet Children. is my Little friend Diggory perfectly Well again? does not your Youngest Darling keep improving? and do not Your Ladies musical powers continue to force each Passenger to stop & Lissen at Your Windows? I think I have just met The Little Sisters on their way to School passing the foot Steps that lead to our Friend Vaughn and Whilst my Heart enclines Westwardly again to my own Beloved Home, I mark Thomas Sully the Younger Crossing The Schuillkill with open countenance and a free Step Stearing towards Knowledge, I Sigh and regret Philadelphia—Yet I cannot part with that Fair City this Soon; I cannot help Thanking Fairman, Peale, Neagle, Lesueur and many others besides McMurtry for their attentions to me—Should you See Honest quaker Haines beg of him to believe me his Friend—Should you See M^r Ord tell him I never was his enemy—Think of me some time and accept The Truest Best Wishes of

John J. Audubon

New York August 14th 1824.

I leave for Boston Tomorrow—Should you please to Write to Me Direct. to Care of Mess^{rs} Anshutz & Co Pittsburgh—where I shall be in about 40 days.

LETTER OF AARON BURR TO JOHN NICHOLSON. [*Ms. Divis. Hist. Soc. of Penna. Dreer Coll.*]

N. York 16 July 1793

Dear sir

Your order for the Balance due on my Shares in the population Company was presented & paid some weeks ago, but your letter of the 29th June was not received 'till the 10 Inst:

I am very much of your Opinion with regard to the benefits to arise from the Indian Treaty—after Three or four Millions spent in War & probably another Million in Negociation, we may think ourselves fortunate if we find Matters no worse than at the Commencement of hostilities.

We have a rumor here, (very grateful to our Tories,) that Genet has come to an open Rupture with the President—That he has publicly threatned to appeal to the people, that as preparatory to this Step he goes about Visiting the Mechanics and the lower orders of people, leaving Cards at their houses when they are not at home! &c. &c. And the Rumors add that it is in Contemplation of the President and his Ministers to dismiss the french Plenipo. Will you have the goodness, if sufficiently at leisure, to let me know how far these Reports have any foundation in fact.

I am Dear sir with great
Respect & Attachment
Y^r ob^t S^t

John Nicholson Esq.

Aaron Burr

FIRE INSURANCE.—The Hand-in-Hand Fire office was instituted in 1696 at the Rainbow Tavern, Fleet street, London, Nicholas Barbone, M.D. (a son of the famous Praise God Barbone), leading in the movement.

The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire (the Hand-in-Hand) was established in April, 1752, Benjamin Franklin being one of the directors.

QUAKER GIRLS.—From a letter written by Gen. Greene to his wife, dated at Camp Sandy Run, November 2, 1777, the following is copied:

"Our Head Quarters are at one Mr. Emlens, close in the neighborhood of my quarters—there are several sweet pretty Quaker girls. If the spirit should move and love invite who can be answerable for the consequences? I know this won't alarm you because you have such an high opinion of my virtue. It is very well you have. You remember the prayer of the Saint—tempt me not above what I am able to bear."

LETTER OF MAJ. GEN'L ROBERT ANDERSON (OF FORT SUMTER FAME) TO BENJAMIN DRAKE. [*Ms. Divis. Hist. Soc. of Penna. Dreer Coll.*]

Elizabethtown N. J. Nov. 8. 1839.

My dear Sir.

I regret that the loss of my notes, of the Black Hawk Campaign, prevents my complying with your request to be furnished with the statements made to me, by an Indian respecting the death of Tecumseh. I will, however, give you my impressions as to the purport of his statement. You may have other statements which will confirm, or impeach the credibility of my recollection of what I was told.

My informant was named Chamblee who was in 1832 a Chief of the Pottawatamie Indians. He stated that he was very young, and was at the battle of Thames, and near Tecumseh, when he was killed. He represented Tecumseh as engaged in a personal rencounter with a soldier armed with a musket, that the latter had made a thrust at the Chief, who caught the bayonet under his left arm, where he held it, and was

in the act of striking his opponent with his tomahawk, when a horseman rode up and shot Tecumseh dead with a pistol. The horseman, he stated, had a white and red feather (plume) in his hat, and that he was mounted on a spotted horse—the colour as described by my interpreter, from the Indian language, was perhaps what is called a red roan—Chamblee (or as called by some Chabonnie) said that he saw Tecumseh's body a day or two after the battle and that it was not mutilated.

The above is as near as I can remember the substance of what was narrated. I regret that I can not give you the statement, as taken down by me, but, although a little uncertain about my informant's name, I am confident as to the correctness of my recollection as to the manner of Tecumseh's death. The Soldier, must have been one of the regulars, from his musket & bayonet. The horseman was perhaps one of the Ky. light horse, or their gallant chief himself.

Tecumseh was plainly dressed, he wore a leather hunting shirt.

I can not, my dear Sir, close this hurried letter without stating, that all the romantic interest, with which my boyish imagination had invested the character of the lords of the forest, has been gradually changed by my intercourse with them. Instead of that noble, high minded, brave, independent race, I had dreamed of, I have found them treacherous, ungrateful, and not boldly brave. A thousand favors bestowed are too often forgotten at the first neglect to give what has been demanded. Implacable hostility to the whites, is the only feeling, in which, from my little intercourse with them, I have found them consistent. It may be said that their indiscriminate murder of women and children is justified by custom. So it may when they are judged by their own laws, but civilized nations must ever regard the chiefs who authorize or commit such acts as monsters. We have unfortunately given the Indians too much cause to make them regard us as their natural enemies. I hope that henceforth the even scales of justice will regulate our intercourse with them.

If their Indian agent Forsythe is still living (he resided near St. Louis) he can give you much information on the interesting Subject you have undertaken. From Gen^l C. Gratiot St. Louis and Col. John O'Fallon, you could perhaps obtain some authentic information, or, at all events, receive such references as would aid you much.

I hope you will meet with such success as will enable you to give us an interesting work. Tecumseh's life and deeds are intimately connected with the struggles and difficulties of our Ancestors in forming their homes in the West, and are therefore deeply interesting to their descendants.

I am very respectfully

Your ob serv^t

Robert Anderson

PERSONAL NOTE FROM A CELEBRATED NOVELIST AND DRAMATIST TO A DISTINGUISHED POLITICAL ECONOMIST, both of Philadelphia, written about seventy years ago, recently presented to the Society.

My Dear Sir,

I have managed to pick up, without having taken any extraordinary pains to find it, a kind of cold which has something of a Bronchitic look about it,—so much so, that I am on my way to a Doctor's to have the mystery inquired into. If he is barbarous, he will send me home to a supper of salts and caustic, instead of oysters and terrapins; in which case I must beg you to excuse and commiserate me. If he thinks the case a small one, the oysters and terrapins forever!

Yours, with a cold,

Robt. M. Bird

H. C. Carey, Esq.

LETTER OF REYNOLD KEEN TO ENSIGN ISAAC AUSTIN.—The following letter (the original of which is in the possession of Simon Gratz, Esq.) is of special interest as testifying to the patriotism of Reynold Keen, who two years afterward was accused of treason to his country, of which charge he was finally acquitted. Isaac Austin was the son of Sarah Keen [cousin of Reynold Keen] by her second husband Samuel Austin, and brother of Sarah Austin, wife of Commodore John Barry. His mother's first husband was John Stillé, whose daughter Christiana Stillé became the first wife of Reynold Keen. When Reynold Keen subscribes himself as "brother," of course it is in the sense of brother-in-law.

Reading, Augth 5th, 1776.

Dr. Isaac

I am favoured with an Oppty of writing to you by Mr. Dundas who goes as a Volunteer from this town to the American Camp in Jersey, and I shall be very happy in hearing that you enjoy perfect health under the fatigues of a Campaign, which to you must be a severe tryal from the tender Manner of life you have experienced from your Cradle; but if I am not mistaken, your Zeal in the cause you have embarked in will lighten every burden you now undergo, and of course make a Campaign a life of pleasure rather than a life of hardships. Four Companys raised for the flying Camp have marched to join you, and the Militia I understand are preparing to March with all expedition. Indéed Isaac we cannot help lamenting the Gloomy prospect of the times w^{ch} Mrs. Keen have partook of most sincerely in conjunction with me, and is much distressed upon Billy's & your acco^{ts}. Our prayers are not wanting for the safe return of both of you to your Dear Mother who I am informed is so burthened with the business of a ferry that its almost more than she can bear. I am told your brother has sprained his ancle. If so, and he can leave his post with honour, I think he'll be better off to be at home with Mother, where he may be of some service. Your Sister joins me together with the children in love and best wishes for your welfare, and believe me to be D^r Isaac

Your Sincere friend & Bro^r
R. Keen

P.S. The Gentleman by whom this was to have been handed to you being disappointed in setting off, this will be forwarded by your Sister Sally.

LETTER OF ÆANUS BURKE TO GENERAL LACHLAN MCINTOSH. [*Ms. Divis. Hist. Soc. of Penna. Dreer Coll.*]

Camp before York. October 28th 1781

Dear General

From Philadelphia I arrived in eleven days at York, and enjoyed the gratification of seeing the British Army march out Prisoners of War and lay down their Arms. I have not as yet been able to proceed from hence on my journey, my horse having been crippled by a blow w^{ch} he received on the Shoulder, and rowed by a farrier. This has detained me and caused some care, but shall go forward in a few days.

I have the pleasure of congratulating you on this great event of reducing the power & strength of our Enemies in the Southern parts of America: it will be the means I hope, of putting an end to the War, and of restoring you to your Country and to tranquility for the future part of your Life. Your Exchange will no doubt take place shortly, and terminate your captivity w^{ch} has occasioned so many difficulties to you. I often think of you I can assure you Sir; and altho' I have a warm friendship & esteem for you, yet I cannot feel these sentiments to you

without some mixture of Envy. There is not a man living Whom I envy for his wealth, his reputation or abilities: But when I see a man surrounded with what the world calls More than difficulties: Exile from Country, splendid fortune, from family, with wants of almost every kind into the bargain, when such a man bears all this not only with constancy, but laughs at it with gait, you must not blame me if I envy him, when I feel myself & see most of the World besides me incapable of it.

In Camp I have lived in the family of General St. Claire, who is a most agreeable, genteel, good man, & has treated me wth great politeness. And as he requested me to march wth the Army, should do it, but they will march slow. otherwise it would suit me very well, for you must know that travelling is enormously dear on the lower road. Often they made me pay a guinea a day. St. Claire & myself traveled from Baltimore together. We supped on bread & milk at night at New Kent Court house, Virginia paid our reckoning before breakfast as usual, it cost him a guinea for himself, Aid & horses & two servants & me very little less. Tell your friends to go Southerly by the upper road, & not to travel in large parties, w^{ch} gives trouble at Inns & make high bills.

Be so good Sir as to remember my best respects to M^r Wereat, to M^r Tarfair & to the Gentlemen of your family.

I remain Sir with sincere respect & esteem

Your most obedient & most hum^l serv^t

Ædanus Burke.

LETTER OF CÆSAR RODNEY TO BENJAMIN CHEW.

Sir.

I have Recd: One hundred pounds of Lynford Lardner's money from William Manlove and Expect to get the Rest in a Short time Since I Recd: it, I wrote to you Concerning it, but had no answer Therefore Concluded you had not got my letter, Please to let me know Whether I shall Send it you by one of the Shalop men, and Which I have levy^d your Execution on one hundred acres of land or thereabouts, said by many to be Peter Growell's property, he has now a tenant on the Land, I intend to make my Return, then take out a Vendit to Sell it If you have any particular Instructions to give me Concerning it Please to let me know them.

Sir, I beg you'd not forget that affair of Daniel Needham, I don't think he will Stay With us longer Than this Winter if so long, if so the Cost will fall heavy on me, John Rodney Inform'd me at our Court, that he Intended to Eject for the Same land before Next Court. I suppose it is by M^r Goldsborough's advice, Please to Write me by Louk.

I am Y^r &c

Aug^t y^e 20th 1756

Benjamin Chew Esq

Cæ: Rodney

Book Notices.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS AND THE RECURRENCE OF WAR. By Thomas Willing Balch. Philadelphia, 1917. 8vo, pp. 22.

This is a paper read before the American Philosophical Society by Mr. Balch in April, 1916. He treats his subject in every way worthy of its theme.

COLLECTIONS NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1916. Vol. IX. Newark. Price, \$2.00.

This new volume should prove of great interest to members of the Society and to all persons and societies interested in early New Jersey families. The late indefatigable Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

William Nelson, spent many years in collecting biographical and genealogical notes of many of the men and families noted in the thirty-one volumes of New Jersey Archives, and this posthumous work, issued by the Society, will be greatly appreciated.

AN HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT OF ANDREW ROBESON OF SCOTLAND, NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA, AND OF DESCENDANTS FROM 1653 TO 1916. By Kate Hamilton Osborne. Philadelphia, 1916. pp. 760, 4to. illustrated.

After fourteen years of untiring research Mrs. Osborne has published in most attractive form, the results of her genealogical researches, in the book under notice, and all the members of this old and distinguished family are under a debt of gratitude to her. Eleven generations have been worked out and arranged, and the text well supplied with illustrations of portraits, views of early homes, facsimiles of documents, and an illuminated copy of the coat of arms of the family.

THE BOOK OF BOSTON. By Robert Shackleton. Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia, 1916. 8vo, pp. 332. Illustrated. Price, \$2.00 net.

"A city of interest, this," writes the author; "a city of much charm, with much beauty, with much of dignity. A city of idols, as well as ideals, and with some of the idols clay. For, indeed, this is a very human city, but on the whole a comfortable city, of traditions, beliefs, and rich associations."

No one has seen the old and new Boston more clearly than Mr. Shackleton, and he has written an interesting book on the history of the city, its institutions, literary traditions, landmarks, and, above all, its people. It will also prove invaluable for those who visit the city, for it discovers many odd corners not known to the usual sightseer—but it is more than a guide-book. It is attractively decorated with pen drawings, initials and tail-pieces, and illustrated with full-page sepia plates of famous places in the city and its environs.

JUNIATA MEMORIES: LEGENDS COLLECTED IN CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA. By Henry W. Shoemaker. Philadelphia, J. J. McVey, 1916. 12mo, pp. xv-395.

In 1914 we noticed the work of Mr. Shoemaker, and it appears that our notice was the means of introducing his Pennsylvania folk-tales to a wider circle of readers. The same class of stories as found already in other parts of the mountain region here greet us from the Juniata: Indians, wizards, runaway lovers, and tragic deaths. The chase and the wild rural life are relieved by occasional references to our city. Thus a lover of a century ago brings his sweetheart a copy of Moore's Poems from Philadelphia; an English aristocratic youth runs off with a pretty milliner's assistant of fifteen, and they sail from Hull to Philadelphia, and finally a young Italian countess writes to her forbidden Scottish admirer, also in Philadelphia. The touches of what used to be called the supernatural are not wanting in the legends, and the page of Foreword by Albert J. Edmunds points out the value of folklore to the student of religion. The book is well printed on good paper and illustrated with attractive views on the Juniata, and is suitable for a gift-book.

THE PHILADELPHIA ASSEMBLIES. By Thomas Willing Balch. Philadelphia, 1916. 8vo, pp. 146.

The subject of Mr. Balch's book is of particular interest to Philadelphia families. It was a singularly happy inspiration that induced him, from the meager original material extant, to rescue from undeserved oblivion so many notable characters and events connected with the social life of the city. The Dancing Assembly was instituted in the year 1748, and it is fortunate that there has been preserved the autograph list of the

original subscribers and rules governing the dancing, and the first treasurer's account book, from which we glean that music and punch, concomitants of the dancing, depleted Treasurer Swift's cash more than any other expenditures for the pleasures of the evening. Early invitations, on paper and cardboard, have been treasured by descendants. Descriptions of a number of the functions, with the names of those who were present, the distinguished guests invited, with friendly criticisms of their toilets, have been gathered from correspondence, to all of which Mr. Balch has added biographical sketches, so helpful to the reader of today in elucidating the old social life of the metropolis of the colonies. The edition is limited. The book is handsomely printed, and is assured of a cordial reception.

THE ADOPTION OF MEW-SEN-QUA, TECUMSEH'S FATHER, AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE DELAWARE INDIANS, WITH UNPOLISHED GEMS. By Richard C. Adams. Crane Printing Co., 813 13th street, Washington, D. C., 1917. 8vo, pp. 52. Illustrated, price 50 cents.

Mr. Adams, the chief representative of the Delaware Indians, who now number only two hundred full bloods of a once mighty nation, has spent three years in translating this work from the original Delaware rituals and traditions. The story follows Tecumseh's father, a Shawnee, who left Kentucky about 1765 for western Pennsylvania, near the present town of Beaver, to seek a wife, who, according to custom, could not be of his father's or mother's clan, but of another tribe or clan; the tests necessary to adoption; the selection of a maiden, and marriage in accord with Indian custom.

The author desires the largest circulation of his book, for it not only shows the high standards of the Delawares' morals and character, but will give to the present and future generations an entirely different phase of Indian life and customs in their natural state. Pennsylvania, of all States, should take a kindly interest in the folklore, philosophy, religion, and history, as well as the rituals of the Delaware Indians.

THE MIDDLE GROUP OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., LL.D. 1917. 8vo, 324. The MacMillan Co., New York. Price \$2.00.

There has been little written about American historians and in the work under notice Dr. Bassett has undertaken to repair some of this deficiency, giving special prominence to three men whose careers held a large portion of the attention of the generation that lived between 1830 and 1870: George Bancroft, the most successful historian; Jared Sparks, the most famous editor of historical writings, and Peter Force, the most respected collector and compiler of historical materials. The essays on these men are introduced by a chapter on the development of history writing in the United States and concluded by one on the historians and their publishers—the conditions under which historians published their works. Referring to Robert Proud and his history of Pennsylvania, Dr. Bassett writes: "He was one of the first to combine the functions of historian and schoolmaster . . . It can be asserted that the book written by Proud, a poor schoolmaster who struggled hard against an indifferent public attitude, is the best in scholarship and appreciation of the task before the writer that has yet been produced. This does not mean that the book has no serious faults. The style is heavy and lacking in proportion, and many things are ignored which a modern historian would treat; but there is an abundance of accurate statement, with some valuable documents and every mark of sincerity and industry. . . . The author's returns for his labor were so small that he repudiated in disgust the career of historian, leaving incomplete the narrative which the end of the second volume interrupted at the year 1742."

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PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLI.

1917.

No. 3.

ORDERLY BOOK OF GENERAL EDWARD HAND,
VALLEY FORGE, JANUARY, 1778.

[Copied from the original by William B. Read, Esq.]

(Continued from page 223.)

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE WEDNESDAY
JAN'Y 14 1778.

Major General of the day Tomorrow..Greene.

Brigadier GeneralHuntington.

Field OfficersCol^o Becker, Col^o Bradford.

Brig^e MajorLearned.

Parole, Perseverance—C. Signs, Peace—Plenty.

Detail for Guards.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Muhlenberg	0	2	2	2	22
Weedon	0	2	2	2	30
Learned	0	1	2	2	30
Patterson	1	1	2	2	36
Varnum	0	2	2	2	40
Huntington	0	1	2	3	50
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	9	12	13	208

The Fatigue Party to parade tomorrow morning at
Sunrise on the Brigade parade of General Varnum's

Brigade and thence march to Fatland ford and take General Sullivans directions.

For Fatigue.

<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
1	0	1	1	21
	1	1	1	27
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
1	1	2	2	48

The Cloathier has some Stockings suitable for Officers at reasonable prices.

Advertisement.

Stolen last Friday night two miles above the Trap—A young Sorrel horse 5 years old white face 16 hands high shod all around branded R. G. on the near shoulder also a Bay Mare 8 years old, light Trotter shod all round—A reward of Forty Dollars is offered for Horses and Thief.

Twenty for Horses only by the Quarter Master General.

Stolen the 8th instant at night 400 wt. pickled Pork—A working Ox which was killed and the flesh carried off. Twenty Dollars reward are offered by Doctor John Davis of Col^o Patton's Regiment for discovering the thief. any one of the accomplices who shall inform of the rest shall receive the above reward and a pardon.

Was stolen out of Capt. McKinley's tent on the evening of the 9th instant, a silver hilted small sword, the guard stamped D. S. the gripe twisted and plain wire—the Scabbard black leather. Twelve Dollars reward is offered to any one who will secure the thief, and deliver the sword to the owner or Six Dollars for either.

Lost a bright Horse, the property of Major Wallace 15th Virginia Regiment, about Fourteen hands and a half high with a star on his forehead and some saddle spots. The person who delivers said Horse to the Owner, or Lt. William B. Wallace, Col^o Grayson's Regiment shall be handsomely rewarded.

The Majors of Brigades will deliver a list of The Field officers in the several Brigades to which they belong, Tomorrow at orderly time.

The General Court Martial which was to sit this day is to sit tomorrow at Ten OClock at the Bake House, near Head Quarters.

Varnum's and Huntington's Brigades to furnish 1 S. 1 C. 12 P. to parade this day 1 OClock at the Commissary's of Ordnances Stores who will give them proper Directions—To be provided for a long Tour of Duty.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE THURSDAY
JANY. 15th 1778.

Major General Tomorrow Lord Sterling.
Brigadier of the day Poor.
Field Officers, L^t Col^o Weltner, L^t Col^o Harmer.
Brigade Major Patterson.

Detail.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Poor	0	1	1	1	12
1 st Pennsylvania		0	0	0	12
2 ^d ditto	0	0	1	1	24
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	1	2	2	48

for fatigue party to parade at sunrise tomorrow morning, in front of the 2^d Pennsylvania brigade and thence march to Fatland ford.

Detail for Guards.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Woodford	0	1	1	1	13
Scott	0	2	2	2	31
1 st Pennsylvania	0	0	1	1	19
Poor	0	1	1	2	39
Glover	0	1	1	2	32
Maxwell	0	2	2	2	26
Conway	0	2	2	2	25
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	9	12	13	204

A Subaltern, Sargeant and Twenty Privates from General Glover's Brigade, are to parade Tomorrow Morning at the Adjutant General's office for fatigue,—Eight OClock.

Col^o Humpton and Gibson, Lt. Col^o Vose, Major Turnald appointed vice Bassett and Major Ball are appointed to repair to the several Hospitals in the Middle Department, They will receive their Orders at the Adjutant Generals Office Tomorrow Morning—The 1st Pennsylvania, General Poor's, Learned's, Maxwell's, Huntington's and McIntosh's Brigades each give a Capt.; Woodford's Scott's, Weedon's and Varnum's each a Subaltern, for said purpose—They must attend likewise at the aforesaid time and place.

Lists of the soldiers with the Regiments to which they belong, to be made and sent in Tomorrow at orderly time.

Nickolas Gilman Adjutant of the 3rd N. H. Battalion is appointed Assistant to the Adjutant General and to be respected as such.

The works marked out by the Engineers for the Defence of the Camp are to be executed with all possible dispatch and the Commander-in-Chief requests the [omitted] of General Greene, Lord Sterling and the Marquis de la Fayette (General Sullivan being upon other Duty), to [omitted] with General Portail on the proper means, and number of men necessary to execute the works in the different wings and second line, and give orders accordingly—And that each of them appoint proper Officers to Superintend and push forward the Defences.

The Quarter Master General is positively ordered to provide straw for the use of the Troops, and the surgeons to see that the sick when they are removed to Hutts assigned for Hospitals are plentifully supplied with this Article.

All the Armourers except those already employed in their respective Brigades, are to parade Tomorrow on

the grand parade at Guard Mountings. A Camp Man from each Brigade to parade at the same time and place.

Provisions to be issued to the Troops up to next Sunday inclusively.

A Sargeant, Corporal and nine privates from General McIntosh's Brigade to parade at the Adjutant Generals Office at half past Eight in the Morning, furnished with two days provisions, where they will receive their Orders.

At a General Court Martial held the 28th of November last in the North Carolina Brigade, of which L^t Col^o Davidson was president, L^t Richard ——— charged with acting in an ungentlemanlike manner, and encouraging theft in the army, was tried and found guilty and sentenced therefor to be discharged from the service. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed forthwith.

The Quarter Master General is immediately to fix upon a proper place between or near the Lines where hutts, may be erected for prisoners under the provost Guards, he will also appoint a suitable Carpenter to assist and direct the Men who shall be imployed in the work—Two Axmen with their Axes from each of those Brigades which furnish Guards Tomorrow, are to be brought by their Brigade Majors to the grand parade Tomorrow morning at 9 OClock to be thus imployed. and in like manner from day to day till the huts are compleated.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE FRIDAY JANY. 16th 1778.

Parole, Arlington—Counter Signs { Albany
Andover

Major General of the day Tomorrow

Marquis de la Fayette.

BrigadierPatterson.

M. BrigadeStagg.

Field Officers ...Col^o Wiggleworth, L^t Col^o

Littlefield.

Detail for Guards.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>F.</i>
Woodford		1	2	2	13		
Scott		2	2	2	31		
1 st Pennsylvania.		0	1	1	19		
2 ^d ditto		0	1	1	19		
Poor		1	1	2	39		
Glover	1	2	1	2	32	1	1
Maxwell		1	2	1	26		
Conway		2	2	2	25		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	9	12	13	203	1	1

Detail for Fatigue.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Woodford	0	1	2	2			16
Scott	0	2	3	2			32
1 st Pennsylv ^a	0	1	2	2			23
2 ^d Pennsylv ^a	1	1	2	2			23
Poor	1	2	3	2			46
Glover	2	2	3	2	1	1	40
Maxwell	1	2	2	2			32
Conway	2	1	3	2	1	1	32
Muhlenberg	1	2	2	2			23
Weedon	0	2	3	2			33
Learned	1	1	2	2	1	1	30
Patterson	0	1	2	2			42
Varnum	0	1	1	3			58
Huntington	1	1	2	3			70
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10	20	32	30	3	3	500

To be on the Guard Parade Tomorrow Morning precisely at half past Seven O'Clock Col^o Richard Butler L^t Col^o Sprout and Major Hull are appointed to the command of this party.

A Flag will soon go to the Enemies Lines, those persons, who have any Things to send to our Prisoners there, must have them at the Commissary General of Prisoners quarters by next Saturday afternoon.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE SATURDAY
JANY. 17th 1778.

Parole, Buckingham—*C. Signs* { Boston
Brentwoods

Major General for Tomorrow .Baron de Kalb.
BrigadierMcIntosh.
Field Officers ...L^t Col^o Davis, Major Gilman.
B. Maj^rDay.

Detail for Guards.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>F.</i>
Muhlenberg's ..1	2	2	2	2	1	1	19	1	1			7
Weedon	2	2	2				26	1	1			8
Learned	1	2	2				24	1	1			9
Patterson	2	2	2				33	1	1			10
Varnum	1	1	2				47	2	1			13
Huntington ...	1	2	3			.	57	1	1			16
Total ..1	9	11	14		1	1	206	7	6			63

Thomas Bradford Esq. is appointed Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners. His quarters are at Mr. David Havard's, the next House to the Marquis de la Fayette's.

The Brigadiers and Officers Commanding Brigades are to meet this Evening at General Varnum's Quarters to Consult and agree upon proper and speedy measures to exchange raw hides for Shoes—they will as soon as possible critically review and examine into the State and condition of the armes in their respective Brigades, get those out of repair, put in order as soon as possible and consult upon the most speedy method of procuring a sufficient number of proper sized Bayonets to supply the Deficiency thereof—the General desires that they will likewise agree upon the most proper and speedy measure to have all the officers in their Brigades furnished with half pikes, agreeable to the General Order of the 22^d of December last. The same Field Officers and same number for fatigue as

paraded this Morning, to parade Tomorrow Morning at Eight Oclock.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE SUNDAY JANY. 18th 1778.

Parole, Connecticut—C^t Signs $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Concord} \\ \text{Conway} \end{array} \right.$

Major General of the day Tomorrow..Greene.

BrigadierMaxwell.

Field Officers ...L^t Col^s Carlton and Harney.

Brigade MajorKelley.

Detail for Guards the same as Yesterday, except a Captain from Learned's Brigade.

At a Brigade Court Martial held the 12th Inst., whereof L^t Col^o Harmer was president—Ensign Foster of the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment having been found guilty of Challenging Capt. Cruise and behaving unbecoming the character of an officer and Gentleman, was sentenced to be discharged from the service. The Commander-in-Chief in conformity to the Articles of War approves the above Sentence; but in Consideration of Circumstances is pleased to restore Ensign Foster to his former Rank, at the same time he is sorry to observe that the Dispute between the parties arose from a cause, and was conducted in a manner that does neither of them much honor.

As the army is now in all possibility stationary for the remainder of the winter, it is necessary that the departments for supplying it with Provisions and Forage should be put upon such a footing that as few delays and difficulties as possible may happen in order to do this more effectually the most exact arrangements and disposition should be made of all the waggons and horses employed in the Service. The Commander-in-Chief therefore orders, that all private waggons and Horses annexed either to Regiments or employed by Brigade Commissaries, shall be delivered upon Monday and Tuesday next to the Quarter Master General

at the Field next beyond the Adjutant Generals Office. Those belonging to the 1st Line on Monday and those belonging to the Second Line and the Artillery on Tuesday—and on Wednesday and Thursday next all the Waggon and horses, the property of the United States, annexed to the Different Regiments or employed by the Commissaries of Brigades are also to be delivered up to the Quarter Master General at the place and the manner above directed. The whole to be then arranged and appropriated in such manner as the Quarter Master and Forrage Master General shall Judge best calculated to supply the army with Forrage and Fuel and to perform other Camp Duties. A Sufficient number of waggons Will be immediately returned to the Brigades for the Service of the Camp while a more Compleat arrangement is making. It having been [omitted] by the Quarter Master General that a great number of Saddle Horses have been drawn at different times by Officers, Quarter Masters, Commissaries and Waggon Masters for various services and never returned—The Commander-in-Chief expressly Orders, that such be returned to the Quarter Master General upon the Day and at the place before mentioned when he will allow such to retain them as appear to have a real necessity from their occupation for their Service.

A General Council of the Brigadier Generals and officers commanding Brigades in obedience to Yesterdays Orders have reported as follows,

First: That the Commissaries of the Respective Brigades retain their Hides, Subject to the Disposal of the Brigadier, giving an account from time to time to the Commissary of hides. That the Brigadiers for the present exigency send a officer from each Brigade into the Country to exchange hides for Shoes. Hide at 4^d pound for Shoes a 10 of pair that the Expence be defrayed by a Draught upon the Quarter Master General.

That the Commanding Officers of Regiments give Receipts to their Respective Brigadiers who will deliver the same to the Cloathier General.

Second: That those Brigades who are furnished with Armourers and Tools have their Bayonets made in the Brigades; and that those who cannot procure Armourers and Tools purchase Bayonets from the Country Artificiers in the best manner possible.

Third: That the Quarter Master General be directed to cause espontons on Pikes made for the officers, the Staff Six feet and an half in length and one Inch and a quarter Diameter in the Largest part and that the Front part be one foot long.

The Commander-in-Chief accepts and approves the above Report and orders it to take place in every respect.

At a Division Court Martial the 15th Instant whereof Lt Col^o Ballard was president, Captain Lamberth of the 14th Virginia Regiment tryed for Stealing a Hat from Captain Allis, was found guilty and unanimously sentenced to be Cashiered and Deemed Scandalous in an officer to associate with him in future, and that his crime, name, place of abode and punishment be published in and about camp and in the newspapers of every State, particularly the State he belongs to; and that he pay Captain Allis 30 Dollars for the Hat he Stole of him, also the expences of the Witnesses, against him and the expences of an express sent for the Witnesses, which shall be paid before he is released from his confinement.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence and Orders it to take place immediately.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE MONDAY
JANY 19th 1778.

Parole, Dunkirk—C. Signs { Durham
Dublin

Major General of the Day for Tomorrow

Lord Sterling.

Brigadier Weedon.

Field Officers, Col^o Livingston, Major Conway.

Brigade Major Alden.

For a weeks Command

Col^o Cortlandt, L^t Col^o Barber, Major Ryan.

Detail for Guards.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	D.	F.	P.
Woodfords	0	1	1	1			13
Scott	1	2	1	2	1	1	31
1 st Pennsylvania.		1	1	2			19
2 ^d ditto		1	1	1			19
Poor		2	2	2			39
Glover		1	2	2			33
Maxwell			2	2			26
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 11	<hr/> 14	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 180

The following to be prepared for a weeks Command
and to parade at 8 Oclock Tomorrow morning—

	C.	S.	S.	C.	D.	F.	P.
Woodford		1	1	1			15
Scott		2	2	2			34
1 st Pennsylvania.	1	1	2	2	1	1	21
2 ^d ditto		1	2	2			21
Poor's	1	2	2	2	1	1	42
Glovers	2	2	2	2			36
Maxwell	1	0	2	2	1	1	28
Conway	2	2	2	2			28
Muhlenberg		1	2	2			20
Weedon	1	1	2	2			29
Learned		1	2	2			26
Patterson		1	2	2			37
Varnum		1	2	2			51
Huntington	1	2	2	2			62
	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 18	<hr/> 27	<hr/> 27	<hr/> 3	<hr/> 3	<hr/> 450

At a Brigade Court Martial held the 7th Instant
whereof Major Ryan was president, Francis Morris,

a Soldier in the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, tried for repeated Desertions was found guilty and unanimously sentenced to Suffer Death in such a manner as shall be ordered by the Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence.

Advertisement.

A Sorrel Horse 13 hands high, with a blaze tail, is at General Weedon's quarters, the owner may have him by applying.

Lost a small black Horse with the Saddle, any person, having found the same and brings him to the Marquis's quarters, shall have Ten Dollars reward.

Provisions to be Issued to the Troops up to next Thursday Inclusive.

Detachments sent upon Command from the time of their marching, no provisions are to be drawn for them by the Regimental Quarter Master till they Return.

The Brigade Majors will Daily attend at the Adjutant General Quarters for Orders precisely at 12 Oclock.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE
TUESDAY JANY 20th 1778.

Parole, Finland—C. Signs { Farnham
Fairfield

Major General of the Day for Tomorrow

Marquis De La Fayette.

Brigadier Woodford.

Field Officers Col^o Patten and Major Fish.

Brig^e Mj. Marvin.

The General Officers and Officers Commanding Brigades, are desired to meet at General Sullivan's quarters Tomorrow Morning at Ten Oclock in Order to Consider of the expediency of opening a public Market in

Camp, they are to take into consideration the proper places and days of holding a Markett the regulations and Guards necessary to preserve good Order, the prices proper to be offered upon each Article in the settlement of which they should endeavor to consult some of the most Intelligent Country Men;—Some plans that have been proposed will be laid before them at the time of Meeting a report of their proceedings to be sent into the Commander-in-Chief as soon as possible.

The Commander-in-Chief returns his warmest thanks to Captain Lee and officers and men of his Troop, for the Victory which by their superior bravery and address they gained over a party of the Enemy's Dragoons, who trusting in their number and concealing their March by a circuitous Road, attempted to surprise them in their Quarters.—He has the satisfaction of informing the army that Captain Lee's vigilance baffled the Enemy's designs by Judiciously posting his men in his quarters, and though he had not a sufficient number to allow one for each window he obliged the party consisting of Two hundred, disgracefully to retire after repeated, but fruitless attempts to force their way into the House, Leaving Two killed and Four Wounded, without receiving any other damage on his part than having his Lieutenant Mr. Lindsay slightly wounded, unless any of his out patrols should have been unfortunately surrounded and taken, which is not yet known.

The General positively forbids the burning of the Farmers fences, he enjoins it upon all officers to use their endeavours to prevent it and bring to severe punishment all those who shall offend herein.

A General Court Martial, whereof Col^o Craig is appointed president, to sett at the President's Markett to try such Prisoners as shall be brought before them, belonging to Lord Sterling's and General Wayne's Divisions—Major Chuck a Captain and Two Subalterns

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE WEDNESDAY
JANY. 21.

Major General of the day Tomorrow

BrigadierScott.

Field Officers, L^t Col^o Mellan, Major Winslow.

Brigade Major Berrien.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the report made by the Brigadiers and Officers Commanding Brigades in the Virginia line, and Orders that the Men whose term of service is expired be discharged and marched home by proper Officers in the Manner there directed; the Brigadiers &c are also to see that the Arms and accoutrements of each Man are returned in the first Instance to themselves in Order that the Arms and discharges may correspond, and by them to the Commissary of Military Stores whose receipt is to be taken for what is delivered; all Blanketts are to be stoped and other articles belonging to the public—The Brigadiers &c; will cause proper care to be taken of the first and see that the latter is delivered into the hands of the Quarter Master General and other proper officers. Notwithstanding the pointed and frequent Orders which have Issued to have all Deserters reported at Head Quarters, it is by indirect and casual Information that this knowledge comes to the General (except in the general Returns) which are exceeding Irregular,

he therefor in peremptory terms now calls upon the Brigadiers to see or know that the Rolls of their several Regiments are called over agreeable to former orders and that all deserters (specifying the Regiments and company they belong to) are Reported by them to the Major General of the day who is to present the whole in one view to the Commander-in-Chief when he comes from his tour of duty, the Brigadiers are also requested to use every possible means to apprehend all deserters of their respective Brigades, this order will not be dispensed with.

The General also in positive terms declares that he will have a General return of the Army delivered unto him every Monday at Orderly time, the Adjutant General is therefor to pay particular attention to this matter and consider himself responsible for the performance, unless he arrests every delinquent who causes the failour; in the next Mondays return the Officers in the Virginia line are to ascertain the number of Men whose term of service will expire shortly.

It being impossible for the Surgeons of the flying Hospital to make effectual provisions for the sick out of camp, unless they are sent to the places by them appointed and furnished for the purpose—All officers and Regimental Surgeons when any of their Corps are proper subjects for the Hospital, are therefor Immediately to apply to the Chief Surgeon of the Flying Hospital present in Camp and take his directions where to send their sick, a Contrary practice has been attended with great inconveniences to the sick, and probably occasioned the Death of several men many having been sent to Hospitals already wounded with patients or to places where no provisions had been made for the sick, and in order that the sick which shall from time to time remain in camp as well as others before they are sent to Hospitals may be properly taken care of the Director General of the Hospitals is as soon as possible to furnish the regimental Surgeons with Medicine

Chests supplied with Medicines as are necessary for the sick in Camp.

When Flags go to the Enemy's lines all officers are positively forbidden to go with them unless they receive orders therefor.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col^o Clark was president, held January 19th Lieutenant McGibbony of the 4th North Carolina Regiment tried for embezzling or Missapplying the Money with which he was intrusted for Inlisting Men into the service, also for taking bribes to discharge Inlisted soldiers from the service, was unanimously acquitted of the charges at the same Court held January the 15th. Captain Joshua Brown of Col^o Biggelows Regiment tried for suffering two prisoners to escape from the provost Guard, was unanimously acquitted of the Charge exhibited against him.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the Verdicts and Orders them to be immediately released from their arrest.

Advertisement.

Lost this day in or near the Camp a large red leather Pocket Book belonging to Monsier Gouvion Lieutenant Colonel of Engineers containing his French Commission, his Commission from Congress and One Hundred and four Dollars, he will give all the Money to any one who will bring him the Pocket Book and Commissions.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE THURSDAY
JANY 22^a 1778.

Parole, England—C. Signs { Exeter
Egypt

Major General of the Day for Tomorrow

Greene.

Brigadier Varnum.

Field Officers ... L^t Col^{os} Ballard and Carlton.

Brigade Major Minnis.

For fatigue, Col^o Richard Butler, L^t Col^o Carlton and Major Hull.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE FRIDAY JANU. 23rd 1778.
Parole, Ganges—C. Signs, Groton—Goshen.

Major General of the Day for Tomorrow

Lord Stirling.

BrigadierHuntington.

Field OfficersCol^o Biggelow, Major Haws.

M. B.Claiborne.

The General Officers and Officers Commanding Brigades will meet Tomorrow Morning at Ten O'clock at General Sullivans quarters for the purpose mentioned in General Orders the 20th Instant.

Sargeant Howe is appointed provost Martial P. T. Vice Captain Snag who has resigned.

The Brigadiers and Officers Commanding Brigades are immediately to make returns of the Deficiency of Bayonets in their respective Brigades to the Adjutant General.

(To be continued.)

JOURNAL OF SAMUEL ROWLAND FISHER, OF
PHILADELPHIA, 1779-1781.

CONTRIBUTED BY ANNA WHARTON MORRIS.

(Continued from page 197.)

2 mo: 8th. We have not kept any stated meetings which probably may seem to arise from want of our having such an attentive inward care to our own situation as becomes us; some of our friends have kindly hinted to us that it would be well for us not to expect or wait for a clearer sense of duty moving us thereto—this caused me to reconsider the matter & I have not yet seen it to be my duty to desire my Companions to sit down together in silence. I have several times conversed with one of them & informed him that I have no objection in my mind thereto & I find he also has no objection in his mind, the other two have never said any thing thereon & I am much the youngest in the room—many of our friends have come & had sittings with us, I hope to our mutual satisfaction—Almost every day we have the Company of some of our friends & acquaintance—Many of our evenings we have employed in reading, I hope to mutual benefit, some in silent reflection, some I trust in instructive conversation, for my own part when I consider that I am held by many of my friends in the City, not to be suffering for any thing but my own imprudence & having felt the censures of some, who from their stations I thought might rather have had to encourage me, I have found it best for me to endeavour to take heed to my own steps, lest I should not be able to stand to what I think right & on this account I am fearful of undertaking such a thing myself; at the same time I find earnest desires

in my mind that I may so conduct myself as to give no just cause of uneasiness to my own mind, which is a very all things the most worthy of my being truly solicitous after—

Much stealing & house breaking has been practiced this winter in this City & neighbourhood, and we have heard of many robberies in distant parts of the Country; the Inhabitants of these walls are greatly increased in number within some weeks past, some of whom are to be tryed for their lives—It is not at all to be admired, that some of the lower class of people should be carried away with such temptations, at a time when the heads & Rulers are so far from being a terror to evil doers by a good example, that they practice nothing but what tends to promote the greatest depravity in the morals & principles of the people & seem to be advancing towards a state the most deplorable that can happen to man of being providentially left to themselves.

It has been remark'd by some out of doors, that most of the robberies have been committed in the houses of those who are engaged in the present measures & Thomas McKean has not escaped—

2 mo: 16th. Thomas Lancaster, Junr. came into Goal & informed us he had been taken up the day before by one called a Constable at Whitemarsh, where he lives & brought to town this morning on account of his refusal to pay what is called Substitute Money, the present Rulers having made a Law, by which they impose 4 months imprisonment on those who will neither serve in the Militia, as they call it, or pay what they term the Substitute money—he continued with us exactly One week, when the same man who conducted him to town, came to this Goal & told him, he had nothing against him & that he was discharged—he afterwards informed us that a Cow & a Horse had been taken from his father on account of his refusal to pay some Tax & the person who took & sold them, called on his father to know what

he should do with the Over-plus, & not getting any satisfaction thereon, the same person came of his own accord here & released him.

The day before Thomas Lancaster was brought here, Peter Todon told us that Hossman had given him directions to put out our fire at the time he locked us up, & also that we were to have no candle light, for what cause we could not learn, it was favourable for us that the weather had moderated from that severity, which had continued for near two months past,—

At this time we were busily employed in making walking sticks of some Hickory wood we had purchased of Jehu, the Son John Roberts, that was hanged by the present Rulers, after some time of Imprisonment in this Goal; so that we have great plenty of Chips and Shavings & by that means easily rekindled our fire, tho we were every evening fearful lest Hossman might come up, & find the fire burning, which would probably have brought on us some hard language & treatment; Todon by his behaviour seemed to wish we might have fire provided it was without his knowledge—This putting out the fire continued till the 29th of 2d mo, when I being abruptly informed that there was a New York Newspaper in town which mentioned the death of my brother Jabez in London, it gave me a sudden shock, being quite unexpected & unprepared for such an event & my not being got over my former disorder, so that I was again unwell, which Todon seeing, said he would not put it out & if Hossman would have it put out he should come & do it himself, so that from this time there was no attempt to put it out.

I continued much indisposed for some days, the death of my dear brother was a close tryal to me, & the family in general, more particularly my sister Sally, who is much affected with it as well as really indisposed—

About the 10th of 3d mo: received sundry letters from New York, London & Leeds, giving a particular

account of my Brother's death at the house of Emanuel Elam at Leeds, on the first of the 12th mo: 1779—after about three weeks slight indisposition & four days Illness of a scarlet fever & an ulcerated sore throat—Rec'd at same time a letter from my Brother Jabez dated 11 mo: 4, 1779, in which clearly expresses the affecting Idea, he then had of never seeing us more:

The accounts of him now received being in a good degree satisfactory & a firm belief of his removal being happy from the distressing scenes in which we are daily partakers, tends much to mitigate the Greif on this affecting occasion.

He had been absent from home 4 Years & 7 months to the day of his death, about seven months of which in the latter part of the Year 1778* he had been at New York with a quantity of Goods from England, when he left which in the 6 mo: 1778 he expected to arrive at Philadelphia, but the Brittish leaving this City, & the circumstance he was under of being obnoxious to the Rulers here, rendered it not adviseable for him to come home, & therefore he returned to England; by his letter above mentioned he had heard of the circumstance I am under, but not having it from any of the family, he did not know, whether fully to credit it, but expresses his very earnest desires, that I may be supported under my tryal, which I am apprehensive with his many other tryals & embarassments during so long a seperation from his Connections came so close upon him, that nature could not longer bear up under them—

I am thankful that I am supported to bear this additional tryal without murmuring at an event which human power or foresight can neither evade nor remedy, in any other manner than patiently to acquiesce under the dispensations of Providence, and to learn that these hard things are frequently permitted to attend us, in

* & fore part of the Year 1779.

that unbounded kindness & mercy, which the human mind unassisted can neither comprehend nor penetrate.

John Elmslie & Daniel Dawson having several times spoke to Hossman for a copy of the paper by which they are detained here called a Mittimus, soon after they were conducted hither, in two or three days, he handed it to them, demanding 12 dollars for it (meaning the paper issued by Congress expressive of so much) which they refused to pay, or indeed anything for it, it was withheld from them till 3 mo: 18th, when Joseph Rhoads called out John Elmslie & gave him a Copy of it, by which I conclude that Hossman was weary in withholding it & got Rhoads to deliver it, being as follows:

Pennsylvania ss:

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the keeper of our Goal at Philadelphia, or to his deputy, greeting:

Whereas, Daniel Dawson, late of the said City Yeoman, hath been duly nominated & appointed a Constable for Mulberry Ward, & John Elmslie, late of said City Yeoman, hath been duly nominated & appointed a Constable for Chestnut Ward, both wards being in the said City, & are arrested for neglect of duty as the Constables aforesaid & being charged therewith & required to enter severally into recognizance for their respective appearance at the next court of Oyer & Terminer & General Goal delivery for the said City & County to answer the said charge, do absolutely & contemptuously refuse to do the same.

We therefore command you & each of you that you receive them the said Daniel Dawson & John Elmslie into your custody in our said Goal, or that one of you do receive them there to remain untill they shall be delivered by due Course of law, hereof fail you not at your peril.

Witness the honourable Thomas McKean, Esquire, Chief Justice of our supreme Court at Philadelphia,

the fourth day of december in the year of our Lord,
One thousand seven hundred & seventy Nine.

Tho. McKean.—

3rd mo: 26th. The general Spring Meeting, Joseph Moore, Jacob Lindley, William & Isaac Jackson, Benjamin Mason, William Miller, Rebecca Chambers & sundry other Men & Women friends came to visit us, & had, I hope, a satisfactory sitting with us, in which several of them spake very encouraging & instructive to us, they left us in expectation of being here again before they left the City, but most of them were prevented.

27th & 28th, several friends from various parts of the Country came to see us all of whom seem to have a sympathy for us & to desire we may know our dependence to be fixed on that everlasting Arm, which can alone enable us to stand firm & unshaken thro' the present delusive storm which has overspread so many of the Inhabitants of this land—the latter day Thomas & Susanna Lightfoot & Samuel Emlen had a sitting with us, I hope to their satisfaction & our encouragement.

3rd mo: 28th. Thomas Watson, Junr. put into our room, again, the Court at which he is to be tryed being come.

A little before noon John Elmslie & Daniel Dawson were conducted from the Goal to the State house, to what is called the Court of Oyer & Terminer, where a paper called Bill of Indictment was read to each of them seperately, couched exactly in the same terms purporting their contempt of authority in neglecting to serve the office of Constable, & they were required to plead Guilty or not Guilty, to which they answered, that they denied any Guilt, & D. Dawson said it was altogether false; Upon which they were told by Thomas McKean that if they would enter into recognizance they might go home & come there again at 3 O'Clock this

day, which they declining to do were brought back to Goal—& about 3 O'Clk. were again conducted to the State house; when twelve Men were sworn to try them—They had no Lawyer or any other to speak for them. John Elmslie endeavour'd all in his power to defend himself & was desirous of making it appear by several persons present that about the year 1770 he had been appointed Constable & afterwards by the consent of the Court he had hired Samuel Raine to serve in his Stead, but McKean would not admit it & said that no evidence should be allowed by the records of the Court, notwithstanding which he defended himself till he was born down and silenced—

Daniel Dawson seeing how it had gone with his Companion, said he had little to say; as say what he would they would have it as they pleased afterwards.

McKean spoke sharply against them, as being obstinately disaffected & that he supposed they wanted or expected to have a leaf in the book of Sufferings, with much more harshly inveighing against them—

Neither Elmslie or Dawson mentioned that according to their own Laws they had enacted that no person should serve as a Constable that had not taken the Test to them.

After about an hour's absence the 12 Men return'd & said they were both guilty—Upon which Thomas McKean told them he had a right to fine them £200 (pounds) each, but to shew them that he would be moderate he only would fine them £50 (pounds) each & the Court Charges, which they not shewing any disposition to pay, were brought back to Goal towards evening.

3rd mo: 29th. Peter Todon, who had been turnkey 7 months & 20 days, & had treated us as civilly as we could expect from any person in such a situation in such times as these, went away. We were not desirous of a change, as we by this time knew each other pretty well each of us gave him a small matter in token of his

having shewn a favorable disposition towards us—Hossman has employed Joseph Rhoads, who formerly was his Master that he served his apprenticeship with, probably only till he can get a Turnkey—

3rd mo: 30th. In John Dunlap's paper of this day is the following passage concerning Elmslie & Dawson—viz.

4 mo: 1. Thomas Watson, Junr. taken out, tryed & acquitted—Peter Music before he made his escape having given evidence, that he knew the person of whom Watson had received the Counterfeit Congress Bills & had seen the lawful old Jersey Bills he gave in exchange for them.

This afternoon Dominick Joyce, a Roman Catholic Merchant of this City, was committed to Goal & came into our room & informed us that he went to New York with the Brittish Army on business, from whence he returned home about the End of the Year 1778—that in the summer 1779 he had been called to Court & examined, when he told them he was born a Brittish Subject, had a long time resided in foreign Countries & tho his residence did not take away his right yet he always looked upon himself subject to the Laws of the Country he was in—this at that time got him clear. but he was again taken up & conducted to Thomas McKean, who seem'd in a great rage, probably had taken too much Wine this day, & demanded Joyce to take the Test & upon his refusal so to do sent him to Goal—

D. Joyce immediately by his friends made application for liberty to go to New York, or from hence to some of the West Indies—& on the next afternoon 4th mo: 2'd he was let out to prepare for his departure.

4th mo: 6th. John Kugler was put into our room & informed us, that he lives in Bucks County about 35 miles from Town, on the river Delaware. that he keeps a ferry thereon, that both himself & wife with a Child

about two months old were taken up at their dwelling by a writing from Jos. Reed & his Council & brought to this City, they were seperately examined by the said Council, he only for about ten minutes, before he was ordered to Goal, & not permitted to have any conversation with his wife, but in the hearing of the person, who conducted them to town; His wife was order'd to be kept Prisoner in Newtown Goal Bucks County, by this examination Kugler told us he learnt that he was accused of entertaining & ferrying over some of Burgoyne's Soldiers who had made their way so far, on their progress to New York, that no accuser had been brought to face him, but that the Council asked him sundry ensnaring Questions & he understands they talk of keeping him here till he shall confess something against himself.—the view of keeping him from having any communication with his wife seems to be, that thereby they hope that their examinations may clash with each other—

In a few days Kugler heard that his wife was not put to Newtown Goal, but permitted to go home & be a prisoner there & the neighbours are forbid to have intercourse with her—

At the Court now sitting five persons have been found guilty of House breaking & Highway Robberies & I expect ere long may be taken out of this Goal & hanged.

About the 12th of this month, the News of Admiral Rodney's taking a fleet of Ships bound from Bilboa to Cadiz & of his having taken 4 Spanish Line of Battle Ships off Capt. St. Vincent, besides destroying some others reached this City in a clear & undoubted manner, this very probably may have a tendency to bring the present unnatural Contest between America & England to a happy issue & the Inhabitants to a cordial reconciliation & a mutual forgetting of past Injuries & Wrongs.

4th mo: 14th. The Militia, so called, are to muster about 2 O'Clk. afternoon of 17th Inst, about 8 O'Clk. this morning the following was torn down & brought into our room:

“Philadelphia, April 14, 1780.

To the Inhabitants of Philadelphia & its respective districts, who compose the militia Artillery & Musketry. Gentlemen

You are earnestly requested to attend (without Arms) a meeting to be held on monday next the 17th Inst. at nine O'Clock in the forenoon on the Commons near Byrnes's tavern in order to consider on matters of great importance respecting our present circumstances in regard to the necessaries of life, as well as the present militia Act & its consequential bad effects on the laboring poor, as all the fines & forfeitures together with their own tour of duty will center on themselves, also the partiality exhibited in said act ——— those least entitled to it. Slow and Sure.

N.B. Perhaps a certain great personage & his B—— Guards will favour us with their Company, but we are determined to be free

. . . The poor are humbly requested . . . to obey Cerberus's Sumons in respect to the Election of their different Officers. WHEAT!

If you mean to avoid the just resentment of an injur'd people don't tear this off—

The above paper was posted up about town & first seen on the seventh day morning the 15th.—In consequence of which Jos. Reed & his Council issued a proclamation against the intended meeting on first day the 16th, couched as I am informed in a mild & rather persuasive Stile; but this proclamation was observed on the morning of the 17th at the various corners where it had been pasted to be daubed with human dung, & torn, all thro' the City—from which it seem'd probable

there might have been worse effects than arose 10 mo: 4. 1779—but as the militia had no ammunition & the light-horse, with many of the Citizens were stirring & very active early on the morning of 17th, the intended collection at Byrnes's did not gather—the Council had all the printers before them on the 16th & 17th but could not find who printed the above paper of the 14th—the Militia, so called, met in the afternoon of 17th in consequence of a notification from William Henry called Lieutenant of the City & chose their officers, yet the cause of uneasiness does not appear to me to be done away from the minds of those who go under the name of supporters of the Cause of America, but only smothered to break out again more furiously.

I should have mentioned before that George Haughton was put into our room in the night of the 13th of this month, & informed us that he had been taken up some time since for illuminating his Windows at the time the Brittish Army entered the City in the Year 1777. & for at that time publickly expressing some sentiments against Washington, &c, & in favor of the King &c—that he had given Bail for his appearance at that called the Supreme Court now sitting, but being much alarmed, he had gone off & reached as far as Squan in the Jersey, wither he had been persued by his Bail taken & brought back;

the next day 4th mo: 14th he was taken to Court & in the Evening he was again brought to us & informed us he had been tryed & found guilty of Misprision of Treason, by which sentence had been passed upon him of the forfeiture of the half of all he had & imprisonment during the War. He stayed with us a night or two more, when he was removed into another room, during his Stay, we understood from him that he was an Upholder by Trade, that he had before the coming of the Brittish to this City, supplied Washington's Army with a great Quantity of Drums, as well as much Camp furniture.

There is now in this Goal a poor German Stocking Weaver from Frankfort on the Main, who tells us he has been 19 months a prisoner at Yorktown Goal, from whence he was brought to this Goal on the 26th of last month, having suffered much for food & Clothing—it appears that nothing has been attempted to be brought against him, nor no paper empowering either of the Prison keepers to keep him, but that he is detain'd without any cause or accusation brought against him—his Name Philip Swartz.

About 4th mo: 20th. In the morning John Elmslie, Daniel Dawson & myself were walking in the Yard, we saw a Man dressed as an american officer coming towards us in the Entry or passage & before he got to the back Door he started back with Surprize in his Countenance, more than once & in a rough manner, saluted us, seemingly in amazement saying, “What can such Men as you be here for & what can be the cause?” which we were not forward in answering & therefore said nothing—he then turn'd from us & conversed some time with a Soldier who is a prisoner here—& we continued to walk, when he had ended with the Soldier, he came again to us & began thus—“You ought to be damned if you do not hold to your Integrity, for my own part I should esteem myself happy to be here suffering as you are & I would rather be eat up alive by the maggots, as a dead horse in summer, than give up, don't be uneasy. I suppose you have families & Children, there will be a support for you & somebody to deliver you—I don't know what you are here for, but I suppose it is because you cannot conform to this Presbytereian Government—hold your Integrity. This I tell you, tho I am such a fool, that I am now going to march 3 or 400 Miles to the Southward & cannot withstand it, look at that Soldier & see his Shoes & how he is clothed for such a man, they think our flesh is like Sole Leather—I have been 16 Years in the King's Service & I know

what it is there has been every few Years some queer things in the Brittish Government & there will be something queer things soon."

These are nearly his words except that he swore much with them, during some of which I was turning to go away, but he said don't go away, I said I had no objection to staying to hear him, but that his swearing offended me,—he said he knew it, and that it was not right & pointing his finger to his breast said I have to answer for that & not you—adding that he felt reproof for it,

he enquired how we fared, we told him we were at present five in number & had a comfortable room & wanted for nothing that was necessary—His name is Isaac Coren. His conversation (notwithstanding his swearing seemed so opposite to the advice he was giving us, & his conduct so contradictory to what he wished us to persue) carried with it, that altho' he was so far hurried away with the delusion, that he had not the least Strength to withstand the Current yet he could clearly see what was right & be rejoiced in finding some who were endeavouring to stand to it.

It appears at least very probable that there are many thousands who by joining early in smaller matters, have been carried away with this delusion, contrary to what they know to be right & altho' they frequently see Clearly what would be right for them to do, they have not strength to stand to it—These are much to be pitied by every feeling mind, May they yet have strength afforded them to join in with the secret convictions of their own minds & no longer remain acting a part directly opposite to the inward monitor in their own breasts—

This passage of Coren seemed very remarkable to us all & tender'd our minds with Sympathy & Compassion for him & such as are in his situation.

If we are sincerely suffering for our non-compliance

the first of these was the establishment of a permanent government for the territory of the United States, which was done by the Congress of the United States in 1790.

The second of these was the establishment of a permanent government for the territory of the United States, which was done by the Congress of the United States in 1790.

The third of these was the establishment of a permanent government for the territory of the United States, which was done by the Congress of the United States in 1790.

The fourth of these was the establishment of a permanent government for the territory of the United States, which was done by the Congress of the United States in 1790.

The fifth of these was the establishment of a permanent government for the territory of the United States, which was done by the Congress of the United States in 1790.

with what we believe to be wrong and are looking to that everlasting Arm of Strength which can alone support us; we shall not fail unless the fault be with us—

About the 25th of this month heard of Moses Roberts, with several friends & others in number about 15 being apprehended in Northumberland County, I conclude upon some suspicion of disaffection to the American Cause so called—

4th mo: 29th. John Wilson, Ed^d Greswold & John McCarty were brought from Chester to this Goal in Irons they came into the City from Chester County while the Brittish Army lay here, with whom they enlisted as Soldiers & afterwards deserted, the two first expected to have been tryed at Chester, but McKean told them there, they must be sent to Philadelphia to have sentence of Death passed upon them.

This day Francis Nelson a Taylor came into Goal & informed us he had been try'd this morning at what is called the City Court, & found guilty of Misprision of Treason as they term it, on account of some small matters not material to be here inserted, in his conduct while the Brittish Army lay in this City, his sentence is the same as George Haughton's.

5th mo: 2nd. Wilson & Greswold taken to the State house, where the Court of Oyer & Terminer yet continue to sit, & Thomas McKean there passed sentence of death upon them without any sort of ceremony of a tryal—

5th mo: 6th. Marmaduke Grant & Dennis Carragan who had been condemned for highway Robbery John Hill, John Jones & George Montgomery who had been condemned for house breaking, were expected to be hanged, but Jones & Montgomery were reprieved & not taken to the Gallows. Grant, Carragan & Hill were taken out & hanged—on which account our room was kept locked till noon, after which our friends who had much difficulty of access for about 14 days past, (the

time since the Death Warrants of the above men were signed) had more easy access to see us—

From the account I have heard of the three men that were hanged, there is a strong hope they have made a happy end—it was an affecting thing to some of us.

James Thornton, John Pemberton, Ezekiel Clever & Henry Drinker, part of the quarterly Meeting Committee came again to see me, they spake encouragingly to all my Companions & seem to see my situation here as I believe more clearly as it really is, than they have done before, they hinted something of an application on my behalf, but I conclude they did not see their way clear & therefore did not proceed therein, this visit should have been inserted before it was on 30th of 4th mo.

5 mo: 15th. This day Joseph Richardson, who has been confined in this Goal from the 4th of 3rd mo. last, was let out on Condition of his departing the State as they call it—tho he had a few days before given Bail in £200.000 for his appearance at Court to take his tryal on account of his being concerned in counterfeiting the Lawful Bills of Pennsylvania, which he was discovered in in the Year 1773, but at that time made his escape from the Sheriff & got into the back Country of Virginia,—he was also charged by the present rulers with disaffection & facts of that kind laid to his charge—but proof seemed to be wanting—

5th mo: 21st. This morning we were informed that two Young Men of the name of Smith, who some time in this Month had shot ——— Boyd, a Tax Gatherer in Chester County near Brandywine Chadsford—had been brought to this Goal last Evening in Irons & that they were taken in Monmouth County, New Jersey on their intended way to New York, we also learn they are all night chained to the floor of the dungeon & that they are to be kept day & night there—

Joseph Pritchard who had been much indisposed for

some time & Yesterday afternoon had been very ill in consequence of which Dr. John Redman had signed a Certificate that his disorder was of such a nature as to require exercise to carry it off & that he was in a dangerous way Joseph's Wife informed us this morning that she had been last evening with Joseph Reed, who seem'd to make light of his disorder the Bilious Cholic & said nobody ever died with it—Also that Joseph could not be released without giving Bail to come to Goal as soon as he was well—which Joseph could not be easy to do, & indeed he was not desirous any application should be made for him but I thought it well enough especially in case of his Death, lest they should say he should have been released, if they had known his Situation.

Several of our friends who have come to see us have told us they took notice of last sixth day the 19th Instant being remarkably dark & I took notice of the Sun's being very red & easily to be looked at with the naked Eye, & that for some time before & after noon it was darker than any day I remember

There has been confined here from about the 9th of the fourth Month to Yesterday afternoon, when he was removed to the New Goal, a person who passes for an Irishman & goes under the name of John Patrick Lynch, but I am told he is an Englishman—what I have learnt of his Story is as follows—

That he sailed as Owner or Supercargo of a Vessel from New York bound to Hallifax I believe last fall, but being met by an american privateer, he & his Captain whose name is ——— Linn, produced papers to prove their intention of coming to Philadelphia agreeable to the encouragement given by the Congress—Lynch had the matter tryed in Jersey with the Owners of the Privateer & found means to get a Judgment in his favour, the Owners of the Privateer having sold the property, were to pay the Amount to Lynch, but enter-

taining some suspicions against him, procured him to be lodged within these walls, after which they made him an offer of half, which he refused—some time after there came an account that —— Linn, who had gone out in an american privateer and had been put on board One of the fleet, which had sailed from New York for Georgia, about the time called Christmas, which had been captured by the said privateer—had found means to conduct the prize into Bermuda, this circumstance of Linn's deception, was strongly urged against Lynch, & I conclude other circumstances appear'd against him, so that he was removed to the New Goal Yesterday, & is now by the present rulers considered as a prisoner of war—Lynch was well dressed, had been educated in a polite manner & I conclude has been a Clergyman of the Church of England.

22nd. David Thomas by profession a baptist a resident in Chester County & member of the present assembly called to see Joseph Pritchard, with whom he had been formerly acquainted & had about two weeks before called here to see him—at this time Joseph was ill; he urged Joseph to give bail & be released till he recovered his health, but Joseph told him he could not give Bail & his indisposition render'd him incapable of saying much more—D. Thomas enquired of the rest of us separately, what was the cause of our confinement—John Kugler related that he had heard that some ordinary Woman had sworn that he had ferried over some of Burgoyne's Soldiers & that this Woman had since confessed that she had nothing against John Kugler, but that what she did was merely from Spite & Malice. He also informed D. Thomas of all the other circumstances of his affair as I have above related—

John Elmslie related his Case fully & Daniel Dawson said his was nearly the same, except that he never satisfied the Office of Constable. I informed him fully of the cause of my being here, gave him a copy of my

letter to read, which he seemed to do with attention & said he should be glad I would have it published. I told him I wished to keep from public view as much as possible & therefore could not consent to it, but expressed my willingness to give him a copy, if he was desirous of having it, to which he made no reply—He said he was glad our offences, were small & mentioned our petitioning for releif. We told him, we could not acknowledge the present rulers—he then said if you cannot acknowledge the Government there is no releif for you—upon which I said your Government, if it can be so called is exactly of a peice with the paper Bills issued to carry on the War, which are the greatest Lies, deception & Hippocrisy & for these reasons I could not acknowledge their authority, we had much more conversation in an open free, mild & forbearing disposition, as I never met with any man before engaged in the present measures, who seemed so open & willing to hear & clear of any warm or bitter expressions—I also told him, that I believe some of the present rulers here, do not see or know what they are about, or a doing, & that if they did, they would immediately desist, & might yet become worthy men; that I had no malice or ill will towards any that had been active against me, but that I could not help pitying many of them, that I had been favour'd to bear my imprisonment without murmuring—he acknowledged that a majority of the people he knew had not taken the test, and did not approve their Government, the whole of our conversation was to me satisfactory & we parted with mutual good wishes for each other—

26th. Joseph Pritchard continues indisposed & mends but slowly—This Evening Hossman directed that George Haughton should be put into our room, some of my Companions spoke to him on the occasion, as our room was already pretty well filled, but it had no effect, Hossman saying he must be with us & we were

all of a feather, we believe the cause of Haughton's being with us, is in order to gratify Thomas Hale late an Agent for the Sale of confiscated Estates (so called), who having been found to have applied to his own use, what he had received and unable to settle his accounts has been turn'd out of employ & Wm. McMullin appointed in his stead—Hale separate & independent of his Conduct in the present measures, which has been very bad, has for many years been well known to have been of very bad moral Conduct many ways—Hale is put into the room from whence Haughton was removed, where Lawrence Powell a Baker is confined, being charged with defrauding the States so called—& is sentenced to remain in Goal till the 4th of 7th month next & pay a great nominal fine—Powell seems an open countenanced man says he has been very ill used by Christopher Lodowick & that there is much due to him.

For about 5 or 6 weeks past, most of us have without any notice given to each other, sat down in Silence for about 2 hours every first day morning, I hope in some sincerity of heart, my mind at these, as well as many other times, has been deeply & I hope thankfully impressed with a clear evidence of the divine Support we are upheld by during our confinement, & I have been at times fearful lest I may not hold out to the End—but may slip & fall under the spirit which now prevails.

6th mo: 1st. Heard of the Surrender of Charlestown South Carolina on the 12th of last month to Sir Henry Clinton, Commander of the Brittish Troops—& Marriott Arbuthnot Admiral of the fleet, with 6000 Prisoners Sundry frigates, Ships &c—This Account was brought by the Ship Iris to New York and from thence here—tis cause of satisfaction that but very few lives were lost, in comparison of what might have been expected in such an attack—

6th mo: 6th. William Jackson visited us, this morning, he had a sitting with us, & spake in an encouraging

manner: his Company & discourse was attended with a degree of sweetness to my mind which I cannot well describe—May I so conduct myself thro' life, that I may esteem this secret enjoyment of the mind above everything this World can possibly afford—

6th mo: 7th. In the News Papers of this day is published an order of Council, That the Wives & Children of all those, who are with the Brittish in New York are to depart the State in ten days, as they look upon their longer continuance to be dangerous in keeping up a Correspondence. Also a Resolve of those called the Assembly made since the account was received of the surrender of Charlestown empowering the Council so called to declare Martial Law if circumstances should appear to require it—& in the same paper all those that have taken the test to the present Rulers are required to have their Certificates in readiness in order that a clear distinction may be made betwixt them & those who have not. From these things many of the quiet Inhabitants are much alarmed & under fearful apprehensions, of tryals & sufferings falling to their lot shortly—May that providential hand which has many times before supported us under hard tryals & averted some of the blackest Storms, yet continue to be with & protect us; which has never failed to support those who sincerely put their trust in him.

6th mo: 9th heard of a body of Brittish Soldiers landing at Elizabeth-Town Point & marching as far as Springfeild about 8 or 10 Miles where on their way there has been some fighting with Washington's Army, but cannot learn the particulars; there seems by what we can learn to be much commotion in the Minds of the people & a variety of fears amongst the different parties.

6 mo: 10. This morning the Militia so called who had been order'd to meet on the Commons met there, not knowing for what—but when there, they were ordered

to go & take all horses from such as had not taken the Test & they did go about with Muskets & Bayonets fixed & took all they could find belonging to such persons which were mostly friends—I am informed that Tench Francis, a Merchant of considerable property at the beginning of these times of disorder & confusion, went about upon this business under Ezekiel Letts a Taylor as Captain.

Martial Law I am told was proclaimed to the Militia on the Commons this morning & printed papers are pasted up about the City declaring the same signed by Joseph Reed President of the Council, in consequence of the Resolve of those called the Assembly, importing that urgent occasion might arise during their recess.—from this it seems probable the present Rulers are much alarmed at the prospect of Carolinas' submitting to the Brittish Government, as well as the expected movements of the Brittish Army from New York—The City seems to be in great confusion.

Friends & all others under the appellation of Tories, are not a little apprehensive of many alarming things being done to them, if the leaders are not restrained from their evil purposes, by a divine power—from the Goal Windows I saw some of the Armed Men, who were taking the horses; which I am informed were all directly taken to what is called the Continental Yard & were there immediately branded C A—

Reports are frequently brought to us, this tis in agitation to banish all those who have not taken the Test & tis shortly intended to take the Cows from the disaffected in the City—Also that in some parts of the Country they have begun to take Sheep & horned Cattle from the disaffected—

11th heard they had taken from my father's farm the only horse he has Yesterday Morning the quiet inhabitants continue much alarmed as their all their property, if not their Lives seem to be in danger, tho'

I am clearly convinced a great majority of the Citizens are desirous of restoration of peace to the Country under the Brittish Government, but all these who are true & sincere are very much exposed & much the more on account of a very great number that carry two faces & comply with every thing under the present Rulers, in order to avoid suffering—This I look upon to be a meanness unbecoming any man that would be thought to have any sincerity—and in Short tis such conduct as this in a great part of the people which has given strength to the present Rulers & been the cause of Matters becoming so complicate & the Calamities on this land rising to such a height.

May succeeding Generations in this land well remember & bear in view these things, in order that they be instructed to be instrumental in preserving the Land in Peace & under the divine blessing, which I have cause to believe will succeed & follow these days of great degeneracy—

6 mo: 12 heard that Kniphausen with a Body of Troops crossed by two bridges from Staaten Island to Elizabeth Town Point; that there has been an engagement at Springfield ab't. 8 or 10 Miles this Way—in which it is said many of Washington's Army have been killed.

This Evening in Goal one John Adams called a Constable, a disorderly man much given to drink, told us at our room door that the Tories would be plundered before tomorrow night; but if it really was intended, it was as many othere things have been, providentially frustrated—

6 mo: 14. There has some talk of a Town Meeting to be held this day, but I understand it to be dropt or postponed—from about two weeks past to this day I learn about 50 ships &c have arrived in this port, about One third of them french—By this days News Papers four Classes of the Militia so called are ordered to be in readiness—

6 mo: 15. The City quiet, the Horses lately taken from the Tories, are order'd to Washington's Army in the Jerseys—

6 mo. 16 & 17 a Number of Women Citizens of first rank of such as are engaged in the American Cause, so called, went about the City begging money of the females of all ranks & degrees for the support of Washington's Army, said to be in great distress—the latter day, the Militia so called are order'd to be in readiness to march—

6 mo: 18. Jacob Curleis, put to this Goal, being taken at Busseltown 11 Miles distant, he had been taken up at Bordentown, on account of his having a piece of Brittish Goods, which (after an examination by Jos. Borden) & abt. £150 in Gold were taken from him & he directed to come to this City to bring with him the person of whom he had purchased the said Goods, altho' he produced the Bill of purchase of Amos Foulke in this City a few days before.

6 mo: 19th. This day was informed that 12 Men of every company were order'd to meet on the Commons for what purpose could not learn, the quiet inhabitants are somewhat alarmed lest Mischief is contriving against them—

6 mo: 20. heard that some Men had been about town looking for Arms, or saying that was their Intent, they searched the Houses of two Widows in Chestnut Street from the Garret to the Cellar, & as they were persons of property it seems probable they are desirous of knowing what moveables are contain'd in the houses.

This day Thomas Hutchinson & Nathan Feild taken up at Makefeild in Bucks County by Order from Joseph Reed & Council, on suspicion of being concerned with Jacob Curleis, (whose residence is at Shrewsbury in the Jerseys) in getting Brittish Goods from New York, J. Curleis had been examined by Jos. Reed & told some circumstances, from which, these two men were sent for—

6 mo. 21. Thomas Hutchinson discharged at the Instance of his Cousin Dr. James Hutchinson nothing appearing but that he was in Company with J. Curleis at Bordentown.

6 mo: 23. Nathan Feild let out on Bail, it appears he had bought Brittish Goods of Jacob Curleis in Bucks County—the Bail is that he is to appear at that called the Supreme Court in this City 9 mo: next—

1780—6th mo: 25th. This morning first day of the week Jacob Curleis taken to Thomas McKean, who upon Bail given not to depart the City & to appear at the next called Supreme Court, let him go. Curleis had been very ill treated by Hossman kept sometime in the Sandhole, sometime in the dungeon & sometime locked up in a Room day & night & no person permitted to speak with him—his Mare which he values at £60 has been taken from him by Jos. Reed—his peice of Goods & the £150—taken from him by Jos. Borden, has been tryed according what they called a Law in Jersey by some of their Magistrates & condemn'd to the use of the State as they call it, which process I learn all goods they catch which come from New York go thro', unless they happen to belong to those who are what they call Whigs; these can go clear with anything—

It seems likely that Thomas McKean had Curleis bound not to depart the City, lest he should go directly to Bordentown, where Jos. Borden had bound him to appear by a certain day which was already past touching the peice of Goods & Money—in order that the Magistrates so called at Bordentown, might the more clearly proceed in the Condemnation of Curleis' property, who being disabled could not appear at the time, appointed, nor within three months after, during which time matters will be so conducted that he cannot expect to find much traces of his Money—

I have been the more particular in Jacob Curleis' affair, as he seems to be a quiet Young Man well dis-

posed & much to want cunning enough to carry on such a thing as bringing Goods to this City *at this time* which have come out of New York—& all three of them Curleis, Feild & Hutchinson being Members of our Society, I think it very much derogatory from the character which friends ought to support to be concerned in such a Trade, which cannot be done openly & fairly, but in an underhanded & deceiving manner, both in getting them out of New York & afterwards, besides that some lives have been lost by this mode of traffick which is mostly conveyed in the night—unless as I before observe it is done by those now here called Whigs—

6 mo: 26. Samuel Wilson from Bucks County came to see us, & spake encouragingly to us in a sitting in our Room—

This Morning James Reed, John Smith & Robert Smith taken out of Goal in Irons, they walked down under Guard to Market Street Wharf & were conveyed by Water to Chester to be tried—

Several of the prisoners in this Goal who are confined for debt have been induced to enlist as soldiers for 7 Months—£2000—so called in Congress Bills having been given to each as bounty. Every Company of Militia so called are to furnish two Men for seven Months, in the service of the Congress (some say) against the Indians.

Yesterday heard of a great slaughter ab't. 400 of the Congress Army at Lynch's Creek near the Borders of North Carolina, by Col. Tarleton, Commander of the Brittish—

6 mo: 27. David Dawson was brought to this Goal from Chester in Irons about 11 O'Clock last night, where he has been confined since the 16th of last month—He came into this City from Calne in Chester County while the Brittish Army lay in this City & has been from home nearly all the time since—he had a good farm well stocked with Cattle &c all which has been sold by the present Rulers—

The above mentioned James Reed who lives at Downingtown & was committed here about the 8th of the 5th mo: for passing Counterfeit Congress Bills gave information that he rec'd them knowingly of this David Dawson & Reed also gave information where Dawson might be taken & a brother of Dawson's now lies in Chester Goal on account of harbouring his brother—As there is no proof but Reed's say so of his receiving those Bills of D. Dawson who was proscribed by the present rulers for joining the Brittish, I conclude they mean to handle him for coming into this City while the Brittish Army lay here—

6 mo: 28. John Simpson from Bucks visited us.

6 mo: 29. Heard that John & Robert Smith are try'd & condemned to be hanged at Chester next seventh day 7 mo: 1st—& that their father & Mother with two other Men were committed to Goal (the father kept in Irons) on suspicion of being accessory or assisting the two Smiths in going off after they, or One of them had shot Boyd—The above four were all acquitted except the Father, who was fined £500—so called & bound to his good behaviour as they call it.

Also heard that David Dawson's brother was tried for harbouring him & acquitted for want of Proof—

This day the Striped Flag was hoisted at Market Street Wharf, on account of its being the day called St. Peters day, which I suppose to be observed as a Coñpliment to the French on account of the Pope whom they call St. Peter's Successor

7th mo: 1st. John Kugler let out on his giving £60,000 Bail so called for his future good behaviour, & he is also bound that neither himself nor any of his family, shall keep the ferry.

7th mo: 4th. Being the day they call the anniversary of the declaration of Independence. I saw many going to the College to hear the Students take their degrees—

The Striped Flag after it had been flying sometime

at Market Street Wharf, with a small or light breeze fell into the River, we could see it distinctly by the help of a looking Glass & One of our Company happen'd to be looking at the instant it fell—This fall of Flag was by some thought to be ominous—

7 mo: 6. Daniel & Caleb Offley put into our Room, on account of their refusal to pay what they call a Tax raised to pay the two Men (which have been lately hired for 7 months) for each Company in City, to go again the Indians as we hear reported they were put here by verbal Order of John McCalla, Captain, without any Mittimus or being had before any of those called Magistrates—The Sum demanded was £75—so called Each, now equal to twenty Shillings Penns'a. Currency or Twelve Shillings Sterling—& this Evening Henry Shaw, a poor Weaver, was put into a Room under us, on account of his refusal to pay the above mentioned Tax so called—Shaw had some of his property taken from him before for Taxes the Constables so called did not find any property of his to seize & the Two Offleys living with their father, no property of theirs was shewn to McCalla, tho' he urged them to do it—

7th mo: 7th. Benjamin Paschall called a Magistrate came to the Goal & order'd Henry Shaw to go home, I could not understand exactly for what reason, but it seems likely his poverty had some effect towards his being restored to his Wife & Children—

7th mo. 8th. Pressley Blackiston, called a County Commisioner came here & told Caleb Offley to go home—the cause of his being thus let out, I am informed is under a notion that Caleb has not common sence enough to know what he is about, but I did not think him such a person, for he could & did give a satisfactory account of his Objections to pay this demand—

The Goaler Stokely Hossman seems much set against Daniel Offley & determined to treat him roughly for his refusal to pay the above demand & says we in our room

will be treated worse on his account—I told him if he treated him with rigour, he might some day have cause to repent it, Which I thought was a little Check upon him, yet Daniel's Wife & other Connections, as well as some other of our Connections had difficult access to us at times—

Joseph Rhoads who still acts as Turnkey, one Evening at locking us up came in & was very abusive particularly to Daniel Dawson, threatening him much & several times laid hold of him, tore his Waistcoat &c, with a view as I thought to provoke him to turn upon him & thereby take occasion against us, but Daniel was preserved from touching him & we all held our Peace, as the only way we could act in such a case with a raging Man in Liquor—All this was observed by several other prisoners so that it became known out of doors & Joseph Rhoads was displaced, & Triplett, a Virginian confined here for debt was employed by Hossman as Turnkey about 7 mo: 12 who having observed Rhoads' & Hossman's unkind treatment of his own accord made fair pretence to us—

From the time of the declaration of Martial Law mentioned above very few of our friends were admitted to see us, but upon their coming to Goal, were asked if they had taken the Test, or Oath—& sent away on this acc't many of them were deterred from attempting to see us—

Triplett's fair pretence lasted but a few days for 7 mo. 15 he began to demand two Congress Paper Dollars so called for every person he admitted, except our Relatives & he stuck to this with little variation about 3 weeks after this time without obtaining anything.

7th mo: 19th. John Wilson & Edward Griswold pardoned & let out of Goal—

7th mo: 27th. Alpheus Brooks, Master of a Shallop from Cohansy & Joseph Perkins in Brooks' employ, were put into our room for bringing up to this City two

Men called Refugees, who had joined the British & under a commission from the Brittish, had come in a small armed Vessel in Delaware Bay, & taken sundry Shalloops coming to this City—One of which being retaken with these two men on Board—who were conveyed to Cohansy, where Joseph Newcomb called Magistrate, gave them passes to go to New York, from whence they were to send two Men in their stead, the Refugees came with Brooks as Passengers on their way to New York. Thomas McKean committed them here & not only threatened them, but also what ought to be done with Newcomb—

7th mo: 29th. John Lindley was this day tried at what is called the City Court on account of some Matters he should have said while the Brittish Army lay here, the particulars I cannot certainly learn—he was by the 12 Men found guilty & sentenced to imprisonment during the War & the forfeiture of half his Goods & Chattles, Lands & Tenements—he was ordered into our room, but our representing the very great & uncommon heat of the weather, & our having already Eight persons in our room, the Goaler's wife prevailed with her husband to order him into another room.

8th mo: 5th. Joseph Perkins let out of Goal on giving Bail in what they call £5000—for his good Behaviour during the War

8th mo: 6th. This Morning Alpheus Brooks taken before Thomas McKean, who let him go on giving £20,000 Bail so call'd for his good behaviour during the War the Bondsmen for each of these Men were freeholders in the City, as none other would be taken—

About Noon this day John Evans being sent for came to see us, when T. Pritchard, D. Dawson, D. Offley & myself had some conversation with him—having a fresh cause of Tryal & difficulty fallen to our lot, which was unexpected & affected me with real sorrow & suffering on account of what may be the consequences

thereof—the part I acted on speaking on this occasion I trust will be justified, & what uneasiness remains is not on my own account as I am conscious of having nothing in view but to prevent it being said that I winked at or gave countenance by my silence to a very base conduct indeed, I much desire the person May be brought to a proper sense of his Conduct & thereby gain strength to refrain from the like in future—I should have passed over this close tryal to me, but I thought it not amiss to say so much here in case it by any means be known—tis very delicate & I trust will never transpire thro' our Means, tho' we may suffer in keeping it—

8 mo: 8. James Thornton & John Pemberton visited us & meeting with some of most of our connections, had a sitting with us, in which James spake encouragingly & told us that our being here might be productive of benefit to others—

8th Mo: 9th. This Evening after we were all in Bed, John McCalla called a Captain in the Militia came into our room and asked Dan'l. Offley if he would go home. Dan'l. hardly scarcely awaken'd said Yes—Upon which McCalla said tis not in consequence of your Letter to me, but a friend of yours has paid the Money,—I asked him to be kind enough to tell us who had paid it, after a little pause he said he could not tell & seem'd to imply he was bound to secrecy, telling Daniel, that he should not have released him so soon, lest he should beleive it was owing to his Letter, but that he was to march tomorrow morning & that he had prepared an answer to the Letter which he would give him—The Letter which Daniel wrote to McCalla, was in mild terms informing him of the Ground of his conscientious objections against War.

8th mo: 10th. & fifth day of the week, this day for the first time sat down in silence from about 10 O'Clk till about 12—being only three of us Pritchard, D. Dawson & Myself—

J. Elmslie has been informed of our intention at this time but seems to want a proper relish to sit down with us, as indeed he has done from our beginning so to do, tho' he has a few times sit with us—Last first day we began to have two sittings Morning & Afternoon. I hope these sittings we have had have not altogether been mere form & without any degree of sincerity of intention on our parts.

8th mo: 13th. Altho' it is first day of the week yet we hear they are going about taking horses from friends & others in the City who have not taken the Test of fidelity to the present Rulers & Abjuration of the King, &c—

8th mo: 15th. Heard of a most dreadful Riot in the City of London headed by Lord George Gordon, who beset the Parliament house abused many of the Members attacked the Bank & the Tower, destroyed the Chapels of several foreign Ambassadors Lord Mansfield's & several other houses burnt four prisons & let out the Criminals &c &c.—This account was brought by the Mercury packet, Cap't. Dillon for New York taken & brought in here, it seems the mob was fired upon by the Military many killed, the whole dispersed—Lord G. Gordon in the Tower & many other Rioters taken, whom they are about to try—The only cause assigned by Gordon or the Mob for all the Tumult & Outrages, was an Act, passed in the last Sessions of Parliament allowing liberty of Conscience to Papists, who have been closely abridged of many civil privileges, since the time of William & Mary—it is favourable for those who are upright & sincere in & to the Brittish Government, that the Mob had no greater Cause to be discontented upon for the Act is allowed to be innocent & reasonable—for my part I have little doubt in my mind, but that the matter has been concerted by some in America, France, & G. Britain, who have had no less intention than a total overthrow of

the whole Brittish empire—t'was the same spirit & party that last year attempted to overset the Government in Ireland—The failure of that then & of this now in London, I am ready to beleive must materially affect the Spirits & hopes of our usurpers here, more especially as it seems probable many of the Rioters will be executed & thoughts must sometimes arise in their Minds, of a day when the people on this side the Atlantic will so far get clear of the delusion they have been under, as to see thro' the whole of the evil intentions of those who have long meditated this their favourite Scheme.

Two things I omitted to mention in due course The first, that Stokely Hossman the Goaler about the first coming of pleasant weather in the Spring told me he would take a walk out with me any time when I would ask him so to do, adding that it would be beneficial for my health &c—I made him no kind of reply—for even supposing I could have reconciled myself to think that accepting of a partial liberty in such a way, would not have been an acknowledgment of my having given just occasion for the treatment I have received—he is a man of so very irregular & base conduct, that I should be very sorry to be reduced to the necessity of having him for a Companion on any occasion.

The Second, That When Dr. William Cowper left this City about the fifth Month last, being order'd to New York by Joseph Reed & his associates, Mary Eddy accompanied his family to Elizabeth Town Point, where David Sproat a Commissary of Prisoners at New York came over to them, & told M. Eddy he was concern'd on account of my long imprisonment, & desired her to inform me that if I would agree to be exchanged he would undertake to detain some Rebel Justice or other active person till I was sent to New York—I learnt that she told him she thought I should not consent to it, but undertook to deliver the Message

to me, agreeable to his request so to do—I was well satisfied that M. Eddy told D. Sproat that she thought I should not consent to be exchanged, as it clearly coincided with my sentiments—Altho' on account of my Brother Jabez's accounts at New York & especially in England, my presence not only might be very useful, but my Brothers Thomas & Miers on the 3'd month last proposed my going thither in order to settle them, they thinking it might be necessary & one of us coming to England to settle my Brother's affairs had been mentioned in a letter from the friend at whose house he deceased—I told my Brothers that I could not tell them whether I should be willing to go to England until I was clear of this imprisonment, & that if I thought it right & well to go to England, I could not be easy to be discharged on condition of binding myself to that or any other acknowledgm't, which would give occasion for any to say I had swerved from my principles, by evading suffering for I see clearly that at the same time as I wish to keep my Fidelity to the King & Government inviolate, tis a nice point to keep clear of a dependance on Human Support & Protection in the several tryals that have fallen to my Lot.

There is now confined in an adjoining Room, where he has been about four months past One James Scott a native of Aberdeen, who has been in a low disconsolate Condition many weeks past, in a considerable degree deprived of his senses, will not lay down or take off his Cloaths night or day—& will scarcely be prevailed upon to take any food or go out of the Room, his situation calls for compassion & tenderness, but there does not appear any disposition of that kind towards him in the present rulers, tho' they have nothing against him but because he went from this City where he had resided some Years, to New York with the Brittish Army—he says he resided on Long Island, follows pedling or dealing in a small way, & about the

8th of 4th month last crossed the Sound from Long Island to the Neighbourhood of New London, where he got a pass to this City, & on the morrow after his coming to town, went to the Council told his story & shewed them his pass & altho' nothing then or since is laid to his Charge there seems no prospect of his being enlarg'd.

On or about 9th mo: 1st, heard of the defeat of Gates's Army near Cambden in South Carolina by the Brittish under Lord Cornwallis, wherein upwards of 900 of Gates's Army were killed & about as Many taken prisoners, the rest put to flight in great disorder & Gates himself with difficulty got off, never halting till he got to Hillsborough in North Carolina distant from Cambden ab't 170 Miles.

It were much to be desired that the Inhabitants of these revolted Colonies were so far humbled under the Judgments & Calamities that are in the Land, that they might by their humility be individually helpful in dispelling the present delusion which has overspread most of this Continent like a thick Cloud; this would bring to an end, the great heats animosities, persecutions & the destruction of vast numbers which fall in Battle, & tend more to a mutual reconciliation & forgetting of injuries upon a solid & lasting foundation, than all the Armies that can be brought into the feild—tho' it seems very probable this defeat of Gates may materially tend to bring such of the present Rulers as are immovably & resolutely determin'd never to be reconciled, to look at what may 'ere very long be their situation & to shake at the prospect of it.—Had Gates succeed'd in his attack upon the Brittish Army, the consequences thereof to the faithful Subjects & all such as had put themselves under the Brittish protection, as well as all others who from local situation, were within the Compass of the Brittish Army, must have been very dreadful & harassing beyond what any can

well form an Idea of but those who have passed thro' the like tryal.

This defeat seems a providential turn in favour of Great Britain, & I hope will materially tend restore Peace to the Land by the Consequence of it.

9th mo: 9th. This afternoon the Goaler came into our room & told Daniel Dawson, he might go home with his wife, who was then here, Daniel desired him to inform how or by what means he was discharged, but Hossman only told him, that he had verbal orders to let him out, & that he might send for his Bedding, &c—so that we are at a loss to know by whom or in what manner he is discharged—I may here mention that no traces can be found of any person paying for Daniel Offley, the Tax so called for which he was put to Goal, but it seems rather to be beleived, that he was discharged without any payment or satisfaction of the demand—

9th mo: 16th. Heard that many of the Rioters were tryed & hanged in London & that Admiral Rodney is arrived at New York from the West Indies—

The City from the beginning to abt. the 20th of this Month was very sickly, considerable numbers died, I heard of 17. 19. & 27. persons being buried on three several days, great numbers have had a fever, which I conclude from what I hear is of a putrid kind, but most of them have had it but lightly. My Father, each of my Brothers & Sisters have had it & got well thro' it,—It is a great favour we have our health so well in this house & tis remarkable the sickness has not got amongst any of the prisoners here, tho' they are crowded in many of the Rooms being about 100 persons in all Men & Women, who live in a very dirty manner & some of them seem to be much abandoned to almost every vice—

I heard of three persons who died of the Yellow Fever & Joseph Reed's wife is said to have died of the

flux—& William Allen is thought to have died of greif on account of the times tho' I beleive he was about 80 Years Old—His Old Coach Horses which he had had upwards of twenty Years were taken from him & tho' he offered to pay the full value of them if he could have them again, he could not obtain them as he had not taken the Test—& was obliged to ride in an open Chair.

The sickness yet continues tho fewer dye with it—

9th mo: 25th. By accounts from New York, it appears by letters & papers found on the Bodies of some of Gates's officers, who were wounded or killed in Battle, that a scheme had been plann'd between Gates's Army & some of the Inhabitants of Charlestown in case of Gates's success, to set fire to the Town, release the prisoners confined there, seize the Arms & put each as opposed them to Sword &c—In consequence of this discovery Thirty Eight of the principal Inhabitants who were concerned in the plot, were put on board the Sandwich & are said to be sent prisoners to Augustine—the prevention of this intended wickedness & treachery is very worthy to be esteemed by all thoughtful & well inclined people as a most singular providence.

Two days ago ——— Triplett was turn'd out of his Business as Turnkey, on what account I cannot learn—He was guilty of a very base Act to David Dawson, viz. He signified that he would let David Dawson out of this Goal if he was well rewarded in Consequence David agreed to give him 30 half Johannes's equal to £54 Sterling & Congress Bills to the nominal value of £90—At the time appointed—Triplett went down into the Dungeon and desired David to give him the Money there, which he Refused, but his Irons being before taken off & he brought up near the Goal Door he gave Triplett, the above Sum he had contracted for, when Triplett told him the Door was open for him; where David advancing found Hossman with his pistols ready to receive him—Upon this poor David, who is has some

time been much afraid the present Rulers will take life, was again put into the Dungeon. It seems probable Triplett & Hossman had agreed together thus to deceive David Dawson & divide the Spoil between them—Triplett says he asked —— Gardner, One of the Council beforehand what he should do in this case & that Gardner advised him thus to deceive Dawson—

By Triplett getting this Money he paid the Debt he was put to Goal for—This deception & pretence of letting Dawson out was practised about the 20 or 21st at night, since which he has been kept more strict & his Sister not allowed to see him

9th mo. 26th. David Dawson, was taken to the State house where Thomas McKean passed sentence of death upon him, without any form of Tryal, he having been proscribed as they call it, by Act of Assembly & not returning & surrendering himself by the time they set, they say his life is forfeited

This Evening John Reynolds, who has kept the Whitehorse in Elbow Lane attended at Locking us up & we learn that Stokely Hossman is displaced from being Goaler & that Reynolds is to succeed him;

It being the time of the Yearly Meeting, we learn that Hossman has refused admittance to a number of our friends, who have applied to him

9th mo: 28th. James Sutton, who has been confined in this Goal some months, was tryed by what they call the Admiralty Sessions, where Francis Hopkinson sat as Judge, for being concerned with —— Linn in running away with an American privateer, on board of which they both were Officers & carrying her into Bermuda—& found guilty—it's somewhat remarkable that Sutton after committing such a fact, should be so inconsiderate as to come here of his own accord—he says he was born in Dublin—

From the 18th of the 6th month to the 17th of this mo: two Methodist preachers, have come to Goal & hav-

ing nearly all the prisoners collected in the Yard belonging to that called the Debtor Side of prison, have there preached &c to them every first day, three or four only excepted. They appear'd to be Zealous in their way & the prisoners have generally behaved better than they did most of the time before since I have been in this house, probably they may have reached the witness in some but, this place is such a sink of wickedness, that it can scarcely be expected any tender feelings can remain long with them, so that those who are desirous of reforming the remaining part of their lives, are truly much to be pitied—

9th mo: 29th. Last Evening we were alarmed with the noise of Drums & Fifes & much shouting of the Mob in the Street, not knowing but it might be something intended against some Friends or the Yearly Meeting collectively—George Haughton guessed it to be the Effigy of Benedict Arnold carry'g thro' the City—This morning we're informed the Mob had an Effigy of Arnold hanging on a Gallows, the Body of which was made of paper hollow & illuminated & an inscription in large letters thereon, which they conveyed thro' many parts of the City, on account of Arnold during Washington's absence at Hartford in Connecticut (whither he had gone to meet Ternery & Rochembault the Commanders of the French Fleet & Army arrived ab't 2 months past at Rhode Island,—in order to consult upon the intended operations) having concerted a plan for the surrender of the Fort at West Point on the North River to the British, the report of which we heard two days ago, but Arnold's design being discovered by the apprehension of Major Andrie, one of Sir Henry Clinton's Aids who was returning in disguise to New York, from a conference he had had with Arnold—the Scheme was thereby frustrated & Arnold had not time to spare in making his escape, which he effected by getting safe on board the Vulture Sloop of War in the North River.

Yesterday and this day our friends have been freely admitted to see us, so that we have been visited occasionally by many Country friends—Reynolds seems very civil to us & our friends entirely of his own accord, which seems a favour & my mind seems somewhat relieved since Hossman has left us, for he was I think the most unfeeling Man that I remember to have met with; upon what motive Reynolds acts I know not, nor whether it will be lasting, yet he appears to be a Man not addicted to excess in drinking, & as far as I have perceived is likely to keep better order in the house.

This Evening James Reed was brought back again from Chester in Irons, whither he had been carried to be an Evidence against David Dawson about some Counterfeit Congress Bills, which the former says he received of the latter, but as D. Dawson has been proceed'd against as a proscribed man Jas. Reed is brought here to be tryed for passing those Bills knowing them to be counterfeit—Reed seems much disappointed for he expected his information against & the apprehension of D. Dawson would have got him clear,—but I have heard D. Dawson say he never had any transactions with this Reed—

9 mo: 30. Our friends continue coming in to see us. This afternoon Ann Moore, Edith Sharpless, Rebecca Moore, Margaret Cook and ——— Jacobs accompanied by White Matlock who is called a Strong Whig of the present times & Brother to Timothy came to see me, Ann Moore not knowing there was any other friends confined here—till she was about to depart. John Elmslie has of his own choice not been present in the room when any of our friends have been here, & once refused to come in tho' one of his own Daughters was in the room & wanted to see him—so that thro' the whole week as well as frequently before Jos. Pritchard & myself have the Room to ourselves & our friends, till the Noise of the Rattling of the Keys in the Evening bring ———

Elmslie & George Haughton to their Lodgings—Ann Moore was earnestly engaged in Supplication particularly on mine & my aged father's account & expressed a strong hope & belief that I should be preserved thro' this tryal of bearing my Testimony on this occasion & afterwards in very clear expressions, which I may Remember well, but they may not be necessary to be committed to writing till it appears how I get thro' & over my present confinement—she spake largely & the whole of what she said was encouraging, & mentioned the Tryals she had passed thro' being taken on her passage to England in the last war abt. 1759—& carried into Bayonne where she remain'd prisoner some time. Edith Sharpless who has a Clear Prospect of the Currency issued for carrying on the present resistance to Government, also spake but was not quite so clear & free in what she delivered, which I was at a Loss to account for, till I heard with surprize to myself that after Edith in one of the sittings of the Yearly Meeting had spoke very well & in a becoming manner relative to the Currency, Ann who is esteem'd one of our foremost Ministers & an ancient Woman attempted to make a comparison of that currency & the Gold & Silver, being all made for the purpose of War & the Latter dug by Slaves, who were cruelly entreated & as she had been inform'd could not live above four Years at this business—by which Edith was bore down & the subject was thereby prevented from being settled in such a manner as might have been satisfactory & seem'd necessary—So that I now do not admire at Edith being short of my Expectations in what she had to deliver, but I rather admire that Ann should considering what she said in the Yearly Meeting have to speak as she did concerning me—

The conclusion I drew from the above was, that as things are now circumstanced, we must patiently bear with each others sentiments till the present Cloud of

darkness & delusion is providentially dispersed & a right mode of conduct becomes more generally clear to each other understanding—I understood that Deborah Morris asked White Matlock to come with them, because she could find no other Man, on account of the Mens Meeting then sitting—

This Evening there was another Exhibition thro the City of an Effigy of Arnold placed on a Wagon sitting in a Chair with One leg lying before him with a Cushion &c under it (emblematical of his usual position on account of his wounded leg) behind him a figure representing the Devil in a Clergyman's Gown, on the head a pair of Goat's horns, One holding a Purse of Money & the other an Iron called Tormentors. Arnold was represented with two faces & his head continually moving—there was a large paper Lanthorn hung near the figures—I should not have troubled myself to be thus particular on such an occasion, but because it appear'd not as a frolick of the lowest sort of people but as the Act of some of the present Rulers here, it being escorted by abt. 20 of those called Militia & three of those call'd City Light Horse viz: James Budden, John Dunlap & Thomas Leiper, the Militia had each a Candle in the end of his Musket & perhaps about 100 Lads each having a Candle in his hand; as they advanced along Pine Street, they halted by the Pine Street Meeting house & the Boys were seen to be prepared with Brick Bats, as its thought to have done Mischeif there, but the Yearly Meeting being ended & friends departed about an hour before, they did not attempt any thing, nor was any Mischeif done in the City that I heard of—It seems by their making so much Spunk about Arnold's going off, his design &c, that they think it a matter of consequence to them that it chafes them much from what I have heard & know of Arnold's conduct I beleive few men of virtue & Integrity can esteem him or the principles upon which he has acted—

what effect this proceEDURE may produce amongst the Rulers here, time will shew—they have within about a Year past had many alarming Shocks.

10 mo. 1th. This Afternoon Edward Hollock & David Sands, who lives within 10 Miles of West Point fort in the Jerseys, James Thornton, Robert Willis, Susanna Lightfoot, George Churchman, Warner Mifflin, my Cousins Fenwick Fisher & Isaiah Rowland, John Pemberton, My Father, Sister Esther, Brothers Thomas & Miers with their Wives, came to visit us, there was not much said, but after sometime James Thornton attempted to inform something of my situation, which I beleive he neither at that time or any other has clearly seen. D. Sands, S. Lightfoot & several others spake each a short time—J. Thornton desired me to give an account of my situation here & circumstances attending it, which I was not inclined to do, for such a prejudice has & does prevail against me that many who have visited me under that prejudice & have when with me had a sight of my situation—After they have gone away have afresh imbibed the Sentiments of some of most of the noted friends in the City, who have been & I fear yet are chafed, by that part of my letter touching the Western Quarterly Meeting being clearer of the present delusion than any other, so that I have frequently thought the present Ruler's principal Strength to keep me here, arises from the Contradiction in my conduct to that of many friends within their own certain knowledge, besides that I have cause to beleive some have undertaken publickly to censure my Conduct—these things frequently & forcibly operating on my mind, & very strongly at that time induced me to delay speaking as requested some time—But as E'd. Hollock & D'd. Sands could not have had full information concerning me, I read them the memorandum I had made of what passed at the Courthouse when they undertook to try me on the 22'd & 23'd day of 7th mo: 1779—

which I trust had such effect that the prejudices were once more dispelled. E. Hollock & D Sands spake with affection & tenderness of my situation, all the others had several times seen me here before except F. Fisher. Some of these I beleive have clearly seen my situation from my being first apprehended—This opportunity I hope was satisfactory to those of the Company, who had imbibed notions that have no foundation—James Thornton asked me if I could not draw up a State of my case to be presented for my release, I then observed that such a state of the matter as I was easy with would further clash with friends & I did not desire them to make any application on my account, that there had been one, which was not satisfactory (alluding to N. Waln's in 12 mo: last)—But I would have friends consider whether they can be easy in letting me remain so long here a prisoner without telling the present Rulers, that they looked upon me to be suffering innocently that this would long ago have been satisfactory to me if friends could have thought so, & the more so as the application which had been made without my knowledge at least carried with it an implication, that I was not suffering innocently—they were with us near 3 hours. E. Hollock & D'd. Sands I thought had not an opportunity of expressing their minds freely. They have never circulated the Lies of the Congress or other present Rulers & I am inform'd are otherwise preserved from being carried away with this Spirit of delusion.

10th mo: 2'd. This Morning Mahlon & Sarah Janney Rachel Hollingsworth & Joseph Janney call'd to see me—The three first had a short sitting with us. Sarah whom I have esteem'd from my first seeing her 1769—spake a few sentences in an acceptable & encouraging manner to me—& Sam Emlen who accompanied them also spake addressing himself to Joseph Pritchard by name—

About noon John Olden (who had been here some

weeks ago, & had asked John Elmslie whether he would go out of Goal if his fine & fees were paid, to which I understood Elmslie would not consent) came here & told Elmslie he would be released this day—& a little after the Goaler Jno. Reynolds came & told John Elmslie that he might go out when he pleased as he had no demands against him—Thos. Wishart who at that time was sitting with us, asked J. Elmslie how he was discharg'd, to which J. Elmslie said he could not tell by what means, but should enquire into it—I suspect that as Jno. Olden (who long since took the Test, & has in a dealing way made abundance in these confused times) has brought the News to J. E; that the demand by some means has been satisfied—I find it is generally thought by friends out of Doors that McKean order'd D. Dawson to be discharged without payment of fine, fees or any satisfaction at all—

10 mo: 3'd. Stillman from Egg Harbour, who has been some months confined in this Goal on account of some Counterfeit Congress Bills found in his possession was tryed & sentenced to stand in the Pillory an hour next Seventh day the Seventh Instant & pay a fine of £1000, so called. And this Evening James Reed was tryed & found Guilty of issuing Counterfeit Congress Bills.

10 mo: 4th. This day James Sutton was taken out & sentence of Death passed upon him, he & David Dawson have been in Irons in the Dungeon day & night since the 26th & 28th Ulto & yet continue there.

10th mo: 5th. Chamberlain from Egg Harbour was tryed & found guilty of passing Counterfeit Congress Bills, & afterwards put in irons into the Dungeon.

10th mo: 7th. Stillman stood in the pillory.

10th mo: 8th. Heard that Major Andrie was executed by hanging on a Gallows at Washington's Camp at Tappan, notwithstanding General Robertson came out of New York on purpose with a flag, to desire his

execution might be postponed—It seems probable this fact will materially irritate the British Officers—

10th mo. 11th. Two Men from Tulpehocken near Reading in Berks County bro't to this Goal, by order of Joseph Reed, who with John Bayard called speaker of the Assembly & David Rittinghouse called Treasurer of the State are said to have gone on a Tour thro the Counties to hear the Complaints of the people, these two men are committed for being concerned in a Combination not to pay any Taxes, which they call Treason—

10th mo. 12th. They were let out of Goal—

10th mo. 14th. Reed & Chamberlain taken to the State house, where Thomas McKean passed Sentence of Death upon them, after which they were put into the Dungeon in Irons with Dawson & Sutton, where James Reed who is unwell with a fever has not been before.

I omitted to mention that on 10th mo: 1st. Susanna Lightfoot was concerned to speak of the general want of humility of the Inhabitants of this highly favour'd City with every Blessing both in an outward & a spiritual sense, till the time of the present Calamities, which have not had such an humbling effect, as would be the only & certain means of bringing again the Blessings of Peace & tranquility—she was in a very poor state of health, her voice very low, & she unable to stay more than half the time which the other friends were here—

It may not be amiss to mention that before the friends went away 10 mo: 1, James Thornton mentioned to me the Object respecting me was to convince friends in this City, that I am suffering for the Testimony of Truth, which I am fearful he will not have ability to do, because it will naturally follow from thence that there has been a very great Mistake in their taking & circulating the Congress Bills, which they have so generally done; But if I thought my continuance here would tend to bring them to unite against that Currency & the pres-

ent delusion—the prospect of such an union would afford me much satisfaction & notwithstanding there is such a difference of sentiment between some of my friends & me I am sensible of not having any improper feelings or Conduct towards them, but would wish them to avoid using the words Testimony of Truth respecting me, & agree that I am suffering innocently—

10 mo. 15. A Methodist preacher again preached & to the prisoners collected in the Yard—

10th mo: 16th. William Cassady who had been condemned to death for Join'g & listing in the British Army & John Jones & George Montgomery who had been condemned to death for Burglary were taken out of Goal & put on board the frigate Confedracy—

Within three or four days, there has been some dreadful fighting amongst the Criminals who frequently find means of getting liquor, once two of them were so dreadfully bruised & cut that their lives were thought to be in great danger, these are so desperately bad that I shall not be surprised if some lives are lost, unless some of the worst are removed from this place—

1780 10 mo: 19. This day David Sands, Edward Hollock, William Jackson, Benjamin Mason & John Parrish came to see us & had a Short sitting with us, in which D. Sands & Jno. Parrish spake rather more in commendation of me, than was acceptable considering the apparent uncertainty how I may abide thro' this Tryal—for I can at times clearly perceive that there are some of my friends, that without saying much, are truly engaged at heart that I may be enabled to bear my present allotment with that quietude & patience which alone can produce well founded cheerfulness & in the end wear off that edge of prejudice & Bitterness which has prevailed against me—Wm. Jackson spake a few words recommending Jos. Pritchard & myself to be stedfast in hope & patient in tribulation—I have thought that Wm. Jackson feels as deeply on account of the very great

degeneracy of the times, from that Integrity & simplicity was has been the ornament of friends & the foundation upon which they first gained reputation in England & in the settlement of this province, as any person I am acquainted with—What a favour it would be to the Inhabitants in general if they were brought clearly to see that their temporal & everlasting well being depends upon their treading back the paths in which they have erred & exerting themselves with earnestness to regain that Integrity & Simplicity, which would make them shine forth with real beauty in Eyes even of their greatest enemies.

10th mo: 20th. This Morning George Haughton who has lodged in our room since the 26th of 5th Month last removed his Bedding into a Room where Thomas Hale & sundry others are; he asked the Goaler's liberty so to do, we are not sorry for his removal, for he was intemperate in drinking & notwithstanding he has been upwards of Six Months in prison on account of his having shewn an attachment to the Brittish when here, he has been sometime soliciting for liberty to go on board the Congress frigate Confedracy—He seems much to want a principle of Integrity to act upon & like abundance of people nowadays is much to be pitied, on account of being tossed about with every wind—there being no leaders to whom such can look to for direction & help to steer their course—Jos. Pritchard & self now have the room to ourselves—

This Afternoon William Will formerly a dutch pewterer, latterly a Colonel in the Militia so called, lately chosen to act in the Capacity of a sheriff of this County, having just received his commission from the Council came to the Goal & had all the Prisoners called in to Yard & their read their names over in the presence of Jno. Reynolds & sundry others. I understood Jos. Pritchard's & my name were called but we stayed in our room & there was none sent to call us—We ex-

pected to be visited by them in our room but were disappointed in this expectation not disagreeably, by this Election James Claypoole who has occupied that Station 3 Years goes out, tho he was in hopes of holding it another Year on account of the Brittish Army being in this City more than half of his first Year—

This Evening the Goaler ordered three prisoners from another room into the Room where Jno. Lindley is & told John Lindley he might stay where he was, or move into our room as he chose, in consequence thereof he came into us; we had rather on our own account have been without him, as we cannot have that freedom with him, or with our friends in his presence that we may sometimes desire, yet he is a person that I believe will conduct himself better & more agreeably in our Company, than Geo. Haughton, who is now removed into a room, where he will be under no restraint from his Companions.

None of John Lindley's Estate has as yet been sold or taken out of his wife's possession tho' an account & appraisment thereof was taken the day he was brought to this house.

Yesterday heard that Henry Laurens once called President of the Congress was taken at Sea on his passage from hence to Holland, whither he is said to have been sent by the Congress upon some Embassy or negotiation—he was carried into Newfoundland & from thence sent to England.

10th mo: 22nd. This day John Lindley sat with us in both our sittings—I hear Edward Hollock has gone home & left his Son-in-Law David Sands, who has been since the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting visiting some few adjacent Meetings & the families of friends in this City, the latter I understand he expects to continue probably thro the whole City.

10th mo: 23rd. The Bells ringing most part of the day on account of a victory said to be obtained over the

Brithish Army near Charlotte in North Carolina when tis said about 300 were taken prisoners & about 200 Slain. If this is true tis probable the Confusions of War may longer continue there & prolong the Restoration of Peace to the Land, till the Inhabitants become more humbled & in a situation to enjoy the blessings of Peace with hearts truly thankful—

10th mo: 24th. This day James Scott, who I learn is a man of some considerable property & has been a considerable dealer, was let out, two persons having given Bail in £10.000 so called for his good behaviour during the War, tho' no charge whatever was attempted to be brought again him & he had laid in this Goal upwards of Six Months, a great part of it in a very distressing situation of Mind—

10th mo: 25th. This day Philip Swartz was let out of Goal on his being bound in £7000 (so called) & another person in £3000 (so called) that he shall keep the Peace of the Commonwealth (so called) during the War—he had been taken to the State house about two weeks before, where Thomas McKean demanded his giving Bail for his good behaviour during the War, but Swartz then declar'd his inability after many tryals to prevail on any person to be his Security, as he had no property of any kind, upon which McKean demanded his going on board the Confedracy frigate, which Schwartz put off by saying his fighting days were over, that he was too old & weakly, &c—

It has frequently happen'd under the present rulers, that without being able to lay any fact done against them to the charge of persons whom they have confin'd they could not be prevailed on by any means to grant Release, unless the parties took the Test to them, undertook to act under them, gave Security for their future behaviour, or some other way acknowledged their Authority, but I have not heard of an instance similar to this to confine a man of no property with very mean

cloaths indeed & them given to him upwards of 19 Months in Yorktown Goal, afterwards remove him here, where he has been only one day short of 7 Months more without being able to lay any thing he has either said or done against him—In this house he could not have subsisted I think upon his allowance of 6 ounces of Bread per day had he not daily had an addition thereto given him—In general in these times a mans poverty has been some sort of protection to him, for the present Rulers are much most fond of handling Men of Estate in order that if they cannot get the whole, they may have large pickings of their property.

It would have a truly happy effect if the Inhabitants of America could generally come to see & consider that all the distresses now in the Land, whether by the Armies of the Congress, by the present Rulers in what they call a legislative Capacity, or by the Marching & devastation which the Brittish Army have been the Instruments of, have undoubtedly been permitted to spread & come upon the people from One End of the Continent to the other by the Allwise Ruler of the World, not without a cause, but on account of the general prevalence of the forgetfulness of him from whom alone every real & solid benefit & blessing flows to Mankind—for had we been walking in humility & gratitude for the abundant Blessings we enjoyed, we should not then have administered Cause for such heavy Chastisements & greivous Calamities which now prevail, without having hitherto produced much apparent humility, tho' I hope there are many true mourners for the great wickedness & general departure from the principles of equity & Truth, in which alone a family, a County, a City a Province or a Nation can truly Shine & prosper—

What an unspeakable Blessing Mankind might enjoy if they were generally & unitedly desirous of walking & living in such humble gratitude in the sight of the

Author of all good, as might effectually keep down the spirit which produces War & is the cause of that & every other Calamity or Judgment that is permitted to come upon us.—We might then reasonably hope for a settlement of all matters that may occur, whether in a national or more confined respect, in a reasonable, just & amicable manner, without the use of the Sword—

I omitted to mention that some time in the 4th Month George Duffield, a presbyterian preacher, came to see Joseph Pritchard while he was sick—& said he had been with Joseph Reed, who desired him to inform J. Pritchard, that no release could be had for him, unless he would consent to go within the Enemy's Lines (meaning New York). Joseph told him he thought he already was within his Enemy's Lines, & that if he went to New York, it should be his own choice. That he expected they wanted to take the remainder of his Estate by their making such an offer—Joseph said many other things of Thomas McKean, Joseph Reed & the Rulers in general in a close & I thought becoming manner considering his troubles, which Duffield made not any immediate reply to, altho' some of them must have made him feel.

11th mo. 5th. This day George Haughton was taken out of Goal to go on board the Confederacy frigate, which fell down to Chester yesterday, on board of which Vessel a number of the very worst Men in this house have been at several times sent—G Haughton I believe has in view to make his escape & proceed to N. York, but I scarcely ——— if he attempts it that he has conduct for such an undertaking—

11th mo. 13th. Heard that papers called Death Warrants were last evening brought to this house ordering the execution of David Dawson, James Sutton & ——— Chamberlain, & that James Reed is pardon'd on Condition that he informs of whom he rece'd the Counterfeit Congress Bills, notwithstanding his having said he

rece'd them of the above David Dawson—the time fixed for the Execution is Seventh day the 25th Instant—

This Morning Samuel Chapman was conducted into our room by the Goaler, after whose departure, Chapman told us his home was in Bucks County, from whence he went the Brittish Army in 177- & came with that Army to this City where he entered into the British Service & was going in the Capacity of a Brittish Officer from N. York to Georgia the end of 1779 & taken at Sea & carried into Boston, where he has been kept in close Goal till he was Conducted from thence to this City by Order of Joseph Reed & his associates—This morning he was examined by Joseph Reed, who seems determin'd to handle him as badly as he can & threatened hanging him, notwithstanding he is exchanged—or at least ——— Skinner called a Commissary told him at Elizabeth Town, that he was exchanged—

It is affecting to consider that Chapman should so far deviate from the principles in which he has been educated, as to become a Soldier & I conclude must be cause of additional distress to his father & family, both because they are pained for his deviation & that they have been more severely handled by the present Rulers on this account—

11th mo: 14th. I am informed that Joseph Reed is again elected as President of the Council, this being the third Year, & that Wm. Moore is chosen Vice President —Reed was proclaim'd at the Court house & dined at the City Tavern with the Council &c—there was some firing of Cannon & parade on this occasion tho' I am ready to believe not so much as usual the few preceeding Years on this same occasion—

11th mo: 21st. Heard that there was Yesterday a Meeting of the Merchants & others at the Assembly Room in the State house, where ——— Muhlenberg, the Speaker of the Assembly acted as Chairman, when they agreed to fix the value of the Congress Bills which had

been current at 100 for One Spanish Dollar & upwards—at 75 for One, a Committee of 13 persons were chosen to draw up an association to be signed by all the householders, traders &c in the City, obliging & binding themselves to receive the Congress Bills at a 75th part of the value called on them & that 75th part to be paid & rece'd in all cases of Gold & Silver &c—this association is to be handed to every house & the names of such as refuse to sign it taken down & their reasons for so doing in writing.

11th mo. 22'd. Joshua Bunting of Chesterfield, New Jersey, Sam'l. Clark of Stony Brook, John Cummings & Patrick Garvey of this City put into our room. Joseph Stansbury & Joseph Greswold of this City we understand are also to be lodged in this house—Thomas Telere who came to see them next day was detained prisoner until he entered Bond not to depart this State, so called—

Clark, Cummings, Garvey, Greswold are charged by Joseph Reed who sent them here with being concerned in a dangerous trade to New York—Joshua Bunting is charged with keeping his house as a Stage for the Traders to New York &c—Joseph Stansbury is charg'd with being deeply concerned in a Lumber Trade carried on between Egg Harbour & New York—I understand they were each separately examined by Joseph Reed & Timothy Matlack & demanded to confess every matter to them, if they expected Mercy—their pockets & Papers also examined to see if they could find any thing or circumstance against them, & Joseph Stansbury's Books & Papers all taken into Custody—to see what they can find against him—

11th mo: 23rd. S. Clark & J. Cummings removed into a room with Jos. Stansbury & Jos. Greswold.

11th mo: 25th. David Dawson & Richard Chamberlain were taken out of this Goal amidst a Crowd of Spectators—they walked after a Cart in which were

two Coffins a Ladder &c, each had a rope about his neck & their Arms tied behind them—Dawson walked first, accompanied by a Brother, two Sisters & another Woman. Chamberlain was only accompanied by one of his Relatives—they were both hanged on the Commons of this City abt. 1 OClk—

The body of Dawson was taken care of by his relatives & sent forward in order to be buried by his relatives who reside at West Caln, Chester County—

The taking the life of D. Dawson seems to me to be a greater act of Cruelty in the present Rulers than anything they have heretofore done, for they never gave him even a shadow of a tryal in their own fashion & they have executed him merely as what they call a proscribed person because he came into the City while the Brittish Army lay here, the circumstances of which was, that he was coming from his abode with his Waggon, that being in danger of his life from some of Washington's Men he fled into the City & left & lost his Wagon, Horses, provisions &c—He never acted in any manner under Brittish, nor had he taken the Test to the present Usurpers, he did not go with the Brittish Army to New York, but had secreted himself in various places till he was betrayed by Jamed Reed last Spring & taken prisoner.

This Evening James Stillman, William Black & John Shaw were lodged in this house they are charged with having carried Cargoes of Boards from Egg Harbour to New York, which I hear has been a common practice for some months past, by many of the principal Men thereaway who are called civil & Military Officers of the present day & System these three Men had a quantity of Goods taken from them in this City, which they are charged with having brought out of New York.

11 mo: 29th. James Sutton, who had been tryed for running away with a Congress Privateer into Bermuda, found guilty & sentenced to die, was taken from the

Dungeon in this Goal & hanged on the Windmill Island opposite the lower part of the City.

11th mo: 30th. David Thomas, still a member of the present Assembly called to see Jos. Pritchard & myself—he appear'd concerned on account of our long imprisonment & urged our giving Bail for our future good behaviour so called—We had a second free open & friendly conversation on the occasion of our confinement & the measures in general pursued by those who have assumed authority on this Continent; many plain things were spoken touching the bad principles & motives of the present Rulers & the sad effects produced thereby in introducing vice & wickedness & depraving the principles of the Inhabitants, so that all Justice & Honesty had fled the Land, unless with some of those who suffer for not uniting with the present System—He declar'd his motive in acting to be to use his endeavours to keep things in moderation—We informed him that some who had endeavour'd to act upon such principles, had violated their Consciences & been carried away with the delusion & had died of Broken hearts—We parted with at least as much regard for each other, as we met & with mutual good wishes for each other & desires that the Inhabitants of this land might be brought to union of Sentiment & the Calamities of War cease—& it is above all things to be desired that the people could be so humbled under the just Judgments which have long prevailed on this Continent, that it might please the Great Author of all Good, to put an End to the effusion Blood & to remove this spirit of persecution which prevails & that Concord & brotherly love might take places in the minds of the Inhabitants.

12 mo. 2'd. Last night Henry Strous ——— Stillman & a French prisoner broke out of a room adjoining us fronting Market Street, by cutting the Iron Bars of the Window, there were 6 persons more in the room

who possibly would have got out had not the Watchman discovered them & informed the Goaler—

12th mo: 4th. a Considerable number of those called magistrates came to the Goal Plunket Fleeson, William Adcock, Wm. McMullin & a Country Man came into our room stayed only a few minutes. Wm. Rush waited till most of them were gone downstairs & after pausing some time at the door came in, Jos. Pritchard asked him to set down, but declined the offer & addressed himself to me, saying I understand you might have been out long ago, & upon my saying I supposed I might upon their terms, he said what are the terms, I have forgot them, when I told him on giving Bail for my future good behaviour, as they call it—which I told him I should never do, & that I would have you who have assum'd authority consider well what you are about you have been carrying on persecution & have taken the lives of innocent men; by this time he had gradually moved as far as the room door, where two Country Men whom I did not know stood listening to our conversation both of them, as well as the one that had been in the room before I conclude are called County Magistrates, One of the two I afterwards learnt to be Zebulon Potts, who asked me if I was a prisoner & those others in the room, to which I answered Yes & then proceeded with telling Wm. Rush that I had not expressed any thing of Ill will or Revenge against any of those, who were the cause of my suffering & that I hoped if it was ever in my power to take Revenge for what I had suffered, I should shew kindness to them; to which Wm. Rush said that so far well—when I said it would be well for you to desist from your undertakings before it is too late—after which they all went down stairs—

How far I may be justified in thus speaking, time must shew—tis probable I should not have been so plain with Wm. Rush, but on account of his pretence of Ignorance of terms of release offered me 1st mo: 31st

last by Isaac Howell, who I understood immediately informed Wm. Rush & sundry others my answer of refusing my release on any other terms, than that of my being unjustly treated & an innocent man, at which time this same Wm. Rush said, Then let him lay there & Rot.

12th mo: 6th. Joseph Greswold let out on being taken to Thomas McKean by the form of a Habeas Corpus Writ & there giving Bail in £2000—Specie for his appearance at the form of a Court of Oyer & Terminer to be held in 4th mo: next. I understand that all persons who go thro the form of giving Bail are bound in Specie so that it seems the Rulers are obliged to have recourse to Gold & Silver, when it suits their inclinations, altho there is yet unrepealed what they call a Law, laying a heavy penalty on any person who shall sell anything for Gold or Silver, which was passed in Spring 1779.

12 mo: 13th. Joseph Greswold again put to this Goal last night by a large instrument of writing charging him with high Treason, from those called the Council, with a great Seal affixed to it—This day he was taken to the Council to be examined, & there as he informed me, there was no fresh matter alledged against him, but merely a memorendum in a pocket book taken from Sam'l. Clark, whereby it appear'd Greswold had lent Clark 1200 Congress Dollars & 8 portage half Johannes—this was all the cause of his being first sent here by the council, when the paper sent to the Goaler, charged him with dangerous & treasonable practices—it seems as if the Council were displeased with T. McKean letting him out & are determined that no person shall undo what they undertake—

This day Samuel Clark & John Cummings taken to Thomas McKean by the form of Writs of Habeas Corpus & he took Bail of them in £4,000 Specie each for their appearance at the form of a Court of Oyer & Terminer to be held on the 4th mo: next—They are very

the first of these, the first of the great principles of the American Revolution, was the right of the people to alter or to abolish their government, and to institute a new one, whensoever they shall judge it necessary for their safety and happiness.

The second of these principles was the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures; and the third was the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures.

The fourth of these principles was the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures; and the fifth was the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures.

The sixth of these principles was the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures; and the seventh was the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures.

apprehensive of their being immediately taken & brought to Goal again in the same manner as Greswold has been, & therefore are determined if they have a few hours to get out of the City—I understand a great number of persons are taken up in Jersey, on account being suspected to have traded to New York—

12th mo: 15. David Brooks & Seth Coffin from New Garden in North Carolina, who are proceeding Northward on a visit to Friends came to visit us—D'd. Brooks spake & prayed in a lively & acceptable manner, he said he looked upon the present calamities as a time for the refinement of our society, in order that we might experience deliverance from our enemies both inwardly & outwardly—and yet be brought back to the living up to the purity of our principles

12 mo: 16th. David Sands, George Dilwyn, Sam'l. Smith & Charles West visited us. David Sands spake. George Dilwyn spake & prayed—D. S. upon parting with us said it has been a time of favour & we have cause to be thankful for it—

12th mo: 18th. This morning the person who is at present called Sheriff of Burlington County came for Joshua Bunting & took him out of the Goal to convey him to Trenton to be there examined by ——— Livingston, who is now called President in Jersey—This Evening we seemed somewhat to miss Joshua, who appears to be of a mild easy disposition & a Man of good Conduct—All the pretext of putting him in this house, was because Patrick Garvey had been entertained, at his house, & Joshua had been at Garvey's house on the Morning of his being committed here—for this he was published in the papers for keeping his house as a Stage for the entertainment of Traders to New York, he is farmer who lives on the roadside & occasionally only gave P. Garvey entertainment within his doors—

We after about 6 days heard that upon Joshua Bunting's being taken to ——— Livingston, ——— Living-

ston asked him if he would come to him, when sent for, & Joshua answering in the affirmative Livingston told him he might go home, which he did accordingly—

12 mo: 27 This day Joseph Greswold was let out a second time, upon his giving Bail in £2,000 Specie to Joseph Reed for his future good behaviour so called—it seems as if Jos. Reed & his associates had been much vexed that Greswold should get out without petitioning them by the form of an Habeas Corpus Writ—& had therefore sent him to Goal a second time, in order to make him humbly apply to them for a Release.

28th. Joseph Stansbury who is a Man of abilities to manage matters with such men as he has now to do with, —about a week past had got permission to go to New York with his family & to make Sale of all his effects & his Keys return'd to him tho he could not get his Books return'd him till Yesterday—& having obtained a pass for himself only, this afternoon, he parted with us about 5 OC'lk & crossed the River the same evening, leaving his wife behind till she can settle his affairs & follow him, as he had not liberty to go to his house to conduct his own affairs—but was let go “upon his promise upon “his honour to take direct Road to New York—to use “his utmost endeavours to get Abijah Wright of Bucks “County & Caspar Geyer of this city, now prisoners at “New York released & to do nothing injurious to the “United States”—these terms seemed favourable considering the probability of what he might been doing & I believe he was glad to get clear of this City—

12 mo: 29th. Timothy Matlack came here this day & gave 80 of those called Congress paper Dollars for a peice of pewter cast in the form of a dollar—It has been a constant practice of the theives &c in this house for about 3 Months past to sell such pewter as real dollars & I conclude from its being generally known & talked of in town, Timothy had come here to know the truth of if by making a purchase. The purchasers of this

pewter finding themselves deceived had no remedy, but frequently had their pocket Books taken from them also, with very large nominal Sums in them—the Goaler to all appearance gives countenance to this traffick by what I have seen & heard of his conduct—Orders are come from Jos. Reed & his associates to Jno. Reynolds to use his utmost endeavours to stop the prisoners from this branch of Traffick, which however it may be in the view of any, I think the pewter is certainly of more real value than a few very small bits of dirty paper—& a time may come when it may be clearly seen that he that gave the pewter for the paper, gave what was of some real value for that which is good for nothing, unless it be certain use which decency forbids to mention—

It has been the engine by which the Presbytereans have been permitted to involve the whole Brittish Empire in great distress & perplexity—& America in particular, not only in almost every Calamity attendant on War, but by these Bills having been given sanction to in the beginning by most of the foremost people both as to religious profession, Property & reputation in this City,—who were looked up to for example almost every good principle has been driven from the Country, & the minds of the people are very generally carried away with deceit & hyprocy, which has rendered weak & unable to withstand Vice & Wickedness, which has flowed as with a Strong Torrent.

(To be continued.)

PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES, 1769-1776.

(Continued from page 246.)

1772.

January.

- 1: Daniel Stewart—Mary Neal
James Smith—Martha Maxwell
- 2: William McCulloch—Margaret Palmer
William Hunter—Susannah Rudderow
Edward James—Margaret Black
- 4: John Jagar—Mary Clady
- 9: Jacob Frank—Mary Magdalen Schlosser
- 11: Frederick Welpert—Margaret Muselfelden
- 15: Amos Thomas—Ruth Lloyd
- 16: Thomas Wiley—Jane Thompson
- 17: John Deverow—Elizabeth Kelly
- 18: John Coyl—Ann Maddin
Gabriel Vanhorne—Mary Vansant
- 21: Adam Hubley—Mary Evans
James Robinson—Mary Davis
- 29: Joseph Greer—Susannah Greer
- 31: Joseph Smith—Jane Beaks

February.

- 1: Jacob Billew—Elizabeth Jones
- 4: Thomas McFee—Ann Jenkins
- 5: Charles Lewis Boehme—Catharine Moser
- 6: Bodo Otto Junr—Catharine Schweighauser
James Doughty—Margaret Young
- 10: James Hall—Sarah Winn
- 11: Thomas Neal—Margaret Bell
- 12: Samuel Hendricks—Abigail Umpstead
- 15: John McAlmoyle—Isabella Connolly
- 17: John Flinn—Susanna Tatnall
Hermanus Johnston—Mary Fisher
Robert Willson—Sarah Neill
- 19: Jacob Rode—Susanna Wightman
Joshua Gilbert—Priscilla Shrigby

- 20: Nicholas Pump—Elizabeth Dutton
- 24: Michael Dorsey—Mary Skipwith
- 25: Benjamin Harbeson—Margaret Comb
- 26: John Murphy—Mary Stephens
- 27: George Fudge—Margaret Griffiths
Robert Josiah—Jemimah Moulder
- 29: John Miles—Mary Lewis
George Wye—Elizabeth Pinkstalk

March.

- 2: Joseph Welcome—Elizabeth Ford
- 3: Andrew Dennison—Ann Barclay
Robert Gordon—Elizabeth Davis
- 5: Jacob Bunner—Elizabeth Moser
- 7: Anthony Yerkes—Mary Harper
- 10: Jacob Wynkoop—Hannah Cleaver
William Hynes—Elizabeth Harris
- 11: Charles Wharton—Jemima Edwards
William Barker—Elizabeth Wallis
- 12: John Helm—Elizabeth Thomas
- 13: Simon Hufty—Rebecka Till
John Young—Hannah Tabor
- 14: James Morris—Rosanna Cook
- 17: Nicholas Egan—Ann Seymore
John Fox—Elizabeth Gardner
- 19: Jacob Rowand—Prudence Maroe
- 20: John Rice—Rachel Ball
- 26: Samuel Thomas—Elizabeth Palmer
Jacob Weiss Jun^r—Elizabeth Roberts

April.

- 1: John Jameson—Mary Ross
Hugh Meredith—Mary Todd
Hugh Hamilton—Ann Campble
Benjamin Weston—Sarah Lawwell
- 2: Henry Fagan—Rebecka Vandegrift
- 4: Timothy Roberts—Mary James
- 8: George Barr—Mary Eakan
Samuel Rogers—Mary Kearnes
- 9: John Wood—Ann Many
William Leib—Ann Salen
Ezekiel Letts—Hannah Palmer
James Pickering—Jane Casdoap

- John Hamble Junr—Judith Willson
 Nathan Rhoads—Sarah Stradler
 10: George Sheed—Mary Evans
 Conrod Carl—Mary Waggoner
 Josiah James—Elizabeth Evans
 James Thomas—Mary Lewis
 Abiah Butler—Elizabeth Thomas
 11: James McNeal—Catharine Pollock
 13: John Murray—Elizabeth Syng
 14: John Brown—Sarah Levering
 Stephen Watts—Martha Eaton
 16: Isaac Parsons—Anstrus Shadowill
 Benjamin Towne—Abigail Doughy
 Abraham Garret—Mary Taylor
 17: Charles Gough—Elizabeth Moore
 22: John Farran—Mary Black
 Abner Bradfield—Phœbe West
 23: Isaac Haines—Lydia Davis
 Francis Willson—Mary Armstrong
 27: John Shaw—Mary Comron
 Thomas Hyde—Anna Norback
 29: Frederick Christian—Elizabeth Hodgkinson
 30: Charles Risk—Rebecca Boggs

May.

- 2: Isaac Cooper—Anne Bolton
 John Matthews—Rachel Thomas
 5: John McCelane—Catharine Armstrong
 Henry Schneider—Barbara Shockor
 John Barnsley—Elizabeth Vancourt
 7: Samuel Wiggfall—Rachel Baulby
 11: Thomas Chesson—Lucy Brown
 William Cowpland—Jane Parkeson
 13: John Perkins—Mary Woodward
 William Stukesbury—Susanna Thomas
 14: William Dunton—Mary Statler
 Richard Neeld—Mary Belford
 Richard Grafton Preston—Mary Lamb
 18: William Barthket—Catharine Delany
 Thomas Carter—Mary Shadaker
 19: Samuel Meredith—Margaret Cadwalader
 20: Abraham Collins—Catharine Taylor
 21: Henry Horn—Justine Honeyer

- 23: John Heeny—Elizabeth Hess
Benjamin Taylor—Zade Wright
Francis Barrel—Elizabeth Harrison
Jacob Tyce—Elizabeth Ritchie
William Gilbert—Mary Fenton
- 25: William Wright—Isabella Bullock
- 27: John James—Dorothy Jones
John Moore—Oliver Wells
- 27: George Smith—Elizabeth Manuel
- 28: Benjamin Ward—Ann Ward
- 29: John Dalrymple—Eleanor Williams

June.

- 3: William McCullough—Hannah Williams
John Taylor—Ann Huston
- 4: Jesse Moore—Susanna Lawrence
- 8: James Sutter—Elizabeth Whitton
Francis Brindly—Rebecca Garwood
- 11: Godfey Slyhauff—Rachel Herse
Robert Hamilton—Mary Street
Philip Oderhaimer—Catharine Utree
- 13: Frederick Place—Ann Apple
- 16: Joseph Woodfield—Mary Rambo
Thomas Clayton—Mary Walker
- 17: Henry Moore—Hannah Jones
John Clarke—Margaret McIlvaine
Elias Williams—Hannah Zane
- 18: Daniel James—Susanna Baker
- 19: Thomas Scully—Mary Alricks
- 20: Peter Pannabicker—Margaret Welker
- 24: Benjamin Chattell—Mary McCall
- 26: Nathaniel Ricketts—Hannah Barthot

July.

- 1: Joseph Willson—Margaret Windram
- 2: George Kidd—Mary Wolfe
- 4: William Wellman—Elizabeth Ames
- 6: James Donaldson—Mary Best
James Guttier—Margaret Kennedy
- 8: John Thomas—Mary Rinn
Thomas Simpson—Sarah Smith
- 9: William Turner—Abigail Anthony

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- 10: Patrick Robertson—Catharine Adams
John Matthias Sleighman—Mary Williamson
Marsena Alloway—Catharine Davis
- 11: John Murdock—Sarah Whiteall
- 13: Samuel McCormick—Abigail Philips
John Shee—Jane Nailor
- 15: Joseph Oliver—Susanna Banks
- 16: John Gray—Rachel Miller
- 21: William Hudner—Catharine Inglis
- 23: William Fians—Mary Rice
Abraham Cohen—Mary Garman
Robert French—Mary Ker
- 27: Michael McMullan—Margaret Collins
- 28: George Thompson—Rebecca Cash
William Dixey—Martha McHenry

August.

- 5: Llewellyn Young—Ariadna Llewellyn
Edward Noble—Mary Roenun
- 6: Amos Wilkinson—Mercy Carpenter
Christopher Will—Sarah Keiser
- 10: Joseph Snowden—Sarah Hanlin
Benjamin Carpenter—Mary Morgan
John Douglass—Ann Jones
- 14: Samuel Wallace—Rachel Vanderroof
Thomas Edwards—Hannah Roberts
- 15: John Garwood—Sarah Neithermark
- 18: John Anson—Sarah Cassel
- 20: John Malcolm—Hannah Roberts
John Adams—Catharine Hummer
- 21: Matthias Garret—Elizabeth Denham
Benjamin Seyoc—Mary Holmes
- 24: Thomas Britman—Margaret Neumannin
- 26: John Evans—Agnes Barnet
- 27: Reuben Smith—Elizabeth Webb
- 29: George Poff—Anne Merchant

September.

- 2: James Miller—Mary Jacocks
- 3: William Nichols—Brightwed Stout
- 11: William Polin—Rachel Hine
- 14: William Rush—Catharine Showaker

- 15: Nicholas Spencer—Martha Lee
William Little—Frances Grear
- 16: Israel Jenkins—Rosanna O'Neal
Thomas Walker—Margaret Hoops
- 18: John Welsh—Catharine Kennedy
- 21: Erhart Sheidle—Mary Deilman
James Caldwell—Sarah Mitchell
- 23: Christopher Binks—Mary Siddon
Matthias Burch—Susanna Woollard
Anthony Martin—Ann Cline
- 24: Martin Parkison—Elizabeth Henderson
- 26: Philip Leicester—Elizabeth Cell
- 28: John Glazer—Elizabeth Rice
- 29: William McGuire—Elizabeth Thomas

October.

- 1: Samuel Goodman—Martha Kerr
James Shannon—Elizabeth Lane
- 3: Robert Ewer—Mary Kelsey
- 5: John Eshinbaugh—Rebecka Zimmerman
- 6: Robert Montgomery—Ann McPharland
James Glenn—Mary Dashner
William Bellamy—Elizabeth Pines
- 7: John Leacock—Martha Ogilby
Robert Gill—Hannah Allen
John Andrew Krug—Henrietta Eliz^a Hand-
schuckin
- 8: Daniel McCadden—Elizabeth Pollard
- 9: Barnabas O'Neal—Barbara Winter
Alexander Brown—Ann Peel
- 10: Thomas Terry—Davis
James Creighton—Catharine McCann
John Rice—Elizabeth Montgomery
Patrick Barry—Mary Farrell
- 13: Thomas Neal—Ann Okill
- 15: Owen Brook—Elizabeth Hammer
Joseph Fry—Martha Hurrie
William Hayman—Anne Wayne
Jacob Utre—Mary Gardner
- 17: Henry Hook—Mary Fry
James Alexander—Jane Parker
Joseph Powell—Mary Ross
- 19: James King—Cornelia England

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- 20: Archibald Morrison—Jane Dyer
Samuel Potts—Sarah Fritts
- 21: Thomas Killden—Isabella McClean
Abraham Stout—Mary Magdalena Hartzell
- 23: Samuel Loftus—Beulah Saylor
- 27: William Moran—Abigail Harlan
- 28: Abraham Backman—Phœbe Graff
Sampson Davis—Elizabeth Ashton
- 31: Griffith Philips—Ann Thomas
Daniel Huger—Binkey Elliot

November.

- 4: John Krips—Sarah Murphy
Benjamin Loxley Jun^r—Mary Barnes
Thomas Naglee—Hannah Belangee
- 5: Alexander Edwards—Eliza: Morgan
- 6: John Liggit—Mary Shields
Valentine Grouse—Eliza: Bakely
John McCullough—Margaret Peters
- 7: William Davis—Mary McNeal
- 9: Thomas Tyrer—Catharine Willson
- 10: John Smith—Catharine O'Mullan
- 11: Alexander Willson—Mary Kennedy
William Peyton—Mary Evans
- 12: John Dawson—Margaret Carroll
- 14: William Jenkins—Sarah McLoughlan
Thomas Thorp—Eliza: Newlin
John Bogart—Mary Jameson
- 16: Nicholas Chressman—Susanna Shaneholtz
- 17: Peter Rambo—Ann James
Nathan Gilbert—Eliza: Scout
- 18: Francis Gasper Hasenclever—Mary Melchior
Matthew Whitehead—Eliza: Pine
William Davey—Rachel Snowden
- 20: Eli Bentley—Mary Hunter
John Aves—Rachel Clark
- 21: Thomas Beans—Eliza: Hollingshead
Thomas Wateman—Hannah Inglis
- 24: Robert Poke—Jane Crawford
- 25: Patrick Hamilton—Ann Clark
Thomas Quin—Theodosia Harvey
- 26: Richard Hodnott—Jane Henry
Everard McClees—Rebecca Gleeves

- 27: Joseph Gamble—Mary Flower
- 30: Isaac Hopper—Sarah Leonard
- James Sparks—Ann Pearson

December.

- 1: Martin Knoll—Elizabeth Keller
- 2: Thomas Robeson—Ann Talbert
- Peter Wikoff—Catharine Kreusen
- 3: Thomas I'ann [sic]—Mary Piles
- John Finney—Elizabeth Jackson
- Samuel Poole—Barbara Fandlin
- Jacob Graff—Elizabeth Dick
- 4: David Noble—Anna Powell
- James McNought—Mary Boyer
- 5: Charles Pennington—Mary Beanor
- Jonathan Izard—Rachel Biddle
- George Meredith—Micah Bull
- 7: George Goodwin—Susanna Rockwell
- 8: Jonathan Dungan—Agnes Kelton
- 9: Sturges Shoveler—Sarah Forrest
- 10: Alexander Boggs—Ann Hemphill
- Francis Daymon—Ann White
- 12: William Green—Mary Lewis
- Samuel Ayres—Deborah Yerkus
- Louis Guionnet—Elizabeth Cipple
- 16: Jacob Schreck—Mary Elton
- Robert Miller—Martha Black
- 17: James Miles—Susanna Kigings
- 18: Thomas Rue—Ann Pursell
- Robert Jameson—Sarah Mairns
- 19: Thomas Short—Mary Brady
- 21: James Kolter—Susanna Hume
- 22: James Pyot—Rosanna Kearnes
- Mathew Knox—Isabella Craig
- 23: Barnaby Bright—Cornelia Evans
- 24: Benjamin McVeagh—Parnel Humphrevile
- 28: John Price—Sarah Kentee
- John Conrad—Margaret Fry
- James Johnston—Christiana Murray
- 29: Conrad Myerly—Catharine Brandt
- 31: Andrew Macomson—Ann McClees
- Thomas Thomas—Mary Dean
- David Rittenhouse—Hannah Jacobs

1773.

January.

- 2: James Pendlebury—Elizabeth Overthrow
- 5: Collinson Read—Mary McFunn
- 6: George Summers—Ann Mesminger
- 7: Timothy Knowles—Hannah Briggs
 Aaron Thorn—Elizabeth Van
 Fincher Hellings—Catharine Dogharty
 Frederick Sent—Barbara Taylor
- 8: Jacob Baar—Anna Margaret Reamer
- 9: Abraham Free—Ruth Evans
 John Rhoads—Mary Thompson
- 11: William Cox—Phœbe Duffield
- 12: George Zimmerman—Margaret Hensman
 Edward Jackson—Sarah Greenland
- 13: Thomas Gardner—Letitia Stevens
 David Alexander—Elizabeth Cochran
- 14: Philip Sinclair—Margaret Stots
 Adam Zantzinger—Susanna Keppele
- 16: John Lycon—Christiana Friedericks
 Robert Magee—Hannah Gau
- 18: Charles Mayer—Margaret Wrench
 Zephania Lott—Alice Vanpelt
- 20: Patterson Doyle—Susanna Clancy
 Thomas Corgae—Ann Elliot
 William Schriver—Elizabeth Hansman
 Frederick Hiller—Catharine Kreese
- 21: Benjamin Thomas—Sarah Dyer
 Thomas Glenn—Ann Bantick
 William Campbell—Hannah Crane
- 23: John Moss—Catharine Drift
- 25: John Sowder—Mary Baker
 James Roberts—Sarah Pines
- 26: Zachariah Goforth—Ann Clifford
 Joshua Fanning—Ann Read
- 27: John McSweny—Rachel Billew
- 28: John Hickby—Alice Tufft
- 29: Thomas Rose—Mary Brakell
 Samuel Betson—Hannah Richardson
 John Temple—Charlotte Shultzer
- 30: John Chandler—Anna Jones

February.

- 1: Jacob Greswold—Mary Fletcher
William Jenkins—Elizabeth Blair
- 3: John Dunlap—Elizabeth Ellison
- 4: Henry McGee—Mary Hanson
Samuel Dunlap—Mary Ann Howey
- 9: Isaac Rich—Ruth Holton
- 10: Francis Jodun—Oliff Huff
William White—Mary Harrison
- 11: Joseph Philips—Elizabeth Johnston
Albertus Henfelstein—Catharine Carker
- 12: Frederick Lawderburn—Rebecca Ulrich
Zachariah Nieman—Mary Bowler
- 13: Jacob Good—Susanna Aple
John Wolohon—Sarah Hammitt
- 16: John McCameron—Elizabeth McCameron
John Bissel—Lætitia Philips
- 18: Thomas Harper—Deborah Drinker
- 22: William Hazlewood—Rachel Rouse
- 24: Paul Dowlin—Margaret Brown
- 26: James Cronin—Bridget Sherlock
- 27: Joseph Gold—Abigail Kerr
Jonathan Richardson—Margaret Howey

March.

- 3: George Henry Beck—Elizabeth Ernst
- 4: Benjamin Bartholomew—Elizabeth Bull
John Stark—Ann Wade
- 6: Matthew Shepherd—Jane Johnston
John Stewart—Sarah Morgan
John Quee—Susannah Kotman
Asher Clayton—Susannah Parker
- 9: Joseph Berryman—Prudence Hammet
- 10: Samuel Carson—Hannah Price
- 11: William Fletcher—Sarah Downes
- 13: Garret Vansant—Elizabeth Stephens
- 15: Adam Baker—Elizabeth Neff
- 16: Thomas Slater—Eliza: Masterson
Thomas Tremble—Hannah Brooks
- 17: Joseph Marple—Elizabeth Roberts
- 18: Daniel Burchardt—Catharine White
- 19: Henry Rhinehard—Margaret Teaney

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- 23: Gilbert McKillup—Ann McKahan
John Reynolds—Charlotte Whittle
- 24: John Everhart—Catharine Mouse
- 25: George Fetter—Hannah Righter
- 27: Enous Scallinger—Sarah Cox
Edward Eaton—Hester Kinnard
- 29: Matthew Jones—Elizabeth Knowles
William Wilson—Mary Hughes
Charles Costlee—Jane Campbell
- 31: William McElroy—Priscilla Jones
Samuel Long—Catharine Hendricks

April.

- 1: Jacob Feit—Eleanor McCallaghan
William Robeson—Elizabeth Miller
- 3: Joshua Dungan—Sarah Cawley
- 8: Elijah Dow—Rebecka Jones
James Fowler—Hannah Swanson
- 10: George Marcker—Margaret Stellwaggon
John Middleton—Elizabeth Anderson
- 12: Peter Polar—Ann Studdin
- 13: Peter Peters—Sarah Bryan
- 15: John Holmes Junior—Hester Swift
- 16: John Presly—Rosanna Henderson
William Baily—Mary Campbell
- 17: John Fawkes—Sarah Lane
Nathan Sturgis—Catharine Philips
John Daily—Elizabeth Masterson
- 19: Thomas Crispin—Ann Kitchen
- 20: John Emmes—Mary Mitchell
- 21: Nathaniel Allen Junior—Mary Dean
- 22: Isaac Reily—Lydia Davis
Joseph Vandegrift—Catharine Philips
- 24: Jonathan Matlack—Hannah Waln
- 26: Hugh Kidd—Jane Rankin
George Consor—Barbara Fridley
Robert Connoly—Bridget Dunn
- 27: Joseph Wallace—Elizabeth Weaver
- 28: Jacob Garrigues—Mary Ashton
Peter Brown—Sarah Dutton
William Mabury—Ann Nicholson
- 29: William Glover—Lætitia Tittermary
Dougal Gregory—Ann McIharan

May.

- 1: Samuel Purdy—Elizabeth Price
Munro Pearson—Jane McCammon
- 3: Edward Gabriel—Martha Carmalt
Peter Kidd—Jane Stone
Peter Smick—Mary Heide
- 5: Seth Beanes—Elizabeth Beanes
Leonard Reed—Elizabeth Fritz
- 6: Charles Stow—Mercy Willard
John Taylor—Jane Lockridge
- 7: George Taylor—Catharine Bickley
George Honey Jun^r—Mary Sentzer
- 8: William Bartolet—Elizabeth Holmes
Richard Fordham—Hannah Derringer
- 11: Simon Murray—Jane Cash
- 12: Thomas Coombe Junior—Sarah Badger
- 13: Walter Fitzgerald—Mary Claypoole
Jesse Greenfield—Elizabeth Holliday
Peter Smick—Eleanor Fitzgerald
- 17: Joshua Cleaver—Margaret Nelson
- 18: Nehemiah Cowgill—Mary Middleton
John Pringle—Catharine Lake
- 19: Peter Wells—Jemimah Davis
- 24: Richard Eyres—Sophia Nicholson
- 27: John Lyne—Mary Walker
- 28: David Wilkin—Elizabeth Wayne
- 29: Joseph Duffield—Deborah Ingle
Cornelius Daily—Elizabeth Krewsen
- 31: Philip Fullan—Lætitia Hendricks

June.

- 1: Henry Hill—Anne Meredith
- 2: Wigard Miller—Christiana Hesser
George Metzger—Elizabeth Hoff
- 9: Benjamin Brownback—Rachel Parker
Samuel Thomas—Elizabeth Noble
- 10: Archibald McTaggart—Catharine Young
- 14: Paul Neckervis—Ann Nerill
- 15: Matthew Turner—Mary Peters
- 16: Boaz Walton—Mary Assheton
- 17: Arthur O'Neill—Margaret Goff
Jacob Willson—Sarah Walker

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- William Main—Susanna Graham
John Fenton—Sarah Cawley
18: Elijah Parkhill—Jane Long
William Ruper—Ruth Walton
19: Sketchley Morton—Rebecka Taylor
21: Charles Eustace—Rachel Fitzrandolph
22: Thomas Cuthbert—Sarah Latimer
Stephen Bardon—Catharine Smith
John Waggoner—Elizabeth Levan
23: William Batho—Eliz^a Trace
James Martin—Margaret Jones
24: David Rees—Elizabeth Cobourn
Peter Doffield—Margaret Finley
James Thompson—Elizabeth Parsons
25: Thomas Wharton Collins—Mary Hinton
28: William Rogers—Hannah Gardiner
William Price—Mary Allan
30: George Way—Elizabeth Spanton

July.

- 1: William Sheaff—Barbara Sickle
John Musgrove—Mary Sims
Adam Boyd—Catharine Jenkins
3: Peter Finnemore—Sarah Cartwright
5: James Scott—Catharine Dorland
8: Daniel Gillin—Catharine O’Haughan
John Magan—Ann Harmonson
14: Ephraim Jonesb—Rachel Richardson
15: William McIlhenny—Hannah Woodside
17: William Langdon—Susanna Sanky
19: Patrick Carr—Mary Foreman
Abraham Robinson—Rebecka Connoly
20: John Scott—Ann Dennis
Whitehead Weatherby—Sarah Jones
21: John McAfee—Elizabeth Honsard
Clement Dungan—Sarah Bond
22: Abraham Mitchell—Frances Gardiner
23: James French—Mary Clark
24: Michael Joseph Letellier—Mary Richardson
26: Henry Hattman—Catharine Weising
27: John Teis—Rachel Nicholson
28: Enoch Morgan—Susanna Baily
29: Abraham Wynkoop—Rachel Sharpe

- 30: James McClenachan—Jane Knox
John Logan—Ann Talbert

August.

- 2: Roger Blake—Alice McCarty
Patrick Callahan—Margaret Daulton
3: Joshua Maddox Wallace—Tace Bradford
4: Alexander Hunter—Sarah Hull
5: Parnel Clayton—Mary Grimes
7: Jonathan Jones—Hannah Aaron
Daniel Laperty—Martha Lucas
10: Peter Trace—Mary Weaver
11: John Henderson—Mary Campbell
12: Peter Eaton—Margaret Evans
Benjamin Scull—Eliz^a Berry
13: William Lyell—Eliz^a Gregory
14: Thomas Robins—Sarah Campbell
16: Robert Galbraith—Mary Brannon
Nicholas Brehant—Eliz^a Bonfield
19: Michael Andreas—Anna Eliz^a Cloninger
20: John Wilson—Otilia Ludwick
21: William Wilkins—Eliz^a Axford
24: Peter Stephens—Eleanor Moore
25: Frederick Vanduff—Margaret Vanpalton
27: John Kingrick—Anna Barbara Kloninger
31: David Williamson—Ann McCullough

September.

- 1: John Timmons—Hannah Berry
2: Moses Peters—Ruth Evans
3: William Lawrence—Charlotte Dawson
Nicholas Stackhouse—Eliz^a Robinson
4: Godfrey Hawker—Catharine Fitzgerald
10: Thomas Castle—Margaret Shelling
Joseph Miley—Martha England
John Donohue—Joanna Townsley
11: Abraham Britton—Kezia Vansant
14: Francis Robinson—Ann Pancoast
15: Timothy Sloan—Alice Frazer
16: John Bamford—Ann Lehman
John Bern—Mary Bradshaw
John Brown—Eleanor Saunders
Arthur Marshall—Margaret Moore

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- 18: David Dunn—Lydia Calvan
- 21: William Bateman—Margaret Porter
- 22: Abiah James—Rachel Williams
- 23: Herman Yerkus—Mary Clayton
Charles Farrier—Rachel Christopher
Curtis Davis—Ann Gayman
- 24: Richard Hazard—Mary Brown
- 25: David Harrow—Rebecka Wilkinson
- 28: John Howe—Mary Hewster
Jonathan Mullan—Mary Kite
Nathaniel Hunter—Elizabeth Bywater
George Allen—Esther Bowen
- 29: Allan Langley—Ruth Haild
Robert Dodds—Martha Crawford
- 30: Matthew Thompson—Margaret Nuttle

October.

- 1: John Reinhart—Barbara Wrax
James Rowland—Elizabeth Barthurst
John Hamilton—Deborah Shears
- 4: Daniel McKay—Abigail Philips
George Peeling—Elizabeth Howtin
- 5: Alexander Davald—Elizabeth Johnston
- 6: Samuel Holmes—Elizabeth Warwick
Richard Broderick—Susanna Evy
John McMahon—Bridget McManis
James Baxter—Ann Brown
- 7: Matthew Grier—Catharine Kelly
- 9: Philip Redmond—Hannah Kimmons
- 11: James Allen—Margaret Fitzgerald
- 13: Alexander Douglass—Margaret Porterfield
Isaac Ashton—Rachel Northrop
- 14: John Even—Elizabeth Few
- 16: John Sandoz—Margaret Arnold
Thomas Butler—Abigail Bane
- 18: Abraham Berry—Mary McCallister
William Morris—Anne Turner
- 19: William Moland—Hannah Noble
- 20: Eli Hibbs—Mary Collum
John Dilworth—Hannah Hunter
- 21: George Kurtz—Mary Pissant
John McFaddon—Mary Caldwell
- 23: William Raddon—Frances Rudy
Gustavus Conyngham—Ann Hockley

- 26: James Craig—Mary Ash
John Fries—Ann Ax
- 27: Joseph Tyson—Elizabeth Robinson
- 30: Robert Binnington—Elizabeth Rambo

November.

- 1: Thomas Hayes—Margaret Summer
- 2: Jacob Bentsen Tested—Catharine Edwards
- 3: John Pemberton—Alice Sutton
Samuel Murray—Barbara Woolman
- 6: Martin Fisher—Catharine Shallus
- 10: Nicholas Smith—Sarah Gabb
John Updike—Rebecka Wharton
Martin Wilson—Elizabeth Bate
- 11: Samuel Crozier—Jane Thomas
- 12: Adam Kein—Catharine Huntsberger
Benjamin Marple—Hannah Dungan
William Ball—Ann Gilbert
- 13: John Lind—Catharine Naglee
Charles Hamilton—Elizabeth Richardson
- 15: Israel Shreve—Mary Cokley
Nathaniel Huddleston—Esther White
- 16: William Wentworth—Lydia Hinton
- 18: Thomas Morrison—Deborah Ward
Isaac Watson—Elizabeth Ballard
Joseph Young—Eleanor Argyle
- 19: Patrick Finney—Frances Cahan
- 24: Jacob Hughes—Ann Lawrence
- 27: Nathaniel Sharpless—Elizabeth Wilkinson
Hugh Smith—Ann Russell
Peter McIntyre—Elizabeth Cunningham
- 29: Edward Moore—Sarah Salisbury
Andrew McGuire—Mary Rogers

December.

- 1: Alexander McCarragher—Mary Pritchard
- 2: Matthew Kennedy—Lucia Long
Benjamin Griffith—Margaret Wilson
- 3: Hugh Quigley—Mary Maddin
Richard Costolo—Alice Swaine
- 6: Benjamin Taylor—Mary Carver
Arthur Kirk—Mary Gillis

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- 7: Daniel Mouse—Mary Gilbert
Thomas Davis—Margaret Davis
- 9: Joseph Power—Ame Coleman
John Johnson—Hannah Mitchell
- 11: Thomas Harrison—Sarah Hutton
William Grantum—Sarah Morton
Aaron Schuyler—Ann Wright
- 13: Abraham Markoe—Elizabeth Baynton
- 14: Laughlan Maclean—Mary Lucas
- 15: William Mintz—Elizabeth Coleman
- 17: Michael Frites—Elizabeth Grover
- 18: Benjamin Eastburn—Margaret Abraham
John Lort—Mary Gilbert
- 24: Samuel Rogers—Mary Kirkbride
- 27: John Burrow—Hannah Meony
David Jones—Lætitia Powel
Ebenezer Massey—Jane Claxton
- 28: Charles Bisey—Elizabeth Krips
- 29: John McFarland—Margaret Remmy

1774.

January.

- 1: Joseph Aberdeen—Susannah Leacock
John Reynolds—Sarah Gardiner
Edward Bell—Ann Phillaby
- 3: John Barrow—Mary Roberts
- 4: David Walton—Rebecka Seckverns
Nathan Jones—Mary Proctor
- 5: John Smith—Cleary Wheeler
- 8: Michael Connor—Mary Cottringer
- 10: William Linn—Rebecka Blair
- 13: Adam Hoovis—Mary James
- 15: Joseph Taylor—Ann Rambo
James Gallagher—Ann Flavahen
- 17: Edmund McVaugh—Elizabeth Taylor
- 18: Finley McDonald—Mary McCullough
- 20: Richard Johnston—Mary Delany
- 22: Edward McKegen—Jane Guy
- 25: Isaac Roach—Martha Schanlan
John Duer Junior—Jane Hollingshead
- 26: James Cabcen—Sarah Bouden
- 29: William Thomas—Mary Morgan

February.

- 1: Thomas Groom—Hannah Duffield
William Green—Elizabeth Stackhouse
- 2: John Steward—Elizabeth Bustard
Benjamin Gibbs—Hannah Shewell
- 9: William Innes—Elizabeth Bullock
- 10: James Shannon—Elizabeth Crawford
- 11: Daniel O'Neal—Elizabeth Welch
- 12: Daniel Fitzpatrick—Catharine Lee
- 14: William Vanderman—Sarah Pyatt
Uriah Norcross—Ann Roswell
Adolph Gillman—Eva Strome
- 16: George Thum—Sarah Peters
- 17: Andrew Kennedy—Elizabeth Potts
Hastings Stackhouse—Margaret Robins
- 18: Henry Baker—Sarah Jones
- 19: Samuel Swift Jun^r—Martha Ashton
John Caldwell—Hannah Akins
Thomas Dowman—Elizabeth Deshler
Henry Gordon—Elizabeth Lacy
Conrod Devetter—Catharine Bakin
- 21: John Mitchell—Hannah Rudolph
- 22: Edward Matthew—Eleanor Thomas
James Ash—Mary Lindsay
- 23: Peter Wells—Margaret Crozius
- 24: William Justice—Mary England
John Baldwin—Jane Farrington
John Butler—Mary McLaughlan
- 26: James Randall—Pleasant Veasy
John Briggs—Charlotte Howell
- 28: Ludowick Ashenfelder—Sarah Schunk
Martin Worknot—Elizabeth Farrell
John Booz—Ann Keller
John Wright—Ann Agnes Carr

March.

- 3: James Rose—Mary Ward
Gabriel Swatzlander—Salome Freed
- 5: William Wilkinson—Hannah Taylor
Matthew Clugston—Elizabeth Anderson
Robert Threlfal—Elizabeth Braithwaite
- 7: Ralph Crumbly—Catharine Van Horn
Tobias Rambo—Margaret Faries

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- 8: John Strimbeck—Elizabeth Groce
- 9: John Knox—Frances Knox
- 10: Benjamin Thomas—Mary Walker
- 15: Francis Roberts—Ann Long
- 17: John Annedown—Susannah Abel
Charles Hamilton—Margaret Mitchell
Joseph Bradford—Sarah Hood
- 19: James Lang—Mary Denny
- 21: Peter Woglom—Jane Fletcher
- 22: Moses Lewis—Elizabeth Owen
Robert Strettell Jones—Ann Shippen
- 23: Daniel Hasty—Mary Hollingsworth
- 24: John Litle—Mary Williams
John Harvey—Sarah Biles
John Jackson Jun^r—Hannah Krewson
Abel Thomas—Elizabeth Roberts
- 26: Thomas Shaw—Elizabeth Miller
John Thompson—Ann Garrett
Simon Vanartsdalen—Joanna Hogeland
William Saunders—Mary Camper
- 28: John Fechter—Catharine Hoffman
- 30: Jonah Thomas—Sarah Freeman
- 31: John Gardner—Mary Scott

April.

- 5: John Shannon—Agnes Dennison
- 6: George Henry—Ann Usher
- 7: Christian Rufcorn—Margaret Jones
James Kaighn—Hannah Mason
- 8: Jacob Baker—Hannah Smith
Daniel Fisher—Margaret Krees
- 9: John Taylor—Margaret Kissler
- 11: Samuel Wallace—Jemima Dean
- 15: William Toy—Mary Fitzsimmons
- 20: Thomas Bower—Sarah Yerkus
Samuel Smith—Judith Millington
- 22: John Fegan—Mary Kanan
- 27: William Corker Cooper—Rebecka Evans
- 28: Benjamin Kelly—Rachel Caldwell
George Bright—Mary Moulder
Thomas Evans—Mary Morris
William Craig—Mary Johns
- 29: Jacob Slack—Elizabeth Straker
- 30: Thurston Brown—Mary Porpus

May.

- 2: Michael Stephens—Deborah Salts
Jesse Sturgus—Hannah Brooks
- 3: Cornelius Hillman—Margaret Robinson
- 4: John Williams—Mary Walters
- 5: Amos Davey—Mary Rowland
John Cartwright—Margaret Yoker
- 8: Robert Lucas—Mary Rowan
- 10: John Bower—Jane Oliver
Godfrey Hamled—Barbara Hartranfft
Isaac Bristol—Mary Jenkins
- 11: William Atkinson—Ann Lawrence
Adam Schneider—Margaret Dederick
Henry Norris—Ann Hill
- 12: John Smith—Jane Smith
Anthony Wilkinson—Deborah Sinclair
Benjamin Boulter—Ann Hamilton
- 18: Benjamin Leigh—Sarah Daily
- 19: Charles Mouse—Mary Saddler
- 24: James Hunter—Mary Stewart
- 25: Alexander Hughes—Margaret Levering
Jesse Coart—Catharine Cane
Edward Tilghman—Elizabeth Chew
James Abraham—Hannah George
- 26: William Ponty—Ann Windkimer
- 27: Abner White—Jane McCrea
John Likens—Ann Torton
- 28: James Jackson—Rebecka Collins
- 31: James Mincuar—Catharine Regan

June.

- 1: James Justice—Hannah Wayne
- 4: Evan Stephens—Jane Griffith
- 6: John Williams—Mary Piper
James Dungan—Catharine Jones
- 7: Isaac Heston—Catharine Clinton
- 9: Henry Burgy—Elizabeth Kreider
Anthony Benezet Jun^r—Catharine Graff
- 10: Samuel Mitchell—Anne Willet
Nicholas Trist—Elizabeth House
- 13: John Brown—Mary Chambers

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- 14: Robert McCrea—Ann Garytie
Stephen Porter—Mary Hart
Abraham Hollis—Martha Richè
- 15: John Bell—Mary McFarlane
- 16: Archibald Galbreath—Mary Galbreath
John Kelly—Rachel Blackledge
James Stuart—Ann Guy
Richard Graham—Mary Douglass
- 18: George Randle—Sarah Brooks
Andrew McGlone—Margaret Browne
- 21: Christopher Baker—Catharine Kreider
- 23: Joseph Elder—Ann Folger
- 25: Abraham Collins—Catharine Cuthbert
- 27: Matthew Henderson—Margaret Erwin
Robert Francis—Margaret Casey
- 29: John Hammer—Catharine Snyder

July.

- 2: John Edwards—Mary Hallowell
- 4: John Cronin—Mary Josset
- 6: John Rasberry—Mary Fox
John Delavan—Barbara Krozer
Dennis Crohan—Margaret Malaby
- 7: Robert Richardson Cross—Mary Wallace
Ralph Smith—Martha Nun
- 11: John Barr—Sarah Thompson
William Harding—Jane Taylor
- 12: David Lowry—Ann Biggs
- 13: John Wallace—Ann Neal
- 14: Edward Hines—Eliz^a Pettit
- 18: William Ledlie—Eliz^a Wood
- 19: Richard Paul—Lydia Duchè
- 25: William McCord—Phœbe Costelow
- 26: William Jennings—Eliz^a McCadames
John Morrison—Hannah Anderson
- 27: Noah Mendenhall—Esther Stanley
Robert Graham—Elizabeth Coxe
- 28: Thomas Dewick—Ann Moore
- 29: James Anderson—Margaret Francis

August.

- 2: John Ute—Elizabeth Groce
James Wills—Hannah Roberts
- 3: David Supplee—Susanna Goodwin

- 4: Michael Gallagher—Mary Brannin
- 6: Ambrose Bartlet—Alice Willard
- 8: Patrick Conlay—Elizabeth Osborne
- 15: Jacob Whiteman—Elizabeth Barge
- 16: John Hugg—Sarah West
- 19: James Dempsey—Mary Russel
- 22: Adam Row—Susanna Welsh
- 23: Frederick Kisselman—Susanna Van Reed
Richard Randle—Mary Reed
Paine Newman—Mary Coates
- 25: Samuel Ford—Margaret Avrin
- 27: Samuel Tingle—Rebecca Bryan
Jacob Le Gay—Sarah Bell
John Motherral—Margaret Cannan
Sampson Clark—Mary Sutton
Maurice Hennessy—Margaret Davenport
- 30: Thomas Magee—Elizabeth Allen
Philip James—Catharine Finnegen
- 31: Thomas Palmer—Susanna Dubre

September.

- 1: Thomas Creagh—Ann Nelson
John Loe—Alice Hall
Samuel Murdoch—Ann Lewis
Alvery Hodgson—Mary Cunningham
- 2: James Ince—Elizabeth Greenway
- 3: Philip Buck—Ann Stamp
George Anderson—Sarah Strong
John Lang—Margaret Jolly
- 5: Esaias Hunt—Elizabeth Stratton
Patrick McFall—Mary Jerman
- 6: Casper Dull—Hannah Matthews
Charles Ferguson Jun^r—Mary Evans
- 7: Robert Cumming—Mary Coates
- 8: John Carey—Catharine Lawrence
Anthony Lowdon—Elizabeth Kearn
John Kille—Mary Cowperthwite
- 12: Joseph Scull—Rebecca Whitman
- 14: John Hensliff—Mary Sterret
- 15: Henry Leary—Mary Clements
Henry Hanvest—Anne Elliot
Abraham Wentz—Sophia Wentz
- 17: Philip Siplay—Micha Ramsen
Henry Esler—Ann Johns

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- 19: Robert Bethell—Elizabeth Rush
Jacob Graff—Mary Shinkle
23: Thomas Duke—Catharine Hartley
Francis Wrigley—Catharine McGrath
25: Abraham Fox—Sophia Wasseman
26: John Supplee—Sarah Thomas
John Pake—Jane Covinger
27: Jeremiah Delany—Sarah Thomas
28: Humphrey Williams—Rebecca Renshaw
29: William Gregory—Mary Fitzgerald

October.

- 4: Phineas Waterman—Mary Johnston
7: Robert Gill—Martha Doyle
Barefoot Brunston—Agnes White
8: John Marriot—Mary Marriot
Richard Davie—Martha Hall
Thomas Tomlinson—Phoebe Carver
Thomas Matthew—Sarah Griffith
12: Joseph Barge—Dorothy Ottinger
Edmund Dare—Hannah Bell
Samuel Lyons—Elizabeth Hough
William Calvely—Elizabeth Reeve
James Clifton—Sarah Harris
Heman Clark—Sarah Mitchell
15: William Moore—Mary Crager
James Crafts—Jemima House
18: Benjamin Marclay—Hannah Wentz
John Byrnes—Elizabeth Furrow
19: Aaron Allison—Elizabeth Phipps
Isaac Williams—Mary Eaton
20: John Dagworthy—Martha Cadwalader
Daniel Morris—Martha Lloyd
22: Daniel Stonemetz—Catharine Plunket
25: John Harper—Margaret Bennet
William Meston—Rebecca Justice
Adam Nees—Catharine Delabar
26: Stephen Morris—Margaret Cox
Robert Walters—Mary McKivvin
27: William Jackson—Mary Appowen
Roger McGeary—Ann Carrol
Jeremiah Dickinson—Sarah Carter
John Knight—Mary Coran
28: William Grey—Ann Guy

- 31: Andrew Stillman—Hannah Bates
Hans Adam Fanlin—Elizabeth Haines

November.

- 2: Mark McCall—Catharine Katter
John Williamson—Mary Williamson
William Little—Hannah Allen
Jacob Williams—Elizabeth Hampton
5: Isaac Tomlen—Ann Waggoner
7: George Mason—Catharine Simpson
8: Simon Ellison—Ann Bevan
10: Thomas Elton—Susanna Wood
John Many—Sarah Lunt
11: Samuel Anderson—Ann Nelson
Thomas Williams—Ann Johnston
14: Thomas Weir—Ann Thompson
15: Samuel Kingsley—Ann Test
Frederick Fogle—Elizabeth Kupin
16: Henry Stoop—Susanna George
18: John Bellinger—Hannah Bonsall
Henry O'Neill—Ann Campbell
19: Norris Copper—Elizabeth Claypoole
Adam Depperwin—Elizabeth Swaine
21: Philip Miller—Effy Bryan
David Murdoch—Mary Lusher
22: Thomas Pugh—Elizabeth Tresse
23: John Cullam—Elizabeth Peeling
John Bell—Ann McGinnis
24: Barnabas McMahon—Ann Callahan
Isaac Githin—Elizabeth Boggs
26: John Brice—Sarah Barnet
Josiah Mouser—Mercy Lynn
Robert McFarland—Margery Harris
29: Alexander Blair—Rachel Carson
William Hamble—Susanna Dunwody
30: James McCay—Mary Hingary
John Patterson—Ann Anderson
*Samuel Fairlamb—Hannah Richardson

December.

- 1: Robert Martin—Rachel James
Thomas Budd—Susanna Coburn

* Note this license was issued 20th November 1773.

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- 2: William Knowles—Mary Anderson
- 3: Ezekiel Abbot—Elizabeth Williams
Joshua North—Margaret Means
Balthazar Emrick—Mary Reese
- 5: Martin Magraw—Elizabeth Ware
- 6: James King—Margaret Shannon
James Baker—Mary White
Philip Gill—Mary Quirk
John Harr—Elizabeth Maddox
Thomas Wharton Jun^r—Elizabeth Fishbourne
- 7: Conrad Hooper—Eleanor Erwin
- 8: Patrick Duffy—Margaret Miller
Alexander Adamson—Mary Groce
- 9: Griffith Jones—Rebecca Morgan
- 10: Nicholas Scull—Ann Townsend
- 12: Edward Stone—Dorothy Chilcot
- 14: James Merchant—Eleanor Gready
- 15: Richard Pearce—Mary Kite
Peter Deshung—Susanna Gillman
John Earle—Martha Dolby
Martin Worknot—Catharine Lutsen
William Fling—Sarah Vaughan
- 19: Lawrence Mahon—Elizabeth Rossel
John McDunnough—Mary Sands
- 20: James Buckley—Mary Campbell
Baltzer Foggs—Mary Fennikle
Isaac Oakman—Elizabeth Allen
Stephen Decator—Ann Peni
- 21: Thomas Coxe—Ann Peterson
Joseph Wright—Martha Stots
Thomas Adair—Eleanor Jones
- 22: Thomas Davison—Ann Read
Thomas Gerin—Mary Smith
- 24: George Newell—Esther Blackledge
- 26: Michael Loots—Susanna Young
Daniel Mackey—Hannah Cracker
Daniel Carsner—Barbara Ash
- 27: Edward Green—Ann Stephenson
- 29: John Saltar—Elizabeth Gordon
Joseph Ashton—Lætitia Cooper
- 31: Thomas McMinn—Mary Black

(To be continued.)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ON
THE ISSUES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE PENNSYLVANIA
ASSEMBLY, 1776-1790.

BY AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER.

Pennsylvania changed its form of government in 1776, as did most of the other colonies when they became States. The Constitution of 1776 provided for its government until 1790, and under it, the General Assembly, consisting of only one house, was the legislative body, with all the safeguards of liberty that the framers could think of. Included was the publicity of the processes of legislation. The doors of the Assembly were always to be open; the votes were to be printed weekly, with the ayes and nays when two members requested it; all bills of a public nature were to be printed before final action with their reasons clearly expressed in the preamble; the printing presses were to be free to every person who undertook to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any part of the government.

The Assembly faithfully carried out the provisions of the Constitution, not only without question but with great eagerness, as they fitted in with the democratic ideas which prevailed in the legislature during most of that period. The printing press was used to keep the public (albeit a limited public) informed of the progress of legislation. Of the bills there are but few to be found anywhere, of the statutes there are complete collections. It is of the remaining class, the printed minutes, that I wish to speak especially.

From 1776 to 1781 the Assembly authorized the printing of the minutes at the close of each session. In the fifth Assembly, April 2, 1781, it was resolved that

the minutes should be collected and published in one volume, and that Michael Hillegas, who is remembered as the first treasurer of the United States, should do the work. Hillegas proceeded to the task, and in 1782 published "*Journals of the Assembly*," Vol. I, covering the years 1776-1781, that is, the first five assemblies, but including also the minutes of the three bodies concerned in the formation of the Constitution,—the Provincial Convention of 1775, the Conference of Committees 1776, and the Constitutional Convention 1776. Also included were the Declaration of Independence, the Pennsylvania Constitution, and the Articles of Confederation; so that, perhaps with a realization of the importance of the events they had been participants in, the Pennsylvania political leaders had provided an adequate record. Hillegas did the work well, and the volume has proved a mine of information for the constitutional, political, and social history of the period. The exact number of copies is not known, for the Assembly agreed to buy 200 copies, but Hillegas had the right to print more and to sell them. On account of its size (folio) and importance, a good many have been preserved and are in the principal libraries of the country. Occasionally one appears at auction, or in a dealer's hands. As it happened, two copies were offered last fall, one at \$40, the other at \$135. It may be of interest to note that at the same time Thomas McKean was authorized to issue an edition of the laws, of which the Assembly agreed to buy 500 copies.

Hillegas's volume was marked Vol. I, as though it was his expectation and that of the legislators that the work would continue. The Library of Congress, after its usual careful search, decided there were no more published, and so marked on its catalog card. Miss Hasse in her Index, the Harvard College, and University of Chicago catalog cards, all so indicate. But Sabin (60261) notes the minutes for the first session of the

sixth Assembly (1781) and says "continued to 1790." He does not state that he found a copy in any library. Evans notes the Minutes of the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Assemblies (1782-6) but does not record them in any library. Bowker in his *State Publications*, Part II (1902), gives more definite and accurate information: "Minutes of the 6th-14th General Assembly 1781/2-1789/90. 10v. Fo. Note, 9th General Assembly in 2v."

It is true that there were no more collected volumes, but Sabin, Bowker, and Evans are correct in intimating that the publication of the minutes did not cease. Whether either editor saw copies or not I do not know, but in an effort to find them I have investigated twenty of the most likely American libraries to no avail. I knew a long time ago that the material in the minutes was interesting and extremely valuable, for I found in several of the Philadelphia newspapers, *e.g.* Carey's *Herald* and Hall and Sellers's *Gazette*, the minutes published week by week, but as the Assembly made history faster than the newspapers could publish it, they gradually fell behind in their reports, and gave it up. Evidently the newspapers reported from the minute book the clerk kept, the same book as was supposed to be published weekly, and as to the latter of which complaint was openly made in Assembly, Nov. 20, 1789.

The question arises as to why these published minutes have disappeared, but like every other point of history during the nine years, 1781-90, practically the only information is to be found in the minutes themselves. It is fortunate, therefore, that this information has been preserved in one collected set of the minutes and that it is available to investigators. That set is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and it seemed so natural that it should be there as a complement to Vol. I, that the fact of its extreme rarity and probably unique character has not been realized. In addition, the fact that most use has been made of it by historical

investigators in and around Philadelphia, has also tended to keep its rarity from being known. Among these are Prof. W. Roy Smith of Bryn Mawr; B. E. Konkle, for his "Life of Thomas Smith;" and Prof. C. H. Van Tyne of Michigan when a student at the University of Pennsylvania. The set consists of the separate issues bound together in three handsome folio volumes. It is marked with the name of Francis Hopkinson, followed by that of John Hopkinson. It has been in the Library since 1870 when it was presented by John Jordan, Jr., vice-president of the society. His nephew, John Woolf Jordan, the present librarian, remembers nothing further as to whether his uncle collected the separate issues and had them bound, or whether he secured them in the form they are now.

The curious thing about the numbering of the pages is that the sixth Assembly, November, 1781, starts with page 497. This would seem to indicate that it was meant to be a continuation of Hillegas's work, but as Hillegas's Vol. I did not appear until after the first session of the sixth Assembly was over in December, 1781, and as Vol. I contains 698 pages, it is evident that the numbering went on continuously from the separate publications of the first five assemblies. This pagination continued until the end of the seventh Assembly, page 968, when the numbering started over again, and after that commenced anew with each Assembly. The set is not quite complete, there being a gap of twenty pages in one place.

From the minutes it is possible to find what was the plan of procedure of the Assembly. It seems that at the beginning of each Assembly, about November of each year, various printers petitioned to be appointed printers to the Assembly. The petitions were usually referred to a committee, and after two or three weeks their report was heard and the House proceeded to an election. During the years 1781-90, J. Dunlap (1781-

3), Francis Bailey (1784-5) and Hall and Sellers (1783-4, 1786-90) received the contract award for the minutes. In the same time various other printers received contracts for the laws, for the bills, and for the German printing. The awards sometimes went according to the politics of the printer, in which event Hall and Sellers, the printers of the *Gazette*, and Franklin's successors, were generally least partisan and most likely to be in favor with both parties which in those years were beginning to become organized political entities with gradually increasing realization of the extent to which partisan politics could go.

Sometimes the number of copies of the laws to be printed was mentioned (500 or 600), but never the number of copies of minutes. It is almost impossible also to make any relative calculation from the amounts paid to the different printers for the different kinds of work, as to how many copies the printer issued. A better record, at least for the minimum number, can probably be obtained by considering those who were likely to receive copies. There were 72 members of Assembly, and 12 to 20 members of the Executive Council. There were a half dozen, at least, delegates in Congress, a score of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, which was the creation of the Constitutionals and favored by them when they were in power, three or four judges of the Supreme Court, a dozen more state officials, possibly the judges and prothonotaries of the County Courts, the registers, recorders, sheriffs, and coroners, possibly the dozen newspapers, possibly the forty or fifty members of Congress when it sat in Philadelphia, a dozen Congressional Committeemen or officials. All of these are noted as worthy of the Assembly's attention at one time or another, so that certainly not less than 200 copies would be needed. As the minutes were not as much needed as the laws, probably less than the five or six hundred copies of the laws would be printed.

If then out of the 200, to give the least number of copies printed, there is to be found but one full set (itself imperfect) and no copies of parts, there is evidence of destruction of valuable papers here seen, such as every one who follows the subject knows of in a general way, but which a specific example like this tends to make more vivid. The knowledge of the extreme rarity of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's set will cause that to be preserved more carefully.

OLD LAND DEEDS.

BY GILBERT S. WALKER.

Genealogists seem to neglect the real estate records that are so carefully preserved in the court house of every county throughout the country, and should be reminded of the large amount of family history they contain. It has been the writer's experience that these records give much better genealogical data than do wills for the tracing of ancestors and relatives. Wills when found do not always give good results. Present day wills devise at least a small amount to every heir, but the old ones did not do so, and frequently one or more of the heirs were not even mentioned in the will. The relationship between the legatees and the devisor was seldom stated clearly. As a consequence brothers and nephews may be mistaken for sons, sisters-in-law and daughters-in-law may be mistaken for unmarried daughters, married daughters may be unidentifiable, and mere friends or servants may be mistaken for married daughters or sons-in-law. Again the legatees may be mentioned by their first names only and the chances for these mistakes are then much greater.

The search for the will is also apt to be difficult because the older records are not always kept in good shape and are not always easily accessible. The indexes may be scattered and when found they usually give only the name of the deceased person and no names of heirs. Thus if one is searching for the parents of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Smith, the prospects of success are very poor.

The ancestor may not have made a will, and even though you find a record of the administration of the estate, the chances are that the names of the heirs are

not recorded. Even when a will was left, it may not have been recorded. Our ancestors, before the civil war, seem to have shunned the probate courts. Sometimes all the heirs consented to the terms of the will or reached a mutually satisfactory agreement. The court was then avoided by all signing a joint bill of sale for the personal property and a joint deed for the real estate.

Joint deeds of this sort are invaluable to the genealogist and should always be looked for. They of necessity give the full name and exact relationship of every living heir, and also of every husband or wife of an heir. The place of residence of each heir is usually stated or it can be inferred from the notary's certificate or witnesses to the signatures. All of this makes a family history about as complete as could be desired.

Even ordinary deeds are worth looking up, for real estate transactions between relatives were much more frequent then than they are now. The witnesses were often relatives too. At any rate it always shows whether or not the grantor had a wife living at the time, for she would have to sign it too.

The books in which these deeds are transcribed are always in good condition and readily accessible. Even the oldest of them are in constant use by title searchers and you are usually at liberty to walk in and search them to your heart's content, although the attendant will assist you when you ask him to. The ladies need not hesitate to invade the court house for many title abstract firms have girls making their searches and you will not attract undue notice.

The indexes are in separate books and usually are absolutely complete, containing the name of every person mentioned in every deed from the time the county was founded down to date. There are four sets of indexes to be examined, grantors, grantees, mortgagors and mortgagees.

Compared with the ordinary kind of indexes used in printed books, the deed indexes of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, are so surprisingly convenient that a description will be instructive and interesting. The names are first classified by the initial letter of the last name. There are 26 or more index books in each set, one or more books for each letter of the alphabet. The alphabetical arrangement does not extend to the remaining letters of the spelling of the last name. But each book is divided into 26 sections, one section for each initial letter of the first name. Alexander Smith will be found in section A of Book S. Each section of each book is subdivided by certain key letters in the last name, all vowels being neglected, as well as such consonants as are liable to be changed on account of their similarity of appearance in script or their sound. The names are then classified by the remaining or so-called key letters of the last name. The result is that all similar names are brought together regardless of bad spelling or illegible writing. Alexander Smith will be found at once even if it was spelled Schmidt or written so badly that it was transcribed as Samett. There are also a few pages of secondary index in each index book giving all the pages of the main index on which the desired name appears. Of course if you do not know the first name you may have to turn to several different pages of the main index, perhaps 26 different pages if the name is very common, but even then it will be found much quicker than in the old style index.

On the summer vacation, a day's stopover at the county seat of the old home would be an interesting diversion. You may not find just what you most particularly want to find, but are sure to bring away some new information about your ancestors.

EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN
OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
FOR THE YEAR 1916.

The accessions to the Library and Collections by gift and purchase have been as follows:

1244 Books
5125 Pamphlets,
38,512 Manuscripts,
39 Maps and Charts,
2315 Miscellaneous.

To the *Dreer Collection* have been added 116 manuscripts.

Through the *Lanier Bequest* for the purchase of North Carolina publications and manuscripts there have been added 46 books, 25 pamphlets, 1 map.

To the *Gilpin Library* have been added 1 book, 1 pamphlet.

Through the *Charles L. Lamberton Bequest* for the purchase of Scotch-Irish publications have been added 7 books, 2 pamphlets.

From *The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* have been received the following manuscript records:

Minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, Vol. 2, 1707-1730.

Dotterer Papers, 10 volumes.

Records of Exeter, Berks County, Penna., Monthly Meeting, 1737-1870.

Tibballs's Account Book.

Troth Papers, 3 volumes.

Gloucester County, N. J., Marriages, 1795-1907, 5 volumes.

Salem County, N. J., Ear Marks, 1707-1837.

Records of Piles, or Pittsgrove Presbyterian Church,
Salem County, N. J., 1741-1869.

Record Book of the First Presbyterian Church,
Elizabeth, N. J., 1668-1916.

Atlantic County, N. J., Marriages.

St. Mary's Church, Warwick, Chester Co., Pa., 1806-
1890.

Gloucester County, N. J., Ear Marks, 1686-1776.

Stump-Levering-Barratt Genealogy.

Deborah Scudder Hart Genealogy.

In the *Manuscript Division* 96 volumes were arranged and bound; 11,434 manuscripts were repaired, mounted, etc.; 104 diplomas, pictures, maps, etc., were repaired and mounted; 201 books were repaired or prepared for binding.

The following accessions are deserving of special mention:

265 manuscripts to be added to the Gratz Papers, presented by Simon Gratz.

61 manuscripts, relating to the Fries Rebellion, presented by William Macpherson Hornor.

9 books, 108 pamphlets, 652 manuscripts, 3 maps, from the Estate of Henry E. Busch.

Manuscript Account Book of Caspar Wistar (1696-1752), 1741-1769, presented by John M. Whitall, Mrs. Walter Norduff, John Shober Kimber and Mrs. William B. Buffum.

24 manuscripts, letters to Thomas Wistar and other Wistar manuscripts, presented by Mrs. Charles Carter Walbridge.

48 photographs of Civil War Officers and scenes, etc., presented by Levi Teal.

A set of 75 engravings of Civil War Generals and other Officers, presented by Miss M. D. Purves.

85 letters, correspondence of the Wharton School Alumni Association, presented by Miers Busch.

Oil painting of Bron Fadog, the birthplace in Wales of Dr. Thomas Wynne, purchased by the Library Fund.

Oil portrait of General Louis Henry Carpenter, by Carl J. Becker, six volumes of Military Papers of General Carpenter and two volumes of letters from General Carpenter, from the Army, 1861-1864. Bequest of General Louis Henry Carpenter.

57 books, 2 pamphlets, purchased by the Elise Willing Balch Fund.

2 manuscript volumes of copies of correspondence between Benjamin Franklin and James Parker, 1747-1773, from manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society, presented by Miss Sarah Cresson.

Oil portrait of Isaac Lea, by F. F. de Crano, presented by the Franklin Fire Insurance Company.

198 books (72 being manuscript copies and notes of vital records in New England), 365 pamphlets, presented in memory of Charles Field Haseltine, by his daughter, Mrs. A. C. Valentine.

12 books, 10 pamphlets, 1017 manuscripts, 85 miscellaneous photographs, broadsides, etc., Carpenter Papers, presented by Captain Edward Carpenter, U. S. A.

Marriage Docket of Edward D. Corfield, 1814-1839, presented by Samuel Castner, Jr.

The Morris Family Bible, a Gold Coin (Johannes), one of those presented by Thomas Coates in 1719 to his children, with the injunction that they should never part with them unless they needed bread, Miniature of Isaac W. Morris, 1770-1831, by Field in 1798, bequest of John T. Morris.

A pair of silver shoe buckles, worn by Elizabeth Paschall at her marriage to Joseph Paschall, 1721, a china tea set consisting of 9 pieces, a pitcher with silver handle, knife and fork with onyx handle, owned by Thomas Chalkley, 1624-1723, a silver ladle, owned by Martha (Chalkley) James, 1776, and by her great-

granddaughter, Lydia T. Morris, 1876, embroidered satin work-bag and 2 pincushions, made by the Sisters at Bethlehem, Penna., mahogany caster, silver mounted, owned by Governor Thomas Mifflin, knife and fork, owned by Lydia Poultney before her marriage, 1809, oyster knife owned by Captain Samuel Morris, presented by Miss Lydia T. Morris.

116 manuscripts, letters and copies of letters to John Keating, presented by J. Percy Keating.

5 manuscripts; an Indenture, William Penn to William Thrattle, July 25, 1682; Letter of Attorney of Thomas Milner to Samuel Cartt, February 22, 1698; Release, John Warder to John Knight, February 5, 1716; Indenture, John Warder, Trustee, to Thomas Howard, May 1, 1746; Certificate of Marriage of Robert Sealey and Jane Duckett, April 3, 1717, presented by Barry Bulkley, of Washington, D. C.

4 books, 111 pamphlets, presented by A. Judson Still.

List of Marriages and Deaths in New Jersey Papers, of Gloucester County, N. J., 1819-1829, presented by Mrs. G. H. Smitheman, Jr.

22 books, 22 pamphlets, 21 manuscripts, 10 genealogical charts, presented by Joseph T. Richards.

48 books, presented by Miss Frances A. Roberts and the late Miss Elizabeth C. Roberts.

394 manuscripts, consisting of 89 letters of William Hamilton, 1784-1804, deeds, leases, wills, etc., relating to the estate of Andrew Hamilton, from the estate of Dr. George Smith, received through Benjamin H. Smith, Executor.

6 manuscripts, presented by William A. Lewis.

Shoemaker Papers, 4 volumes, Rawle Papers, 6 volumes, Abstract of the General Title to the Penn Proprietary Estate, Adjutant's Regimental Journal of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, 1862-1865, "The Cavalry Fight on the Right Flank at Gettysburg," 4 volumes, large paper copy of Binney's "Leaders of the Old Bar

of Philadelphia," with illustrations for extra illustrating the same, deposited in 1908 and 1912 by the late William Brooke Rawle, to become the property of the Society at his death.

Correspondence, notices, circulars, etc., of the Junior Legal Club and the Legal Club, 1870-1915, mounted and bound in three volumes, from the Estate of William Brooke Rawle.

Manuscript list of Soldiers from Pennsylvania in the Hospitals during the Civil War, 4 volumes and index, deposited by the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Christian Association, December 17, 1879, and presented to the Society by the Board of Managers, June 7, 1916.

Sanitary Fair material, collected by the late Horace Howard Furness, consisting of 14 books, 141 pamphlets, 1963 manuscripts, 2 maps, 394 photographs of members of the Committees, badges, tickets, etc., presented by Fairman Rogers Furness and Mrs. Wirt L. Thompson.

Oil portrait of William Brooke Rawle; artist, Hugh H. Breckinridge; presented by Mrs. William Brooke Rawle.

5 manuscript account books, 40 manuscripts, 3 maps, relating to the Ball Estate, presented by Herbert Du Puy.

Minute book of the Athenian Institute, 1837-1846, presented by Albanus L. Smith.

Philadelphia Real Estate Notes, made by Daniel Smith Merritt, M.D., presented by Mrs. Daniel Smith Merritt.

Oil portrait of Granville Penn, grandson of William Penn, artist, R. McInnes; oil portrait of Hannah Cal-lowhill, second wife of William Penn, artist unknown; reproduction of an engraving of Gulielma Maria Penn, first wife of William Penn, purchased by the Society at the Head Sale of Penn relics in London, in July.

271 manuscripts, genealogical notes of Harry Shel-

mire Hopper, to be added to the Harry S. Hopper collection of genealogical manuscripts, presented by the Estate of Harry Shelmire Hopper.

A drum carried by Edward M. Painter during the Civil War, presented by Miss Regina C. Painter.

11 Diplomas and Certificates of Rev. Samuel Brown Wylie, D. D., Rev. Theodore W. J. Wylie, D. D., and Samuel Brown Wylie, presented by Miss J. C. Wylie.

113 pamphlets, reports, magazines, etc., presented by Mrs. Thomas Scattergood.

42 books, 139 pamphlets, 5 manuscripts, 698 post-card views, mainly local, presented by Mrs. Edward Russell Jones in memory of her husband.

148 photographs, an addition to the Cox-Parrish-Wharton Collection, presented by Miss Susan P. Wharton.

Oil portraits of Gouverneur Morris and Mrs. William Meredith; artist, Thomas Sully; presented by Misses Catharine M. and Sarah C. Biddle.

35 books from the Estate of Mrs. John B. Gest.

Valuable donations to the Library and Collections have also been made by the following members and friends of the Society:

Louis Ashbrook,	Hon. George W. Edmonds,
Charles H. Browning,	Miss M. E. Elliott,
Thomas Willing Balch,	Albert J. Edmunds,
Hon. Norris S. Barratt,	Mantle Fielding,
Hon. James M. Beck,	George R. Frysinger,
Misses Bell,	Miss Alice Gilpin,
William Vincent Byars,	Col. H. H. Humphreys,
Augustus R. Beck,	Mrs. Thomas R. Harper,
Henry Paul Busch,	Prof. Charles F. Himes,
Hon. Hampton L. Carson,	Augustus G. Heaton,
Mrs. Hampton L. Carson,	John J. L. Houston,
Miss Anne H. Cresson,	John W. Jordan,
Miss Josephine Carr,	Dr. Ewing Jordan,
Gen. Charles L. Davis,	E. Russell Jones,

Joseph Jackson,
Gregory B. Keen,
Dr. Henry Leffmann,
Lewis Historical Publishing Company,
William W. Longstreth,
Mrs. A. H. Lane,
Hon. Charles I. Landis,
John F. Lewis,
Dr. E. M. H. Moore,
Francis V. Morrell,
Effingham B. Morris,
Hon. Thomas L. Montgomery,
Hon. John B. McPherson,
Clarence B. Moore,
Miss E. E. Massey,
Dr. J. Ewing Mears,
Col. John P. Nicholson,
J. Lee Patton,
Charles Penrose Perkins,
Sir Gilbert Parker,
Mrs. Harry Rogers,
Dr. Edgar F. Smith,

Frank H. Stewart,
Walter George Smith,
Mrs. Cooper Smith,
Mrs. John Scott, Jr.,
Mrs. John Scollay,
Rev. John Baer Stoudt,
Henry W. Shoemaker,
Edwin Jaquett Sellers,
Mrs. James M. Swank,
Horace Wells Sellers,
Prof. Wilbur H. Siebert,
Hon. Charlemagne Tower,
Miss Mary M. Townsend,
Francis B. Taylor,
Mrs. W. A. Ulmer,
Dr. C. H. Vinton,
Clinton Rogers Woodruff,
Miss Juliana Wood,
Samuel Wagner, Jr.,
Ethan Allen Weaver,
Rodman Wanamaker,
Dr. J. Francis Walsh,
William F. Yarnall.

JOHN W. JORDAN,
Librarian.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF MAYOR JOHN BARKER TO THOMAS CUMPSTON. [*Ms. Divis. Hist. Soc. of Penna. Dreer Coll.*]

The Mayor of the City, with his best respects to M^r Cumpston, requests him to have the Bells of Christ Church rung, in consequence of the Victory obtained by Cap^t Bainbridge, of the U. S. Frigate Constitution, over his B. M. Frigate Java, on 29th Dec^r last.

I will defray the Expenses of the same.

John Barker, Mayor.

Philad^a Feb^y 16, 1813.

Thomas Cumpston, Esq^r

A TORY LETTER.—We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Frederick Bostwick, Librarian of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, for the following copy of a letter in their collection, addressed "To the Clark of the Philadelphia Meetings, to be opened and read in the meeting":

Gentlemen:

Philadelphians, I hope that it wont Distorbe your Principle of love, for me to ask some questions. How do we know that the bottom of the great commotion that has been in Amarica was not to try the King's stringth, in finding who is his friends and discover his enemies. Would any of you, take it well of your good friend if he should take up arms against you, because some body told him that you had a desine against him.

How can we blame the King so highly for blocking up Boston, and so highly extoll the Congress for stoping the trade of all the other governments on the continent, if the King deserved to be beheaded, for puting poor people out of their business in order to try the government of his subjects. How can it be right for the Congress to destress tene thosens of poor people to gratify their own pride. If a King cant be jestified in destressing one thousen how can the Congress be jestified for destressing tene thousens.

How can it be jest in me to hurt and destress my brothers to bring my father into a compliace with my will and humer. How do we know that the bottom of all this bushel is not to find out the King's strength; for will a man of a sudden proclame war against his King and supream protector under God, without the strong eavidence that his King is become his avow'd Enemy, and whare is there any shuch eavidence against our King. How do we know that there is some men behind the bush, that understands all the bisines, and like it well to fish in such troubled warters.

How do we know there is not a set of men among us that is sworn to secrecy, and how do we know but that there bisness to find out all the heads of this unnatural Rebellion, and to carie their names home; and how can they think they or we shall fare beter than we should have done if we had not meddl'd with strife that did not belong to us; the wise man says, he that meddles with strife not belonging to him is like one that takes a dog by the ears; where shall we find any pretext

in Holy Writ, to justify the conduct of America for Liberty as the cry is now a days; if we are afraid of Arbitrary power why do our towns choose arbitrary committees: are not committees chosen to search their neighbors houses, without Law of God or man, Arbitrary; again are not some of the resolves of the Congress arbitrary, for such as refuse to come into their plan, is to Advertised, and thenceforward he is to accounted an Enemy to his Country, must every man think as the Congress does, or be accounted an Enemy to his Country; it is said that charity must begin at home; but must it begin so strong that we have none for the King and Authority on the other side of the Atlantick; dont we read in that almost for got law Book: that Charity is kind, and suffers long; dont our Sabour tell us that when we are smitten on the one cheek to turn the other also; and dont he say that whatsoever that we would that men should do to us so we should do to them; but where dose he tell us, to drink Damnation to our enemies; dont he tell us to bless and curse not, and what soever we do, do all for the glory of God; do you think that the tumult of America has been for the glory of God; is liberty poles, mobs, riots and Drinking Damnation the Lord North and General Gage for the glory of God; dont gods word tell us if our ways please the Lord, he will make our enemies to be at peace with us: but who thinks that mobs and riots will please the Lord; dont we bring on our selves great troubles by our amazing folly and stupidity:

Heant we a clear call to apeal from all Congresses and Inspecting Committees, to our holson laws and Courts of justice, for there we can have our cases tryed in a lawful Assembly; Shall we be so stupid as not to pray to God to be delever'd from all arbitaria Congress Schemes, and strength to relie solely on the courts of justice: as being the apynted means whareby we are to expect to have justice done us;

I should be glad, gentlemen, if you can think it worth while to send me a canded anser to the above questions; I am gentlemen, your sencear, Homble, well wisher.

March ye 16th, A. 1775.

Elon Andrews.

LETTER OF HON. GEORGE JAFFREY TO REV. DR. WHEELOCK, PRESIDENT OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 1777.

Reverend Sir

This goes by my Kinsman G. Peirce, who would have returned to the College at the End of the Vacation but the Apprehensions of danger from an Enemy, in a tender Parent, from the various reports had here, excited such fears as prevented his Return till this time as the delay cannot be imputed to the Bearer who was desirous of attending his study at the College, as early as might be, I hope you will excuse his absence, which is his loss, and I hope no Inconvenience in any other Respect.

It is with no small Concern I see the representation of Doct^r Pomroy & Col. Payne of May 24th of the Injuries done to the College & Corporation, by the Selectmen of Hannover—every Circumstance I am Sensible, must affect you grievously, from your known Zeal and Indefatigable Application to promote the Honour Dignity and Welfare of the College in every Respect, which is bro't to its Respectable State by your means. It is difficult for me to conceive what the College has Suffered by the general Representation of May 24th, and was very Sorry I could not have attended the last meeting, & much more, at y^e next adjournment, being providentially prevented by a Rheumatick disorder preventing my travelling on horseback, but if y^e Roads were not so bad by neglect of repairs for a few years past, as to render them impassable with a Chaise (notwithstanding any domestick Inconvenience) I would attend at y^e Adjournment, which would give me great pleasure, and if I thought my disorder was not temporary and would be a further hinderance to

my attending at another time, I would resign my place, that no Inconvenience should accrue by my want of Attendance.

I hope the Injuries complained of do not continue, and that in a short time, some alteration will take place in the whole Country, whereby prevailing Evils may be prevented and remedied at the College, as also in other Places.

I have tried your patience in reading this Epistle, but beg leave to add my Request, That if it be not inconvenient, you would admitt my Kinsman a boarder at your house, this year or so long as may be agreeable—and conclude with wishing you all needfull Support under all trials & Difficulties you meet with in the burthensome affairs of the College and that you may accomplish them to your Satisfaction.

I am with much Respect

Your most obed^t Serv^t

Geo. Jaffrey

Portsm^o October 8th 1777.

LETTER OF COL. R. SALTONSTALL TO HON. RICHARD WALDRON, 1745.

Sir

I wish I could confirm the Report you have had relateing to Fort Dummer and the New Towns but I can't Learn fr^o the Cabbinet that there is any thing to ground it on. Perhaps a late piece of Advise fr^o Mr. Sharp concern^s the Road Island Controversy wherein He informs Us of the very great improbability of their Success in respect of their Claim of Jurisdiction may have given rise to what you mention. It is thought Gov^r Shirly will make a Point of it That Fort D— shall be deliv'd up to Us unless yo^r Govm^t refund Ours All the Expense of Support^s it so long.

Don diego has wrote the Gov^r very insolently on the affair of that Guarison. I hope 'twont soon be forgot here. I hear little of Gov^r Belcher sav^s that his Enemies here are much Chagrin'd that the Gen^l shou'd Inclose to Him his Letter to the Duke of New C— relat^s to the Reduction of Louisburg. One of Our New Captains says He heard in London that Mr. Belcher has refus^d the Govm^t of Bermudas; that He dresses gay but looks thin and is Courting a Lady of Fortune. I have heard nothing of Cap^t Sturk. Ms^{rs} Hubbard of Bristoll and Lynde of Salem were last fryday Appointed to fill the Vacaneys in Our Court. The Gen^l Court are doing just Nothing at All.

I am

Yo^r very Humb. Serv^t

Boston Jan^r 27th 1745.

R. Saltonstall.

I have nothing to add but that my poor Son has laid this 3 Weeks very dangerously Sick of a Slow fever.

Feb. 3^d.

Reply of Hon. R. Waldron.

Sir

I thank y^e for y^r Favour by y^e post, am exceeding Sorry for the Indisposition of y^r Son, and heartily pray God y^t his Health may be restored & y^t he may long live to be an Honour to y^r Name & Family. I supposed that y^e Story I heard might probably spring from road Island. I am told there is a Map of the Way in which Travellers generally pass between Albany and Montreal with the Courses and Distances; if it be so is it possible to obtain a Copy of it? if by your Interest I could obtain one, it would exceedingly oblige me and I would gladly pay the Charge. I observe you say your Assembly are doing just nothing at all which I construe nothing at all to be Spoken of for we have advice a thousand ways they have been on a Secret affair Many Days and one of the Members told me this week, that if there had been any Secrets under Consideration it was a Secret still—the general Opinion this way is, that an Expedition is forming agst Crown Point, if

it be so I should like very kindly to know from you how the Scheme is laid as soon as it becomes public, and whether this Govern^t is to be invited to take part in y^e Expedition, and if not, whether you think my Son might obtain a Commission from Gov. Shirly provided he can raise a Comp^y here to be aggregated to a Mass. regm^t—he seems to be pretty much inclined to another Campaign in Case he should like the projection, & from y^e Character obtained at Cape Breton I am almost inclined to think he would be able to raise as good a Company of Volunteers in these parts (and as soon) as any Man in y^e province. I have had Intimations from Several that G—r Sh—ly intends to take no more Notice of our Diego, in any future Enterprises. [Not signed.]

THE PHILADELPHIA ARCADE.

For about half a century the Arcade, which stood on the north side of Chestnut street between Sixth and Seventh streets, was one of the notable buildings of the city, with its museum, stores and gallery of paintings originally collected by the artist, Charles Willson Peale. On May 3, 1826, the corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies, and from the address of Peter A. Browne, Esq., made on the occasion, we learn much interesting data relating to the enterprise and a description of the building to be erected.

The following were deposited in the corner-stone: A box containing the coins of the United States; the articles of subscription and list of the original subscribers; a roll containing engraved likenesses of John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, and John A. Shulze, Governor of Pennsylvania; in another package inclosing the different newspapers of the day was the following record: "Philadelphia, May the third Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, and in the fiftieth year of the American Independence, at 5 o'clock P. M. this corner-stone of the Philadelphia Arcade, being the first building of the kind erected in the United States, was lain in due form by John Haviland, Architect, in presence of the managers and stockholders of the Institution and a large assemblage of respectable citizens."

Managers—Thos. Cadwalader, John R. Coxe, E. S. Burd, William Davidson, William Boyd, Jas. M. Linnard, Levi Ellmaker, Josiah Randall, John Y. Clark, Cornelius Stevenson, James Burke, Thomas Sparks.

Building Committee—Thomas Sparks, Cornelius Stevenson, James M. Linnard.

Contractors—John Haviland, Peter A. Browne.

Architect—John Haviland.

Stone Cutters—Elias Brown, William Black, William Morrison, William Brown.

Carpenter—James Clark.

Bricklayer—John Toy.

Mason—William Ingram.

Following the ceremonies an address was made by Peter A. Browne, Esq., from which the following extracts are taken.

"You are assembled to witness the laying of the corner-stone of the Philadelphia Arcade, a public building of a kind very common in Europe, but never before attempted in the United States. An arcade in architecture signifies a combination of arches, and this building will be emphatically entitled to the appellation, for it will not only contain its hundred stores under the same vaulted roof, but the floors of its different stores will be supported in the same substantial manner. The lot on which we stand and which is destined to be ornamented by this beautiful superstructure is about 109 feet in width on Chestnut street and in depth 150 feet, directly opposite to Decatur street, which furnishes a wide thoroughfare to High [Market] street, the most eligible site that could have been selected for its purposes.

"I have been informed that the northern part of the building, which has recently been taken down, was of great antiquity. There are in this assemblage gentlemen who recollect it 50 or 60 years ago, when occupied by Dr. Græme, who occupied it to his death. Soon after his death it was purchased by the late John Dickinson, Esq., author of the *Farmers' Letters*. About 1774 Mr. Dickinson took down part of the old building and erected a new one in front. In the winter of 1776-77, being still unfinished, it was used as an hospital for the sick and wounded soldiers of the Revolution. It was afterward occupied by the first and second French Ministers, Mons. Gerard and the Chev. de la Luzerne; the latter gentleman erected a wooden building on the east of the dwelling house in which he celebrated with great pomp and splendor the birth of the Dauphin, son of Louis XVI. Dickinson sold the house, with ground east and west of it, to his brother, Gen. Philemon Dickinson, and in 1798 it was purchased by Chief Justice Tilghman, who occupied it until sold to the present owners.

"The Arcade will be 100 feet wide, having an alley of upward of four feet wide on each side for the convenience of light and air, and affording a private entrance to the stores. Its depth will be 150 feet. Both of the principal fronts will be faced with Pennsylvania marble, perforated with arches that will run through the whole body of the building.

"The architectural composition of the facade will not be proportioned from either the Grecian or Roman order, although the general style is modeled from the Greek. Four arches springing from the sculptured caps of the autes will support a broad frieze, from which will appear coupled brackets that will support a justly proportioned cornice surmounted by a raking blocking course. The elevation of the front on Chestnut street is to be enriched with niches and friezes containing sculptured ornaments in basso-relievo, emblematic of the character of the edifice. Whole-sized figures in full relief, representing Commerce and the Arts, will occupy the niches of the wings. The whole will be surmounted with the arms of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, and the head of Mercury.

"The plan of the first principal floor will be governed by two fourteen-foot wide avenues running longitudinally through the building, with four rows of stores facing each other. These avenues will be paved with beautiful gray flagstones in ranged courses, and will be lighted during the day by means of the glass roof, forming an agreeable covered promenade. A double flight of marble steps at each end will form the ascents to two saloons 70 feet long situated in the fronts of the second story, then open to the street, and communicate with four similar ranges of stores, fronting on galleries defended by iron balusters. This additional promenade will command a view of the avenues below, in connection with the open space and glass roof, in beautiful perspective. The third story will be left in one entire room, 150 by 130 feet. The whole of the basement story will be vaulted, as will also the other stories, except the avenues which extend to the roof. The stores will be fireproof, and when filled with goods gracefully arranged with that skill and taste so peculiar to Philadelphia, and at night brilliantly lighted up with gas, they will have a splendid appearance. At the extremity of each avenue will be iron railings which, when closed, will secure the property from every intrusion.

"The estimated expense of the Arcade, including the price of the lot, was \$150,000. As this was too large a sum to be advanced by an individual, it was divided into 1500 shares at \$100 each. The subscription book was opened on the 20th of October, 1825, and was closed on the 1st of April, 1826, with \$88,500; the balance was taken by the contractors. Some unsatisfactory conduct was experienced from a few

subscribers, but this has been more than counterbalanced by the generous and gentlemanly deportment of the managers, the remainder of the subscribers, and the respectable gentleman from whom the lot was purchased. The managers, in consideration of the contractors' exchanging for a cash payment of \$7500 a payment in stock at a future day, recommended to the stockholders to assess the purchase money of the lot on the \$88,500. To this proposal unanimous consent was given by the stockholders at a meeting called for that purpose. Chief Justice Tilghman delivered to the contractors possession of the premises at a time when he had received but a small portion of his purchase money. It has, however, now all been satisfied and the trustees are in possession of a deed transferring the premises with a perfect title.

"Numerous applications have already been made for stores, and a negotiation is carrying on with the proprietors of the Philadelphia Museum to rent them a part of the 2d story, and the whole of the 3d. for the exhibition of their fine collection of natural and other curiosities."

THOMAS GAMBLE TO GEN'L CHARLES LEE. [*Original in the Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*]

Dear Lee

I should have done myself the pleasure to have wrote to you before; but really did not know where a letter you'd find you; sometimes we heard you were gone to the West Indies; at another that you were gone on to Carolina; by Mr. Bird I am informed you are still in Virginia.

I expected before now to have heard from Govr. Chester Relative to Your land in West Florida, but suppose I shall shortly, I set out in a few days to join our worthy Friend, General Gage at Boston, he is Come out with very Extrordinary powers. and has wrote for me, it is a very fortunate Circumstance that the power both Civil and Military hath fall'n into the hands of so Moderate a Man as Genl. Gage I hope he will gain Great Credit on this Critical occasion; his Abilitys are good, and with respect to his heart you who know him so well, will allow him to be Possesst of one of the best kind.

Your things are all left with Mrs. Airey who will take Care of them; I enclose you a letter from Dunbar, and one I pickd up in the Coffee house for you. Dagworthy has got a Company in the 48th Regt. Through Colo. Vaughans interest.

I am Dr. Lee with great truth Yours most sincerely

New York June the 10th, 1774

Thos. Gamble

To Genl. Lee.

LETTER OF JOSEPH GROWDON TO PHINEAS PEMBERTON. [*The Etting Collection, Manuscript Division Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*]

My Dear Phinheas,

I Sympathize wth thy condition and condole thy affliction in thy tedious Sicknesse and am Sorry that I can in no sort disburthen thee, I am far off, and, my capacitie is mean, I can but pray for thee (and that I doe as for my self and ffamily) unto him Who's will is his Lawe and ought so to be because good and just, and is for our good if we patiently Submit & reverently condescend unto it, though our Sight through the earths interposition is often eclipsed, but we must evermore Suplicate Him who is all Light that He will disperse and expell all clouds and mists and that in his Light wee may See more light and ther'in magnyfie and prayse his great Power & Name.

I had purposed to have seen thee before now, but one occasion & another (through my Wif's Sicknesse—about amth Since—who 'I thought would then have Died—but is now better then Shee hath been these severall years) and through the long winter w^{ch} hath made our Spring worke double &c. and hath hinderd my purpose Soe that I of

late put off my coming to Town untill the Provinciaall Court, wherin I am now disapoynted alsoe, this epidemicall distemper at length Seizing my family and knocking down Seaven off us in three days, but are all through Mercy recoverd & recovering I hope, my self being pritty well & little Lawrence up again (whoe was very ill) and Betty and all y^e Servants on their feet, Soe that in a litle while I am in hope to see thee and our friends in Town.

as to y^e Deed from Jn^o Jones I must take that he will give it I am never very Scrupelous about Titles methincks a Short Deed according to our Law might Doe for I think that he that takes my money as a consideration for land is bound thereby to give a title and warrantee ag^t all psons, though y^e Deed be not so worded,

my Dear love to thee & thine rememberd and to all our friends familliar wth thee, I remain in Some haste (y^e bearer Stayin for this.)

Thy Friend

9 2mo 1698.

Jos. Growdon.

LETTER OF GEORGE KEITH TO WILLIAM YARDLEY AND OTHERS. [*The Etting Collection, Manuscript Division Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*]

Loving Freinds William Yardly, Thomas Jany, phineas pemberton

These are to testifie, y^e if yee, or any of the people about you have occasion of one to teach your children, about the folles either in witting, or reading English, or ciphering, or latine, the Bearer hereof Archbald Innes formerly my usher & assistant in the school may be serviceable therein, and they may profit well by him, and as to any engagement to me, he is fully clear of it, and I doe declare that the tyme he was with me, he was diligent and painful, so that the children did well profit, the tyme he was with me, & I believe he is an honest young man, so with my dear love to you I remain

Your freind in the truth

philadelphia

George Keith.

11th 2d mo: 1690.

LETTER OF THEODOR ECCLES TO JAMES HARRISON. [*The Etting Collection, Manuscript Division Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*]

James Harison

London 10: 7thmo 1687.

Dear freind

The Refreshments We have had together from ye Goodnesse of the Lord are not forgotten as ye Sence of ye same Is Continu^d To us & Therein Is my love Dearly to thee & Those that love ye truth.

I Kindly took thy letter & shall do more of them as thou shall afford them, Being glad to hear of thy Wellfare & prosperity and the prosperity of Your Country & am a little willing to hold a Correspondency with thee about the affairs thereof.

Thou hints at ye Wolves now & then getting a pig or so w^{ch} I suppose is cheifly in ye Nights w^{ch} methinkes You might Somewhat prevent by appointing to Every Township some one listlesse man or if it were a lad, as a universall hogverd to ye Town who might look after both Great & Small Cattle & bring them home at Night.

I Observe you are labouring & Careing for Hay to preserve your Cattle in Flesh in winter, & If I mistake not you might have advantage by a method they use in Carolina—of preserving their woods where they designe the Cattle Should feed—and there in the Shade, they drive them from place to place so as to have them eat the same place over again once a month or six weeks sooner or oftener as ye grass grows faster or slower—and so by eating over & over again they keep it from growing so rank—that It grows pretty fine—and as ye Sumer Comes on it

grows anew as tis Eaten & ye trees standing keeps off ye Suns violence from burning it up, that It lasts the longer. I will Confes my self no great husbandman but methinkes a little of the like shade where the sun is too hot might Do your Corne no hurt—and then if once You found ye Corne would grow near ye trees—You might save adeal of ye Labour of cutting [missing] But let that go to more Experienced people & lets Consider ye Indians as many learne Forreigne Languages For Gain & Is any better gain than that of Souls—Sure Some of You will take pains For them as well as Dwell in their lands—Eat ye flesh of their hunting & ye fish of their Catching.

Thou had a little about Government. pray have you no theives, what do you with them, are they Never Obstinate, & wont be taken to be punisht that You Sometimes Need a Constable with a Carnall Club & a Staff & watchmen &c. I fancy People might be Governed very well by Freinds—where they are fit For Freinds government—but Where that Is I cant tell. Those y^t Would be Good may be helpt but they y^t will be bad Can Scarce be hindred but one way for Other They^t accomplish some Iniquity. Have you had allwayes Just Dealings From ye Indians upon your Complaint dont they a little affect some of your ready Sort of Clothing (& an old hat) better then their own ungeinly matchcoats methinkes a pair of Breeches of duffels or a Jerkin should greatly please them & If you bestowed such a sute on one or two of the cheifs yould be like to make it a fashion. If I were a tailor I believe I would venture an Experiment.

But of those things Enough.

Onely Concerning mines of Lead Iron tin or the Like Is any known or found & to ye fishing how is that Oil here this year hath yeilded good profit If thou had put all they Cows in oil barrels that is Their Value & Sent it For London, that & ye returnes might have been more than 2 or 3 Calves a peece.

Mary Forster Is Deceasd—N Brastoy Anne Whitehead—John Wilkinson—John Story Some Good & Some Worse—and others rise in their Roomes—Old George a little Infirme Meetings Full, many Comes to hear—Your Gover: a Great Courtier, mightily in favor that he is Enoyed by Thousands & abundance of Ill will for thee good he hath done—he hath lately been with the King in a progresse & at Chester had a huge meeting abundance of Nobility &c. There—but of this & much more Youl hear From passengers I Suppose So Wth Dear love Farwell. Thy Fnd
Theodor Eccles.

Gray a very close prisoner.

HOW THE FOURTH OF JULY (1777) WAS CELEBRATED IN PHILADELPHIA.

[The following letter of Hon. George Bryan, of Pennsylvania, addressed to his wife, who was sojourning in Newark, Delaware, gives a description of how the Fourth of July, 1777, was celebrated in Philadelphia.]
—*Hon. James Tyndall Mitchell Papers.*

Philada 4th July 1777.

My partner & friend

It is now near 8 in the Evening. This has been a day of festivity & the anniversary of independence, which has as such been noticed. I am just returned from dining with Congress, at the City Tavern & am more discreet than I was on a day in March last. In short, I was more on my guard. I have already written by the bearer Mr. Vandike, to Mr. McKean on the Topic of news. He will show you that. I thought Mr. Vandike would have gone on this day, & then I should have written. No further News since.

Notwithstanding we have ordered out Constables, & Watchmen & expect 200 soldiers to patrole, & that all illuminations & bonfires are to be put out at 11 this night, perhaps some disorders may happen. But

we were willing to give the idea of rejoicing its swing. The spirits of the whigs must be kept up.

One thousand Carolinians paraded under Arms in Second street & were received by Congress & Genls Gates & Arnold. Two Comps of Artillery & a Company of Georgian foot performed a *feu de joye*. The Maryland lighthorse attended & were reviewed. The Gallies & Ships came up & paid their Compliments.

I am My Dearest Madam

Your devoted lover,

partner & friend

Geo. Bryan.

P. S.—Your father, Mother &c., are very well. I keep tollerably.

Book Notices.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Published by the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga., 1917. Vol I, No. 1. Price \$3.00 per annum. Svo, pp. 72. Illustrated.

We extend hearty good wishes to editor William Harden, who for fifty years has been librarian of the Historical Society, that he has been given charge of the new Quarterly. He has a rich field of Colonial and Revolutionary material from which to draw, and we expect very important additions to what has been printed in other forms. We believe that this new enterprise will lead to an increase in membership and general interest in the Society, for such has been the experience of all kindred societies.

THE MEXICAN WAR DIARY OF GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph.D. Princeton University Press, 1917. Svo, pp. 97. Illustrated. Price \$1.00 net.

The diary begins with the departure of the young lieutenant of engineers from West Point with the company to which he was attached for duty in Mexico, toward the end of September, 1846, and ends with the battle of Cerro-Gordo in April, 1847. It gives a vivid picture of Mexico and its people, descriptions of the life of the soldiers on the march and in action, and the bad behavior and lack of discipline of the volunteers. To the student of McClellan's life the diary presents certain striking contrasts in character between the youthful soldier, not yet twenty years of age, and the general or politician of fifteen or twenty years later. Its publication is opportune.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, 1745-1912. By Lottie M. Bausman. Philadelphia, 1916. Svo, pp. 460. Price \$3.00 net.

This compilation of the inprints of Lancaster County was undertaken in accordance with the work of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies. The first printing press erected in Lancaster County was located at Ephrata in 1745, and as the county can boast of many printing establishments during the past one hundred and seventy-five years which were called upon to meet more than local demands, the collection of titles was no ordinary undertaking. Fortunately Miss Bausman has been aided in her researches by societies and antiquarians, and her success is exceptionally creditable and serviceable.

MINE TAXATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By Lewis Emanuel Young, E.M., Ph.D. Urbana, Ill., 1916. Svo, pp. 275. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.

This study is presented as a report upon the experience of the important mining States in the taxation of mines and mineral lands. The

investigation of the historical data and of the laws was begun in 1910 and an effort has been made to include all important material published prior to November 1916. While there have been many important contributions to the literature of particular phases of mine taxation and of appraisals of mining property for the purpose of taxation, this study is probably the first publication which attempts to bring together data regarding the experiences of the States in taxing mines and to compile State laws affecting mine taxation.

THE LEVELLER MOVEMENT: A Study in the History and Political Theory of the English Great Civil War. By Theodore Calvin Pease, Ph.D. American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., 1916. 8vo, pp. 406.

The establishment in England of a democratic government limited and bounded by law, that in a word was the vision pursued in the midst of the political strife and confusion of the Great Civil War by the men ordinarily called Levellers. To trace the evolution of this idea and of the corollaries of it that completed the Leveller platform, to show the political machinery devised by the Levellers to promote it, and, in short, to sketch the history of the Leveller movement as a whole is the purpose of this essay, to which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize in European History for 1915.

THE NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY for April, 1917.

This quarterly has been published since April of 1912, at \$2 a year, and in that time it has printed considerable original genealogical data, much of which is of value to searchers for family history. Among the genealogies that have appeared in the five volumes issued are the Conover; Arthur Parke of Chester County, Penna.; Bailey of Connecticut; DeVeaux-Morel; Stone; Caldwell; Sanborn; Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania; Hazzard; Richardson, and records of Rowan County, N. C.; Piscataway; Kentucky; Cumberland County, Penna.; Ohio County, Va.; Alexandria, Va.; marriage certificates and diaries. The present number contains eleven returns of the "patriots who took the oath of fidelity and support to the government" in Montgomery County, Md., 1777-1778, numbering 3136 names; genealogical notes and records of Richard Bullock of Rehoboth, Mass.; Alexander Andrews of Kentucky; Osler and Owen; tombstone inscriptions, Montgomery County, Md.; Pennsylvania militia laws, 1777; the diary of Hezekiah Wilson, and various other contributions. The editor is Dr. G. M. Brumbaugh, 905 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

THE STORY OF SOME FRENCH REFUGEES AND THEIR AZYLUM IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1792-1800. By Louise Welles Murray. Second edition. 8vo. Illustrated. Price, postpaid, \$3.00.

The story of some French refugees, 1792-3, and the asylum they planned for their Queen, Marie Antoinette, and themselves in the wilds of Pennsylvania, was first published in book form in 1903 by Mrs. Murray, a descendant of one of the refugees. This settlement, which was the direct outcome of the French Revolution, although of short duration, forms an interesting and romantic chapter in the history of Pennsylvania. Much new and important data having been found, also many additional illustrations, a second edition of greater value than the first is in course of preparation for early issue. Mrs. Murray's address is Athens, Pa.

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SOME MATERIAL FOR A BIOGRAPHY OF MRS. ELIZABETH FERGUSSON, *née* GRÆME.

BY SIMON GRATZ.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIX, page 409.)

Mrs. Ann Græme to Miss Mary Bard, Burlington, N. J.

december 5th 1737.

Dear Mis Bard

it was a very great concern to me that I mist the oppertunity of taking my leave of you but I believe you may inmagin it was not out of anny disregard but I really did expect mamma down stairs to go to market she intended to come but meeting with M^{rs} Kerssly she told us you were gone wich prevented us pray make my service acceptable to M^r denormandes family and now to conclude with my humble service to you and all your good family I remain with the greatest respect your most obedient servant

Ann Græme

Mrs. Ann Græme to Mrs. Campbell.

May 15/1752

Dear Madam

With this you will receive My Betsy who has a great desire to spend a day or two with you; as it is the first time she has been abroad by her self I should not chuse to lett her go but to such a Friend as you, who I am sensible will put a good natured construction on innocence and inexperience, but this I may promise for her, she would not willfully offend and further I can assure you, she will make no such uneasy complaints as you was troubled with this time last year, but to my unspeakable Joy that purplexing affair is now quite at an end and

ended more to my satisfaction by far than I could have hoped, and the only way it could have given me pleasure. the particulars of which I refer you to our Friend M^r Annand I have promised to spend a few days with M^{rs} Baird which if I have in my power to perform I shall not fail of giving my self the pleasure to see you going or coming, however that be. I am with unalterable esteem

Dear Madam

Your Much Oliged and Most Hum^{ble} Serv^t

My Complmts to M^r Camel

A. Græme.

Mrs. Ann Græme to Mrs. Campbell, Burlington, N. J.

June 14/1752

Dear Madam

The favors Betsy received from you and M^r Campel lays me under too great obligation to suffer me to be silent when I have an opportunity to acknowled itt. Betsy is so delighted with your manner that she can talk of nothing else, (but this is paying a complement to her Judgment). I am likewise much obliged to all the Ladies of Burlington and Bristol for the Kind notice they were pleased to take of her to whom universally my service & thanks.

My Compliments to Mr Campel Joined with Betsys and Jennys to you both.

I hope you will both live to know the pleasure it gives a parent to see their children taken notice of by people of worth and then you will be more sensible how

much I am

Dear Madam Your Much

Obliged Humble Serv^t

Ann Græme

Elizabeth Fergusson to Mrs. Campbell.

Græme park May 9 1779

My dear M^{rs} Campbell

A few weeks ago your affectionate epistle dated february 1779 was sent me up here: I know not by what conveyance it came, nor by what Channel this which is meant as a Reply to it may Reach you: but hope it may get safe tho' it can only offer a tributary Tear of Sorrow to those which I dare say already flow for the Calamities of our Country, involv'd in all the Sad train of Affliction incident to a Civil War.

The account you in yours give me of your late Illness drew a heart wrung tear from my Eyes: for alas so strongly are we formed, that the trouble we feel for an individual that is dear to us is of a more heart piercing nature than the greatest Scene of Affliction that can be Exhibited from a Sufering Nation: I have sometimes been ashamed of this selfish principle but upon a more mature Survey of the Order of Man: Considered in his moral capacity I believe it is intended; that those troubles within our own Sphere; should affect us most, because

they are of a Nature in our power often to relieve by our Sympathy; which I fear would flow but coldly, was there not Some Stimulative more active to push us on than bare reason: we see Continually where that speaks without Passion or Affection; we move but very slowly on to anything which requires activity.

If you my dear friend have accomplished your journey to N York as you purpos'd at the time you wrote to me you will in all probability have heard more of me and my affairs than at Mr Frazers: for Mrs Burton knows a good deal about me; as she often saw Mr F——n at York but in Case you should not have accomplished that excursion, I shall briefly touch on my Situation, There is not that person in the World I would more freely give my Mind to on any and all Subjects than the dear good woman to whom I am now writing: but I have been so unfortunate in having my Letters on the most interesting Subjects open'd and pass through Hands that were no ways interested in their Contents: that I write now to my dearest friends but very seldom and that with Coolness and Caution.

In less than a Month after the date of Mine to you in *September*, the *Commissioners* for the State of *Pennsylvania* Seized this property in Consequence of Mr Fergussons being among the unfortunate proscrib'd. the personal Estate was all sold except the furniture of two rooms and the Real Estate Rented for a year; I rented it myself. At the Expiration of that time it is to be sold during Mr Fergussons and my Life: that is the Death of either of us the State has no further Claim on it; had I had a child Mr. F. would have had his life in it; but that not being the Case He has only his Life during my Life in it. I have presented a Petition to the Assembly in consequence of the [illegible] Situation of My affairs; they are to meet in August and I hope as the Property came Solely by my Father and I show no Desire to leave the Country and have ever been against the British Side really from Principle; I hope all these things Cast into the Scale, will have their proper Weight, I purpose if it comes to the last Pinch to bid for it myself, as I cannot think that any person will be either So ill natured or so imprudent to bid high for an Estate thus Circumstanced: they the purchasers hold it no longer than the Life of a woman of my Age, joined to a Constitution frail by nature, but made much more so by trouble; I am determin'd to do everything that prudent advice can Dictate to preserve this patrimony: as it is more dear to me from its Relative Value than from its Intrinsic one: tho' that is a Comfortable Support; for me & my all: And now my dear friend you Enquire particularly Concerning My Neice: she is Married to a very Sober industrious young Man; It was quite a Love Match and they are entirely happy in Each Other; Her father poor man for some Strange whim or Other could never be brought to approve it: in this temper He liv'd and Died, tho' not so as to affect His Will: He divided all He had (which was no great Matter) between his two Children But that part to His Son was Obliged not to be nam'd in that Manner, as He was with the British But as all His Property was in Land; and He left Express

orders that it should be sold immediately on His Decease; it will in the End be but a poor affair; because it was sold at a time when the Exchange of Gold was near twenty for one and in no degree Sold in that proportion: as Land Sells for Less than anything. My Neice left the City a few Days before the British enterd it, she remained with me here a fortnight But Her Husband having a Department with the Hospital at Bethlem; she went with her family when there and thereabouts she remain'd during the Whole time the British were in this State. She is now settled in the City, she spent a Week with me this Spring, she came up to wean her little Boy who was then a year old He was born when she was in Exile in the Mountains, Her first A Girl; was two years old last September, this Boy was Baptized Thomas Græme: Her Girl Ann; they are large Children; but not so as Sprightly the Eldest as some that are less, But these little things alter very much. Amy makes a tender mother; and Affectionate wife But more particularly in the latter Character than in the former; as she has many that Equal her in the first but none that Exceed her in the Latter.

My Nephew John Young you know very early showd An Attachment to the British; near two years he was a Prisoner on his Parole with me at this Place, but on the British entering the Capitall in September 77 He joined them, He first got a Leutenancy in the New Levies but had soon Interest Enough to get a Commission in His Old highland Regiment, Col. Sterling Commands; and Co^l Sterlings Mother and M^r Youngs Mother were own Sisters; so that He seems fix'd among them now for Life. He was always of a Military turn which I wish to Heaven he would have indulged in any way but the Line he moves in; for the Drawing His Sword against his Mother Country seems to me a most Heinous offence. I did every thing while he was with me to wean him from this unhappy Biass, but the Event too fully prov'd I could not prevail: as indeed I show'd my bad Success where I was much more deeply interested than with him.

When I reciv'd yours of february Dear Madam; I was just returnd Home after a journey at a very inclement Season of the year; I went to Elizabethton point to take leave of M^r Fergusson; who Embarked for Boston immediately after His Interview with me: and I am yet ignorant of his Arrival; I was absent from home 6 weeks which was double the period of time I have ever been absent from this Spot Since the Death of my dear Father; so totally Domesticated Have I been since my Marriage; out of the Seven years that I have been married my Husband has lived but two years and a few months with me; and in that period Six times has he Cross'd the Atlantic Ocean and is now on Earth without Home or Habitation: so much has this Coming of the British done for Him: As for me I have no right to Complain of them; because from first to last, I have Sincerely been their Enemy as far as Christianity will admit of Enmity. It is so long since I wrote to you and the Reading your Epistle seems to have drawn forth all my tender feelings, that I know not when or where to Stop: On perusal what I have wrote I seem to have forgot the Rule I laid down to myself, Namly

to write guardedly: it is almost impossible where the heart is Engag'd: And I think if I do not soon stop, I shall send you a Volume: most Sincerely do I wish I could Scribble something to Enliven you in your Retird Situation, But I dare say I live more Retird than you most of my Letters remind me of the title of Mrs *Rowes* "From the Dead to the Living" tho' the Similarity only holds with the title page the Chief purport of my taking my Pen in Hand; was to beg of you to put me in some method of seeing you in the Course of this Ensuing Summer; I have a Carriage and p^r of Horses; but alas my Servant is too fond of drink, But if you would let me Know when you would be either at Bristol or Philadelphia; I would procure a Sober Driver and Send for you: Do my dear friend arrange your affairs so as to pass a Month with me this Summer: you Say you pine to see me; the term is Expressive and I feel the force of it, Miss Stedman, my Constant friend Miss Stedman is ever with me; all others are Birds of Passage; and as Solomon says in his Energetic Language "as a Guest that tarrieth but a Night" But she remains closely here much I owe in my troubles to her Society and Steady friendship, and I do everything I can to render her Retirement Easy: indeed what with parties on the one Side; and Misfortune on the Other; this City of Philadelphia is by no means a Desirable place: you would Scarce Know it; not that its External appearance is so changd; but the inhabitants and the War and altogether has given a new Complexion to all around it. When you Mention your Sickness you tell me it has alterd you much, but as you tell me it was a nervous Fever; I am amazed that you are not more affected, for of all maladies it the most totally seems to impair and unhinge the frame. I had a Violent Nervous fever 20 years ago, And I think My Constitution never Entirely Recoverd the Shock, you write as Steady and As Correct as you ever did in your Life: Amidst all the troubles you have encount'd My dear friend it is with great pleasure I Reflect that the Evening of your Days is Spent under the Roof of so worthy a Man As your Son-in Law M^r Frazer: and that Mrs Frazer is so truly Dutifull and Affectionate a Child, as all agree in describing her, tho' you have the utmost right to expect everything that a parent can from a child yet a return of that Sort is not always the Case: But to do the kindest things in the kindest way to the most Worthy person, I am told is M^r and M^{rs} Frazers peculiar Felicity: I am sure any approbation that my weak pen could give would be so trifling; compar'd with the Effusions of happiness their own Hearts must experience for such a Conduct, that I shall not attempt to say anything: Suffice it that I think any person who Hears of their Character must Esteem them for their great Virtues: And yet I will not acquit them of disinterestedness altogether; as I think My dear Mrs Campbells Company and Conversation exclusive of the tie of filial Duty and Gratitude is more than a Counterbalance for any little trouble she may Cause in a family: tho' got to the Bottom of my third Sheet; I have not done: Things Rise out of one another; so that every fresh thought seems but the prelude to a former; at this Rate I shall Scribble infinitum I hope if this reaches you that

you will fall upon some Method to write me as soon as convenient and fix how I may see you; as I passt through the jerseys I had no time in going at all to have called on you; But on my Return I stayd a Week at a very intimate Friends Mr. Stocton of princeton, I there made a minute Enquiry if I could have got at you: But he told me at that Season of the year the thing was utterly impractacable, and I must be foild in Any thought I should make towards it: so I was obligd tho not without great Reluctance to give up the plan.

The Extreme peace and tranquil State of this Retirement entirely falls in with my taste, My troubles have impressed by Mind with a great love of Nature and Solitude, I want for nothing; But then my Wants are comprized within a much Narrower Compass than I once thought they Could be. Dress is Excluded Entirely. The enormous price of every thing in the City makes it incompatable with small fortunes to Reside there; and as I have no near Connections I have few Calls to it.

And now my dear Madam on a Review of Life after a few years are fled; and some or most that are dear to us are laid low. How strip'd of Pleasure does the world apear; But the Skeleton of former Pleasures and Beauty; So true does Dr. Young say "He builds too low, who Builds beneath the Skies"

The dreary part remains, while the soft Vernal Season is soon past and gone. It suggested these Lines.

The blooming blushing fragrant Rose
A few short Sun's remains:
Not long its leaves their Sweets disclose,
It droops upon the Plains.
Not so, the rugged Prickly thorn;
Which doth its Stalk Surround,
From of the Bush is never torn
And in all Seasons found.

I shall I think send this to Mrs Stogton [Stockton] at York to Convey: I have found her a Steady friend in all My troubles, My Health is sometimes so indiferent; that I fear I shall never see you But the Spring is ever a trying season with me; if I should not see you be assured that I Sit many hours; and Reflect on the Days I have Spent at the *Parsonage House at Burlington*. The Strict intimisy you had with My Mother, my Sisters and the Kind attention that you honored my infant years with when I am Sure nothing but a fund of good Nature could Led you to have bore with my Nonsense; all are deeply impressd on my Memory. I Remember the Garden, the Orchards; the large Rose Bushes; good Mr Elton peeping in to see what a Clock it is: all all seem to pass in Review before me. Pray is Little old Lavinia alive, and Her Husband, and where is their destiny? Mr Young Died the Day after I came to Town after my meeting with Mr F. I did not see him as he was too ill and not quite I believe in his Senses: He died that Day 20 years that my Sister young Died; poor Man His latter years were totally unhappy as he was angry with both his Chil-

dren; and at the last was only Attended by Strangers and hired people: He was a very fond father While his Children were little, and a good husband; the Death of My Sister was an irreparable Loss. He was buried by her in Christ Church: Burying yard: How many dear friends lay there. How light does the World appear and all that is in it when we fix our minds on these Repositories of the remains of all we held Dear: Adieu my dear Madam Miss Betsy Stedman Begs me to say everything that is Kind and tender: in full Confidence of seeing you soon I remain your Sincere friend and humble

Servant

E. Fergusson

Elizabeth Fergusson to Mrs. Campbell.

Græme park Jany 13, 1784.

Dear Madam

Your agreeable favor did not reach me till 2 Months after its Date or it should not have been so long unanswered. I am always particularly pleased with a letter from my dear Mrs. Campbell as it is proof that her poor Solitary Eye can do more in the writing way than most other Eyes can do in partnership but you must not make a practice of making it perform double Duty. I enclose you Miss Meade's letter (which you need not take the trouble to Return) She is a young Lady I assure you that if you like on a Slight acquaintance, you will love on An intimate one She is really an Amiable young Person. I lent Miss Smith the Watch paper I think there is no deficiencies in it. I so Sincerely Sympathize with Miss Molly on the Catastrophe of the Scissors! that it produced an Eligae Copy of Verses on the Subject that you must Read and Explain to her. I send her a Pair of Scissors but do not Suppose they are equal to the *Ewe Lamb*. I Send Miss Jenny and Miss Becky a Tucker I worked for my Self but have no Call now to Dress my Neck as I always wear Double handkerchifs. I think you had a pleasing tour And I am sure made your old *Burlington* Friends happy I am much Obliged to you to give me all your *Wanderings* as you Call them. Give my Kind Regards to M^r Frazer and tell her I was quite Disappointed her stay was so Short when she came to bring you home.

I join with M^r Frazer in thinking the Season too far advanced for our *Walk*. I think we will postpone it till we can Say in the Soft Verse in the Canticles

"For lo the Winter is past, the Rain is over and gone, the Flowers appear in the Earth, And the time of the Singing of the Birds is Come And the voice of the Turtle is heard in our Land The *Peach Tree* putteth Forth her fine Blossoms and the *Magnolia* gives a *sweet smell* and the apple *trees* are powdered with Flowers" I believe I must not write the Rest of the verse or else M^r Frazer will put in a Caveat to our Expedition unless She is to be of our Party.

You ask me my dear Friend if my own prospects Brighten. I will answer you as our old Friend M^r Annaud used sometimes when He had the Cobler in His Throat And we would Ask Him If He was Mended in His Spirrits?

"Yes troth as Sour ale mends in Summer." I need not dip the Pencil in Shade of fancy to give you a gloomy picture. My *Husband* and Nephew both proscibd the former under the most painfull accusations and I tortured with Suspense as to fixing my Mind one way or other on the point: A Landed property daily diminishing in value By tenants wearing out and destroying the place: A Load of Debt whose interest alone is far beyond the Rent if that Rent was Regularly paid which it never—Seldom 10£ at one time.

I find my Friend every darling prospect is as to this World Blasted and withered so I will quit the painfull theme. I can Command my *Pen* And my *Speech* to Say I can my thoughts would be *Pharasaical* Hypocresy.

I write at this time to Miss S. Bard And shall leave the packet unsealed which if you think it worth Reading you may then Seal And forward to her by some safe Hand, you will See in it a Copy of an Advertisement of this Estate. If M^r Frazer thinks it would lay in the Way to circulate He will be so good as let Some of His young people Copy one or two

The lady who I enclose a letter (to Miss Bard) from to me is a Granddaughter of Sir William the Lady is the first Cousin to me by the Mothers Side Miss Feilds And Mrs Brooks were her two younger Sisters, they were at New York and here in the year 1777 Mrs Brooks a Widow *Buried* a fine youth of 22 at York. She at that time might have Sat for the picture of Health and Her Sister also Both these ladies before forty paid their "Debt" to Nature Mrs Senniers has been a Widow 25 years is about your Age at this time the Lady who is my Correspondent. at the time of the War that is from the year 76. to 81 I never heard anything of the Family And Now Mrs Senniers first letter contained like *Ezekiel Roll mourning Lamentations* And *woe*. In two years the Deaths of the Family were as follows.

Miss Feild (?) a favorite Sister, Mrs Brooks her Third Sister, not very long before that period an Amiable Lady a Sister about 22 went for Her Health to a Celebrated Spring for Health and a poisend Vine happend to be bathd in the Water which Deprived her of Life in great torments. Mrs Sennier had a favorite Daughter 26 years old Married about a year She Died Suddeny: Mrs S—n had then four Sons, the Eldest Dropd down of an Apoplectic Fit, So that He was dead And Buried before She Could See Him The Second in less than a year Died of a Bilous fever. She Had at that time a Suit in Chancy Which went against Her and Losses by Fire So that from being the owner of Seven *Elegant Houses* and Some of them attended with West India Works as Sugar House Slaves, etc. etc. She was not in 1782 possessed of one but an Inhabitant of one of her Sons

Her family at present Consist of two Daughters and two Sons, one of Her Daughters Single Resides in England for her health, She has 400 pr Anum of her own And likes to Spend it at Bath the Other Daughter is Married to a Gentleman possessed of Entail of a Landaff Castle in Wales only for his Life the possessor.

You must get some of the young Eyes about you dear Madam to read all this, as it may serve as a lesson to them of all the Shortness of Human felicity.

I Remain with great affection your Sincere friend

E. Fergusson

Elizabeth Fergusson to Mrs. Smith.

G. Park, April 21, 1792.

My Dear Mrs. Smith

If you have received the letter which I wrote you the evening before I left town, you will no doubt think that you are to be overwhelmed with my Epistles: Nor have I much reason to think they are welcome: as you never have written to me this two years:

But I make all allowances for the Embarrassment of the Subject, and the more imediate calls of the many Interesting Visicitudes you And yours of late have been engagd In my distressed Friend!

On takeing a Retrospect of my past Life, I have this day felt myself unusually serious, And affected. It has ever been one of many peculiar weaknesses belonging to me, to have the Springs of past Sorrow fresh opend on the anual return of the Day on which any interesting event that gave a Complexion to my future Life returnd: And on this principle I have Retrod every hour of this *Day twenty years* with the most lively emotions And you were associated with the Scenes!

I in Review Sat between *One* and *Two* at your Bed Side, in the little Room in walnut Street and felt all again when I bid farewell knowing the important event that was to take place that night: But I will pass over the *Hours* and *moments* from then till *nine at night* which is the Hour I now write and which was on the 21 of April 1772 the hour that I gave my hand in the *Suedes Church* to Henry Fergusson. I know how little qualified we are to talk of ourselves, yet pardon me and charge me not with extreame vanity when I tell you on reading the following Lines in a tragedy of M^r Haylys I wept most plentifuly and thought had I seen an indulgent Father giving His *Daughters Bridegroom Elect* a Clue to guide her temper So would my father have Spoke, for the lines are spoken in Character of a Father Speaking to His Intended Son-in-Law on the morn of His Daughters Noupitals (Marcella the Tragedy)

Father

"For I wished to make her,
 "Not the cagd Vassal of Parental power
 "But *Truth* and *Natures* Chaste and free Disciple:
 "Her early temper Joined with my affection
 "To fix me in this Conduct; for believe me
 "Her Mind is like the Element of Fire:
 "Treat it with gentle Caution it will Shine
 "The Radiant Minister of Joy and Comfort,
 "But Close confinement or a blind Neglect
 "May rouse its perilous Energies to spread
 "Unthought of Scenes of misery and Sorrow."

The Stillness of the night: my Dear Friend by me, with a Candle in her hand going to Bed perhaps for the last night She will as an inhabitant be under this Roof, And one maid Servant being all my family—all all Conspire to make me look into my Self And question my Heart But it fully acquits me as to my Husband. Cannot you Spare a Couple of Days after your Dear Child leaves you, as I am told is the Plan as soon as a Bride! could not you and M^{rs} Bond and M^{rs} Hopkinson And your little Grand Daughter come up in your Carriages And pay a last Solitary Visit to your Friend Oh if you have one Single Idea that it is an Intrusion Banish it, It will be a treat a generous treat to my Mind: My beds are as yet in *Statue quo* And also my furniture M^{rs} Bond will be at liesure after She parts with her Son And the Face of the country In all probability will come under that Discription which Milton terms

“Vernal Delight Capable of chasing
All Sadness But Despair.”

Think not my Friend that a Blush faint as ever Spread the Face of the Hectick Mendicant Monk Shall rise tho I cant Spread you a table as formerly but you Shall have sufficient Oh come!

As Mr Bond is near parting with His amiable mother And Sister who I know he most tenderly loves tho’ I suppose it will be but a temporary Separation yet all Separations that fling the Atlantic between us and those we value are attended with a soft Melancholy so I will Suppose that frame of Mind may extend itself in a Degree to one who begs a favor of Him I once more through your Medium Do, ask the following:

I ask Him in Brief if he will Devote a forenoon to coming out of town any part of the Day he shall name to the Jolly Post at Frankford I will make His Hour mine And bring with me there to Him Christian Fitzmire (?) the man who lives near Oxford Church that he may hear the Mans own Evidence And Relate it to Mr. Fer. Or if he does not Chuse to take that trouble If he will See Him in town If I bring Him to Mr Bonds house But that is a piece of freedom I Shall not take till I know first whether we shall be admitted; as I chuse to be present to hear the Man And was I come at a venture M^r Bond might be from Home or so engaged he could not Speak to Him And that would Disappoint me. I again Repeat that the Man is either Bribed to say what he does or he speaks the Truth as in His Mode of Relating there can be no Error But Willful Error, *wicked willfull Error*. If M^r Fergusson hears this and Denies the whole then it will show the Villany practiced on Him: If he owns it It acquits me, But If he will neither speak one way nor other in reply I shall to those friends in England who have Condemned me without Knowing the Truth write a full Detail of my Conduct, And leave them to Decide a Letter from Himself can Only Silence

Your much Injured Friend

E. Fergusson.

Elizabeth Fergusson to John Nicholson.

Billet, March 20 96

Sir

I cannot but fear from the multiplicity of Business that you are involved in, or some other Cause unknown to me: that there is some mistake in our Ideas of the 40 Dollars a year added to the 60£ anually Stipulated by sealed Contract to avoid all misapprehension, I will as Briefly as possible consistent with perspicacity make a Statement of the Dates in this transsacien.

On the 24 of January 1794 M^r Meade Sir brought me a letter from you with a warm and I suppose a Sincere proposal of 40 Dollars pr year added to the Contract you purchased of him at that time I by a letter refused it, you in the offer desired it to commence from the time you [illegible] ——— to pay 40 Dollars then and a year after 40 after: I refused it on the 20 of Sept 1794 I wrote you a long letter, Sir, by the Revend D^r Smith telling you I would take it with thanking you and I sent all my motives with my Reasons for acquiescing which were not the *ostensible* but the *true* ones. I heard nothing from you for a great while, I wrote again, No Reply, I sent a pointed Message to you by D^r Awl (?) but had no answer I then expressed my Surprize to the reverend Mr Irvine in May and he spoke to you Sir by him you Sent me 40 Dollars and told me you had sent it to me before But as I did not know to whose care you had consigned the money whether to any place that I was acustomed to have my letters left or how it was I instantly returned the money till time should develope where the Error lay I heard nothing from you I went to the house of the Reverend D^r Smiths on the Bank of Schuylkill: two letters and many messages I sent you from thense in order to know the Fate of the Lost Cash, I went to town in Septembr to Mr Medes; you then Sir thro the Channel of the Revend D^r Smith sent me 40 dollars which I acknowledged by Letter you Sir told me no fraud had been caryd on as to the money missing but thro' mistake it had been sent to *Maryland*. You did me the Honour Sir to call on me In Sept at M^r Medes and I asked you how and in what way I was to draw for the 40 Dollars, and I hinted to you that it would be well enough Sir If on the Demise of M^r Bradford a new Contract must be drawn to put the additional 40 Dollars in it you seemed to decline it, I then asked when it was due? You sd October In that month I left the City and on the Day I did I heard M^r Nicholson had done me the favor to call on me. I was sorry I was from home But I had made every advance to her acquaintance by calling twice at her town and once at her Country House. But we did not meet; perhaps Sir you will say what is the purport of this Long Letter about a trifle no doubt Sir you transact thousands with fewer words But as Goldsmith says

“These little Things are Great to little men”

My Idea Sir without wishing to give you Sir the smallest offence is plainly this If I am unreasonable Sir Set me Right with the same

Candor I address you I think from the 20 of September Had I recvd the 40 Dolars aggrd the Secnd 40 would have been due 20 Sept 1795. on this *Statement* this 20 of March 1796 there is 60 Dollars due. I plead the Cause of the Poor the greatest part of it is appropriated to the old and Infirm who have no way of keeping pace with monstrous Prices of Bread. Middlings is 50/ hundred wheat 21/ p.B.

I remain with respect your most Humble S^r

E. Fergusson

Elizabeth Fergusson to Mrs. Frazer.

Billet, April 20. 96

My Dear Mrs Frazer

I stand indebted to you 3 Letters, one by D^r Tod, one by M^r Worthy, and this Day by *Mr Evans*. As he return early tomorrow morning you will be so good as to pardon any inaccuracies, that will arise in writing in a hurry. The Death of Bishop Seabury is a public and Domestic Loss: It is sd. more people have within this last twelve months Died of apoplexy than was ever known in the same Space of time, whether this is to be traced to natural Causes I leave to the Faculty to decide. As to poor Judge Wicks I think it is a most extraordinary Death, I suppose he was on horse-back and that no traces of the Beast nor master could be found is uncommon I should conclude that he had not fair play for his Life if the Body is not found but I know not the Situation of the wood. As to the marriage of Miss Boyls and Mr S——d by what Mrs Tod says of him I pity the girl. I find Dr Tod was one of the wedding Guests. Mr. Pope Says you know in a frequent quoted line:

"Some men to *Business*, some to *pleasure* take
But every woman is at heart a *Rake*"

I dont know but it might be more just to say

But every woman *has* at heart a *Rake*

Dr Young in one of his Satires on our Sex has some very Severe lines on this very Error

"The youth of Fire, who has Drank deep, and played"

"And Killed his man, and triumphed o'er his Maid:"

"For him (if yet unhung) she Spreads her Charms,"

"And takes the Dear Destroyer to her Arms."

The very 1st opportunity I had: I sent the Receipe to Mrs Meade, I heard this afternoon from them And it is not thought he can hold above a Day or two, he suffers a great Deal now as all the Skin on one Side is Chaffed.

On the 12 of April Miss Stedman came from town where she had been eight weeks close Shut up with Mrs Stedman and but once out all that time while she was there Mrs Abercromby was brought to Bed of her Seventh Child, so that she was no assistance to her mother-in-Law: Miss Stedman with an under nurse entirely presided, Miss Stedman on

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, however, unable to say whether or not the same will be granted, as this is a matter which is entirely in their hands. I am, however, sure that they will give it the most careful consideration.

Very respectfully,
J. H. [Name]

Enclosed for you are the following documents:

1. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
2. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
3. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
4. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
5. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
6. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
7. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
8. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
9. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].
10. A copy of the letter from the [Name] dated [Date].

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the 16 instant came here as Mrs Tods boarder and lodger, But to Day Mrs Stedman Sent up that She pines to have her: so on Monday next She returns till Mrs Stedman is Better, which D^r Redman says will he thinks never be: But he thinks the month of June the utmost time that She will hold out, The length of time I have known Mrs Stedman amid many very delicate and distressing Circumstances make me feel a great deal: to her Grand Children She is an irreparable Loss, they are pretty Children As to your question of *Peace or War?* My dear you might as well ask your Black Boy as me but just as I had begun this the Reverend M^r Irvine called in with a message to Miss Stedman from her aunt; he had been in town at the *Presbytery*, he is a great Politician and hears and sees what is going forward when in town, he sd. there was in the Senate a warm opposition against peace but the mercantile Interest was so loud, powerful and unanimous in favor of a union with Britain that it was generally thought by many of the *Knowing ones* that a peace would take place. A vessel had arived this afternoon from London on so Short a passage as having left it on the 16 of March; the news had not transpired as the letters were not taken out of the Bag and the "*Quid Nunces*" were all impatience to hear some thing. I have you see obeyed your Injunction as to laying aside my *Liluputian Packet*, But indeed my dear Madam you have no Conscience if you can Complain of me as to writing after the volumns you have lately recvd: In your Letter by Mr Watkyns you are so kind as to mention what Mr. Gylaspys had from Saly Bard about Miss Kemp and Mr F——n believe me dear Madam I take it not a little unkind that tho I wrote to Miss Bard three times to desire her friend Miss Kemp to get some Information whether Mr Fergusson did not recve a Box of Books from me that went from Philadelphia the latter end of the year 1793 and in the same Box a large Scaled Paket: Miss Bard never to me took the least notice whether She ever asked Miss Irwin or Miss Kemp had done it Indeed I am treated beyond all hopes of reconciliation no Body on the other Side the water feels for me But I must abruptly quit the Subject as tho I have taken paper upon a larger Scale than comon I should soon fill it with that Subject and no other: perhaps my feelings are more lively than usual as in a Recollection of my pensive *Calendar* I too well remember on this night April 21 of 1772 at nine at wicacoe Church I married the man that has proved the Source of so much Sorrow to me; and when I saw that passage in M^r Galaspys letter about Miss Kemp; I thought till I had come to the end of it that I had to be sure a Reply to so plain a question. Miss Bard always treated me in a Careless way as to this affair But stop He is not worth a line from my pen: yet a man one once loved and expected to have passd ones Life with to such a temper as mine cannot be the object of Indifference tho he may be of extreme Resentment. I am very much pleased that you have had Letters from M^r Frazers friends: to one my dear M^{rs} Frazer of your affectionate cast of mind, it must be the most pensive, pleasing, tender melancholy that you can have to have letters from the Friends of the deceased and letters filld with their

tender approbation of him; well does Sigismundy in a Tragedy wrote by Tomson say to her friend who is painting *Tancred* in a charming manner: She sigismundy desires her to proceed "For believe me Cleon, the hart of woman knows no greater Joy than to hear the praises of the man she Loves."

I am pleased that M^r Gray has had good accounts from his Friends; you ask me if a person saying "another is tender in their Health is not a Scotch Phrase?" I believe it may be, But it is certainly a very expressive one to convey the Idea of a delicate Constitution I have put off to the last Sheet what has never been out of my thoughts since I heard it, namely that part of Mrs. Galaspys Letter as to M^{rs} Cruger—what can one Say were I acquainted with her I should Sit in Silence as Jobs Friends did the first Seven Days of their meeting for I am sure were I to offer a word of consolation She would directly Silence me by saying "Oh madam you never was a mother!" True! Some pious writer very justly observes "that every Cross has its own Gall" But I would advise the Lady as her Fortune is easy to change the Home directly where the tragedy happened: Local Situations have a great Influence over us! God preserve her husband to her tho he might have died from weak health yet she will if he dies within this year think it originates with her. Pray how did the affair turn out as to the Tavern Keepers wife? Yours with regard

E. Fer

JOURNAL OF SAMUEL ROWLAND FISHER, OF
PHILADELPHIA, 1779-1781.

CONTRIBUTED BY ANNA WHARTON MORRIS.

(Continued from page 333.)

1781—1st mo. 4th. This morning we were informed that a very large part of Washington's Army had mutinied & were come from their Posts as far as Princeton in Jersey 42 Miles distant where they keep up as much order as has been in any time amongst Washington's Men—they have discarded all their officers, & chosen New Ones to their own liking—have got all their Amunition, Artillery, Baggage, Cattle & Wag-gons with them—their number said to be about 1600—

It is said that they demand the pay that is due them in Gold or Silver & to be cloathed, after which they are determined to lay down their Arms & return to their homes—This Evening we are informed Jos. Reed with those called the City Light-horse are gone up to them with Money to endeavour to settle Matters.

1st. mo: 5th. This day heard that a Committee of the Congress set out today to endeavour to get matters settled with these Soldiers—

1st. mo: 10th. Can learn as yet no certainty of the Intentions of the Mutineers; this day heard of their coming to Trenton, that they will not admit any person to come to them but by a Flag—also that they have Isaac Wayne & sundry other officers with them some say in custody, but they agree that they pay no attention to them—

It seems this Mutiny first began on the first of this Month, that in the beginning some officers & men were killed—Upon the first rumour of this matter, many of

the Inhabitants seem'd terrified at the thought of their coming to plunder the City—& I beleive the present Rulers have been much alarmed, but whether they will or have it in their power to comply with the terms of the men, or whether the Men will be persuaded to serve longer, time only must shew—It seems at least as if no steps that can now be taken, that will bring them under again, as they have been—It seems somewhat remarkable that after this account has been in town a full week this Evening, that not a word has been published touching it & nothing can be found touching what has been done towards appeasing the Men, or whether they are likely to be appeased or not—

I am thankful in having been so far preserved from Joining with the Spirit of the present Rulers, that if the Almighty disposer of the Powers of this World, should now see meet to bring Consternation on the Leaders & overturn them, I have a firm hope that if I am preserved steady & watchful I may experience a calmness & serenity of mind which these unjust Rulers may not readily arrive at: Yet such is the State of my Mind that if it might be consistent with divine Wisdom & Justice, I have desired the worst of them might yet come to see their conduct in its true Light; & thereby escape that measure of distress & calamity being returned upon their own heads, which they have seemingly long sought to bring on those who could not join with them—

1st mo. 11th. Soon after opening our door this morning we were informed that Seven Men had escaped out of a Room on the other End of the house, by cutting the Bars of the Window lowering themselves down into the Yard where they removed the wooden Necessary & leaning it against the wall escaped over it into third Street, the Goaler hearing the noise got up & caught the Eighth Man upon the Wall. One of the Men that escaped is the person who broke into the house of

Anthony Williams near Abington, the house of John Chambers near New Garden Chester County, & the house of James Steel near Darby & robbed them of great value—two of the Men came here Yesterday from Monmouth in Jersey to be put on board some vessell of War here the others were very notorious bad Men—

1st mo: 12th. This morning we were informed that two of the Men who escaped out of this house were taken last night & brought in again, with a third Man who knowingly harboured the One that robbed so many houses in the Country as above mentioned.

This afternoon heard of the Matter being settled with the Men who were unwilling to serve the Congress any longer—that about 1900 are discharged from their Service, & about 90 were willing to continue—That ——— Ogden & a Brittish Sergeant (who are said to have been sent out by Sir Henry Clinton to offer these Men, that if they would come to New York, such of them as chose to go to England & Ireland should have their passages free & such of them as chose to enlist, should be treated as Brittish Soldiers) have been hanged & those persons who went from this City to settle matters with these men, are returned back; I cannot say what I have written is any more than mere report, concerning these Soldiers mutinying—time will shew how much of it is true—but it is truly lamentable & mournful to every feeling Mind for the miseries of War, that no Steps have yet had any material effect apparently towards a restoration of peace & doing away the causes of these Wars & animosities from the mind of the people that mutual Love Concord & kindness might prevail amongst the Inhabitants & the spirit of Revenge & Retaliation be eradicated—that if a time should come when these Colonies should again be Providentially restored to Great Britain, the Inhabitants may then be deeply humbled under a sense of the Judgments they have justly brought upon themselves

& be enabled for the future awfully to bear in mind the great kindness of the Almighty in again restoring Peace & the free enjoyment of that great Priviledge Liberty of Conscience in that ample manner we have so long been blessed with it, without walking humbly thankful for that & almost every other blessing that ever any of the Inhabitants of the Earth enjoyed—for my own part, I have been very fearful of myself if my life should be spared to the End of these troubles, lest I may become forgetful of so great a deliverance & not deeply enough be impressed with a sense of the necessity of Continuing in fear & watchfulness to the End of my days—

My sentiments on the present unnatural Contest, have ever been that when in the Eye of him who sees all the actions of Men & knoweth their hearts, we shall be so far humbled, that he may see meet in his great mercy, again to shew kindness & compassion upon us, these Colonies will then be restored to peace & union with Great Britain by a providential hand, let men endeavour what they will to hinder it—and if I am wrong in holding such sentiments it would be more kind to bear with me in such an error, than to persecute me for it, especially as I am not conscious of ever having meddled in any thing of a warlike nature, but have endeavoured to bear my allotment of these troubles, as being permitted to befall us, in order to bring us back out of the many deviations we have been in & I hope I have received my tryals & chastisements as from the hand of heaven, looking upon the instruments with no more malice, than a School Boy may the Rod which has no power to chastise but as the Master uses it—and I firmly beleive that if we were brought to true repentance & amendment—These Rulers would then be like the Rod, which may be laid by as useless or burnt—

I mean not these broken memorandums to be viewed by any person whatever; for no one has as yet read a

line of them but myself—They may serve to bring more fresh in memory some particular occurrences & my thoughts on them in a future day, if the Great Father of Mercies, who can at any time change the purposes & intentions of the hearts of Men, should condescend in his matchless compassion & loving kindness to work my deliverance from this house & the power of these Rulers, with an evidence on my mind that I have suffered as an innocent person—this is the full extent of satisfaction, that I have & still continue to desire—for so far am I from desiring any manner of satisfaction great or small, from any of the instruments of my tryals, that their being with myself brought truly to see all our Errors & the enjoyment of solid peace of Mind is what I heartily wish for them & myself; & I much desire I may be preserved in such a disposition if I should live to see them humbled, that I may then be favoured to shew them kindness in return for the treatment they have exercised towards me, And it seems probable that many or perhaps most of them, would be far from treating me as they have done if they believed me to be innocent—for the delusion in the minds of many in this day, is so very strong, that they go on in the dark without knowing what they are doing. May this delusion be broken & dispelled from the Minds of the people, that they may come to see & do that which will make for their own peace both here & in the world to come—

Yesterday say 1 mo: 11. Joseph Stansbury's Wife & Seven Children set out for New York having first disposed of their Effects here.

1 mo: 14, 1781. This day heard that Joseph Reed &c who had been to settle matters, with that part of Washington's Army called by the present Rulers the Pennsylvania Line who had revolted & marched as far as Princeton 42 Miles distant, are come back to this City—what I learn to be true & material is, that ——

Ogden & a Brittish Sergeant came to these revolters, with some offers of terms, upon which General Clinton would receive them at New York—that contrary to the intention of the Revolters in general, they had been prevailed to deliver these two Messengers from Clinton to Joseph Reed &c, who had brought them over Delaware and hanged them in Bucks County about 1 or 2 Miles from the ferry, after having given them some form of a Tryal—that in consequence of giving up these two Men they were to be settled with & receive what Pay & Cloaths were due to them & all those whose times of enlistment were expired, were to be discharged—& that the Men are coming thro' this City on their way home—Tis reported that the above Brittish Sergeant told Isaac Wayne (called a General) that he had one favour to ask of him, viz: That he would give his Compliments to General Clinton & inform him that he had executed his orders to a tittle & that he died without regret—

1st mo: 18th. Heard there had been attempts made to raise Money by Subscription of the Merchants to pay these Revolters (for so they are commonly called) but the Merchants being backward, Joseph Reed & his associates had undertaken to stop the Trade to & from this City & addressed the Merchants on this occasion, but on the day after they stopped the Port, they finding I conclude that the Scheme would not succeed, opened the port again, saying they had unexpectedly Monies to answer the demands—It may be here observed that Joseph Reed is very much disliked by a majority of those of the Citizens who are engaged in the present very destructive Measures—

1 mo: 19. This day we were admitted by the Goaler to go into the Street & bring in half a Cord of wood we had purchased, the like we had been permitted to do on 11mo: 16 & 12 mo: 8, 1780—each time we had half a Cord, which we sawed & piled in our room this winter

—tho the last we were allowed another room to keep it in under our own Lock & Key several of our acquaintances who were passing in the Street stopt & spake with us, which I thought, the Two Turnkeys did not seem to like very much, probably lest some of the violent people should blame them, for permitting us to be so familiar in conversation in the Street—for some days past I have been employed in drawing two Maps of the Meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland & the Western part of Virginia, which belong to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia—after I had finished them I pasted them on Linnen to fold & made Cases for them—One of which my father gave to David Brooks who is here with Seth Coffin from New Garden, No. Carolina on their way to New England. The other he gave to David Sands, who has been visiting the families of friends in this City, since the Yearly Meeting mostly in Company with George Dilwyn of Burlington & Robert Willis of Rahway & I learn they have nearly completed their visit to friends of the Bank & Middle Meetings & are about to begin with those of the Meeting of Pine Street

At a late sitting of those Men called the Assembly, who undertake to make what they call Laws—they have made one touching New Bills which are issued & to be issued by them in consequence of a Resolve of the Congress of the 18th of the 3d mo: last, which says that these New Bills are to pass & shall pass, equal to their nominal value in Gold & Silver—One dollar of these New Ones equal to 75 of those that were before issued—tho one real Dollar will now purchase 100 & upwards of the Old Bills—The penalty of refusal of the Bills is for the first refusal a forfeiture of the Goods offered for Sale & the value of them, for the second offence so called, a forfeiture of half the Lands & Tenements, Goods & Chattles & imprisonment during the War—If these Bills are refused when offered in payment of debt,

The debt to be forfeited—Tis a most amazing delusion that the same Men upon such uncertainty should issue fresh Bills, & attempt to call them equal to Gold & Silver over again, when what they have already issued is almost gone to nothing—but such is the strength of deception, duplicity, hypocrisy & fear of suffering the penalty, that I am ready to conclude most people who carry on any kind of Trade, will again be duped & the first Instruments of bringing them into circulation—tho I hope the number of those who are desirous of acting honestly in future is increasing & that some who took the first Bills of Congress will refuse these new Ones, which are issued by the several visionary States separately & some by the Congress said to bear Interest—

1 mo: 25. This Morning William Jackson of New Garden Chester County, who is now on his way to visit friends in some parts of Jersey, Long Island &c, came to visit us & spake encouragingly to us William Dixson of the same place came with him & Isaac Lane of this City—

This day heard that the Officers who had commanded those Men who lately revolted are come to town & are ordered to be quartered upon the families of friends in this City & others who are disaffected to our assumers of Power—

Our friend Edward Jones having brought us some Hickory suitable for walking sticks we are again employed in making them, we had before made a few of some of our firewood—

1st mo: 27th. For some days past we have heard of that Part of Washington's Army called or belonging to the Jerseys were also revolted—but this day we hear it in such manner, as we think likely to be true—& that they have killed one of their officers—time must shew this matter more clearly—

For about a week past we have heard various ac-

counts of Arnolds being in James River with a fleet of Ships & at the head of a Body of Brittish Troops landing & marching to Richmond, which by the present Rulers is called & held as the Seat of Government, what Arnold has done we cannot certainly learn, but it seems he meets with little or no opposition there—It seems as if every part of this Continent must severely feel the calamities & horrors of War before they will be humbled & fitted for the restoration of Peace—how it may fare with Virginia time must shew but was I an inhabitant there, I should methinks be ready to prepare for a large share of the Judgments of the Almighty on account of the vast number of the deeply oppressed africans. I much desire that God who sooner or later arises to deliver the oppressed, may by his mighty overturning Power bring forth deliverance to these deeply injured People—for really to every considerate honest Mind there must appear to be a very deep stain upon a people who have been favoured with so great a degree of divine Light, & such a large share of the Blessings, which can arise from no less a Source than the great Author of All Good—

We have had a very moderate Winter with very small frosts, & very little Snow till the night of the 22d Instant, when there came on a most violent Storm, resembling a hurricane, & toward the latter a small fall of Snow—it has torn up abundance of Trees by the Roots— it also did some damage to the Ships in the River but weather soon abated & yet continues moderate—

1 mo: 28. Heard that Orders were issued for quartering an Officer on my Brother Miers, but that he has not been there yet, I hope he may be prevented in a satisfactory manner, more particularly on account of his wife's poor state of health.

This day heard that ——— Mathews called a Captain of Artificers under the present Rulers, had been miss-

ing since the night of the 25th Instant, when he left the Mason's Lodge—That his Hat had been found floating in the River from which tis suspected that he has been murdered by some of these Revolters (of which great numbers are in the City) & thrown into the River—The Inhabitants seem generally afraid of walking the Streets by night—

1st mo: 31st. Heard that an officer had been sent to be quartered at my father's, but upon my father speaking with him & desiring him to inform those that sent him there what he said on the Subject, he went away & did not return. I am informed that many friends have them in their houses & are ordered to provide them with every necessary except their Cloathing & firewood—

2d mo: 1st. This day James Reed of Downing's Town, who was tryed & found guilty 10th mo: 3d. 1780—& repleved at the time Dawson, Chamberlain & Sutton were executed 11 mo: 25, 1780 was let out of Goal on payment of his fees, but was brought back again on account of some part of his fees, which were forgot to be demanded of him—

I have not heretofore committed to writing much touching the tossings & distresses of my mind since my residence in this house. I have thought at times, that I have been mercifully helped thro' many difficulties but most part of this day my poverty & distress of mind has been great, without being favoured to experience releif therefrom.

2d. mo: 2d, This morning for want of being enough watchful in my conversation, offence has been taken at some of my words, which I am clear of intentionally giving the least cause for, but I was so far off my guard as to get raised with anger at the words of one of my Companions to me to my sorrow—May it be an instructive lesson to me to be more watchful of my words in future—that I may not join in conversation upon matters which appear innocent, with a spirit, that is watch-

ing for evil & ready to catch at my words, expressed without the least intention to misrepresent or deceive, I have thought for some weeks past I have felt this spirit watching my words to take occasion against me & it had been well if I had kept from Anger, when provoked— as well as avoided speaking anything that could feed such a spirit—May I be so humbled under a deep sense of my own weakness & inability to direct my Steps aright, that I may experience strength from him who alone can enable me to stand without falling, which greatly behoves me in my present situation, for these two days past, I have been almost ready to doubt, there being any rectitude in my suffering here, & ready to say, why could I not have taken the Congress Bills, & otherwise acknowledged the present Rulers, & why I could not, or cannot now give Bail as they call it for my future good behaviour, which is only mere matter of form in the view of the generality of the people & it is now about a Year since I might have been out upon this Mode—To become as I now am noticed on account of my imprisonment, is a thing the farthest both from my intention and expectation, & tho I have no doubt of the sufficiency at this day of the Almighty Power being as great as ever to release the innocent, yet I am ready to doubt there being any rectitude in my conduct, or that I am suffering innocently—& I am thankful in retrospecting to have it to say, that at the times wherein I thought I saw clearest, I have never expressed to my friends, more than that I could not beleive it to be right, or that I should have satisfaction afterwards, to comply with what has been required of me—If in the overturning of an over-ruling Providence I should be satisfactorily discharged from these Bonds—Oh what abundant cause of thankfulness will be administered—& I have earnestly desired that if this should be the case, that I may really walk in humble gratitude to the end of my days & that the memorial of God's gracious deliverance

may be the Companion of my Mind—for I have some times thought it more arduous & difficult, to conduct rightly in ease affluence & the enjoyment of Religious & civil liberty as the inhabitants of this Province did under the Brittish Government, Than in adversity *or* under oppression—

If I am innocently, or rightly suffering & should fall, Oh what a most wretched Case, Mine will be—If I am not suffering as an innocent person, my Case is if possible much more wretched—If I am really suffering innocently & should be released satisfactorily, what great watchfulness will be necessary in the remaining part of my life—It would be much better for me to end my days in this house, than to fall after having gone thro such tryals—

2nd mo: 3d. This day has passed over without my having felt that calm & quietness of mind that has mostly been my Companion & tho I have expressed very few words, I find it hard to say anything touching any indifferent matter, lest I may speak what may be cause of uneasiness, or be taken contrary to my intention—these two or three days past, Jos. Pritchard & myself closely employed in making Walking Sticks, of some wood sent us by our frd Jos. Russell—

2d mo: 4th—This afternoon David Sands, James Thornton, Joseph Lukens & Sam'l. Smith came to visit us. My Father, Brothers Thomas & Miers were also here, the three first spake J. Thornton & D. Sands in an encouraging manner, & tho it was to me a continuance of the same tryals I have experienced for some days past, yet J. Thornton said it had been a time of favour & I am thankful in beleiving that the same kind hand, which has hitherto supported me, is yet continued & that I feel an increase of affection for my friends—What abundant cause of solid satisfaction will be administred if friends should generally be brought to unite in heart & Conduct to the confounding of all our

enemies, & the gathering of many who are carried away with this great & powerful delusion—

This afternoon heard that one of the Waiters or Servants at the City Tavern, had been run thro with a Sword & killed by an Officer.

All those Officers now quartered in town had been invited by some of the Citizens to dine at the City Tavern, & this Murder is said to have been done by One of them when drunk.

2d mo: 5. This day is the time of the Quarterly Meeting in this City, no friends called to see us except Dan'l. Offley & Jonathan Evans, Junr—Heard that the Waiter at the City Tavern was killed by a Man known by the Appellation of Colonel ——— Craig. My distress of mind still continues without much intermission—

2d mo: 6th. This Morning heard that a Guard of Men, armed with Musketts & Bayonetts fixed of those called the Militia were last night placed at the door of this Goal & at the house of Joseph Reed's residence on account of & lest the great number of Congress Soldiers lately discharged & now in this City, should combine & brake open the Goal & pull down the house where J. Reed lives, some indeed say he is afraid of his life, & this placing of Guards has the appearance of fear it has also been reported for several days past, that all the Arms are sent down the River to Mud Island fort, lest the above mentioned Soldiery should seize them & become masters of the City—

This afternoon heard of the death of Robert Jewel with the Spotted fever, he has been keeper of the New Goal from the beginning of the present Rulers, except during the stay of the Brittish Troops in this City, when he fled to Lancaster—Also heard that the Prisoners taken of the Brittish Subjects by Sea & Land, now confined in the New Goal, are very sickly, & that the Sashes have been taken out of most of the Windows purposely that they may suffer—This Robert Jewel

was a Joyner by Trade & at a grand entertainment of the Congress at the State house in 1775—when there was a firing of Cannon, he lost his Arm by some of the Guns—in consequence of which he was placed to keeper of that house.

No friend called to see us this day except Daniel Dawson & his wife, with whose company I was pleased, the more so on account of the burthen which has for many days been on my mind—

This Evening I am thankful in feeling more quiet & ease of mind, that I have known for several days past, under a sense that the same good hand, which has heretofore enabled me to wade thro many dark & gloomy Seasons, yet sustains me, & a renewal of hope arises, that I may yet be supported till my release from these bonds is in great Loving kindness & Mercy brought about—

I am also thankful in feeling my mind unmoved with the Commotions, fears & anxieties, which many who are now at liberty experience—I have heard that the Meetings of friends Yesterday & this day have been much favoured & that a Certificate was Yesterday signed for John Pemberton, who is drawn to visit friends in England, Ireland, &c—he had applied to the monthly Meeting on the 29th of 12 mo: last & they had granted him one of the 26th of last month with much unity & concord.

I have also heard that William Mathews of Warrington York County, & Robert Volantine of Uwchland, Chester County, have mentioned to their several Meetings their draft to visit friends on the other side of the Atlantic.

2d. mo: 7th. This afternoon Patrick Garvey, James Stillman, John Shaw & William Black, were removed from this Goal to Glocester in Jersey, there to undergo the form of a tryal for trading to New York.

I omitted a visit paid us by Samuel Wilson of Bucks

County on Second day the 29th of last month, David Bacon accompanied him—Samuel spake in what he had to say to us, very highly indeed in commendation of me by name, which I did not well like at the time, tho I beleive I may safely say it had no bad tendency on my mind, yet for some days past, I have been ready to conclude that that added to what has been frequently said by my friends of me, has raised something of envy & malice against me, which from the feelings of my mind I conclude yet remains in his mind, for which I am really sorry on his account—The weight of this evil disposition in one of my Companions as far as I can at present judge, is what has burthened my mind for about a week past, at times this day it has been very heavy, tho for the most part I have been favoured to be above it—& I much desire that I may have strength afforded to me to soar above such an unworthy disposition, at the same time breathing nothing but good will to him & desiring that both he and myself might be preserved in such conduct, as will afford us real satisfaction & I should not have committed anything touching the very great weight on my mind to writing, did I not beleive there is some cause, which time will more clearly shew—for I have seldom felt so great & lasting uneasiness, as this, & I really think that such distress of Mind could not remain if he & myself are suffering rightly—

2d mo: 8th. This morning Jacob Lindley visited us & expressed his desire that we might be enabled to hold out with patience till deliverance may come.

This afternoon heard a report of some victory said to be gained over some of the Brittish Troops under Lord Cornwallis about Ninety Six, in South Carolina & the Bells are ringing for it, while I write this—

The uneasiness of my mind has prevailed most of the day, but this Evening I am favoured to enjoy some serenity & quiet.

2d mo: 9. This afternoon James Stillman was

brought from Gloucester, my mind has been favoured to get clear in a good degree of the Load, that has long been very hard to bear, May I be preserved from being born down with feeling such a wrong Spirit, as has for some days past been almost ready to overwhelm me—

2d mo: 10th. This Morning very cold, there has been a considerable fall of Snow this day & yesterday has more severity of Winter, than all the Weather we have had before—My mind calm & quiet—which is a favor much to be valued.

2 mo: 11. This day heard that William Black remains in Gloucester Goal, John Shaw is sent to Salem Goal, & Patrick Garvey to Burlington Goal—also that one Joseph Ball suspected of trading to New York, has been sent from Gloucester to Monmouth Goal—by which & J. Stillman's being sent here, it seems that they are determined to harrass the Men as much as they can—tho' tis not probable they can make even according to their unprincipled System, anything capital appear against these Men—

My Mind much favour'd this day, but in the Evening somewhat tossed & unsettled—

2d mo: 12th. The severe weather continues & I learn the Navigation is stopt with Ice for the first time, so that firewood has been plenty & reasonable & the weather mostly so moderate as to require but little fire, which has been a great ease to many of the Inhabitants these difficult times—

My mind yet continues undisturbed with the Spirit I have suffered so much from, for which I am thankful—

2 mo. 14. This Afternoon we were visited by sundry friends, who had a sitting with us in which Samuel Emlen spake encouragingly to us—

2d mo: 17th. My mind has been more calm for these few days past, & more free from that distress that has attended me—

2d mo: 18th. This day heard of the arrival of the noted John Paul Jones in the Ship Ariel from France & that a Mutiny had been in Ship on the Passage in consequence of which about 20 of the Crew are brought in in Irons whom tis likely they mean to execute here. Also that Joseph Wharton Junr. a young Man had been killed at Sea by his own Pistol, which he kept by him for his defence against the Mutineers—

2d mo: 19th. Jonathan Evans Junr. brought to this Goal for refusing to pay a demand of £1319—so called—which is claimed of him for not going to Trenton last Summer with those called the Militia, for Substitute Money & Muster fines so called before & since that time—

Anthony Wright took him to Wm. Henry called Lieutenant of the City, where he said he could not pay the demand for Conscience Sake & upon being asked to shew his property, he said he could no more do that, than pay—Upon which W. Henry orderd A. Wright to take him to the Old Goal—he was orderd by the Goaler into the Quaker Room, for so they now call our room, altho there has been none under that appellation in it for some months except Jos. Pritchard & myself—

2d mo: 20th. This morning heard that a young Man who was passing the Centries at Joseph Reed's house last night in Liquor & had there made use of some abusive words, was conducted to the Old Work house, which is called the Main Guard within a Stones throw of our Room, when he continuing his abusive language stript to his skin & offered to fight any of them—upon which tis reported ——— Shaffer called Captain of the Guard ran him thro with his Sword—

I am informed that nothing is done or like to be done to ——— Craig, on account of his killing the Man at the City Tavern on the 3d of this Month—& that ——— Mathews who has been missing some time & twas thought has been murdered, is now at New York—

2d mo: 21st. This day many friends visited us, the more on account of our additional Companion—in the afternoon George Dilwyn, Henry Drinker & Samuel Smith—George seems much prejudiced against me & I could not prevail on him to hear me give an account of the Letter upon which I am detained here & the proceedings of the present Rulers therein but he went away seemingly determined not to be informed altho he never has seen a copy of the Letter—

2d mo: 22d. I have been indisposed for some days past more than I have been, for near a Year, the cause principally owing to the distress I have lately passed thro—

The frost which began the 10th Instant, continued about a week since which the weather is quite mild for the Season—

2d mo: 27th. My mind has been much solicitous & depressed with my situation & alarmed with fears, lest the Sentiments of some of my friends touching me may be productive of uneasiness & disputes amongst friends & I still continue poorly on that account—this afternoon John Haughton came here & informed me, that friends of Pine Street Meeting had thoughts of making application for my release & enquired of me, in what manner I would chuse them to apply, which I answered him, as fully as haste would permit—Afterwards I desired Daniel Offley Junr. to go to John Reynell & inform him from me, that if friends could apply in a satisfactory way to me, it would be very acceptable.

2d mo: 28th. This afternoon John Reynell, Thomas Hallowell, John Morris & Joseph Bringhurst came to see me. My father, Brother Thomas, Sisters Lydia & Sally were accidentally present & Jonathan Evans Junr. remained in the room while we had an open friendly conversation & I expressed my earnest desire that if they could be easy to proceed according to my mind they would & gave them the following lines in writing, viz;

“If the friends can unite in saying to any of the
“present rulers, that they hold me to be an innocent
“person, who has given no just cause for the unjust
“treatment I have received at their hands, it will be
“acceptable to me— But if they cannot, I desire &
“entreat that they may not move at all, as I hope to
“bear with Patience the remaining part of my impris-
“onment, being conscious in my own mind of my own
“innocence— I cannot be easy that the present Rulers
“should be told anything purporting that what I have
“suffered is adequate or more than equal to any thing
“I have done, nor can I accept of a Pardon”—

We parted in more true friendship than at any other visit of the friends of Pine Street Meeting— they took the above mentioned Lines with them to consider of—

The cause of their now thinking to apply on my account in part arises from their being about to apply on behalf of Jonathan Evans & they are rather more uneasy about my situation than they have heretofore been My situation has been rendered more difficult, by several of my friends asking some of those who have assumed the authority, if I had not suffered enough for what I did— & these friends now informed me that Joseph Reed has said, I might have my liberty if I would ask for it—

3rd mo: 2nd. This morning Daniel Drinker & Samuel Lewis came into our room, I soon walked out & intended staying out till they were gone, for I have had a very hard trying state of Mind for some weeks past & I had uneasiness at the sight of them, tho I knew not for what; after walking some time in the Yard, I thought my absence would be thought strange of & I therefore came in & sat down with them— Soon after which they told me, that they had been directed by the Committee to whom I had delivered the above mentioned paper, to come & inform me, that they had considered of it & could not agree that I was an innocent

person. D. Drinker said I had been so exceedingly dictatorial, that nothing could be done & urged many things I thought in a very unkind manner very harshly insisting that I was not innocent & that I must make an acknowledgment thereof to the present Rulers; my mind has been so exceedingly harrassed for a long time past, under a prospect of some members of Society, who I think I can truly say without Breach of Charity seem to be desirous by their conduct, that I may not be released as an innocent person that I found myself this morning not so capable of bearing hard things as at some other times & I got warm, & tho I do not recollect that I express'd, any thing or sentiment of which I am ashamed, yet I clearly see the impropriety & Error of giving way to warmth at all times, but especially a conscientious Sufferer, but at the same time I may observe that none are fully acquainted with the many close things I meet with— My father came in while Daniel Drinker was speaking & desired Dan'l. to stop & hear what he had to say, for that he was not rightly informed, yet Dan'l. Seem'd positive some time, till my father told Dan'l. that those friends had been to Joseph Reed & had asserted my innocence— That Joseph Reed said, I “had suffered much more than “adequate to what I had done, that there would be a “difficulty in discharging me, as I would pay no fees, “that he would lay it before the Council &c”— which D. Drinker & S. Lewis did not seem to beleive, but it is certain that Jno. Reynell, Nicholas Waln, Joseph Bringhurst & John Morris accompanied by David Sands did go to Jos. Reed this morning & assert my Innocence, when Jos. Reed told them what I have related above &c— & that after being with J. Reed these four friends desired D. Drinker & S. Lewis to come & inform me that they could not unite that I am an innocent Sufferer & therefore could not make the application for me, on account of my being so very dictatorial— I do esteem

this conduct of my friends very strange & quite different from what my little abilities & small experience would expect from leading Men in a society professing the highest of any in the World— perhaps tis not impossible, but they may have better reasons for their Conduct, than my understanding can penetrate— but the cause of their sending D. D. & S. L. to me with such a message after they had been with Jos. Reed & asserted my innocence, I take to be that they are averse to beleiving that they have done wrong in taking the Congress Bills, &c— & that they saw clearly this morning that if I am released as an innocent Sufferer, by the application of my friends— the not taking those Bills will be established as a right thing— & of Consequence those Leaders of the Society who have taken those Bills cannot be said to have done right therein—

3rd mo: 4th. I sent for Sam'l. Lewis & informed him that I was sorry I got warm & that it was unbecoming a person in my situation I also informed him that I thought D. Drinker to be in an unkind disposition towards me.

3rd mo: 15th. Samuel Chapman, (who I take to be put into our room not so much from a disposition of Lenity towards him, as an expectation that we should not let him break out & that on that account he may be safer than in any other Room) has often talked of breaking out of Goal, but postponed his intentions, lest he might subject us his Room Mates to hard treatment. This evening he was much agitated with renewed information that they intended to take his life, the time when they mean to try him in some sort is drawing near, & he expressed his determination to break out of our room within a few nights, & threatened any of us if we attempted to prevent him— My mind did not seem alarmed tho' it seem'd to me to be a delicate situation we were in, either to be present in the room when he escaped or to make any noise or give any

notice whatever to prevent him— J. Evans was uneasy & sent for D. Offley Junr. to consult thereon, upon which I desired him to ask James Thornton if in town his advice thereon— James had intended visiting us this day 3 mo: 16, but this matter prevented him tho he with some other friends sent us word, that they thought we had better alarm the Goaler, if Sam'l Chapman attempted to escape out of our room, this advice I did not seem to approve & I hope we shall not have occasion thereof.

3rd mo: 19th. This day heard that the Island called St. Eustatius belonging to the Dutch was taken by the Brittish Fleet under Admiral Rodney,

And 3rd mo: 25th. heard of Great Britain declaring War against the Dutch, who it must be acknowledged have been very treacherous in aiding the Congress & joining with France & Spain against Great Britain, contrary to their Solemn Treaties—

What a favour inexpressible it would be to all the Inhabitants of the whole Brittish Dominions in Europe & America— if they could come to be rightly humbled under the Calamities of this unhappy contest & sincerely seek to him alone, who can rightly dispose the heart to experience forgiveness for our manifold iniquities & give us ability to walk before him in fear & an awful sense of his justice in thus permitting us to be our own Rod to each other— If this was or does become generally the case, it is the only right way for the Land to be restored to Peace & tranquility— & I am clear it would have a more powerful effect, than all the Armies of Men that can be possibly brought together, or than any Victorys that can be obtained before the Inhabitants are thus rightly humbled.

3rd mo: 26th & 27th. Many friends came to see us it being the time of our General Spring Meeting. Phebe Miller spake in clear & encouraging Manner to me—

3rd mo: 28th. James Thornton called to see me ac-

accompanied by Sam'l. Smith— James seemed rather desirous of going to Joseph Reed on my account, if I had been desirous thereof he gave me his advice clearly that He would have me make no concessions & that I had administered no cause at all for the treatment I have received— As I could not see how to write to Jos. Reed at present, or that I shall ever be free to do it— J. Thornton did not go to him—

3rd mo: 29th. Heard that an Entry was made of my being in Goal &c at Pine Street Monthly meeting Yesterday, the terms I cannot exactly learn, unless I were to make some particular enquiry, which I thought best omit, tho' what I have heard thereof seems unpleasant & perhaps not strictly true—

4th mo: 3rd. This morning the Goaler Jno. Reynolds came into our room & delivered me the following:

“Mr. Samuel Fisher,

By Virtue of a writ of Subpoena to you directed
“& herewith shewn to you, you are required personally
“to Appear before the Justices of the Supreme Court
“of the State of Pennsylvania at a Court of Oyer &
“Terminer & General Goal Delivery to be held at Phila-
“delphia for the City & County of Philadelphia, the
“ninth day of April next, to testify all & singular
“those things which you shall know in behalf of the
“commonwealth of Philadelphia. And herein you are
“not to fail under the penalty of one hundred pounds.

“Dated at Philadelphia the thirtieth day of March
“in the Year of our Lord 1781.

“Edw. Burd, Prot.”

The like also was delivered this Morning to my father & Brother Thomas— who took an early opportunity of informing ——— Bradford who is called State's Attorney that they could not give Evidence in any sort at any of their Courts, upon which he expected they would not be further called upon, but on the Morning

of 4th mo: 10th Papers called Attachments were served upon my father, Brothers Thomas & Miers, upon which they all went of their own accord to Thomas McKean's house & informed him fully that my father & Brother Thomas had such clear scruples in their Minds against giving any sort of Evidence before any of the present Rulers, that it seems probable they will not be again called upon— The Case now in question was touching the parties concerned with Benedict Arnold in breaking open our Stores in 6 mo: 1778 & carrying off our Goods to abt. £1200 Sterlg. value— It seems some of the present Rulers are much vexed with Arnold's going over to the Brittish & on that account are prosecuting James Mease & Wm. West Junr. who were his friends & partners in his base practices in this City, where he commanded immediately & during some Months after the evacuation of this City—

My Father & Brothers had an opportunity of informing McKean once more of all our Losses and that they had all originated upon different principles from most others who had suffered— that is merely & entirely from our conscientious refusal of the Congress Bills from their being first issued. McKean acknowledged to my Father that even common honesty dictated that a Man should not pay what was not of the value he had contracted to pay—

List of Names to whom I gave Walking Sticks:

Brother Thomas	2
Brother Miers	2 ferelled
Thomas Rogers	1
Joseph Sermon	1
Susanna Lightfoot	1
John McCracken (of Lewes)	1
Cousin Jabez Fisher	1
Uncle Sam'l. Rowland	1 f
Jonathan Esthill	1

Peter Howard	1
Benj. A. Tetley	1
Samuel Smith	1
Daniel Dawson	2
Thomas Lancaster	1
Cousin Benj. Wynkoop	1
William Jackson	1 f
Jonas Turner	1
James Craig	1
Edward Pennington	1
Dan'l. Offley, Junr.	1
Doct'r. Abraham Chovet	1 f
Nephew Joshua Gilpin	1
Samuel Redwood	1
Townsend Speakman	1
John Haworth	1 f
Thomas Affleck	1 f
Owen Jones, Junr.	1 f
Jacob Lindley	1 f
Cousin John Rowland	1
Robert Holliday	1
Joseph Stansbury	1
John Linley	1
Thomas Howard	1
William Norton	1
Isaac Cathrall	1
Edward Jones	1
Joseph Marriott	1
John Drinker	1
Joseph Hewlings	1
William Brewer	1
Joseph Russell	1
Edward Russell	1

2nd mo: 19, 1781, Sent by my
Uncle S. Rowland 10 Sticks
for my Cousins following:

Jonathan Ozbun	1	Charles Draper	1
Israel Alston	1	Jonathan Rowland	1
Henry Cowgill	1	Edward Stretcher	1
James Blundell	1	Fenwick Fisher	1
Thomas Bowman	1	Isaiah Rowland	1
Thomas Shepperd	1	David Rowland	1
Andrew Collins	1	Edward Fisher	1

4th mo: 17th, 1781—This day Samuel Chapman, who I conclude from his Silence had dropt his intentions of attempting to break out of our room, was taken to the State-house, where he declared that he always had been & still remained to be a Brittish Subject & was brought back again.

4th mo: 18th. he was taken out again & 12 Men were Sworn to try whether he was a Brittish Subject or not, after much pleading of those called Lawyers, the Men went out & soon agreed that he was a Brittish Subject, having gone over to the Brittish Army 12 mo: 1776—in Jersey— I may just observe that on the 11th Inst. the Goaler spoke to me desiring me or my friends would not be offended at all the Women who came in to see us in our room being obliged to leave their Cloaks & Bonnetts with him, for that he had good information that some person in our room intended to dress & go out in the appearance of a plain Woman friend, I told him I did not believe there was no foundation for it; for it was entirely new to me, tho' I afterwards found Sam'l. Chapman had offered Wm. Bomberger, One of the Turnkeys, Money to let him pass out in such dress & that Bomberger had told the Goaler of it.

4th mo: 20th. James Pemberton, Joseph Lukens, James Moon, Joseph West & Caleb Cresson, who are Committee of the Meetings for Sufferings, came to visit me, Isaac Lane was also with them— I understood from them that no report is made of my Situation, but that these friends are appointed to visit me & make a report

to the Meeting—who are not satisfied with the manner in which it has been enter'd in Pine Street Mo. Meeting— It did not appear to me, even after I had given them a clear & full account that they, or any one of them clearly see my Situation, or at least, if they do, Not one of them expressed any thing like it, but urged my Sending some sort of a paper or writing to the present Rulers to obtain my release, several of them & Isaac Lane in particular said the Society suffered deeply on my account & he had mourned for me— I am altogether wrong, or Else these friends come to urge & give Advice without a clear conviction & understanding of what is wrong & what is right— Our Conference was friendly & in kind in expression, but I seem to think that if I am right, something or some persons must be instrumental to convince some of my friends, for ability is evidently wanting in me, & therefore I have no remedy but patience, till time shews wherein I am right & wherein I am Cd aside from the right Line by Obstinacy, or any other unbecoming view—

This day Samuel Smith called to see me, being to set out Tomorrow with James Thornton on a visit to friends in some Parts of the Provinces of New York, Rhode Island & Massachusetts Bay—

I am also informed that Thomas Carrington set out directly after the Spring Meeting expecting to Join William Jackson in the upper part of Jersey, & proceed with him in visiting friends on Long Island & possibly in New England—

My mind is frequently so depressed & generally so very low, that the Situation of my aged father & my Sisters Esther & Sally is at times ready to overwhelm me, for I used to have the principal Care & direction of the family & I am fearful my Sisters in particular are almost ready to faint on account of our complicated tryals & because some friends seem so long to remain

rather averse to beleive, what many see so clearly & have expressed both to me in Prison & to my Connections at home— I earnestly desire that the Light may break forth so clearly & so distinctly amongst my friends, that every wrong view may be brought to Light, whether in me or in any of them—for I am in such a situation of Mind, that I could joyfully do any thing whatever, If I could only see that I should not afterwards have uneasiness of mind therefor—

5th mo: 3rd. This day has been appointed by the Congress, for what they call a fast throughout the thirteen Colonies— But I am ready to conclude that the meanest Capacity among the people as well as all others can clearly see that tis altogether Mockery, & disgusting to every man who has any virtue left.

5th mo: 4th. Joseph Reed & his Associates have issued a paper called a Proclamation directing that the Bills issued by the Congress shall pass at the rate of 175 Dollars for One Dollar in the Bills lately issued called State Bills, & that these State Bills shall pass equal to their nominal value in Gold & Silver, altho' have already passed at the rate of 6 or 8 for One Silver — The Congress Bills had before got to abt. 250 for 1 Silver, & this proclamation together with a resolve not to take the Congress Bills after the 1st of next Month for any tax the Congress Bills seem to be almost done passing, some Sailors stick it on their hatts & about a Dog's Neck driving him about the City— for several days a Mob has gone about the City & will not permit any person they can find to work for any paper Bills but for Gold & Silver only—but I beleive they have done no injury to any person—

5th mo: 5th. This Morning Thomas McCullough, Henry McKeever, John Flanagan, Thos. McGee, ——— Dobbins & ——— Burns alias Murphy were sentenced to die for various Robberies & Burglary's they had committed, having been tryed since the 10th of last

Month— Nicholas Coleman has also been tryed for being concerned in carrying a Scotch Ship which had been taken by a Congress Privateer into Charlestown So. Carolina & acquitted— Thomas Wilkinson was also tryed for the same & found Guilty & sentence this day passed on him—

This Morning Samuel Chapman let out of Goal & he immediately sat out for New York.

Yesterday Seth Coffin who with David Brooks has returned from Nantucket to this City called to see me—

5th mo: 9th. Heard that Susanna Lightfoot who has lain a long time in a declining way, deceased Yesterday & is to be interred at Uwchlan on the 11th Instant.

5th mo: 12th. Seth Coffin called again to see me & expressed his intentions of calling again with David Brooks before they set out homewards, tho' they are very anxious for the situation of their families, as there has been a great Battle between Lord Cornwallis & some Congress Soldiers near their Habitations in Guildford County No. Carolina—but they sat out on 5th mo: 15th without calling to see me—

5th mo: 17th. James Pemberton, Joseph West, Joseph Lukens & James Moon of the Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings came again to see me & informed that report is yet made at the Meeting for Sufferings in writing & they seemed desirous that I would address something to the present Rulers touching my case that they might go with it tomorrow, which I could not be free to do—they seem yet averse to beleive that I am innocent & Thomas Ross who accompanied them could not see my innocence clearly I therefore requested he would call to see me on his return from Salem Yearly Meeting, whither he is now going— This day as well as at the last visit, I informed them that I was sorry friends should suffer on my account—that I had never made much profession & wished to be considered as one of the hindermost, & we parted each time, with

every appearance of good will, that could be in the conduct of persons towards each other, that are not alike in material matters as to Sentiment & Conduct.—

5th mo: 23rd. This Morning James Steelman. who had been committed to this house 11 mo: 25, 1780 with John Shaw & James Black for trading to New York was released, having given Bail in £500 Congress Bills so called to appear at Gloucester in Jersey— All three lost their Goods. Steelman's value about £80—in real Money, Shaw's about £300—& Black's about £50—taken from them by Joseph Reed & his associates, who have doubtless been concerned in the same trade.

This Morning Thomas Wilkinson was ordered to be hanged on the Island opposite this City & afterwards to be taken down & hung in Gibbetts at the Fort on Mud Island—but just as he was going out of the Goal orders were sent to stop his execution—

This Afternoon heard that Thomas McKean had lately within abt. a week past offered Moses Roberts & Job Hughes to be discharged by the form of Writs of Habeas Corpus, who after due consideration gave McKean for answer in writing that they could not accept thereof. Upon which McKean appear'd very angry with them & with friends as a Body, & gave them many rough words—

5th mo: 26th. This Morning Henry McKeever, John Flanagan, Dobbins, Burns & McGee were to be hanged but just as they were going out McKeever & Flanagan were pardoned & the other were taken out & executed, it was a solemn affecting day to my Mind.

Thomas McCullough had been pardoned before.

This Burns, robbed Anthony Williams, John Chambers & sundry other friends in the Country to a great Amount.

5th mo: 28th. This Morning Thomas Ross on his way home from Salem called to see me accompanied by Samuel Emlen. I gave Thomas a full account of my

Situation & the cause thereof, with which he rather appeared convinced of my innocence tho' he did not say so—

1781—6th mo: 10th. This Morning the Goaler called Jonathan Evans down & told him to go out, but Jon'a. would not put on his Hat, nor move till pulled or pushed out, as I am informed tho' I did not see it—he had been 111 days in this house abt. 24 hours short of 16 weeks, which they call 4 Mo's—which is the time allotted for those to be imprisoned who do not serve as what they call Militia Men—

6th mo: 11th. This Afternoon & two preceeding second day afternoon's, some Methodist preachers came to this Goal & having all or nearly all the prisoners collected together in that call'd the Debtor's Yard under our Windows at 4 O'Clk each afternoon, they Preached Prayed & Sang Psalms in their way. This afternoon in particular some of the Prisoners laughed & talked most of time altho' several times desired to be quiet & attentive by the preacher.

On the morning of the 7th of this Month William Moore called Vice President, with whom I had been acquainted, till this change of Sentiment & acting in the present System put an end to any intercourse with each other, came into this Goal & as he passed by the Iron Gate, I happened to be looking that way, & his eyes were for a small Space fixed on me, after which he went into one of the Goaler's Rooms & soon return'd as I thought to try whether I would speak to him, he asked one of the Theives a question, which I took to be the Sham reason of his coming again, I did not seem easy to say a word to him at that time notwithstanding I am well informed, that he said about 15 Months since, that I might have my liberty on my asking the Goaler which I never did do, because I thought there was some deceit covered therein—

6th mo: 19th. James Guy by trade & House Car-

penter came into my Room & told me he was come to take my Place in this house, from his appearance I thought him not quite sound in his understanding, tho' he was sensible of the failure of his Memory & could not on that account relate what he intended—what I collected from his unconnected narrative, was that his Mind had been much distressed on my account for above 3 Months past for that he beleived himself to be the sole cause of my being here confined, for on the day of my being tryed, he had been at work Shingling a house of Alex'r. Miller, who used every persuasive method in his Power to keep him from going to the Court-house to no purpose, for he said he went determined against me without knowing for what,—tho he was sufficiently warned not to go & that he was the sole means of my being brought in guilty—saying several times, don't you pity me, I heard you pray for me—he stayed about 3 hours in the room, some part of it reading but mostly lying on the floor, seemingly in much distress of mind, after which he got up & went out without speaking to any person—

6th mo: 22nd. James Pemberton, Thomas Ross, James Moon, Joshua Morris, David Evans, Robert Willis & Joseph West, from the Meeting for Sufferings came again to visit me & soon gave me to understand that they expected me to make some concessions, I told them that was out of the Question, for that I could not do it, & that as they might think they had had much trouble with me, perhaps they might be eased therein, if the friends of Pine Street Meet'g. would proceed to disown me, as I did not expect I could say any thing that would convince some of my friends of my innocence; here I intended to say nothing further, but several expressions being dropped tending to urge me to some acknowledgment, I told them that abt. 3 Months had elapsed since I was asked if I was willing to leave my case to the Meeting for Sufferings, to which I had

readily assented—& that I thought it strange that I should be thus urged for several months, when that Meeting had come to no Judgment concerning me & that I had been informed without asking or making the least enquiry, that Many of that Meeting saw clearly, that I ought to make no concessions, & some who were not inhabitants of Chester County, had of their own accord told me, that I had given no cause at all for the treatment I had rece'd & desired that I would make no concessions, that altho' I knew perhaps hundreds, who clearly saw my innocence, yet I did not build upon the sentiments of any persons whatever, but merely informed them of my knowledge thereof— To—this they all except Jos'a. Morris remained silent. When I added that I did not expect my friends would generally concur touching me, till they could concur in the rectitude of refusing the Congress Bills or come to Judgment thereon J. Pemberton said the Yearly Meeting had come to Judgment thereon in the Year 1775— I then said they had called them Bills of Credit, & what are they now? No more than the dirt in the street. Thos. Ross, then said he did not approve of that Judgment & wished they had let it alone, with which I concurred: D. Evans still urged my not being innocent & making concessions, Thos. Ross who did not seem to understand my Case at all, urged the imprudence of my bringing myself under this distress & difficulty & the more so on account of our family being much marked by the present Rulers, as objects of their hatred—

I omitted to mention above that Joshua Morris said the Meeting for Sufferings could not put words into their Mouths to express to me; I then said, that is Shuffling indeed, it cannot be expected they would but if they have come to any Judgment in my case, it would be easy for you to say so & inform me what it is—to which they all were silent; I told them that some or many of the Presbyterians & other warm people saw

my innocence clearer than some of my friends & that it was not by the present System of the People who now ruled, that I was sent to Goal, but by some violent persons, who had threatened those Men called Magistrates & the Jury & I gave them an account of what James Guy said as related above— I told them if they would let me chuse friends to proceed in my case I would chuse such as had taken the Congress Bills & saw clearly the Error of it, or if they would chuse such as had never taken those Bills, I should be satisfied— And as they were near leaving me I told them I would do anything wrong or right that they desired provided they would leave me at liberty to say afterwards it was their Act & not mine & lastly I said, if it was any thing between me & my friends, I could go down on my knees to them, but to the present Rulers I cannot make any acknowledgment.

In the Course of my speaking I told them that I was in the midst of the greatest Wickedness & amongst the most depraved of human Species, & that altho' I had hitherto been preserved from it, yet I might be carried away with the Torrent, & if I was it would fall heavy upon some— I also informed them of my poor State of health & that I might not live another Month— Thomas Ross informed me he did not expect to see me again, but what he particularly alluded to I do not yet see—

After they were gone I thought I had gone rather too far in saying I would do any thing right or wrong provided they would leave me at liberty to say afterwards it was their Act & not mine, but as I merely said so in order to convince them if possible that I was not obstinate, I made myself easy therein under a conclusion, that if they took me at my word I should insist upon their giving that liberty in writing signed by them—

For some weeks past I have been & now am in but a poor state of health, principally as I beleive occasioned

by the hardness of my situation as some of my friends seem determined if they can prevent my being released as an innocent person, to do it, I hope I am clear of any wrong view in saying so: I have waded thro such a load of distress & anxiety lest I or any one of the family should fall into some wrong thing or other during this deep probation & thereby upset what—rectitude may remain with us, that the Constant Companion of my Mind has been that I might suffer any thing my Body & Mind can undergo, yea Death and if possible more than that, rather than any One of us should thus fall in this time of dark delusion, when in this City there is scarce any such thing as any open discouragement given to any manner of wickedness & Vice — In short the whole of my desires on my own account & that of every one of the family are centered & summed up in this:

That be our Sufferings either in Body or Mind whatsoever they may, we may experience resignation under them, & by arriving at a sincere dedication of heart, we may have ability to ride out every Storm, humbly hoping that our final landing may be in the haven of Eternal Rest.

6th mo: 30th. My Sisters Esther & Lydia went this Morning without my knowledge or Suspicion to Joseph Reed & asserted my innocence & informed of my poor State of health & they informed me on their return, they told him in the Strongest terms that I could not accept of my release on any other terms than that of an entire innocent Sufferer. At this time & for some days past my mind has been & is, more depressed with fear lest I & the family may not stand thro this tryal, that Dismay has been the very frequent Companion of my Mind & I have been frequently unable to take a very little food & perhaps should have taken none for some days, but lest the family might be too much alarmed & I could not be free to impart to them the

depth of my Concern on my own & their account. I desire much that nothing wrong may be the consequence of my Sisters going to Joseph Reed & hope there will be none, I am ready to conclude no person has to him before asserted their firm beleif of my Innocence—

7th mo: 3rd. This Morning My Sisters Esther & Lydia went to Timothy Matlack & asserted my innocence in clear & strong Terms & informed him that no application would be made by my father on my account, as Jos. Reed had told them, that his application to the Council would be attended to— Timothy they thought, seemed uneasy on my account & was desirous of my release, but much urged an application from my two Sisters to the Council for my release, but they gave him to understand that nothing further would be done— When my Sisters first went into Timothy's house, Thos. Penrose & William Clifton were with Timothy & My Sisters afterwards heard that it was on my account & that Timothy had told them in confidence, that a petition should be sent in by those who have been disowned by friends & have lately attempted to set up a new Society to the Council on my behalf requesting my discharge— As Timothy is at the head of the New Society, it appears very probable, as he said he had had a Conference with Jos. Reed since my Sisters were with him, that Timothy is the father of this Petition—

My Sisters seem to think benefit will arise from these two visits & however they may not have asserted my innocence in such a pointed manner, as I might have done myself, yet seeing they have asserted it in as clear a manner as they were capable & much more so than it has ever been done before I hope no inconvenience will arise therefrom; & I have not found in my mind uneasiness to arise on account of these applications, because I beleive that these two Men were the first cause of my being molested on account of my letter to

my brother Jabez—Tho at the same time I am fully sensible that the hearts of the most hardened men have been & yet may be secretly reached & made to undo, what they have done with great eagerness & to alter those purposes which to all human appearance have been so fixed as if nothing would move them—

7th mo. 7th, 1781. This Morning my Sisters Esther & Lydia went to William Moore, called Vice President & asserted my innocence to him in clear & express terms, as well as informed him of my very low state of health & the probability of my finishing my days in prison if not shortly released, he said he would use his endeavours for my release & appear'd to listen to them with attention & civility— This Man in the beginning of these times, was known by his acquaintance to have sentiments clearly for the continuance of the British Government in America & tho' I had little knowledge of him before he would frequently stop me at his door to converse thereon, but his Son aged about 16 Years contrary to the Sentiments & to the distress of father & mother joining the Men the Congress sent to Canada about the End of the Year 1775—or beginning of 1776—Before the return of the Son, father & mother had both caught the delusion, which has carried many with it contrary to their Consciences & every sentiment they before entertained—from the time of William Moore's Change of sentiment, I don't remember to have ever exchanged one single word of any kind with him, being early informed by one of his intimate acquaintance & desired to be cautious of him—

This day I wrote the following Letter not from any prospect of my release being near, but my father Sisters & Brothers were not a little encouraged from belief that the Rulers were uneasy in their minds with my imprisonment & were trying to find some plausible mode of releasing me.

Honor'd Father Sisters & Brothers

Seventh day Noon 7th mo: 7th, 1781—

I perceive that a more firm hope of the approach of the day of my release from this house in a satisfactory manner to my mind & to you, has within about a week past been the Companion of your minds, than at any time heretofore & on this account I am induced to communicate a few lines for your consideration, hoping that if no benefit arises therefrom, that you will clearly see that my motive therein is for our being mutually preserved in such a Conduct as alone can afford us solid comfort, for the whole of the great anxiety that I have passed through, both before & during my stay in this house, has been that every one of the family may be preserved thro' the present day of calamity & have experimentally to acknowledge & clearly to see the wonderful hand that has been about us & would not have permitted distress to have entered our habitations, but for our good.

What at present seems to be most worthy of our attention is that both myself & each individual of you may calmly & solidly consider, whether there is with any of us, any thing that yet operates as a hindrance, for I perceive tho' I am in prison & you are at liberty, that you have born a part of the tryal & that it is a matter closely concerning us all— And if we are unitedly desirous of the removal of every thing which has been as a hindrance, it will be the surest way for us to experience preservation under releif from some or many of the distresses we have passed thro', for there may be greater danger of our being carried away with the return of pleasing enjoyments, than under adversity, if the mind is not preserved under a deep & thankful sense of the wonderful & gracious preservation we have hitherto known.

I have nothing particular in view touching any one

or all of you, but yet I beleive your kindly accepting this as the fruit of my earnest & unabating solicitude for every one of you cannot have any improper effect, & if any of you have any thing from the same earnest desire on my account, I shall be pleased with your taking the earliest opportunity.

May that same everlasting Arm which has been round about us from my earliest memory for good & from which we have long experienced the most bountiful Blessings & Favours, beyond most other families within my knowledge, continue to be the Stay, Support & Director of us all thro' the remaining part of our days, that the same Blessing which has evidently been with us all as a united family, may mercifully be extended upon every branch.

If the present prospect of my release should disappear, be not distressed therewith, for all my desires are centered in this, that both you & I may receive the present dispensations as intended for our good & that my release may be brought about in the right time & manner, without being prolonged by my anxiety— One strong & I hope becoming motive I have for my release is, that I might afford you every assistance & comfort that may be within the reach of my capacity & there is none other that has any weight material in the mind of him, who experimentally knows a great increase of sincere affection to you, during his seperation from you

Your sincere & affectionate Son
& Brother,
Samuel R. Fisher.

N.B.

If you conclude I have expressed myself herein in an unbecoming manner & that what I have said is unnecessary, I earnestly desire you will excuse the freedom I have taken, And if you should think it worth the perusal, it may be best to keep it within yourselves.

I omitted to mention before my having heard of the death of ——— Burns, the Barber, who threatened those called Magistrates & so intimidated them, that they thought themselves under a necessity of passing sentence upon me, contrary I am well persuaded to their own wishes & desires, or at least of some of them & John Ord in particular— This ——— Burns died as am informed some months past in a Prison Ship at New York having been taken at Sea—

For some days past I have frequently heard of a Petition, which a Number of persons (who have been disowned by friends, for their various deviations from their principles) called by themselves Free Quakers & who have attempted to form themselves into a Society have drawn up, are signing & about to send to Joseph Reed & his Associates asking my release. And my Brother Thomas informed me that Wm. Darragh stopt him in the Street & said “Thy Brother Sammy will be out of Goal soon, for we are sending a petition to the Council on his account.” I should not have thought it worth mentioning any thing about such a talkative boisterous man, formerly very low in the opinion of his fellow citizens, but because I lately heard he was concerned with Burns in threatening those called Magistrates, or some of them, because they appear’d to hesitate to pass sentence on me & send me to Goal—

I am well informed that Timothy Matlack is the main Spring of the above mentioned petition & that he appears to be secretly touched on my account & really anxious for my release.

7th mo: 9th. This day John Ord called upon my Brot. Miers, & informed him from Joseph Reed, that if my Father would only write to the Council asking my release, it would be granted— J. Ord desired it might be considered & he informed of the conclusion thereon; in consequence of which My Brother Thomas called on John Ord 7th mo: 10th & gave him to under-

stand that none of the family were easy to ask or do any thing further.

My health continues very low & my digestion very weak indeed, altho' my sentiments & expressions are strong, yet I have been at times fearful I should be deprived of my senses & as many are urging the necessity of some of the family merely asking my discharge & adding, will you be the cause of Sammy's death, by refusing to ask for his release; This mode of reasoning continued to be talked of by some of my friends, to my Father, Brothers & Sisters, which brought it more close home to me & was very trying indeed, & was productive of the following

Dear & Honor'd Father Sisters & Brothers

3'd day 7th mo: 17th, 1781

I am thankful in feeling this morning, what I beleive to be fresh & clear evidence, that the cause of my being in this house & my ease in yet remaining here, has nothing of any wrong motive therein, but merely that I may be enabled to bear & be preserved thro every trying dispensation that falls to my Lot & that of every branch of the family & that we may all unitedly experience, the bearing of all our tryals, as dispensed to us from that hand, which will not permit us to sink under them, if we rightly receive them as most certainly intended for our good, without looking at the instruments with any degree of malice or Ill will or expecting to receive any kindness or favour from them— At present I have thought there is a danger of our desiring favour from them instead of more firmly depending on that Arm, which alone can prepare us for & rightly cause deliverance to be wrought for us; And I have a renewed hope that if the family are all quiet & unmoved with the sentiments of those, who have been & still are, as it were ebbing and flowing with the Tide without knowing any port or haven to cast anchor in, that we shall

yet be enabled to ride out every Storm & Tempest having a secret hope underneath at the times of the greatest dismay, that we shall be yet preserved to experience that Spirit, which has long been at work to overset us & move us from the right foundation to be quelled by an almighty power & removed entirely out of the minds of many, who under the appearance of being our Enemies, have been permitted to be the instruments of our chastisement, in order that we may be fitted for the return of the many blessings we have heretofore been unthankful receivers of; For I am clear beyond all doubt that in proportion as we are rightly humbled under the Calamities & just Judgments, which by our own transgressions we may have been individually instrumental to bring upon the Land; in the same proportion all bitterness & every wrong disposition towards us will be done away out of the Minds of those who have been against us, & in the room thereof good will & kindness will succeed; but methinks the time now is when we should be much upon our guard against receiving any favour from the people & steadily have our dependance on that Arm alone, that can & most certainly will work deliverance if the fault be not with us:

When I took my Pen in hand, I only thought of saying a few words that arose in my mind, as I am sensible that you or some of you are frequently urged by some or many who think themselves your & my friends, but you may clearly enough see them to be so unstable that tis extremely dangerous in our situation to give heed to what they say or advise; Yea I have thought you would frequently escape many tossing times if they would be kind enough to say & do nothing.

—What remains with me & is the cause of my now writing, is to inform you that I am firmly persuaded, that both mine & your safety, yea my peace of mind & health of body much depend upon your unitedly &

individually being quiet and unmoved with the sentiments and advice of any, without making any application to any of the Rulers on my account, for the injustice of their proceedings I am convinced has become a burthen to them & they are now endeavoring to remove it any way if possible without giving up to the Convictions they have in their minds of my innocence & there is a great fear on my mind, lest by any mode of procedure, any part of the burthen, which justly belongs to them, should by any improper motive or movement upon or towards my release rest upon any of you or me & cause us to be distressed perhaps the whole of our days: If you cannot all clearly see the propriety of both you & I being quiet & still (which I most earnestly desire you may) I earnestly entreat you to acquiesce as much as you can therein, for if I have any right feeling, it is the safe line of conduct for us to observe & the only right way to commit my being innocent or not innocent to that All-Seeing Eye; who sees the secret purposes & intents of our hearts, for I have long earnestly desired that I may be released exactly according to my innocence.

I am thankful that I feel my mind more calm & settled Yesterday & this Morning than I have done for some weeks past, & I am much solicitous that both you & I may observe such a conduct, that we may individually & unitedly have to experience our minds rising above the distresses that surround us & the many snares that are laid to catch us.

May the Blessing of Heaven attend & rest upon you & everyone of your families is the present earnest desire & frequent Prayer of

Your sincere & Unalterable Son & Brother
Samuel R. Fisher.

N.B.

Endeavor as much as you can to avoid anxiety for my speedy release & earnestly to desire that we may

have our minds rightly prepared to receive it, whenever it may be brought about— If anything should occur with any of you either to express to me or otherwise to say or act concerning me, I wish you to be free notwithstanding what I have said in communicating it to me—

7th mo: 19th. This morning my father related in the course of his conversation in my Room that he had informed some persons who still continued to urge some application in writing signed either by him, or even by my Sisters alone for my discharge— That Neither he nor One of the family were easy that any application should be made—

Joshua Morris One of the Meeting for Sufferings called to see me this morning & desired to say something to me alone: I walked down with him into the Yard, when he informed me it had been proposed at the last Meeting for Sufferings to appoint a new Committee in my case, & that if I would mention to him the Names of such friends, whose sentiments coincided with mine & such as I would chuse he would propose them to the Meeting & did not doubt but they would be appointed: I clearly saw that it would be safest for me not to meddle with it in any shape & therefore I informed him of my having some months since left the matter to the Meeting of Sufferings; which they well knew & I could not be easy to do or say any thing which might have the appearance of dictating to them, or of my influencing any of the Members to speak or act in my favour, either in or out of any Meeting or any other way—

This afternoon was the Meeting for Sufferings held of course, but I neither saw nor heard any more of the Members, nor anything touching me done or proposed to be done by them— I well knew there are Men among them very, if not directly opposite in their belief or sentiments touching me & I expect nothing but time

will shew to the satisfaction of some, what they either cannot or will not now beleive.

7th mo: 20th. I clearly perceive that not only the Meeting for Sufferings appear to have dropt my affair, but also that the Stir which has been among many of the people engaged in the present Contest for my Release for 2 or 3 weeks past, seems to have died away entirely, & I find all the family see the appearance of my Release to have entirely vanished at present—

From this time my health seem'd much the same as for several weeks past, very low, tho' my mind as well now as during the whole of my imprisonment has been remarkably born up, thro' scenes of deep horror & dismay, beyond what I could have been induced to beleive, without having had the experience of it, May my mind be preserved in a thankful remembrance of the remarkable support extended to me on this trying occasion to the latest period of my life.

On the 24th of the 7th mo: As I was eating my dinner Joseph Pritchard, also eating his, & the servant who brought mine setting by me reading John Reynolds came to the room door, and beckoned to me, I went to him in the passage, when he said to me, "You may get ready to go home as soon as you please, for I have seen the Vice-President & he informed me there is a Pardon ordered to be drawn out for you." I only said Pardon, Pardon, upon which Reynolds said "Oh, I suppose it is a discharge for you & I am very glad of it, & you will get clear of all your trouble"—And as I did not at this time feel easy to say I should not go out under a Pardon, I only said, I should be glad to see I consider the Contents of the Paper, as soon as he rece'd. it, when he walked down Stairs, saying as he went, that he would bring it to me— In my weak state it gave me such a sensation of mind, that I could eat no more— I was apprehensive Jos. Pritchard & the Servant knew the cause of my being called out, & thought of charging them to say nothing concerning

it, but this I thought would only make it look like a more earnest matter & therefore I concluded not to say a word— At this Juncture the Servant began to relate a dream My Sister Sarah had last night, of being sitting with me in Goal & unexpectedly seeing a door open near the fire-place where she had never seen a door (the door of the Room being at least 12 feet from the Chimney) & a black Man coming in with a Paper in his hand, which was my discharge, from his relating this dream I concluded more clearly that he had heard what the Goaler said to me; which I was sorry for as I was anxious none of the family should know any thing till I am clearly discharged— I waited with some anxiety of mind concerning this matter without saying a word of it, tho' I did not look at my release in any other manner, than earnestly desiring every matter may be in such a way as may not leave any cause for future uneasiness, whether I am to be in or out of Prison; I had no more inclination to prepare for going home, than I had before I heard of my discharge being ordered— Just before we were locked up, I went down to the pump with a Jug for water, where the Goaler was & I thought on purpose, that I might enquire of him about my release, but I said not a word—

About 10 O'Clock on the morning of the 25th of 7 mo: 1781. John Reynolds called me down Stairs & gave me a Paper, I told him I should read & consider it & was walking up Stairs, when he said to me, "take notice you have no fees to pay here"— After I had read it, I began with taking a copy of it, which is as follows—

PENNSYLVANIA SS:

His Excellency Joseph Reed, Esquire President and the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas Samuel R. Fisher of the City of Philadelphia at a Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace

for said City of Philadelphia in the Term of June, which was in the Year of our Lord, One thousand, seven hundred & seventy nine, hath been convicted of Misprision of Treason and is now confined in the Goal of the said City—

Wherefore know ye, that we having duly considered his Case, have pardoned, remitted and released and by these presents for us & for our Successors, do pardon, remit and release unto him the said Samuel, by whatsoever name or addition of name, or place the said Samuel may be known or called, or was lately known or called, so much of the Judgment and Sentence of the said Court thereon, as respects the imprisonment of the said Samuel R. Fisher during the present War, as the penalty of Misprision of Treason of which the said Samuel hath been convicted— And all and Singular the indictments, condemnations, executions and penalties whatsoever upon or against the aforesaid Samuel R. Fisher, for or concerning the premises, had done, rendered or adjudged so far forth as respects the imprisonment of his person only. And all and manner of Suits, Complaints, Impeachments, Censures and process whatsoever for the imprisonment aforesaid which the said Commonwealth against him the said Samuel by reason of the premises, have had, have, or hereafter may in any wise have, not willing the said Samuel by the Sheriff, Justices, Bailiffs or other our ministers or Successors for or by occasion of the premises, be molested, disturbed or aggrieved by the imprisonment of his person. And willing that these Letters patent (as to the premises afore mentioned) be and remain good, firm valid and effectual in Law, he paying the charges which have accrued on the above mentioned prosecution, and that this Pardon be in all Courts within this Commonwealth and elsewhere, interpreted and adjudged in the most favourable sense, for the more sure release, pardon and exoneration of the said

Samuel R. Fisher as to the imprisonment of his person and be pleaded and allowed in all the said Courts, without any other Writ, Grant or declaration in that behalf obtained or to be obtained, any defect or defects in these Letters patent contained, or any Law, Act, Ordinance or provision, proclamation or restriction, or any other thing, cause or matter whatsoever, to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Given by order of the Council under the hand of his Excellency Joseph Reed Esquire President and the Seal of the State of Philadelphia this twenty third day of July in the Year of our Lord, One thousand Seven hundred & Eighty One.

Joseph Reed
President

Attest Ty. Matlack,
Sec'y.

(L S)

On the back of the Seal was impressed the figure of a Woman (alluding to America) with a drawn Sword in her hand & treading upon a Lion (alluding to Great Britain) whom she is about to pierce with the Sword & the Motto round the impression, "Both can't Survive."

The tryal alluded to in the above paper, was in 7 mo: 1779—therefore tis erroneous to say June 1779—

Before I had copied this paper, I informed the Goaler, that I could not go out of prison until the matter of the fees were done away, & that as to the form of the paper it was not as I would have it if I were to dictate how it was to be worded, for that I was satisfied that the matter was now come to this point that, they wished me out of Goal, if possible without the imputation of having kept an innocent man two Years in prison for nothing, but as my innocence did not depend on any thing they did or could say concerning me, but from a consciousness thereof in my own

mind, I should be willing to go home as soon as the matter of fees was done away, upon which he said "I am ordered by the Sheriff to discharge you without any fees." I then asked him if he would give me under his hand that all the fees were done away, but he not answering, I desired him to satisfy himself whether all the fees are given up & let me know, which said he would do—adding I will go to the Governor or any of the Council, if you desire it, to which I said I have nothing to do with that, I am willing to go home when thou informs me that no fees are expected, as I fully beleive that all those who were concerned in putting me to Goal are convinced of my Innocence & they know I never wished to do them an Injury.

About 12 O'Clock I again asked the Goaler whether he knew any thing further about the fees, to which he answered he did not, but shortly would enquire & inform me. I then told him that "If I had any Property, I should not be willing to be released, but as I had not I was easy to go home, this he said he would inform the Council of— The reason of my saying If I had any Property, I should not be willing to be released, arose in my mind, from a fear lest as every Person who was acquainted with me, knew I had been for several years in partnership with my father & brother, & that our books & accounts were one & the same & a considerable value of debts yet outstanding, I say lest my being thus released, might be construed to give some plausibility to their giving us trouble touching our Books & outstanding debts, but I had not left the Goaler many minutes before I was very uneasy at my having said any thing about my Property & I therefore asked to speak with him again & in very clear & strong terms told him again that, I had no objection in my mind to go home, as soon as the fees were done away, after which my mind was easy—this last information I gave the Goaler, was about half past 10 O'Clock—just after

which Thomas Hallowell & Samuel Lewis came in & informed me that they had heard from some friends that I had a clear discharge & would not come out of Goal & that this was beleived— I then informed them, that there yet remained an objection about the fees, which I could not pay, after which they went away not well satisfied because I had not shewn them my discharge, as Daniel Offley Junr. & my Brother Miers informed me, having met them soon after they left the Goal — My Brot. Miers told me that as he came in the Goaler said Mr. Fisher I want to speak with you, upon which my Brot. spoke to D. Offley to accompany him, when the Goaler said your Brother may go home when he pleases & take every thing that belongs to him, for the Officers have had a Meeting & agreed they will take no fees— Upon the relation of this from Daniel Offley, as well as my Brot, I concluded to go home, & sent the Servant who had brought my dinner before to inform the family, but he stopt by the way, & I got home accompanied by Dan'l. Offley & my Brot. Miers, before my father or either of my Sisters had heard the certainty about my approaching discharge— The Streets & Inhabitants looked strange to me & I looked much altered, my Complexion being Yellow & very thin in flesh, as well as low in mind, but yet notwithstanding my state of health my release from prison gave me no great emotion of my mind, which I expect was in part owing to the many severe Shocks I have felt during my Imprisonment of 2 Years & 2 days & indeed some very close tryals before that time, which have in part blunted the Edge of my sensations either for Sorrow or Joy— I got home about 3 O'Clk. afternoon of 25th of 7 mo: 1781—& found my father & sisters as well as usual for them.

May every one of us bear in grateful Remembrance, the many wonderful preservations we have hitherto experienced that we may be thereby favour'd with the

continuance of divine protection round about us, so long as we remain in mutability, for I clearly see in this time of great Calamity that tis much safer to have our tryals & rightly to bear up under them than to be exempt from a share, tho' that share may be at times almost more than we can any way reconcile to ourselves.

I omitted to mention that before I left my room in the Goal I mentioned in the hearing of my Brother Miers, Daniel Offley Junr. & Joseph Pritchard, my intention of leaving the paper by which I am discharged with the Goaler, as I did not see any business I had with it, or to accept of it, but all three of them seeming to be clear in my taking it with me, I said no more about it at that time & took it with me— And when I came down Stairs to the Iron Gate, I asked the Turnkey for the Goaler, & being informed he was laying down to Sleep, (tho probably he only did this on purpose that I might not see him before I went home), I repeated to the Turnkey what the Goaler had said to my Brot. & D. Offley, adding thereto my wish to have seen him before I went home.

7th mo: 26th. I went to the Goal & had all my Bedding & Necessaries brought home; before I came away I told the Goaler that my Brot. & D. Offley had repeated to me, what he said to them; “that I might go home “when I pleased & take every thing that belonged to “me, for the Officers had had a Meeting & agreed they will take no fees”— After which he then said “I believe it is so”— This Goaler has thro' the whole treated me with much more civility than I could expect, without the least appearance in my conduct of asking or desiring it; at the same time he is a Man of much Art & low cunning without a principle of Integrity.

It was yesterday afternoon an affecting time in parting with my fellow prisoner Joseph Pritchard, for we had been confined together in that Room only 2 days

short of twenty Months, & we during about 15 Months of the last of the time had never missed setting down in Silence twice on first day & Once on fifth day of the week for about two hours at a time, except only One fifth day the 22'd of 11th Month 1780, which was a day of great Confusion in our room on account of Joshua Bunting, Samuel Clark, John Cummings & Patrick Garvey being put into our room, so that we could not do, as I desired— These sittings of ours were sometimes the Subject of the discourse of some of the Prisoners, yet I hope I intended no wrong thereby and if so I am thankful for so great a favour.

Besides Joseph Pritchard I left in the room John Linley & Joshua Buffington, the former was much given to drink & very abusive to me, because I disapproved & sometimes spake to him against his mean Conduct as well as drunkenness, he several times Beat & otherwise abused me, endeavoring all in his power to get me to strike him he was as noisy troublesome a Companion as ever I had on any occasion, but the latter part of the time he never came into the room from morning till night, except to eat his Breakfast & Dinner—which was a considerable relief to us—

If it should appear strange, that I should repeatedly say, I had no property, when there are many outstanding debts due to Joshua Fisher & Sons, & I have a fifth part of many tracts of Land in the back parts of this province in my own right, & these things are nearly as well known to many of the present Rulers, as they are to me— It must be taken notice of, that as my father never gave me any thing more than a share of the profits in trade, tis probable all I have may be sunk by the property which has been taken from us, & by the Losses which will certainly happen, by many persons being never able to pay their debts, as well as some of our Debtors who are dead, killed or left their homes, and we have not been able for near Six Years

to look after or collect any of our debts; Upon these principles & for these reasons, I cannot safely say I have any property of my own—

Probably it may appear to some that by my mode of release I have departed from my principles, especially as I frequently said I could not accept of a Pardon; If there should any such sentiments arise in any mind, it should be observed, that in the beginning of this matter & at the time of their trying me as they term it, I was not easy to make use of any mode of defending myself from the distress that then threatened me, but quietly let them take their own course submitting & relying entirely at that time of close tryal on the consciousness of my own innocence, so that my letting them take their own mode of releasing me, so far as I could be easy in my own mind, may not appear contradictory, especially when tis considered that it may reasonably be supposed, that I thought my motive for quietly submitting to go to and remain so long in prison, arose from a desire to keep my mind clear of future uneasiness & that I might not hurt that Scruple in my own mind & in the minds of many others against the Congress Bills, which I trust has a foundation that Man cannot overset or undermine— And if it should be seriously considered that for the space of two whole years many of my friends have been urging me to make concessions to the present Rulers, that I had acted imprudently or unadvisedly & some of them I am informed have not hesitated to say, that they hold me to have given cause for the treatment I have rece'd—so that Joseph Reed told my Sisters, that the Society disavowed the Sentiments contained in my Letter— Add to this that so lately as in the 6 mo: last I had offered to do or say any thing my friends should demand of me, yet all this had no effect, but I must feel, that I had done wrong, & from such a forced feeling make an acknowledgment contrary to my conscience or lay in

prison with the censures of my friends upon me; a hard case indeed—

I clearly saw upon the first reading the Instrument by which it may be said I am discharged, that I was relieved of what had been my heaviest burthen, the making any concessions against my Conscience & on this account I was induced to beleive that a consciousness of my innocence had touched the present Rulers & produced this paper to let me out of prison in this mode, because I have been so long held in prison by my friends, & could not vindicate my own innocence without giving further offence to some friends, who have undertaken to say I have passed censures on them in the Letter which was the occasion of my imprisonment;

But if instead of some friends telling the present Rulers, that they held me worthy of censure, they had, as in justice they ought to have spoke of me in a different manner I should either never have been in prison or released from thence very soon, Or if it was acknowledged by friends to be an Error & Mistake to meddle with the Congress Bills from the time of such acknowledgment, all my difficulties on account of the Letter in question would have ceased & been at an End—But probably if I had thus been released with the General voice and applause of my friends, it might have been more than I could bear— And if my mind be favoured with a clear sense that by my going to, remaining in & coming out of Goal, I have done nothing that will be cause of any future uneasiness, may I be thankfully content with the looking back to that hand that has graciously sustained me, thro' such a close tryal & have fresh cause to remain firm & unshaken in my confidence under whatever difficulties may yet fall to my Lot.

I was not much thoughtful or uneasy about my not returning the paper in which Joseph Reed & his Asso-

ciates ordered my release, till the morning of the 3d of 8 mo: Nine days after my release, when I became very uneasy about my keeping it— The parts that seem to affect my mind most, was that by my accepting it, it might be implied that the fees were paid, which was a false inference, & it might be said or thought, that I kept it as a protection to my person, because such strong & clear directions were given therein that my person should not be molested— I grew more & more uneasy & thought of going to Joseph Reed or Timothy Matlack to inform them thereof & return the Paper, but upon my consulting with my father, Brothers & Sisters, I concluded that as I had it from John Reynolds the Goaler, & had never conversed with Joseph or Timothy, it would be as well to return it to the person from whom I had it—accordingly, I walked up late in the afternoon accompanied by D. Offley Junr. & met with John Reynolds in third Street near the Goal, but such is the situation of things amongst us at present that D. Offley, tho' his judgment approved of my returning the paper entirely was afraid to stop with me to see & hear what passed, lest some friends should censure him & passed on waiting at some distance for me— I informed the Goaler that I was very uneasy with my not returning him the paper Jos. Reed sent for my release, before I left the prison, that I should have done it then, had not three friends advised me to take it with me, & that now I could not keep it any longer, but must return it to him, even if the Consequence was my going to Goal again immediately—with this he seemed somewhat affected & he said I will take it again, you need not be so uneasy for there is nothing to pay, nor nothing against you— Upon which we parted My Mind being releived from the uneasiness I had passed thro' by keeping this paper in my possession—I had also some thoughts of destroying the Copy of it which I had taken & should have done it, had it

not occurred to me, that some might suppose I had made use of some Collusion to obtain my release, if I had destroyed it, & therefore I kept it, to speak for itself, if any should suppose any thing of that Sort— Yet I have been cautious of shewing it, because very few know the foundation upon which I suffered, & therefore could not be judges of the matter— I neither now do nor ever did look out for the approbation of the people, in the present case I have been without the Sympathy of many of those who should have been my friends, & have learnt more clearly, that I could have beleived before, that a Man who would wish to have a mind calm & free from disturbance with any part of his conduct, must be above looking for the approbation of any Set of Men whatever in times of tryal & difficulty, for he will most assuredly find that unless he is favoured to arrive at a firm dependance in his own Mind, that he has no sure refuge to shelter himself under.

I may now add, that the time of my deepest tryal & distress, began soon after the Congress Bills & all other Bills issued as the foundation of this Contest to throw off all Allegiance to Great Britain; had been by the same System that set them forth, brought to nothing as well as by the voice of the Inhabitants generally, after about or exactly Six Years from their being issued, I say in a few weeks after this annihilation, when I found that my friends instead of more clearly seeing my Innocence, began some of them to be more determined & fixed against my being released without my making some Concessions, that I had given cause for the treatment I had rece'd. The weight of such a determination which was marked to me in the Conduct of some active Men, was so heavy, that had I not been mercifully supported, beyond my expectation & my mind been fixed on that which did bring me thro', I should have lost all, that is worthy of the desire or pursuit of any Man, that is desirous to arrive at Integrity & Uprightness in

his Conduct— The time of the entire Stoppage of these Bills was the first week in the last fifth Month of 1781.

I have been frequently told that Timothy Matlack assumes to himself the merit of obtaining my release, to use his own words & it was confirmed to me by Samuel Allenson of Burlington a near Relation to Timothy, who told me at that Quarterly Meeting, whither I rode on the 25th of 8 mo: with my Sister Sarah, that it was really so,—I mention this because Timothy was the instrument of my first being taken up & confined on this matter—

I have been often thankful in my mind, when I have looked back & considered that I could not remember my having given way to any Malice or had an evil wish against any one or more of those who have been the instruments of my chastisement, or who were bitter against me in their Spirits— Tho in Justice I must acknowledge I have often wished the time might arrive for the total downfall of all the present Rulers, as Rulers, for they have been the means of debasing the minds of the Inhabitants & overspreading the Land with deceit, Hypocrisy & almost all manner of vice, so that none of them are a Terror to Evil Doers— May the Almighty in his great Loving kindness to the workmanship of his hand, look upon our wretched situation, open a door of sincere humiliation to us, & favour us with Rulers, who will earnestly press after the Reestablishment of Peace, Justice & Equity in the Land & whose endeavours will be exerted for the return of the People out of that almost total change & depravity of manners, which has obtained in this City during my Memory—so that tis scarcely credible to me, when I look back about 15 Years—

I came home from Jersey on 30th of 8 mo: & from Wm. Cooper's ferry opposite the City I observed the City to be noisy, many houses illuminated, & the Bells ringing, on account of Washington's coming to Town,

whose Soldiers with about 5,000 french from Rhode Island are now on their march Southward unitedly intending to oppose Lord Cornwallis' progress— Upon my landing in the City with my Sister, the Streets were so amazingly thronged we could hardly get home, & there being but two houses between my father's & R. Morris's where Washington resided— *I saw this Man Great as an instrument of destruction & devastation to the property, Morals & principles of the people*, several times walking the Street, attended by a concourse of Men, Women & Boys, who Huzza'd him, & broke some of my father's Windows & some near us— This junction of Washington's & the French Soldiers looked to me as a serious matter, yet some how or other the more I considered it, the Less anxiety prevailed on my mind about it, possibly had I been instrumental in this Junction, I should not be so easy about it— For the Consequences thereof look likely to be very interesting at least to the Rulers who have joined with them—

A few days after the french Army passed thro' the City in two or more divisions, distant about two days march behind each other. They are said & I suppose with truth to have behaved themselves much better on their march than either Brittish or Washington's Soldiers— This I conclude cannot be supposed to arise from the general principles & morals of the French being better than those of the Inhabitants of the British Dominions in Europe & America, but merely from a peice of French policy to gain the good opinion of the people of America, that they may thereby effect their purposes the better, for can any man that has the use of his faculties, or is not deluded beleive that they have meddled as it were in a Quarrell between Members of the same family, Religion & Language, upon any other motive than to serve their own purposes, which they study to keep covered till a suitable time may arrive to discover the cloven foot. May they never have

Strength to establish their Government & religion in any Country where Liberty of Conscience has generally prevailed—Is my sincere desire—

I have gained some health & Strength of Body, but cannot yet well ride on horseback, having at times some pain at my breast—

The Yearly Meeting this Year began 23rd of 9th mo: a greater number of Young folks of both sexes attended it, than ever I remember & altho I do not recollect anything that was said in any of the Meetings that was more clear or extraordinary, than for several years past, yet a secret satisfactory sensation passed thro' my mind during the whole of the Meetings, which I have not felt at any Yearly Meeting since these troubles began & my mind seemed to be somewhat strengthened by the Company of Friends without having much conversation with any of them—a much larger number were entertained at my fathers, than I remember to have been any year before—

Samuel R. Fisher was born November 6, 1745; died May 6, 1834.

ORDERLY BOOK OF GENERAL EDWARD HAND,
VALLEY FORGE, JANUARY, 1778.

[Copied from the original by William B. Read, Esq.]

(Continued from page 273.)

VALLEY FORGE CAMP, JANUARY 23, 1778.

As several Farmers have complained that notwithstanding the Certificates granted by the Commissary General of Forage of their having furnished the quota's of Forage assigned them further demand have been made upon them so as to deprive them of what was reserved for the Use of their own families—the General strictly prohibits such unjust proceedings and desires that more respects may be paid to the forage Master Generals Certificates for the future—

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Clark was president January 20th Lieut. Colo. Linley and Major Bailey tried for non-attendance on the Grand parade in proper time, the former when Field officer and the latter when Brigade Major of the day, found guilty of the charge exhibited against them, being a breach of Article 5th Section 18th of the Articles of War, sentenced to be publicly reprimanded in General Orders—the General approves the Sentence, and is Surprised that he is under the disagreeable Necessity of reprimanding officers for a breach of Duty so well known and which ought to be performed with the greatest punctuality, and as exact discipline and the strictest obedience to orders is the Soul of an army and Foundation of such, whilst the Contrary may be productive of the most fatal Consequences; he flatters himself that every officer in future (as in honor of the duty bound)

will be emulous to pay the strictest attention to Orders, and prove exemplary to the Soldiery.

Advertisement.

January 21st Conrad Shimer robbed of £900 in proper Money and 39 half J. S. in hard Cash, 10 Yards of Linen, a silk Handkerchief and some thred; whoever will bring the Robbers to Justice shall have £200 reward paid by Shimer—

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE SATURDAY
JAN'Y 24 1778.

Parole, Haverstraw—*C. Signs* { Hampton
Harlem

Major General of the day for Tomorrow
Marquis de la Fayette.

Field OfficersL^t Col^o Banner and Major
Stubblefield.

Brigade MajorMcCormick.

Three days provisions to be Issued to the Troops on Monday and four days provisions on Thursday till further Orders.

HEAD QUARTERS AT THE VALLEY FORGE SUNDAY
JAN'Y 25 1778.

Parole, Indostan—*C. Signs* { Ireland
India

Major General of the day for Tomorrow
Baron de Kalb.

BrigadierPatterson.

Field Officers..Col^o Bricker and Major Porter.

Brigade MajorMcGowen.

Field Officers for Fatigue ...Col^o Vose L^t Col^o
Carlton.

For DetachmentCol^o Broadhead Major
Hoite, L^t Col^o North.

At a Brigade Court Martial whereof L^t Col^o Ballard was President January 10th, Captain Zane of the 13th Virginia Regiment tried for acting in a Cowardly manner when sent on a scouting party 12th of December Last by ordering his Men to retreat when he had a Considerable advantage over the enemy, found guilty and Sentenced to be discharged from the Service. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place Immediately.

No officer is subject to be tried by a Brigade Court Martial unless he consents thereto, which is to be noted in the proceedings of the Court.

As it is necessary the Muster Rolls should be made in One form, the officers are to make them out agreeable to the forms given them for that purpose by the Mustering Officers.

HEAD QUARTERS MONDAY JAN'Y 26 1778.

Parole, Lexington—C. Signs { Lincoln
London

Major General of the day for Tomorrow

Greene.

BrigadierMcIntosh.

Field Officers ..L^t Col^o Gray, Major Braddish.

Brigade MajorMcClure.

For Detachment ..Col^o Angell, L^t Col^o Brooks

and Major Thayer.

A Board of General Officers having recommended that a suttler be appointed in each Brigade whose Liquor shall be inspected by two officers appointed by the Brigadier for that purpose, and those Liquors sold under such restrictions as shall be thought reasonable, the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to approve of the above recommendation and to order that such Brigade Suttlers be appointed and Liquors sold at the following prices and under the following regulations: Peach Brandy by the Quart 7/6, by the pint 4/, by the Gill

1/3; Whiskey and apple Brandy at 6/ quart and 3/6 pint and 1/ by the Gill; Cider at 1/3 by the quart; Strong beer 2/6 by the quart; Common beer 1/ by the quart; vinegar 2/6 by the quart.

Any Suttler who shall be convicted before a Brigade Court Martial of having demanded more than the above rates, of having adulterated his Liquors or made use of deficient measures, shall forfeit any quantity of his Liquors not exceeding Thirty gallons or the Value thereof, at the foregoing rates the fourth part of the Liquor or the Value thereof so forfeited to be applied to the benefit of the Informer and the remainder of Liquor to be put into the hands of a person appointed by the Brigadier, who shall deliver it out to the Non Commissioned Officers and privates of the Brigade at one Gill per Man per day, if money the same to be laid out in Liquors or necessaries for the Non Commissioned Officers and privates of the Brigade and distributed in due and equal proportion; the Brigade Suttler is also at Liberty to sell leaf Tobacco at 4/ Pound, Pigtail at One Dollar Pound, and hard soap 2/ pound, but no other Articles rated for the public Market shall be sold by him or any person acting under him on any pretence whatever.

Lieutenant Sugars of the German Battalion tried by a Brigade Court Martial for Challenging Lieut. Laudermilk of the same Battalion, is found guilty of a breach of the Seventh Section of the Articles of War and therefor Sentenced to be Cashiered. The Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence but in Consideration of a recommendation of the Court, is pleased to restore him to his rank hoping at the same time that his Lenity in this and some other particular Instances, will not be construed into his giving Countenance to a practice not only directly repugnant to our own Articles of War, but disencouraged by all Military Nations as subversive of good order, discipline and harmony.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE TUESDAY JAN'Y 27 1778.

Parole. Kensington—*C. Signs* { Kingston
Kimbolton

Major General of the day for Tomorrow
Lord Sterling.
Brigadier Maxwell.
Field Officers . L^t Col^o Sherman, Major Thayer.
Brigade Major Bailey.

Detachment of a Captain Three Subalterns Five Sergeants, Five Corporals, Sixty privates, to parade Tomorrow Morning at nine O'Clock on the grand parade furnished with two days provisions.

Any articles to be sent in to our prisoners in Philadelphia must be left with the Commissary of prisoners Friday evening next.

Paper to be Issued by the Quarter Master General in the following proportions: two Quires to each Brigadier General or officer commanding a Brigade one to each Brigade Major and Six to each Regiment.

The Brigadiers or officers Commanding Brigades are to see that they have a Sufficient number of Cartridges.

Ammunition to be drawn immediately to complete the Troops to Forty rounds per man which is to be deposited in the hands of the Brigade Quarter Master General to be ready when called for—

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE WEDNESDAY
JANY 28th 1778.

Parole, Minorca—*C. Signs,* Minden—Manchester.

Major General of the day for Tomorrow
Baron de Kalb.
Brigadier Weedon.
Field Officers..... L^t Col^o Brewster, Major
Hopkins.
Brigade Major McClintock.

As there has been an extraordinary and unaccountable waste of Ammunition in many of the Brigades, as soon as the Brigades are Completed therewith agreeable to Yesterdays orders the Commander-in-Chief Positively orders the Colonels and Commanding Officers of regiments to see that an officer in each Company carefully examine their mens ammunition every day at Roll call in the morning and severely punish any Soldier who shall carelessly waste a single Cart-ridge.

At a General Court Martial whereof Major Church was president January 26th William McIntire a Soldier in the 7th Pennsylvania Battalion tried for robbing a Load of wheat &c., from one of Col^o Spencer's Waggoners, found guilty of a Breach of the 5th article of the 18th Section of the Articles of War and Sentenced to receive thirty Lashes on his Naked Back well laid on at the Head of his own Regiment; at the same Court William Dearlove of the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion tried for Stealing money from Frederic Buzzard, found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes well laid on.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the foregoing Sentences and Orders them to be put in execution Tomorrow Morning at roll call at the Head of the regiments to which they respectively belong.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col^o Clark was president January 22d Thomas Scott who acted in the character of a waggon Master tried for taking forage Contrary to the General Orders of the 31st of December last was acquitted of the charge exhibited against him the General approving the verdict Orders him to be released immediately Stephen Rice (at the same court) of the 8th Virginia Regiment tried for plundering the Inhabitants of the Country found guilty of the charge exhibited against him being a breach of the 15th article of the 13 Section of the Articles of War and Sentenced

to receive One hundred Lashes on his Naked Back well laid on.

At the same Court Joseph Tern of the 3rd Virginia Regiment tried for deserting from the provost Guard and taking a prisoner with him found guilty of a breach of Article 1st Section 6th of the Articles of War and Sentenced to receive One hundred Lashes on his naked back well laid on. Likewise Robert Gist Drummer in Col° Lambs Regiment of Artillery tried for attempting to Desert to the Enemy found guilty but on account of his Youth only Sentenced to receive fifty Lashes on his bare back.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col° Clark was president Jany 23d Benjamin Berry of Col° Hales Regiment tried for attempting to Desert to the Enemy found Guilty of the Charge and Sentenced to receive one hundred Lashes on his bare back well laid on.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the foregoing Sentences and Orders them to be executed tomorrow morning at roll call at the Heads of their Respective Regiments.

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE VALLEY FORGE THURSDAY
JAN'Y 29th 1778.

Parole, Northumberland—*C. Signs* { Norway
Norton

Major General of the day for Tomorrow

Greene.

Brigadier Woodford.

Field Officers .L^t Col° Harmer and Major Sill.

Brigade Major Learned.

The Commanding Officer of each Brigade is to appoint a Captain daily to visit the sick of his Brigade in or near Camp to examine whether they have proper attention paid them and are furnished with every thing their situation requires as far as circumstances will allow, likewise an orderly officer every day to inspect

the Huts, to see whether cleanliness is observed in the Soldiers quarters and proper means taken to keep the roofs weatherproof—

The Commissary's in future to Issue a quart of salt to every hundred pounds of fresh Beef.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE FRIDAY JANY 30th 1778.

Parole, Portugal—C. Signs, Prussia—Poland.

Major General of the day for Tomorrow

Lord Sterling.

BrigadierScott.

Field OfficersCol^o Nagle Major Moore.

Brigade MajorPatterson.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col^o Clark was President 23d January William McMarth of Captain Lees Company of Artillery tried for desertion and Stealing an Horse from General McIntosh acquitted of the Charge of Desertion but found guilty of the Theft, being a breach of the Article 5th Section 18th of the Articles of War and Sentenced to receive One hundred Lashes on his bare back and have One half of his pay Stopped monthly from him till General McIntosh is fully satisfied.

The Court on account of the prisoner having Sustained the Character of a good Soldier recommend him to his Excellency's Clemency with respect to the corporal punishment.

The General remits the Stripes approves the rest of the Sentence and orders it to take place.

At a General Court Martial whereof Major Church was president January 26th, Ensign Cook of the 12th Pennsylvania Battalion tried for leaving his guard before he was properly delivered (it being an Out Guard) found guilty of a Breach of the 4th Article of the 13th Section of the Articles of War and unanimously Sentenced to be Cashiered with infamy—

The Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence and Orders it to take place immediately.

Advertisement.

Found a Saddle the 27th Instant with plated Stirrups and buttons the owner describing the Saddle may have it by applying to Major Church of the Pennsylvania Battalion.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE SATURDAY JANY 31st 1778.

Parole,

C. Signs,

Major General of the day for Tomorrow

Baron de Kalb.

Brigadier Varnum.

Field Officers Col^o Vose and Major —

Brigade Major Day.

Seven Subalterns Eight Sergeants 8 Corporals and 64 privates to parade Tomorrow Morning at Nine OClock prepared for a weeks Command.

A Soldier from Each Brigade who is used to driving a waggon to parade at the same time for a weeks command—

Advertisement.

Lost Yesterday a bundle of papers which were an accompt of the 1st Virginia Regiment against the United States with the vouchers for back rations and Deficiencies—Ten Dollars reward to any person who brings the same to Captain John Sutton Pay Master to said Regiment.

[The following orders have been added.]

HEAD QUARTERS JANUARY 7th 1778.

Col^o Hartleys regiment is to March at 8 OClock tomorrow for York Town and there receive orders from the Board of War.

Tim Pickering A. G.

Detail of the Guards Jany 5th 1778.

- 1st, Stone Chimney Picquet.
- 2, Picquet near Genl Scott.
- 3, Sentre Picquet.
- 4, Upper Merion.
- 5, Fatland Ford.
- 6, At the Valley Quaker Meeting House on the left.
7. At the Reces where the Lancaster road intersects the Valley Road.
- 8, At Mr. Davis's quite upon the right in the Valley road beyond General Maxwells Quarters.
- 9, Provost Guard.
- 10, Ammunition.
- 11, Adjutant General and two others—

	<i>C.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
1. Guard	0	1	1	1	18
2. Ditto	0	1	1	1	18
3. Ditto	0	1	1	1	18
4. Ditto	0	1	1	1	18
5. Ditto	0	1	1	1	18
6. Ditto	0	1	1	1	18
7. Ditto	0	1	1	1	18
8. Ditto	0	1	1	1	18
9. Ditto	1	1	2	2	40
10. Ditto	0	0	0	1	6
11. Ditto	0	0	1	1	9
12. Ditto	0	0	0	1	3
13. Q ^r M. G ^l	0	0	0	1	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	9	11	13	202
					3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
				14	205

Congress Guard to be relieved Monday and Thurs-

	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>Privates</i>
day	1	1	1	20

The parties at the Gulph and Meeting House every Tuesday.

PENNSYLVANIA PENSIONERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY MRS. HARRY ROGERS AND MRS. A. H. LANE

[The following abstracts of pensions granted to the officers, rank and file of the Pennsylvania Continental Line, and the State Militia and Navy, under Acts of the Assembly, have been collected from the Dockets of the Orphans' Court of the City and County of Philadelphia. They will be found authentic, interesting for the details they contain, and valuable to genealogists and hereditary societies which base eligibility to membership on Revolutionary service in the army or navy, as many of the muster rolls have been lost or destroyed and a large number of pensioners had died prior to the Acts of Congress which assumed and relieved the States of their pension responsibility. No attempt has been made to correct the spelling of the names as recorded, but identity is not difficult.]

1777 July 25—The Petition of SIMON GORE was read setting forth That the Petitioner has been a Private in Captⁿ Thomas Palmers Company of Rifle Militia of this City; last summer Campaigne—That by the accidental discharge of a Rifle, the Ball and Wiper thereof, passed thro both the Petitioners Thighs and most Terribly shattered the Bone of one—That the Petitioner continued at the Hospital at Amboy, until forced from thence by the approach of the Enemy; was sent from thence to East Town, & from thence to the General Hospital in this City—That he has since been under the necessity of Expending most of what he was worth being upwards of Forty Pounds—That the Petitioner has a long time suffered most Bitter & excruciating pain by reason of the said wounds; and tho now able to creap abroad yet his wounds not yet healed, being maimed & decrepid he is rendered unable to gain a Lively hood and reduced to very great distress. The Confidence he has of the Charity and benevolence of

the Court emboldened him to make this application, *praying* the Court to take his distressed Circumstances into consideration, afford him such relief as to the Court shall seem meet Thereupon the Court taking the said Petition into Consideration do order that the Clerk of this Court draw an order in favour of the said Simon Gore directed to the Lieutenant of the County for payment of the Sum of Thirteen pounds fifteen Shillings being the amount of the Petitioners half Pay from the time his Pay as a Militia Man ceased to this time.

1778 December 14—The Petition of JAMES DUNN of the City of Philadelphia was read setting forth that the Petitioner is a Militia man of the said City and on the fourth of October 1777 at the Battle of Germantown then being Gunner to Captain Ruperts Company of Artillery belonging to a Battalion of Militia Com-manded by Colonel Jehu Eyre, The Petitioner in at-tempting to remove a Tube belonging to one of the Field pieces unfortunately lost his Eye, by which he has been rendered incapable of following any Business almost ever since, Praying the Court will take his dis-tressed Condition under their Consideration & grant him such relief as the law in such Cases directs—There-upon the Court taking the said Petition into Considera-tion do order that the Clerk of this Court draw an Order in favour of the said James Dunn directed to the Lieutenant of the County for Payment of the Sum of £31; 8; 4 being the amount of the Petitioners half Pay from the time his Pay as a Militia Man ceased to this Time.

1779 November 2—The Petition of BATHSHEBA PAR-sons of the Northern Liberties in the said County Widow was read setting forth That the Petitioners late Husband Thomas Parsons was a Lieutenant in Captain John Williams's Company in the first Battalion of

Philadelphia County Militia then Commanded by Colonel Jacob Morgan—That in the beginning of the year 1777 in an Engagement with the Enemy at Princeton he received a Wound in his knee of which Wound he afterwards died leaving the Petitioner a helpless Widow with two Orphan Children to provide for That Pet^r since the death of her Husband hath never received any Allowance from the public toward the Support & Maintenance of her self & Children Praying the Court to take the Premises into Consideration and grant her such Relief as the law directs Thereupon it is ordered That half pay be allowed to the said Bathsheba Parsons from the time of the death of her said Husband to this day.

1780 June 17—The petition of AGNES TELKER Widow and Relict of George Telker late of the Northern Liberties in the said County deceased was Read Setting forth That the Petitioners Husband the said George Telker a private Militia man in Captain Leechs Company of Colonel McGaugh's Battalion was killed in the Battle of Germantown in October 1777 That your petitioner being an Aged and Infirm Woman having also a Daughter to provide for finds great difficulty in Supporting herself in the times of Distress Praying the Court will take her case under Consideration and grant her such Relief as the Law Directs and the said Petitioner at the same time producing to the Court the Respective Certificates required by an Act of Assembly Entitled "An Act for the Regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" Thereupon it is ordered by the Court that the Lieutenant of the County of Philadelphia pay unto the said Agnes Telker the sum of Twelve Hundred and Eighty Pounds.

1780 December 4—The Petition of SARAH MARTIN widow of Peter Martin was read Setting forth

That the Petitioners Husband Peter Martin was a Lieutenant in the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment raised during the War in the Service of the united States of America Commissioned by Colonel Richard Humpton and that the said Husband fell in the Battle of Brandywine & died on the Eleventh day of September in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred & Seventy Seven That herewith she begs leave to Exhibit full and legal proof of the Facts herein set forth as well as of their Marriage & of his Commission Wherefore the petitioner prays that the Bounty of the Law may be Extended to her & that the allowance of the half of her deceased Husbands pay may be ordered and adjudged to her agreeably to the Directions of an Act of Assembly of this Commonwealth of the First day of March last past—On Motion of Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant Esq^r It is ordered that the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia do pay unto the said Sarah Martin the Sum of £184; 6; 3 being the Amount of her said Husbands half pay from the Time of his decease to this day, And also the Sum of £15; 11; 3 every three months during her Widowhood.

1781 February 23—Petition of Bathsheba Parsons Widow & Relict of THOMAS PARSONS late a lieutenant in Captain John Williams's Company in the first Battalion of the Philadelphia County Militia was read Setting forth "That the Petitioners Husband died of the wound he received at the battle of Princeton in the year 1777 that on the Second of November 1779 The Petitioner producing the Certificates by Law required this Court were pleased to, grant an Order in her favour for the amount of her deceased Husbands half pay from his decease until the date of the Said Order—That having a young Child to support she finds great difficulty in procuring a livelihood and is therefore necessitated to solicit the further aid of this Court"—Thereupon it is

ordered by the Court that the Lieutenant of the County of Philadelphia do pay unto the said Bathsheba Parsons the Sum of Eighty one Pounds seven Shillings and three pence three farthings lawful money of Pennsylvania being the Amount of her deceased Husbands half pay from the date of the former Order of this Court until this Day.

1781 March 1—The Petition of CATHARINE REYNOLDS Widow of John Reynolds was read setting forth “That the Petitioner is the Widow of John Reynolds late first Lieutenant of the Franklin Galley in the naval Service of this Commonwealth and is intitled to receive during her widowhood half the Pay to which her said Husband was intitled as by an Act of Assembly passed the first day of March one Thousand seven hundred and eighty will more fully and at large appear—That the Petitioner is ready to furnish necessary Proofs respecting her Claims. Praying the Court will be pleased to ascertain the half pay agreeable to the direction of the said Act.” And the said Catharine Reynolds at the same time producing to the Court the respective Certificates and Proofs by Law required in support of her said claim Thereupon it is ordered by the Court that the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia do pay unto the said Catharine Reynolds the Sum of One hundred and four Pounds one Shilling and three pence lawful money of Pennsylvania—and also the further sum of Sixteen Pounds seventeen Shillings and six pence money aforesaid quarterly during the Widowhood of the said Catharine Reynolds and no longer.

1781 March 8—The Petition of SARAH MCCLINTOCK of Potts Town in the County and Commonwealth aforesaid was read setting forth—That the Petitioners Husband Alexander McClintock at the Commencement of the present war with Great Britain was appointed a Lieutenant in the fifth Pennsylvania Regi-

ment now commanded by Colonel Francis Johnstone and still retained a Lieutenants Commission until the Eleventh of September 1777 in the Battle of Brandywine after receiving several hon^{ble} wounds which proved mortal died leaving the Petitioner a Widow with four small children Praying the Court will be pleased to grant an Order which will intitle her to receive such money from the Treasurer of this State as is allowed by Law, and which the widows of those Officers who fell in battle are intitled to—And the said Sarah McClintock at the same time producing the respective Certificates and Proofs by law required in support of her Claim to the satisfaction of the Court Whereupon it is ordered by the Court That the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia do pay unto the said Sarah McClintock the Sum of Two hundred and sixteen Pounds seven shillings & a penny lawful money of Pennsylvania being the amount of her deceased Husbands half pay from the day of his decease until this day and also the further Sum of Fifteen Pounds eleven Shillings and three pence money aforesaid quarterly during the Widowhood of the said Sarah McClintock and no longer.

1781 September 28—The Petition of DEBORAH BITTEN the widow and relict of Adam Bitten late Captain in the fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of foot commanded by Lieut Colonel William Butler was read, setting forth—That the Petitioners Husband was unfortunately killed near Morris Town in the State of New Jersey in the Service of his country that the Legislative body of this State agreeable to the Act for the more effectual Supply and honorable reward of the Pennsylvania Troops in the fifth section under the same Act have granted the widows of Officers and Soldiers certain Emolument—The Petitioner therefore most humbly hopes that the Court will be pleased to inquire

into her Claim—Therefore it is ordered by the Court, That the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia do pay unto the said Deborah Bitten the Sum of Sixty Pounds fifteen Shillings current money of Pennsylvania being the amount of her said Husbands half pay from his decease to this day, and also the further Sum of twenty two pounds ten shillings money aforesaid quarterly during the Widowhood of the said Deborah Bitten and no longer.

1782 January 29—The Petition of ELIZABETH PARRY widow of Lieutenant Colonel Caleb Parry deceased was read Setting forth “That the Petitioners Husband was a Lieutenant Colonel of a Regiment of foot in the Service of this State, commanded by Colonel Atlee and in the month of August in the year 1776 was killed in the Battle of Long Island bravely fighting for his Country That she is ready to produce those vouchers by Law required in support of her Claim”—And the said Elizabeth Parry at the same time producing the respective Certificates and Proofs by Law required in support of her claim to the satisfaction of the Court—thereupon it is ordered by the Court that the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia do pay unto the said Elizabeth Parry the Sum of Four hundred and eighty eight Pounds ten Shillings being the amount of her deceased Husbands half pay from his decease until this day, and also the further Sum of Twenty two Pounds ten shillings quarterly and every quarter during the Widowhood of the said Elizabeth Parry and no longer.

1782 March 11—On motion of Jonathan D Sergeant Esq^r who shewed the Court That JOHN MILLER Esq^r lately a Captain in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Colonel Magaw was killed on the Sixteenth day of November in the Year of our Lord 1776 defending the Lines on New York Island and that he hath left a Widow Margaretha to survive him who is

by Law intitled to the half pay of her said Husband since his decease—thereupon it is ordered that the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia do pay unto the said Margaretha the Sum of Four hundred and Twenty eight Pounds fifteen Shillings Specie, and also the further Sum of Twenty two Pounds ten Shillings like money aforesaid quarterly during the Widowhood of the said Margaretha and no longer.

1785—*February 14*—upon the application of JOHN GERLOCH of the City of Philadelphia in the County aforesaid, JOHN COONEY, JOSEPH JOHNSTON, THOMAS MAYBURY, ARCHIBALD HANNAH, JOHN MCGILL, WILLIAM TOMLINSON, LARKIN MORRISON, JOHN PARKS, HENRY LOVE, NICHOLAS BEAS, JOHN MARTIN LUDWICK, JOHN REDMAN, JOHN SLOAN, DAVID CRAWLEY and HUGH WOOD, discharged Soldiers of this State, it is ordered, That the Clerk of this Court draw an Order on the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia requiring him to pay unto the said John Gerloch One hundred and Twenty Dollars due this day, unto the said John Cooney, Joseph Johnston, Thomas Mayberry, Archibald Hannah, John McGill, William Tomlinson, Larkin Morrison, John Parks and Henry Love fifteen dollars each, due to them respectively on the first of January last, unto the said John Martin Ludwick fifteen Dollars due the twenty first of same Month, unto John Redman fifteen Dollars due the twenty second of the same Month, unto the said John Sloan fifteen Dollars due the twelfth of February instant—unto the said David Crowley thirty Dollars due the first of February instant and unto Hugh Wood fifteen Dollars due the fifteenth of February instant.

1785—*February, 25—eodem die*, Before the aforesaid Justices: Upon the application of Ann Curtain, Widow and Administratrix of JOHN CURTAIN deceased. It is Ordered, that the Clerk of this Court draw an Order on the Treasurer of Philadelphia County in

favor of the said Ann for the Sum of fifteen Dollars, being the Pension granted her Husband, and due the twelfth of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and eighty three.

1785—March, 5—eodem die, Before the aforesaid Justices: It is Ordered that the Clerk of this Court draw an Order on the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia, requiring him to pay unto HUGH McMULLAN and EDWARD SWAINE fifteen Dollars Each, due respectively on the first instant, unto PATRICK DAMPSEY fifteen Dollars due the sixth instant, unto JOHN MCGEE fifteen dollars due the seventh instant, unto JOHN SACKER, WILLIAM HULET and SAMUEL HERVEY fifteen Dollars Each due respectively on the fourteenth instant, unto PHINEAS DAVIS, DAVID STEWART and JERARD CRAIG fifteen Dollars Each, due respectively on the fifteenth instant, unto MICHAEL DOUD twenty Dollars due the sixth instant, unto ROBERT ANDERSON twenty Dollars due the fourteenth instant, unto JOHN BRAYMAN fifteen dollars due the twenty first of February last, unto LUDWICK ABAGAST fifteen Dollars due the twenty third of same month, and unto GEORGE STEWART twenty five dollars due the day last named.

1785—April, 11—The petition of Agnes Delker was read setting forth that the Petitioner has been favored by the Court for this several years past with an Order on the Lieutenant of the County of Philadelphia for the half pay of her late Husband GEORGE DELKER who lost his life in the Battle of Germantown in the Service of his Country—the Petitioner is therefore under the Necessity of again applying to the Court for an Order for the half pay as before, the Petitioner is Old and infirm and is now in great Want and prays the Relief of the Court: Therefore it is ordered, that the Clerk of this Court draw an Order on the Lieutenant of the County of Philadelphia, in favor of the said Agnes

Delker for the Sum of fifteen Pounds, being the Amount of one Years Half pay of her said deceased Husband, due the eleventh day of March last.

1785—June 13—eodem die, Before the aforesaid Justices. It is Ordered that the Clerk of this Court draw an Order on the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia, requiring him to pay unto ROBERT ANDERSON, DAVID STEWART, JOHN SACKER, JOHN MCGEE, MICHAEL DOUD, PATRICK DAMPSEY, PHINEAS DAVIS, JERARD CRAIG, JOHN BRAYMAN, SAMUEL HERVEY, WILLIAM HULET, LODOWICK ABAGAST, EDWARD SWAINE and HUGH McMULLAN discharged Soldiers of this State fifteen Dollars Each, and unto John Ruddow forty five dollars.

1785—July, 11—eodem die, Before the aforesaid Justices: Ordered, that the Clerk of this Court draw an Order on the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia, requiring him to pay unto NICHOLAS BEAS fifteen Dollars due the first instant, unto ROBERT LINN fifteen Dollars due the tenth instant, unto PHILIP PHILE fifteen Dollars due the twelfth instant, and to MICHAEL BERRY and JOHN McCOWEN Sixty dollars each, due respectively on the tenth instant.

Eodem Die, Before the aforesaid Justices. Ordered, that the Clerk of this Court draw an Order on the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia requiring him to pay unto JOSEPH JOHNSON, THOMAS MAYBERRY, PHILIP HENRY, DAVID CRAWLEY, ARCHIBALD HANNAH, LARKIN MORRISON, HENRY LOVE and JOHN COONEY, fifteen dollars each, due to them respectively on the first instant—unto JOHN ANDERSON fifteen Dollars due the twentieth day of July last, unto AGNUS McKEEVER fifteen Dollars due on the twenty Second day of same Month, unto JOHN REDMAN fifteen Dollars due the twenty Sixth day of same Month, unto JOHN SULLIVAN fifteen dollars due the twelfth instant, unto JOHN GERLOCH fifteen Dollars due the fourteenth instant, unto

HUGH WOOD fifteen Dollars due the fifteenth instant, unto JOHN M. LUDWICK fifteen dollars due the twenty first instant.

August 26, 1785—Eodem Die, Before the aforesaid Justices—It is Ordered that the Clerk draw an Order on the Treasurer of the County of Philadelphia, requiring him to pay unto DAVID STEWART, ROBERT ANDERSON, JOHN SACKER, SAMUEL HERVEY, WILLIAM HULET the Sum of fifteen Dollars Each, due to them Severally on the fifteenth instant, to PATRICK DAMPSEY and MICHAEL DOUD fifteen Dollars Each due to them on the Sixth instant, unto PHINEAS DAVID and JERARD CRAIG fifteen dollars Each due to them the fifteenth instant, unto GEORGE STEWART thirty dollars due twenty third of August last, unto WILLIAM SMITH forty five Dollars due the fourth instant, and unto THOMAS MOORE, HUGH McMULLAN and EDWARD SWAINE fifteen Dollars each, due to them respectively on the first instant.

At an Orphans Court held at Philadelphia for the City and County of Philadelphia, the thirtieth day of September, in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and eighty five, Before William Adcock, William Rush and Isaac Howell Esquires. Justices of the same Court.

PURSUANT to an Act of General Assembly entitled "An Act for the Relief of Officers, Soldiers and Seamen who in the Course of the late War have been Wounded or otherwise disabled in the Service of this State or of the United States," passed the twenty Second day of September in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty five, the Court having examined and considered the Cases of the hereafter named Soldiers, which have been so disabled in the Service of this State or the United States as aforesaid and found them to be as in hereafter mentioned, and issued Certificates thereof with the Pensions therein Granted

to the same invalid Soldiers, to be paid to them agreeably to the Act of Assembly aforesaid viz.

To PETER EAGER a Private of the ninth Pennsylvania regiment and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids—that he was discharged from the same as unfit for further duty either in the Garrison or in the field on account of a Wound, which he received at the Battle of Brandywine in the Service of the United States, whereof he is disabled to get a Livelihood by labor, aged about thirty years—The Court adjudge that he is entitled to a Pension of five Dollars per Month, to be paid him agreeably to the Act of Assembly aforesaid.

To JOHN THOMPSON formerly of the third Pennsylvania Regiment and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids, aged about fifty five Years—that he was discharged from the same as unfit &c on Account of a Wound which he received at the Surrender of Fort Washington after he was taken Prisoner, in the Service of the United States, whereby &c. The Court allow him a Pension of five Dollars per Month, to be paid to him as aforesaid.

To JAMES PEYTON formerly of the fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids, aged about fifty six years—that he was discharged from the said Regiment of Invalids as unfit &c. on account of his disability occasioned by a fall while a Prisoner with the Enemies in the Service of the United States, whereby &c. The Court do allow him a Pension of five dollars per month, to be paid him as aforesaid.

To GEORGE KETTLE formerly of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, and from thence transferred to the Regiment of Invalids aged about Sixty three years—that he was discharged from the same Regiment of Invalids in the year 1779 as unfit &c on account of a Hurt which he received by a Stone rolling on him at West Point in the Service of the United States. The Court

do allow him a Pension of five dollars per Month, to be paid him as aforesaid.

To JAMES LEE, formerly of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids aged about Sixty five years, that he was duly discharged from the same invalid regiment as unfit &c on account of a Wound which he received at the Paoli in the Service of the United States, whereby &c. The Court do allow him a Pension of five dollars per Month to be paid him as aforesaid.

To JOHN DAVIS formerly of the fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of Artillery, and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids aged about thirty Years—that he was discharged from the same Invalid Regiment as unfit &c. on Account of a Wound which he received in South Carolina as he was cutting Wood in the Service of the United States, whereby &c. The Court do allow him a Pension of five dollars per Month to be paid him as aforesaid.

To PHILIP O'BRIEN formerly of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, and from thence transferred to the Regiment of Invalids, aged about Sixty four years—that he was discharged from the said Invalid Regiment on account of being old and infirm and worn out in the Service of the United States, which renders him incapable of getting a Livelihood by Labor—The Court do allow him a Pension of five dollars per Month to be paid him as aforesaid.

To WILLIAM BEDWORTH formerly of the twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment, and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids, aged about fifty-three years—that he was discharged from the same invalid Regiment as unfit &c on account of being old and infirm and worn out in the Service of the United States, which renders him incapable of getting a Livelihood by Labor—the Court do allow him a Pension of five Dollars per Month to be paid him as aforesaid.

To JOHN PURTLE, formerly of the fifth Pennsylvania

regiment and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids aged about fifty-eight years—that he was discharged from the said Invalid regiment on account of a wound which he received at Fort Washington in the Service of the United States, whereby &c. The Court do allow him a Pension of five dollars to be paid him as aforesaid.

GODFREY McDONALD formerly of the third Pennsylvania Regiment, and from thence transferred to the Regiment of Invalids, aged about fifty eight years, that he was discharged from said Invalid regiment on account—in the service of the United States whereby he is disabled of getting a Livelihood by labor—The Court do allow him a Pension of five dollars to be paid him as aforesaid.

To ROBERT KEARNS late a Serjeant of the twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids aged about — Years—that he was discharged from the same Invalid Regiment in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty on account of—in the Service of the United States, whereby &c. The Court do allow him a Pension of five dollars to be paid him, as aforesaid.

To JOHN HILL late a Private of the second Pennsylvania Regiment, and from thence transferred to the Regiment of Invalids, aged about twenty two Years, that in January 1783, he lost the use of both Legs in Consequence of a frost received sometime in the preceding year—whereby &c. The Court do allow him a pension of five dollars to be paid to him as aforesaid.

To CHRISTOPHER BARRACE late a Private in the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, and from thence transferred to the regiment of Invalids, aged about — years—that he was discharged the same Regiment of Invalids on account of a Wound received by a Stroke of a Broad Axe, which he received in the year 1778, in the Service of the United States whereby &c. The Court do allow

him a Pension of five dollars per Month, payable to him as aforesaid.

Pursuant to the aforesaid Act of Assembly the Court having examined and considered the Case of the HONORABLE JAMES IRVINE ESQUIRE, late a Brigadier General of the Pennsylvania Militia aged about — years, find that while acting as Brigadier General of the said Militia in the Service of the United States in an Engagement with the british Light Infantry at Chestnut Hill in the State of Pennsylvania on the fifth day of December in the year 1777, he had three of his fingers Shot off his left hand and also at the same time received a Contusion in his Neck, and that he hath been maimed and disabled by said Wound and Contusion ever since. The Court further find, that his Pay as Brigadier General of the said Militia was One hundred and twenty five dollars per Month—that he was exchanged from his Captivity with the Enemy on the third day of September 1781, at which time his Pay as an Officer in the Service of the United States ceased—The Court do therefore adjudge that the said Honorable James Irvine Esquire is entitled to a Pension of forty five dollars per Month, agreeable to the directions of the aforesaid Act of Assembly.

October 13, 1785. To JOHN THOMPSON, late a Sergeant of Captain Dalberts Company in the second Pennsylvania Regiment aged about fifty years—that he was transferred from his said Regiment, to the Regiment of Invalids, and discharged from the same as unfit for further duty either in the Garrison or in the field, on account of his disability occasioned by a frost, in laying out in the Camp in the hard Winter whereby he is rendered incapable of getting a Livelihood by labor. The Court do therefore adjudge that he is entitled to a Pension of five dollars per Month to Commence from the twenty seventh day of July last past agreeable to the Act of Assembly aforesaid.

(To be continued.)

Andrew Bradford

484 *Extracts from Friends' Meetings Accounts.*

Philadelphia March 15th 1717

The Yearly Meeting Dr.

To the following Books Delivered Anthony Morris:

To Printing one Sheet of True Christianity 500	1	10
To Reprinting it again 500 more		10
To folding Stiching and Cutting one Thousand of Ditto	1	
To Paper for Ditto	1	6
To 4½ Sheets of William Penn's Key at 30/pr Sheet	6	7 6
To Paper for Ditto	2	19 3
To folding Stiching and Cutting 500	3	2 6

£16 15 3

Errors Excepted pr Me

Andrew Bradford

Philadelphia September 17th 1717

Received of Anthony Morris in Cash the Above Account in full for the use of the Meeting I say Received pr Me.

Andrew Bradford

Philadelphia Anno 1717

Richard Hill Dr.

April 27	To Printing 2½ Sheets of your Daughters Sayings at 30/ pr sh.	3	7	6
	To 2½ Reams and Seven quires of Paper at 26/ pr R	3	13	1½
	To Covering 300 in Marble Paper at 25/pr hundred	3	15	
	To Covering 300 in your Covers . . . at 20/10 pr hundred	3	2	6
May	To Reprinting it over again	3	7	6
	To Paper for Ditto at 26/ pr Ream	3	13	1½
	To Covering 560 in Painted and Marble paper at 25/ pr 100	7		
	To Covering 40 in your Covers	8	4	
	To 13 Bound in Leather—at 9 ^d pr	9	9	

£28 16 10

To 100 Books more at 5^d a pr. 2 5

£30 1 10

Errors Excepted pr Me

Andrew Bradford.

Philad^a 14 June 1717 Then rec'd of Richd Hill Thirty Pounds 1/10 In full ball. of the Above & all duty pr Me

Andrew Bradford.

Extracts from Friends' Meetings Accounts. 485

Philadelphia April 20th 1718

The Yearly Meeting of the People Commonly called Quakers (of the City of Philadelphia) Dr.

To Cash paid the Smith for Mending Sundry Odd jobs for the Printing Press	5
To Cash paid for Pelts for Balls	12
To Parchment for ye Press	10
To repair of Ball Stocks	6
To Cash paid the Joyner for Ridlets Sticks Quires &c for the Press	12
To Printing a broad Side entit a Caution against Pride 1500 ..	1 00
To Paper for Ditto	1 15
To Printing Six and a half Sheets of the Apology by Chandler, Pyatt, Stodges and Some others at 30/pr Sheet	9 15
To 15½ Reams of Paper for Ditto at 12/	9 6
To folding Cutting and Covering 950 at 2½ ^d	5 4 2
To Binding fifty in Leather	
	<hr/>
	£28 5 2

Errors Excepted pr Me

Andrew Bradford

1718 Yearly Meeting Dr. Pr. Daniell Smith

Joseph Parker by order of Meeting	£10
Caleb Rapier for work and other Expenses	16 1
Presarved Brown for Companing Lydia Norten to Long Island ..	2 2 10
Zackariah Jess for traveling Expences	15
For Ferige of friends and Horses	2 9
More ferige	1 8
Caleb Rapier for Shooing & other things	5 7
For ferige of friends and horses	1 6
	<hr/>
	£14 5 5
Ball in hands due to ye Meeting	18 6 1
	<hr/>
	£32 11 6

Yearly Meeting Dr.

1719 To Cash pd Daniell Smith for 1 hr. Use of Shrewsbury Meeting	20
To cash pd Wm. Sims for Benjamin Holm his pasidge to Barbadoes	3
To pd Philad ^a in most 18 months Rent of the press Room ..	6
To Cash pd y ^e ballanse y ^e printers Acet.	13 5
To Wm. Hudson disburstment for Benja. Holm	3 9 10
To Richard Hill for Sundry disburstments Vincent Caldwell, Elliz. Wartonby Benjamin Holms and Thomas Kimbery	17 13 6
	<hr/>
	63 7 6
To Ballanse dew this 22 ye 7 th M ^o 1719	15 11 10
	<hr/>
	£78 19 4

Errors Excepted pr Antho. Morris

486 *Extracts from Friends' Meetings Accounts.*

Yearly Meeting Dr		
To cash pd. John farmer travelling Expenses	£3	3 10
To Cash d d for Expenses of Wm. Armstrong And James Grayham toward Maryland	1	3 7
To cash pd Richard Hill for Disbursments		
To Enian Williams in his voyage to barbadoes	8	10
To Cash p ^d Jon. Cadwallader In his Journey towards New England	2	18 7
To Andrew Bradford's Bill for paper printing folding and Stitching Books	16	15 3
	<hr/>	
	30	11 3
To Richd Hill his Disburst ^{mt} towards Jno Lees traveling Charges	7	4
	<hr/>	
	£37.	15 3
Errors Excepted pr Antho. Morris		
To Next Acct for ball hereof in Antho. Morris hands	£13	9
	<hr/>	
	£50	16

Philadelphia September 19th 1721

Friends Yearly Meeting Dr.

To Printing 15 Sheets of a Welch Book of Ellis Pugh at 35/ pr Sheet	26	5
To 17 Reams of Paper for Ditto at 12/	10	4
To Folding Covering, Sticking and Cutting of 500 Books	5	12 6
	<hr/>	
	£42	1 6

Errors Excepted pr Me

Andrew Bradford

The General Meeting of the People called Quakers Dr.

1722 To a Broad Side of the Epistle of Caution Against Pride	1	10
To Paper for Ditto	1	10
To 1 Sheet of the Yearly Meetings Epistle	1	10
To Paper for Ditto	1	9
1723 To 2 Sheets Samuell Cripps Letter	3	
To 4½ Reams Paper bought Tho. Lawrence at 18/	4	1
To 3 Sheets of the Antient Testimony at 35/ pr Sheet for 2000	5	5
To folding Stitching and Cutting Cripps Letter 1000 ..	2	10
To 13½ Reams Paper for the Antient Testimony at 18/p ^r R.	12	3
To folding Stitching and Covering with bleu Paper and Cutting 2000 at 16/pr 100	16	
To 2½ Sheets of Short Observation Made on the Pres- byterians Doctrine at 30/	3	15

1723

An Acco^t of Work Done at ye Banck Meeting House

27	3 ^{mo}	To Panteing ye former Wall of brick & Stone and Clayening Same	£1	10	
		To 20 prh. 12 fot 8 Inch of Stone work at 6/ pr prch	6	3	9
		To Deeging & Moveing 4 post		4	
		To Laying 4000 bricks at 12/ pr 1000	2	3	
		To 18 prch Stone Work at ye frount end at 4/ pr prch.		3	12
		To 17 Stone Steps at 6/ pr Step	5	2	
		To 1000 bricks at 12/ pr 1000		12	
		To Deegine and Weeling 239 yd. at 8 ^d pr y ^d	9	12	4
		To Paveing 140½ yds. at 8 ^d pr yd.	44	13	4
		Errors Excepted pr.			

John Hart

Philadelphia Anno 1726

The General Meeting of the People called Quakers Dr.

		To one Sheet of the Declaration	£1	12	
		To 2½ Reams of fine Post Paper at	3	15	
January	25	To 1 Sheet of the Yearly Meeting Epistle	1	12	
		To 2½ Reams of Paper for Ditto at 1.3/	1	12	6
		Errors Excepted per Me this 19 th Day of September		£8	11 6

1727

Andrew Bradford

At a Mo^{ly} Meeting held in Our Meeting house in Philadelphia the 23^d 12^{mo} 1721—

Richard Hill and Tho^s Griffeth are appoynted to Imploy a workman to Close the Gallery, alter the Side Bench, Put a hatch on the Staires—and View the Rooff of this Meeting house, & Report the Necessary Repaires, And Get a Gallary made in ye banck Meeting house for ye Woman friends.

Geo. Hatfield Sent in an acco^t for Pailing done about ye Buring Ground of friends.—Richard Hill & Wm. Carter are appoynted to Inspect his Acco^t and w^t Shall appeare due ord^r Thomas Griffeth to pay—the Said ffrriends are also appoynted to Direct as there may be Need for ye Repaireing & Keeping up ye Burying Ground fence and to Set post in ye Street to Guard the Pailles.

At a Meeting held the 30 lmo. 1722 Christopher Tomson & Sam^l Lowell are added to Rich^d Hill & Tho^s Griffeth, to view the Repaires wanting to ffr^{ds} Meeting house's in this City and Get wt they find Needfull done,—Rich^d Hill & Thos. Griffeths are desir'd to send Shingles & Nailles.

At a Meeting the 27 2^{mo} 1722. Richard Hill propos'd ffr^{ds} not being in Stock that he would pay to the Estate of Antho. Morris the two years this Meeting is in Arreares toward ye Yearly Meeting Stock, Also Answer for the work that the ffr^{ds} appoynted shall Judge Requiset

& of Necessity to be done to ye Banck Meeting house w^{ch} this Meeting agrees to Repay wth wt Expedition they Can.

(Copia) Sam^l Preston Clk.

To the Monthly Meeting of the People called Quakers held at Philadelphia the 25th Day of June 1725.

By Frequent Inducements and Repeated Encouragements of Some Members of this and the Yearly Meeting for the Printing of Sewels History I sent to London to get them Printed for the Meeting knowing they could be better done there in Every Respect than here; and having now Received per Capt. Annis two hundred of the Five Sent for the Remainder being Expected (as per Advice) by the first opportunity (which I hope the Meeting will not let me be a looser by them, Since I have don it to Serve them) which I thought My Self Obliged to Advvertise this Meeting of whose Answer is Expected

By Your Friend and Servant

Andrew Bradford

Copy of a Minuit of the Monthly Meeting ye 29th 10 mo. 1732.

Isaac Norris proposed to ye Meeting that by Exchanging a piece of his land for part of that belonging to Friends at Fairhill, it would add to the conveniency of Fairhill Meeting house, the Meeting appoints Richard Waln & Israel Pemberton (with any other Friends that are inclined) to view the said Land, & make Report thereof at the next meeting.

Copy of a Minuit of Monthly Meeting the 29th 4 M^o 1733.

The friends appointed to view Fairhill lands report, they have viewed it, & considered the proposal made by I. N. of exchanging a piece of Friends Lands, there, with him, for the like quantity of his, which they concieve will not be of advantage to this meeting. [Isaac Norris added the following comments.]

Because if Isaac Norris keeps his Land between German Road and the Meeting House always open as he may probably do rather than shut up the Way—this Meetg will save their own Land and get all the use of his for nothing—

PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES, 1769-1776.

(Continued from page 353.)

1775.

January.

- 4: James Moyes—Mary Tatum
John Dean—Catharine Hall
James Kerr—Rebecca Simpson
Charles Robinson—Ann Holster
Isaiah Vanhorn—Catharine Rue
- 7: John Linch—Ann Russel
John Pluckrose—Ann Lock
- 9: James Smith—Mary Penn
George Michael Immel—Catharine Sidle
- 11: Samuel Armstrong—Elizabeth Gibson
- 12: Richard Fortune—Amelia Maxwell
- 13: Jacob Zigler—Esther Buchwater
- 14: Charles Justis—Mary Morton
Edward Hunter—Hannah Maris
- 17: Daniel Thomas—Sarah Briton
- 18: Samuel Church—Anne Justice
David Cake—Margaret Cowger
- 19: Joseph Jacob Wallace—Elizabeth Lukens
- 23: James Coburn—Sarah Hayes
Jacob Vernor—Sarah McDaniel
- 24: John Cockshott—Sarah Rivers
Edmund McDaniel—Mary Matson
Richard Davis—Ruth Marshall
- 25: Daniel Huff—Mary Sharp
John Pogue—Rachel Gilbert
John Braddock—Anna Green
- 27: Hughes Johnston—Jennet Irwin
- 28: Peters Lewis—Margaret Bell
- 30: Michael Clarke—Mary Butler

February.

- 1: John Appowen—Mary Mason
- 2: Alexander Plunket—Mary Hoffman
George Millward—Elizabeth Ireland

- 3: John Adams—Mary Davis
Daniel Robinson—Margaret Showtissel
Dean Timmons—Mary Samuels
James Delaplaine—Mary Keen
- 5: Jacob Vandergrift—Sarah Titus
- 10: Isaac Fowler—Margaret Higgins
- 11: Llewellyn Joe Taylor—Sarah Carpenter
Robert Grant—Sarah Yercas
- 14: Adam Clampffer—Mary Kerlin
- 17: John Hithal—Margaret Huston
- 20: Joseph Ashburnham—Rachel Giffin
Michael Albright—Juliana Dowterman
- 22: Adam Garret—Christiana Hysel
- 23: John Coffman—Mary Gitling
- 25: James Hawes—Hannah Worrell
Philip Meser—Elizabeth Clingman
- 27: Samuel Gothrop—Sarah Boast
John Crann—Sarah Souder
- 28: Caleb Coburn—Esther Assheton
Samuel Gill—Jemima Hughes
Charles Finney—Elizabeth Archey
John Baker—Elizabeth Schreiner

March.

- 1: Anthony Cuthbert—Sarah Dixon
- 4: Thomas Hall—Margaret Sawyer
Joseph Siddell—Mary Groom
John Black—Magdalena Holten
- 8: Richard Brown—Rachel Wickward
Enoch Marple—Mary Corson
John Schuler—Elizabeth Antis
- 11: Thomas Jones—Alice Morris
- 13: William Hood—Hannah Genger
Robert Milnor—Martha Long
John Foy—Hoppee Hewett
- 14: Francis Gilbert—Margaret Nelson
David Lyons—Elizabeth Forrester
- 16: Lewis Thomas—Susanna Roberts
Benjamin January—Hannah Langdale
- 17: Robert Wallace—Margaret Kenney
Thomas Shaw—Rachel Polton
- 18: John Scringar—Elizabeth Reed
John Specht—Catharine Knees

- 20: Conrod Librant—Hannah Sellers
- 21: Robert Coxe—Jane Watkins
- 22: Francis McKay—Hannah Davis
Jonathan Harding—Mary Randle
- 23: James Spencer—Ann Coakley
John Lip—Mary Cyphert
John Cordieu—Catharine Kramston
- 24: Jonathan James—Mary Latch
- 25: Jonathan Giddens—Mary Fletcher
- 27: John Craig—Ann Driscoll
- 28: Robert Plunket—Ann Dickinson
- 29: William Roberts—Mary Towers
- 30: Isaac Worrell—Elizabeth Rambo
- 31: John Robinson—Mary Comley

April.

- 1: William Downes—Ann Gerrard
William Brown—Ann McSweny
John Shepherd—Susanna Grace
James Sharshwood—Elizabeth Bradin
- 4: Frederick Gesting—Elizabeth Seffrons
- 5: Thomas Alexander—Mary Smith
Henry Zimmerman—Frances Miller
- 6: John Downey—Ann Elizabeth Yeates
- 7: Andrew Sigler—Ann Howey
- 8: Isaac McGlathery—Rachel McGlathery
Levi Evans—Susanna Barton
Cornelius Wynkoop—Hannah Thomas
- 10: Robert Tempest—Deborah Shelley
James Barnes—Ann Davis
- 15: George Spangler—Mary Scheiner
- 17: John Truckenmiller—Susanna Baur
John Wormington—Ann Collet
- 19: John Angus—Hannah Appowen
John Bailey—Isabella Simpson
Bryan Lafferty—Rachel Anderson
- 20: William Harp—Lydia Davis
Samuel Stringer Coale—Ann Hopkinson
Walter Correy—Bridget Downey
Patrick Griffin—Mary Nelson
- 22: Samuel Brown—Elizabeth Tyson
Hugh Dehaven—Sarah Holstein
- 24: Thomas Page—Catharine Bryan
Peter Sunlightner—Elizabeth Wyle

- 26: John Rusk—Catharine Straley
John McFeteridge—Ann Carson
27: George Stokes—Mary Warner

May.

- 1: James Glasgow—Elizabeth Lee
3: John Roberts—Hannah Larriall
John Dillon—Margaret Watkins
4: William Kinnard—Elizabeth Stockford
John Jameson—Catharine Osborne
6: Isaac Thomas—Mary Hammer
7: Isaac Buck—Hannah Hicks
8: Edward Bowring—Elizabeth Black
9: Thomas Harper—Mary Davis
11: Robert Shields—Hannah Jones
William Coates—Jane Dupui
13: Philip Kinsey—Jane Morris
John Hamilton—Jane Godfrey
17: Daniel Carroll—Juliana Powers
John Osborne—Mary Christian
18: Nathaniel Donnell—Elizabeth Conyngham
Lawrence Sickler—Barbara Chrissler
Henry Kreps—Margaret Barr
22: James Otis—Charity Swailes
Ananias Cooper—Bridget Dwir
Bryan Laughlan—Margaret McKone
24: Philip Kirk—Esther Worrell
25: Walter Oliver—Elizabeth Hall
27: Thomas Young—Barbara Clingman
30: Philip Boardman—Mary Guy
Simon Barnet—Margaret Sidell

June.

- 1: John Brown—Martha Thomas
William Webb—Martha Ord
2: John Van Reed—Eve Yost
3: George Gillespie—Elizabeth Denormandie
James McKenzie—Sarah Bull
5: John Lee—Elizabeth Higgs
William Stein—Christiana Muchlarsin
6: James Mullins—Ann Cassin
Benjamin Williamson—Elizabeth Larimore

- 7: Ebenezer Large—Dorothy Sparks
James Taylor—Sarah Morrell
Richard Ennis—Mary Rinedollar
- 8: John Wood—Abigail Watson
Donald Connell—Margaret Tobin
- 10: Daniel Dolby—Mary Snow
Samuel Thomas—Priscilla Evans
Daniel Gilbert—Catharine Belkenbile
- 14: John McGee—Elizabeth Archibald
- 15: Gibbs Jones—Margaret Moore
- 20: Alexander Henderson—Mary Anderson
Francis Fox—Sarah Thomson
- 21: Frederick Breck—Magdalena Berghartin
- 23: John Fisher—Esther Tybout
Archibald Dunn—Mary Mahar
- 26: Thomas Craig—Lydia Jackson
- 28: Michael McCarty—Mary Cochran
Jeremiah Much—Catharine Fox

July.

- 1: Lawrence Paul—Ann Martin
William Favell—Jane Hay
Isaac Comley—Elizabeth Moore
- 3: Nicholas Neels—Mary Whitefield
Thomas Brown—Ann Sherwood
Charles McIlherring—Mary McMullan
Darby Sullivan—Catharine Casey
- 7: William Hastings—Mary Lusad
- 10: Daniel Shaw—Susanna Robinson
- 13: Fergus Main—Ann Kellum
- 14: Robert Gibson—Mary Britton
- 15: Samuel Clinton—Elizabeth Williams
William Green—Margaret Grogan
John White—Jane Cleland
Cornelius Farrin—Rebecca Doughty
- 19: Thomas Darroch—Margaret Gregory
- 20: John Daniels—Sarah Ball
- 21: Daniel Lester—Catharine Weaver
- 22: Frederick Antis—Catharine Shuler
John Hercules—Susanna Dorwett
Philip Ryebolt—Frances Tuckney
- 25: Jacob Sharp—Mary Pricket
James Otis—Mary Conly

- 27: James Rosbotham—Cornelia Price
Joseph Webb—Lætitia Powell
Gilbert Carmack—Elizabeth Reinholdt
- 29: John Wood—Merriam Osman
Andrew McCormick—Agnes Race
- 31: James McGlew—Hannah Greenway

August.

- 1: Henry Lees—Elizabeth Styber
Samuel Simpson—Mary Day
- 2: John Shields—Margaret Cannon
- 3: Nicholas Millet—Hannah Tremble
- 5: Charles Blanchflower—Mary Clarke
- 7: James Johnston—Martha Hamble
William Wood—Mary Govern
Allen Moore—Hannah Gray
- 8: John Hetherington—Isabella Craig
Benjamin Myers—Elizabeth George
- 9: Charles Scoby—Eliza Black
- 10: Mark Brady—Priscilla Gaddle
Henry Wynkoop—Mary Eliza Reinholdt
Francis Swaine—Mary Millenber
- 11: William Drewet Smith—Margaret Stedman
- 16: James Keimer—Sarah King
Robert Williamson—Hannah Hamilton
- 17: Philip Winemore—Elizabeth Finley
Thomas Ellison—Frances Crook
- 19: John Stewart—Sarah Melvaine
- 21: John North—Sarah Poole
- 22: Peter String—Hannah Cole
- 25: Thomas Crombey—Mary McAllister
Thomas Betagh—Margaret Blanchard
- 26: John Kreiser—Rebecca White
Casper Gribble—Sarah Merchant
Stephen Lewis—Deborah Pleasenton
- 28: Patrick Wright—Sarah Test
- 30: Isaac Kendricks—Margaret Curpman
Thomas Clifford—Eleanor Smith
- 31: James Morris—Mary Derrick
William Lewis—Eliza Ranstead

September.

- 2: Conrad Lombalter—Margaret Shallerin
Bethrend Detchwery—Hannah Rodgers

- 4: William Eachus—Mary Richards
- 5: Henry Myer—Catharine Sweitzer
Michael Condon—Eliza Fitzpatrick
- 7: Michael O'Daniel—Eleanor Bryan
- 9: James Guy—Mary Fisler
- 10: James Gilmer—Hannah Dent
- 12: Joseph Johnston—Margaret Garret
Thomas Paxton—Eliza Randle
Samuel Jeffrys—Susanna Humphries
- 13: Charles McKenzie—Mary Ann Brackley
- 14: Philip Flick—Mary Lowry
- 18: Henry Matthews—Deborah Knight
John Heller—Mary Jones
- 19: George McKeag—Christiana Johnston
- 21: James Withey—Sarah Claypoole
- 23: James Dutton—Lydia Kimler
- 27: John Smart—Rachel Hyder
Joseph West—Eliza Lawrence
Geo. Hunter—Grace Brick
Patrick Hare—Mary Tool
- 28: Samuel Channel—Susanna Robinet
George Horn—Sarah Jones
- 30: William Rush—Mary Stoneburner
Joseph Master—Elizabeth Young

October.

- 2: Isaac Atkinson—Elizabeth Toy
Francis Young—Hannah Paul
John Mathes—Mercy Musgrove
Anthony Rue—Catharine Huffty
- 7: Henry Clevenstine—Mary Emreckeñ
- 9: William Fitzpatrick—Mary Graham
Richard Lawrence—Mary Miller
Samuel Cox—Priscilla Holmes
Charles Nagle—Margaret Smith
- 10: George Forsyth—Chloe Elliot
- 11: Philip Henry—Margaret Thornburn
Andrew Huck—Priscilla Davis
- 12: Rev. John Stuart—Jane Okill
Thomas Conyngham—Ann Adams
- 17: James Means—Jane Swinney
- 19: William Thompson—Elizabeth Campbell
- 20: Samuel Kirk—Mary Deklyn

- 21: John Shuhan—Mary Irwin
- 24: Richard Thomas—Sarah Hall
- 25: John Scott—Margaret Robins
Thomas Assheton—Esther Johnston
- 26: John Benezet—Hannah Bingham
- 27: Elijah Philips—Catharine Harvey
- 30: Andrew Gallagher—Jane Shannon
- 31: Andrew Lex—Mary Vackenhurst
Clement Sewell—Cornelia Smith
John Ralston—Catharine Miller
Abel Miller—Hannah Martin

November.

- 1: John Tipler—Mary Doyl
Henry Wragg—Sarah Plunket
William Huston—Mary Burk
- 3: John Hanna—Elizabeth Frame
- 6: Noel Barnaby Veyrant Decastellane—Maria
Catharine Bruellhet
Paul Cruse—Mary Ruden
Edward Evans—Ann Ladd
John Mullet—Ann Singleton
- 7: William Cavel—Margarite Ross
George Bewly—Hannah Paul
- 8: Martin Zahar—Elizabeth Derringen
- 9: John Baker—Susanna Bonner
John Dyer—Sarah Briggs
John Hanna—Rebecca Tanzer
- 11: William Todd—Hannah Davis
Samuel French—Mary Wayne
- 14: Jesse Collum—Jane Francis
- 15: Robert Hare—Margaret Willing
John Adams—Elizabeth Walker
John Clinton—Ann Fivey
Richard Mosely—Ann Walker
- 16: Thomas Bramall—Mary Miller
- 18: William Thomas—Elizabeth Waters
Charles Richards—Sarah Clark
- 20: Joseph Marsh—Eleanor George
- 21: John Hanly—Lydia Coggins
John Chatham—Elizabeth Willson
- 25: Robert Cornwall—Sarah Rankin
William Stockton—Mary Nagle
Benjamin Sutch—Jane Roberts

- 27: William Smith—Ann Young
John Baldwin—Jane Downing
Henry Sakman—Christiana Brighdehem
- 28: Henry Kyser—Mary Lush
John Lennington—Mary Benneville
Charles Newman—Ann Robeson
- 29: Benjamin Griffith—Sarah Stephens

December.

- 1: Caleb Bickham—Mary Hunn
- 2: William Humphreys—Ann Coburn
- 5: Andrew Nelson—Mary McGinnis
- 7: Jacob Plankinhorn—Miriam Maudlin
Johnston Smith—Mary Hannes
James McDowell—Elizabeth Dewees
- 8: John Henry Stout—Margaret Calam
- 9: James Johnston—Margaret Dunn
- 12: William McIlvaine—Mary McIlvaine
- 14: John Hall—Isabella McConnell
James McDaniel—Eleanor Stuart
- 15: Francis Johnston—Alice Erwin
Daniel Nauman—Mary Librich
- 16: Isaac Larren—Mary Johnston
- 18: Nehemiah Reeve—Ruth Small
- 19: William Reed—Mary Green
- 26: John Keiter—Martha White
John Morton—Sophia Sims
- 27: William McFadden—Sarah Hussey
- 28: George Graff—Sarah Nicholson
- 30: Nathan Dungan—Jane Gorely

1776.

January.

- 2: James Rench—Deborah Stubbs
- 3: Samuel Couch—Ann Quigg
Benjamin Davis—Jane Meredith
Alexander Boyle—Hannah Cross
- 4: Peter Schung—Barbara Izard
- 5: Peter Cane—Mary Martin
- 6: James McCrea—Hannah Alexander
- 8: Jasper Graff—Susanna Mouse
- 9: Jacob Mercley—Christianna Antes
John Pannybaker—Dorothy Schombaugh

- 11: Godfrey Smith—Elizabeth Sharr
- 13: John Miller—Mary Barker
Adam Crisp—Mary Moore
Samuel Branson—Mary Boyd
- 16: John Brisban—Elizabeth Boyd
John Scott—Sarah Castle
- 17: James Welch—Margaret Wiley
Matthias Taylor—Elizabeth McIntire
- 18: Patrick Flyn—Christiana Malaby
Richard Clark—Ann Owen
James Clelan—Rachel Logan
- 19: Edward Marsh—Eleanor Smith
William Kennedy—Mary Young
- 20: Peter Gallagher—Elizabeth Lusher
- 22: Joseph Atkinson—Elizabeth Croxford
Francis Bockius—Susanna Miller
- 23: Josiah Jackson—Deborah Johnson
- 24: William Lewellin—Susanna Hacket
Peter Duffy—Phœbe Williams
Robert Stevenson—Elizabeth Deakin
- 25: John Christie—Mary Harding
William Wiles—Ann Hyder
Godfrey Hawger—Mary Faught
- 30: Andrew Vanbuskirk—Mary Fetters
Christian Troutman—Elizabeth Foulckrod
- 31: John Shea—Ann Montgomery
George Priest—Phœbe Evans
Zachariah Davis—Mary Evans
Ezekiel Foreman—Peggy Neilson

February.

- 1: Jeremiah Williamson—Lydia Josiah
Jacob Vanhorn—Lydia Moode
- 3: Thomas Duncan—Eleanor Malone
James Street—Elizabeth Walton
- 6: John Fitzpatrick—Eleanor Pryor
- 7: James Gottier—Abigail Smith
Isaac Troth—Mary Assheton
John Tawzer—Esther Spencer
Paul Caspar Breton—Susanna Kryder
- 10: David McFee—Jane Triggs
Isaac Willson—Margaret Magee
Joseph Banks—Ann Lee
Joseph Bowler—Elizabeth Indicot

- 13: Manasseh Preston—Ann Ryan
John Cooper—Jane McKibbin
- 14: John Hunn—Mary Silsby
- 15: Thomas Beck—Amelia Vandegrift
- 16: William Nelson—Catharine Roberts
- 17: Benjamin Butcher—Lydia Bener
- 19: William Huston—Susanna Lentz
Francis Procter—Ann Henderson
John Turner—Mary Green
- 21: Henry Stiles—Ann Banks
William Taylor—Malley Patterson
- 24: Andrew Stone—Elizabeth Daniel
- 26: John McClelland—Ann Willsford
William Parr, Esq.—Grace Dowell
- 27: John Osmon—Elizabeth Sellers
Jacob Holmes—Sarah Bates

March.

- 2: Garret Krusen—Jane Vannosdow
- 4: Thomas Cumpston—Civel Baker
George Shinn—Sarah Kelly
- 5: Bevan Rakestraw—Susanna Paul
Henry Ward Pearce—Rachel Relfe
James Hamilton—Martha Willson
William Shimin—Mary James
- 6: John Kungils—Mary Creps
- 7: Elijah Cozens—Ann Moffat
- 9: John Adams—Phoebe Winn
- 11: Richard Sheepshanks—Ann Kidd
- 13: William Whitpaine—Sarah Cassell
- 14: Jonathan Draper—Edith Gardner
- 15: Paul Kugler—Sarah Shrack
- 18: Peter Thompson—Martha Wharton
Thomas Millard—Isabella Collett
- 19: Enoch Morris—Mary Caldwell
- 20: Thomas Barr—Mary Barclay
John McGrath—Mary Lynch
- 21: William McIlvaine—Mary Fitzgerald
William Davis—Catharine Whitman
- 22: Elias Verner—Catharine Slyder
- 23: Timothy Cavener—Hannah Toy
- 25: William Linnard—Susanna McMullan
- 26: Allen Ridgeway—Phoebe Ridgeway
Isaac Jones—Ann Watkins

- 27: Amos Dillworth—Hannah Taylor
- 28: John Smith—Barbara Markle
- 29: Edward Miles—Sarah Wright

April.

- 4: Thomas Jones—Hannah Kyser
- 5: John Blyth—Mary Jones
- 6: Thomas Harris—Elizabeth Stevens
Thomas Rice—Penelope Justis
Jacob Lutes—Susanna Weaver
- 8: Thomas McCormick—Christiana Kryder
John Murray—Martha Edger
- 9: John Otto—Catharine Hittner
- 10: William Duncan—Rosanna Gallagher
Joseph Johnston—Elizabeth McGill
Nicholas Reinhart—Anne Stenner
John West—Hannah Kithcart
- 11: David Marple—Hannah McClean
John Mark—Eleanor Morrow
- 13: Daniel Fitzpatrick—Margaret Lynch
- 16: David DeBertholt—Elizabeth Coleman
- 18: John Packard—Mary Barnes
Casper Wack—Mary Leydey
Henry McCormick—Elizabeth Clowser
- 19: Daniel Evans—Elizabeth Guest
- 22: Jacob Brooks—Mary Burk
Henry Spees—Rachel Sloss
- 23: William Anderson—Jane Rodgers
- 24: John Hooman—Mary Nagle
Patrick Tonry—Margaret Kenan
Joseph Labbo—Elizabeth —
John Rhodes—Hannah Lowther
- 25: John Gragson—Mary Hoffman
- 30: Christopher Madeira—Elizabeth Neff

May.

- 1: Abraham DuBois—Elizabeth Cheeseman
- 2: John Dorvill—Elizabeth Kearnes
Edward Loder—Ann Tustin
Owen Mullan—Ann Lawrence
- 7: George Wood—Elizabeth Whiteman
- 8: Ludwick Staigner—Loveace Anderholdt
Henry Valentine—Sarah Buckis
- 11: Benjamin Towne—Sarah Johnson

- 11: John Brooks—Catharine Roberts
- 13: Richard Walsh—Catharine Haas
- 15: Peter Morgan—Rachel Gregory
Abraham Castor—Elizabeth Hendricks
- 16: Peter Sutter—Mary Coake
Samuel Fletcher—Elizabeth Watson
John Davis—Ann Kemble
- 17: John Cloud—Elizabeth Patterson
- 18: Jacob Whiteman—Sarah Keissler
- 20: Benjamin Thaw—Hannah Ingle
- 21: Adam Watts—Mary Cochran
George Swanton—Sarah Eslick
John Stonemetz—Mary Foster
- 22: Abel Owen—Isabella Davis
- 23: Thomas Wright—Margaret Mouch
- 25: James Hill—Mary Huston
- 28: Adam McConnel—Jane McGiles
- 29: James Balfour—Hannah Morgan
- 30: Joseph Jenks—Hannah Davids

June.

- 1: Samuel Smith—Magdalen Hayes
- 2: John Gorely—Mary Ann Dick
- 3: Philip Ardla—Barbara White
Philip Lane—Ann Kelly
- 4: John Lily—Catharine Jones
John Roach—Margaret Moore
- 6: Adam Lap—Mary Peters
- 7: Daniel Green—Martha Oat
Conrad Hanse—Isabella Brown
- 8: John David Sickle—Mary Guyer
- 12: Elisha Bloomfield—Margaret Johnston
- 15: Hugh Lenox—Sarah Cooper
William Middleton—Mary Milkger
- 17: Thomas Mitchell—Rachel Pollin
- 18: John Stephens—Mary Lodge
Thomas Nixon—Mary Roberts
John Paplay—Susanna Dewar
- 19: Thomas Emerson—Agnes Duguid
- 21: Dominick Joyce—Jennet Sibbald
- 24: William Coxe—Sarah Chew
- 25: George Pluck—Catharine Wentz
- 29: Dennis Collins—Mary Bell
Peter Purser—Jane Dugan

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THREE PRIVATE LETTERS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

[The following private letters of General Washington to Captain Gibbs of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard appeared in the *Massachusetts Journal*, were reprinted by the *United States Gazette*, of Philadelphia, October 25, 1826, and not being found in the works of Jared Sparks and Worthington C. Ford, the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY is warranted in bringing them to the attention of its readers. The two letters dated from the camp at Morristown, N. J., in May, 1777, are addressed to Captain Gibbs in Philadelphia, but the letter of August 4, 1778, lacks the address.]

Morristown, May 3, 1777.

Dear Gibbs:

Your letter of the 27th ult. is now before me. Mr. Harrison having lost or mislaid your letter from Newtown, I have no account of what you did, or meant to do, respecting our Baggage, which I wish was arrived; such parts, I mean, as are intended to follow the camp:—neither have I heard any thing of Capt. Lewis, or his troop; who I desired might come on to this place.

I much desire you to urge Colonel Read on the score of the papers in the Adjutant General's Office, and if they can be got to Philadelphia before you leave it, see them safely deposited with Mease. I would rather you would see to the securing my papers than trust the matter to Mr. Hancock, whose business will not permit him to give any personal attention to this service; and I would not wish that any person else, out of my own family, should have any concern with it. Bring the key of the chest that contains them, with you; having it made with hinges, &c. in the manner that you recommended.

I will take two hundred dollars for my Black, but first try if you cannot get two tolerable good mares for him, (at all events young and sound,) or one with boot; and if, possible, contrive to send them to my house to the care of Mr. Lund Washington; to whom write a line on the subject. I do not mean that a person should be despatched on purpose, with them; they remain with Mr. Hilismer [Hiltzheimer] till an opportunity presents itself.

The cloaths I mentioned in my last, for my servant, I would have you get from the Clothier General. The cloth for the coat should be thin and light, if to be had: any kind of Bath coating will do. If at the same time you could get any kind of coarse thread hose for Will, he, as myself, would thank you for two or three pair:—I mean for him.

Give my compliments to Gen. Scott, if in Philadelphia; and tell him that I should be glad if he would proceed on to Head Quarters. Add, that I hope the little punctilios which have but too much influence on officers, to the great detriment of the service, and which serve to distress me (as I can never complete any arrangement), will have no effect upon him.

Mrs. Washington joins me in good wishes to you, and begs that you will enquire what she has to pay at Mr. Randolph's (in Chestnut street),

for the night or two she was there in the way up, and pay it. The sooner you join us (if your health will permit,) the better.

I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate servant,

Geo. Washington.

P. S. Endeavour to get two or three pounds of the best sealing wax you can.

Morristown, May, 1777.

Dear Gibbs:

A letter from Mr. Fitzgerald written to you some days ago, would inform you that we have no longer any expectation of the person recommended by Dr. Cochran, as a Steward: and that it was necessary for you to exert yourself in obtaining one. If you could get a man who had been employed in that capacity, or as a Butler in a gentleman's family, and who could be well recommended by such as may be depended upon, for his honesty, sobriety, and care, he would answer the purpose much better than a mere greenhorn; who in the first place would be ignorant of his duty, and in the next (which would be a consequence of the other,) be diffident, and suffer himself to be imposed upon by our servants; who stand so much in need of being checked for their extravagance and roguery in making away with liquors and other articles, laid in for the use of the family.

I dare say you are better acquainted with our wants, than I am; but I shall mention two, which seem to be severely felt at present—namely, Loaf Sugar and Tea. If I was to add wine, I believe I should not much err—and whilst you are in the humor of getting, I wish you would procure for me two pair of brown thread stockings for boots.

What did you pay Mrs. Thompson a month, and where is she? Mrs. Washington wishes I had mentioned my intention of parting with the old woman before her, as she is much in want of a housekeeper—How do you think she would suit. As her conduct from the beginning has been more under your immediate inspection and notice than any of the family, you can answer the question with more precision and certainty than any of them; and Mrs. Washington would be glad of your opinion of the matter.

I had like to have forgot one thing wanted, and that is, cloth to make my servant Will, as also the hostler, cloathes. Get Russia Drill enough, if you can, to make each of them two Waistcoats and two pair of Breeches—the coats may be made of a light colored cloth, of any kind, lined with red shalloon—a bit of red cloth for capes or collars to them. Buttons and every kind of trimming must be sent, as nothing of the kind is to be had here, where it is necessary the cloathes must be made, on account of their measures.

If your health admits of it, I could wish you to return as soon as you can execute the several matters and things required of you. I am now calling in men to form a guard of; and your presence I believe, is pretty much wanted in other respects.

I am, Dear Sir, Yr. affectionate

Geo. Washington.

White Plains, Aug. 4th, 1778.

Dear Gibbs:

If your attempt upon Rhode Island should prove unfortunate, and I think there is scarce a possibility of its failure, unless a superior Fleet should compel Count d'Estaing to quit his station; you will have it much in your power to provide for the use of this family, many articles of which you know we stand in much need—as also some things which I should be glad to procure for my own use—among which I find myself in want of a genteel cutting sword.—I do not mean a true horseman's sword; and yet one fit for riding. Many things among the officer's

baggage, if it should happen to fall into the hands of our troops, or should be sold by themselves, might be convenient for me; such as table and other camp equipage, properly assorted and contrived for stowage.

To be particular in the recital of my wants I cannot, not having time for recollection.—Your knowledge of them, reminded by what you may see, will prove more adequate than vague directions. Tea equipage, plates and dishes, bowls, basins, camp stools, are essentially necessary;—such of them as can be procured, of materials not liable to break, should be preferred.

The money necessary for the purchase of these things will be advanced by General Greene, upon showing him this letter. I most sincerely wish success to the enterprise, and much honor and reputation to yourself, being with great truth and sincerity.

Your affectionate,
Geo. Washington.

LETTER OF WILLIAM BRADFORD, JR., TO JASPER YEATES, ESQ., 1790.
Philada Decr 27, 1790.

Dear Sir:

I have just received your letter of the 17th Deer and agreeable to your request, I transmit to you Imbodin's papers. I dare say your proceedings will not only advance you a *peg* farther—but will make the defts sit like a hen on a hot gridle.

With very sincere esteem

I am dear Sir

Your most obedt Servt

J. Yeates Esq.

W. Bradford Jun.

LETTER OF LOUIS McLANE TO WILLIAM P. BROBSON, WILMINGTON, DEL.
Dec. 11, '34.

Dear Sir,

Having mislaid my copy of the discussions in the French Chambers, which I promised to send you, I was obliged to write to Washington for another, which did not come until yesterday evening.

I now take the liberty of sending it for your perusal; but as I do not know to what extent the Department has authorized the distribution of the document, I must beg the favor of you, in any reference you may have occasion to make to the subject, to speak generally of the discussions, without allusion to the particular source of your information. There ought and can be no secrecy upon this subject, since the document, I now send you, is only a translation, by my direction, from the *Paris Moniteur*, for the information of the public generally.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

To
William P. Brobson Esq.

yours,
Louis McLane.

ARMSTRONG SMITH, shipwright, of Wiccacoe township, Philadelphia, whose will is dated December 3, 1737, left issue three sons and two daughters, viz.—Armstrong, wife Margaret; Samuel, wife Alamzie; Daniel, unmarried, residing in Boston; Mary, single, residing in Philadelphia; Elizabeth, married Thomas Tustin, Boston. In 1741, the son, Samuel, owned land on Front Street, between Pine and Cedar Streets.

WILLIAM SOLWAYS, whose will is dated November 12, 1694, was possessed of a lot of ground described as "100 feet square, at the South end of Philadelphia, whereon the windmill stood, purchased of John and Thomas Passons for £90." This windmill was standing in 1691.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY, 1811.

The following advertisements appeared in Relf's *Philadelphia Gazette* for February 22, 1811:

New Theatre.

Mr. Cone's Benefit.

FRIDAY EVENING, February 22

WILL BE PRESENTED,

A play in 5 acts, called

ABÆLLINO,

The Great Bandit,

Flodoardo,

Parozzi, (this night only)

Abællino, (this night only)

Rosamonda,

Mrs. Cone

Mr. Wood

Mr. Cone

Mrs. Wood

In act fifth, a Grand Gala. in the palace of the Doge of Venice, in which will be introduced a concerto on the violin by Mr. Gillingham.

End of the Play,

IN HONOR OF THE DAY,

An OLIO in the Temple of Fame, consisting of Singing and Dancing, &c. New patriotic song, Tribute of Glory, (by the author of School for Prodigals) Mr. Haardinge.

Military Pas Sueul. (composed by Mr. Whale, to the tune of Washington's March) Master Whale.

Comic song—the life and tragical end of George Barnwell—Mr. Jefferson.

To conclude with a characteristic dance, during which will descend a Grand Emblematic Transparency of the Genius of America, designed and executed by Mr. Robbins. The Transparency contains one hundred and eighty square feet of canvas—in the centre is the Genius of Liberty, holding the Bust of the

Immortal Washington,

Beneath, the American Eagle supporting the arms of the Union, with ancient and modern trophies of war. On the right she is supported by the Goddess of Wisdom, bearing a spear and shield; on the left by Justice with her balance.

To which will be added,

(Not acted here these 7 years) a dramatic romance, in two acts called

A TALE OF TERROR.

Partly founded on Moliere's play of the Feast of the Statue,
by Henry Siddons.

ON SATURDAY,

The celebrated play of

The STRANGER.

With the Grand Heroic Pantomime of

OSCAR AND MALVINA;

Or, the Hall of Fingal.

For the benefit of Mr. Francis.

Mr. M'Kenzies benefit will be on Monday next.

Birth-Night Ball.

THE Subscription Ball in honour of the Birth of *GENERAL WASHINGTON*, will be held at the city hotel on Friday the 22d inst.

Birth-Night Ball.

MR. WHALE has the honor of making known to the Ladies and Gentleman of Philadelphia that his annual GRAND SUBSCRIPTION BALL, in commemoration of the Memory of

GENERAL WASHINGTON,

Will be held at his room on Friday evening, February 22, 1811.

Terms—Each subscriber \$2 50. and entitled to two ladies tickets.

Goforth alley, rear of Pennsylvania Bank.

LETTER OF HON. JOHN M. CLAYTON TO WILLIAM P. BROBSON, ESQ.

Washington, January 3, 1830.

My dear Sir:

I this day received your letter enclosing the memorial of the owners of the Brig Prate & Cargo. The memorial shall be presented tomorrow and referred to the select committee on French spoliations. The members of that committee are Livingston, chairman; Holmes, Chambers, Sanford, Silsbee. The report of the committee will I learn be favourable.

But little of interest has yet transpired here. The President's mansion was crowded on New Year's day with the most heathenish mobocracy that ever hurra'd for Jackson. I will not attempt a description. We were jammed and squeezed—wedged in between hackney coachmen and foreign ministers—General officers in full dress and ladies with no dress at all (or nearly so)—Boys, office hunters, dirty fellows and blackguards. Before I went to this rout I visited Mr. Adams & his family. The old man was polite and affable and his good lady welcomed us most kindly. He received the compliments of the day from a great number of friends. In this city his popularity is to that of his opponent as four or five to one. The present administration is not merely unpopular here—it is absolutely detested by the citizens, and their feelings are often expressed in deep execrations. Mrs. Eaton and the ladies of the city do not visit it appears. The cabinet is divided about the proper degree of respect to be shewn to her. Mrs. Branch & daughters. Mrs. Ingham &c. &c. will not attend any party with Mrs. Eaton. Campbell, the parson, it is thought, will surely publish his testimony against the Timberlake concern. Tis said Mrs. E. when he refused to recant what he had said to Dr. Ely rubbed her clenched hand in his (C's) face and bade Eaton "blow the rascal's brains out." Van Bucktail pays court to this Amazon and it is believed that he owes much of his ascendancy to her influence over Eaton, Barry and Jackson. Mrs. Barry visits Mrs. Eaton. The devil is to play among the petticoats; and the story of the day is that Branch or Eaton will be driven from the cabinet about it. Of one thing be assured that Calhoun is eclipsed & that Van Bucktail's is the star of the ascendant. If Van be not their next candidate for President I am deeply deceived.

Tazewell & Tyler are not here. No nominations of importance yet. Ab. Harris was here a few days ago applying for the Marshall's office. He told me Harker had the most signatures to his recommendation & that Van B. told him some nomination would be made this week. You shall hear when the nomination is confirmed or rejected.

We shall have a stormy debate in Executive session. If our friend Milligan is elected tell him to lose no time in getting here & to come to Young's.

The judiciary committee have inquired of me what is the compensation

of our Marshall. I answered \$200 & fees. Will you inquire of your father what the fees will average annually & write me by next mail?

Tell our Editors to put more spice into their Editorial & political matter. The times demand it. Some things in the Journal are highly spoken of here. But there must be more pepper & salt. Tell Mendenhall to leave out the long yarns about tiger hunts—the love tales—melancholy shipwrecks poetry &c. & put in a few extracts from the Constitutional Whig & National Journal.

Write to me often I beg you.

William P. Brobson, Esqr.

Wilmington.

Sincerely yours

Jno. M. Clayton.

LETTER OF GEN. JOSEPH REED TO HON. THOMAS BARCLAY, American Consul, Passy near Paris, France.

Dear Sir,

As I presume you are possessed of Mr. Deanes Accts I must take the liberty of requesting Information from you on a Point of a private Nature. In 1777 Mr. Morris sent my Brother over Express to France on publick Business, it was my Wish that he might improve by the Oppy so as to acquire the Language & I wrote to a Mr. Rumsey to give him a Credit as far as £50 if he should think it necessary in prosecuting this Plan & his Behaviour justified the Experiment. Mr. Rumsey was dead before he arrived & turning out a very profligat Youth instead of improvng or returng, he wasted his time in France in a most shameful Manner. Being sent on publick Business the Commissioners, at least Mr. Deane, advanced him as he says (& probably may be true) Moneys for Expences to a considerable Amount. When Mr. Deane came to America, he made a Demand on me, but as I had given no such Credit, I declined it, but offered to pay £50 if he would indemnify me against any other Claim, this he declined & left the Country soon after. I then sent to Mr. De Berdt who wrote to Mr. Williams to that Effect, who answered that as he was on publick Business the Moneys advanced him had been carried to publick Acct. & allowed. So that he had no Demand. As the Money had all passd thro Mr. Williams's Hands, I presumed this finished the Matter, but Mr. Deane has set up a Demand here again upon me, which I am not clear in paying, untill I know what he has charged the publick with nor indeed do I see the Justice of it in some other Respects. If therefore those Accounts will give any Insight into the Matter I shall be obliged to you for a few Lines. I do not think it necessary to trouble you to apply to Mr. Williams in the Matter as he seems quite Mr. Deans Friend in the Business, And of Course it will receive a Complexion accordingly.

With great Esteem & good Wishes I remain Sir

Your Obed. & very Hubl Serv.

London June 5. 1784

Jos. Reed.

AN INTERCEPTED LETTER OF DR. BENJAMIN CHURCH, LOYALIST.

[The original of the following letter is to be found in the Dreer Collection, Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The writer, Dr. Benjamin Church, was born in Newport, R. I., August 24, 1734, and lost at sea in May, 1776. He studied medicine in London, and after his return to Boston became eminent as a surgeon. Prior to the Revolution he was a leading Whig, a member of the Provincial Congress of 1774, and later appointed Physician-General in the Continental Army. In the late Summer of 1775 his loyalty was suspected through intercepted letters, and finally on October 3, 1775, he was convicted by court-martial, of which Washington was president, "of holding a criminal correspondence with the enemy," and imprisoned at Cambridge, Mass., and Norwalk, Conn., where he was denied the use

of pen, ink and paper. Owing to declining health, in May, 1776, he was released and sailed for the West Indies and never afterwards heard from. His family was pensioned by the Crown. This letter was one of those intercepted.]

I hope this will reach you. Three attempts have I made without Success in effecting. The last the man was discovered in attempting his Escape but fortunately my letter was sewed in the Waist Band of his Breeches. He was Confined a few days, during which time you may guess my feelings, but a Little Art and a little cash settled the matter. It is a month since my return from Philada. I went by the way of Providence to visit Mother. The Committee for Warlike Stores, made me a formal tender of 12 peices of Cannon 18 and 24 pounders; they having took a previous Resolution to make the offer to Genl. Ward. To make a merit of my Services, I sent them down, and when they received them, they sent them to Stoughton to be out of Danger, even tho' they had formed the Resolution as I Before hinted of fortifying Bunkers hill, which together with the Cowardice of the clumsy Col. Gerish & Col. Seamans was the luckly occasion of their defeat. This affair happened before my return from Philada. We lost 165 Killed then, and since dead of their wounds, 120 now lie wounded the cheif will recover. They Boast you have 1400 killed and wounded in that action. You say the Rebels lost 1500 I suppose with Eequal truth. The people of Connecticut are raveing in the Cause of Liberty. A number from that Colony, from the Town of Stamford, robbed the Kings Stores at New York with some small assistance the Newyorkers lent them. These were growing Very turbulent. I counted 280 ps. Cannon from 24 to 3 pds. at Kings Bridge which the Committee had secured for the Use of the Colonies. The Jersies are a whit behind them, Connecticut in zeal. The Philadelphians exceed them both. I saw 2200 men in Review there by Genl. Lee consisting of Quakers and other Inhabitants in Uniform with 1000 Riflemen and 40 Horse, who together made a most warlike appearance. I mingled frequently and freely with the members of the Continental Congress they were United and Determined in opposition and appeared assured of Success. Now to come home. The Opposition is become formidable; 18000 Men brave and determined with Washington and Lee at there Head are no contemptible Enemy. Adjutant General Gates is indefatigable in arranging the Army. Provisions are Very plenty Cloaths are manufactureing in almost every town for the Soldiers 20 Tons of Powder arrovod at Philad. Connecticut and Providence, upwards of 20 Tons are now in Camp. salt petre is made in every Colony. Powder mills are erected and constantly employed in Philada & New York. Volunteers of the first Fortunes are daily flocking to the Camp. 1000 Riflemen in 2 or three days. Recruits are now Levying to augment the Army to 22,000 Men. 10,000 Militia are appointed in this Government to appear on the first Summons. The Bills of all the Colonies circulate freely and are readily exchanged for Cash. Add to this that unless some plan of accommodation takes place immediately, their Harbours will swarm with Privateers. An Army will be raised in the Middle Colonies to take Possession of Canada. For the sake of the miserable convulsed Empire, solicit peace. Repeal the Acts or Britains are undone. This advice is the Result of a warm affection to my King and to the Realm. Remember I never deceived you every Article here sent you is sacredly true. The paper will announce to you that I am again a member for Boston. You will then see our Motly Council. A general arrangement of officers will take place except the Cheif which will be suspended but for a while to see what part Great Britain takes in consequence of the late Continental Petition. A vew to Independence grows more General. Should Britain declare war against the Colonies they are lost forever. Should Spain declare

war against England, the Colonies will declare a Neutrality which will doubtless produce an offensive and defensive League between them. For Gods sake prevent it by a speedy Accommodation. Writing this has employed a day. I have been to salem to reconnoitre but Could not escape the Geese in the Capitol. Tomorrow I set out for Newport on purpose to send you this. I write you fully, it being scarcely possible to prevent discovery. I am out of place here by choice and therefore out of pay and am determined to be so, unless something is offered in my way. I wish you could Contrive to write me Largely in Cyphers, by the way of Newport. Address to Tom Richards Merchant inclose it in a cover to me intimating that I am a perfect Stranger to you but being recommended to you as a Gentleman of Honer. You took the liberty to inclose that Letter intreating me to deliver it as directed, the person, as you are informed Liveing in Cambridge. Sign some fictitious Name. This you may send to some confidential Friend at Newport to be Delivered to me a Watertown, Making mention of Every precaution or I Perrish.

B. Church.

THE PUBLIC STAIRS ON THE DELAWARE FRONT, PHILADELPHIA.—Questions are frequently asked about the antiquity of the public stairs which descend from Front to Water Street on the Delaware front of the city. The following abstracts from a warrant of Proprietor Penn to Henry Johnson, March, 1689, furnish the data:

William Penn true and absolute Proprietary and Governour in Chief of the province of Pensilvania and Territories thereunto belonging To all to whom these presents shall come sendeth Greeting Whereas by virtue of a Warrant from my former Commissioners of Property bearing Date the two and twentieth Day of the first Month March in the Year One thousand six hundred and eighty nine There was laid out to Henry Johnson of Philadelphia in the said province A Certain Lot of Land situate at the North End of the City of Philadelphia on the Bank of Delaware River Containing in Breadth Forty Foot and extending in Length two hundred and fifty Foot to the Low Water Mark of the said River Delaware Bounded on the North with a Lot or piece of Ground late of William Salway On the East with the said River at the said Extent of two hundred and fifty Foot On the South with a Lot late of Nicholas Pierce and on the West with the Front Street or Road Now at the special Instance and Request of the said Henry Johnson that I would confirm to him the same by Patent * * * And I do also give and grant that the Keys and Wharfs built or hereafter to be built on the said Lot shall be lawful Keys and Wharfs forever for Landing and Shipping all Goods and Merchandizes Giving and Granting unto the said Henry Johnson his Heirs and Assigns full Power and Authority to contract and agree with all persons making Use of the same by Shipping or Landing of Goods and Merchandizes and Ships Boats or Vessels coming to lying by and making Use of the same Provided always that the said Henry Johnson his Heirs and Assigns shall and do leave Thirty Foot in Breadth for a Street or Cartway between the said Bank and the Wharfs now built or hereafter to be built on the said Lot as a free Passage clear from all Buildings and Incumbrances and Stoppages whatsoever and shall from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter keep the same as a free and publick Street and in due repair at his and their own Cost and Charges And that the said Henry Johnson his Heirs and Assigns shall further leave a Proportionable Part of the said Lot for Building one publick Pair of Stone Stairs of ten Foot in Breadth leading from the said Front Street down to the said Lower Street or Cartway and so forward to the Wharfs And one Pair of Stone Stairs from off the Wharfs down to Low Water Mark of the said River in

the Middle or most convenient place between Vine Street and the North Bridge Which said publick Stairs and Passage from the sd. Front Street down to the Low Water Mark of the said River Delaware shall be made built maintained and kept in due Repair from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter as often as Occasion shall require at the proportionable Charge and Cost of the said Henry Johnson his Heirs and Assigns And the other free Holders of Lots and Tenements situate in and upon the said Bank of the sd. River Delaware between the said Vine Street and the said North Bridge And if it should happen to fall out That all or any part of the said Lot Wharfs Houses Buildings and Improvements shall be destroyed by Fire Inundation Earth Quakes or any other Act of Providence or Casualty at any Time after the said Valuation or Appraisalment so made as aforesaid Then and in such Case I do for me and my Heirs and these presents promise and grant that the said Henry Johnson his Heirs and Assigns shall be allowed abated and considered by me and my Heirs in proportion to the Damage and Loss sustained or received by such Inundation Fire Earth Quakes or other Act of providence or Casualty And I will have the said Wharf forever hereafter for the better Distinction thereof called by the Name of Johnson's Wharf.

* FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS sailed from Deal for Pennsylvania, 4mo. 10, 1683, on the ship "America," Capt. Joseph Wasey, and after a stormy passage landed in Philadelphia 6mo. 20. Among his fellow passengers were Thomas Lloyd, Master of the Rolls and Provincial Councillor, and his family, with whom he maintained a friendship through life. With his daughters Hannah, who married Richard Hill, Rachel, who married Samuel Preston, and Mary, who became the wife of Isaac Norris, the "Sage of Germantown" used to commemorate the anniversary of their arrival in the Province by some poetic or semi-religious compositions. In one of these he states that when they landed in Philadelphia there were but three or four cottages built; that the woods were but a short distance back, and that several times he lost himself in them when no farther from the waterside than William Hudson's house (now in 1718), then allotted to a Dutch baker by the name of Cornelius Bom. The Hudson property was located on the south side of Chestnut Street west of Third Street.

BARON DE KALB TO COLONEL RICHARD HENRY LEE, MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

Bethlehem 18 Sep^r 1777

Sir

I have been ever since I had the favour of your Letter by M^r secretary Thomson, in a very uncertain and fluctuating Situation of mind, between the desire of Serving in your Army, and the apprehension of blame from home. But Congress and your Esteem do me too much Honour, not to accept your late proposals, if they will grant me Several points I think essential to my tranquility and entire Satisfaction.

1st That I may be at Liberty to give up my Commission if in answer to the account I will send to france of my proceedings here and my behaviour towards those officers that came over with me, in case they were to Exclaim against my Stay, in anyway that could be hurtfull to my reputation & honour.

2^{ly} as to the offer made to me by the ministry of M^r Thomson. to have my Commission done of an older date than Marquiss delafayette's, I would decline it and have my commission of the same day with his, that it may be in my power to Shew my regard for his friendship to me, in giving him the Seniority over me in america. in order too, not to disgust him.

3^{ly} That Congress will be pleased to grant to Chev^r Dubuysson a Com-

mission as L^t Colonel with only the pay as a Major, or as my aid de Camp.

4th That They will please to make Provision for Said chr Dubuysson of having the assurance of a Pension of 1200 Livres french money or fifty Louis d'ors to be paid in france for life if he serves this and next Campaign, and which they will augment at pleasure if he serves longer and they are Satisfied with his having done his Duty according to time and Circumstances.

5th That if Congress are disposed to do anything of that kind for myself it Shall be done at their own terms and pleasure, the only thing I could wish in that respect, would be, to have the favour bestowed on my Lady and children in case I Died in the Continental army or any other way while in their service.

On said Conditions I am ready to join the army as Soon as possible and to go directly to Philadelphia from Lancaster, where I will wait for a Resolve of Congress, by chr Dubuysson, bearer of this.

Another observation I think necessary, in regard to the immediate Command of a Division General Washington has perhaps friends or Deserving officers to whom he would give the preference, in Such a case I should be Sorry my coming in, did in the least cross or prevent his dispositions in this and any other respects. I will gladly and entirely Submit to his Command and to be Employed as he Shall think most convenient for the good of the Service.

If my Second aid de Camp, I am to chuse, chanced to be a foreigner. I should be glad some provision was made for him after leaving the Service, in proportion to his rank as Major.

I depend for the Settling of all these matters to the Satisfaction of all parties, on the friendship you are so kind to profess for me, and of which I have already so many proofs. These new obligations can not increase the respect and high Esteem with which I have the Honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient
humble Servant
Baron de Kalb.

Queries.

LUTTIG.—Information wanted of the ancestry and posterity of John C. Luttig, who was employed by the St. Louis (Missouri) Fur Company, 1809-1814, and died in Lawrence County, Missouri (now Arkansas), in 1816. His wife's name was Elizabeth.

Missouri Historical Society,
St. Louis, Mo.

Book Notices.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Edward Channing. Vol. IV, 1789-1815. The MacMillan Company, New York, 1917. 8vo, pp. 575. Maps. Price \$2.75.

Many as are the histories of the United States, Dr. Channing has ample justification in adding another to the list, not only in his new point of view but in his exhaustive knowledge. This fourth volume, just published, of his notable history—Federalists and Republicans, 1789-1815—covers the period of the organization of the government of Washington and Hamilton, following the ratification of the Constitution. The quasi-war with France, the triumph of Jeffersonian Republicanism and the long drawn out commercial conflict which ended with the war of 1812, are among the topics considered. Valuable notes and footnote references supplement the narrative.

CHRONICLES OF THE CAPE FEAR RIVER, 1660-1916. By James Sprunt. Raleigh, N. C., 1916. Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 732. Price \$4.00.

This work is a valuable contribution to local history, being a complete summary of historical happenings in one of the most historic sections of North Carolina, beginning with exploration and settlement and coming down through the war between the States. Many of the chapters of the first edition have been materially enlarged and over two hundred and fifty new pages added. Considerable space is given to the war between the States, with many interesting details relating to blockade-running, the Cape Fear River being a prominent point for this exciting enterprise. Another feature is the contributions to family history. Scarcely a family connected in any way with the social, commercial, professional, military, and naval life of the section has been omitted. Altogether the "Chronicles of the Cape Fear River" is the most distinct and valuable contribution to local history that has come to our attention.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT HARE, AN AMERICAN CHEMIST. By Edgar Fahs Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1917. 8vo, pp. 508. Illustrated. \$5.00 net.

This volume by Provost Smith covers the career of a man of large aims, phenomenal ability and unexampled strenuousness, unstintingly devoted to promoting the welfare of chemical research and physics. Prof. Robert Hare, of Philadelphia, was one of the most distinguished of our early American chemists, who at the early age of twenty appeared before the Chemical Society of Philadelphia and presented an exhaustive and illustrated account of the oxy-hydrogen blowpipe, a discovery of the greatest importance, which gave indubitable evidence of a highly philosophical mind, and was a splendid triumph for him. He had prosecuted his studies under Woodhouse and at the Chemical School of the University of Pennsylvania; developed keen and originitive powers, and his experimental work and observations in chemical constitution were of a high order in their day, and still command respect and admiration in the present, because they represent the beginnings of much that has come to be of prime importance. Provost Smith, who is a distinguished chemist and educator himself, has written interestingly and with the fullest sympathy, and does ample justice to the distinguished services of his subject. He has assembled his data in such a form that students in particular may learn to know Professor Hare better and realize the exalted place to which he is entitled in the history of chemistry in this country. As a specimen of attractive book-making, the work is highly commendable.

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