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The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. VI.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLICATION FUND OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
No. 820 SPRUCE STREET.

1882.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S NEW BUILDING.

THE present number of the MAGAZINE has been much delayed on account of the proposition which was made to the Council of the Society, immediately after the last number was issued, that the Society should purchase the mansion so long occupied by the late General Robert Patterson, situated at the corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets. The opportunity which was thus afforded for the Society to obtain a building of its own was too advantageous not to be embraced, and prompt exertions were made to secure the money required. All other work was suspended, and hence a delay to which we believe no true friend of the Society will object.

The offer first made was for ninety-six feet on Locust and one hundred and twenty on Thirteenth Street, a portion of which lot was occupied by the mansion, which can be well adapted to the uses of the Society. The price asked was fifty thousand dollars, and so favorably was the proposition received, and so promptly were the replies made to the appeal of the Society, that the Council felt justified in asking the refusal of an additional lot of twenty-nine feet on Locust, so as to secure ample space for the future, and an abundance of light and air. In doing this they had the support of many of the largest contributors to the scheme, and of the sum required to make the entire purchase (\$62,500 for 120 by 125 feet), \$59,145 has been secured. It was composed of three hundred and thirty-three subscriptions, which, at the present time (March 20), are as follows:—

1	subscription	of	\$2000	.	.	.	\$2,000
19	"	"	1000	.	.	.	19,000
30	"	"	500	.	.	.	15,000
4	"	"	300	.	.	.	1,200
24	"	"	250	.	.	.	6,000
9	"	"	200	.	.	.	1,800
98	"	"	100	.	.	.	9,800
44	"	"	50	.	.	.	2,200
1	"	"	30	.	.	.	30
62	"	"	25	.	.	.	1,550
14	"	"	20	.	.	.	280
3	"	"	15	.	.	.	45
24	"	"	10	.	.	.	240
<hr/>							
333							\$59,145

The Trustees of the building have paid the balance required to complete the purchase, and the property now belongs to the Historical Society.

To place the building in a condition to be occupied, and to give the requisite fire-proof accommodation and an auditorium, at least \$10,000 more is needed. Neither the Council nor the Building Committee can be expected to importune the public for this sum. It should be furnished by voluntary subscriptions, and, as the subscriptions already made have come from less than one-half of the members, it is earnestly hoped that all interested will now render what assistance may be convenient to them.

Address—

JOHN JORDAN, JR., Treasurer of Building Committee,
820 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
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VOL. VI.

1882.

No. 1.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

(Continued from Vol. V., page 392.)

PART FIFTH.

The Fourth Walk on the Germantown Road extended from Fisher's Lane northwardly to "Wister's Big House," and was confined to the east side of the road. Here, therefore, may be introduced an etching of Wakefield, which failed to be completed in time for that walk. A word may also be added regarding one of the early triumphs, and a most enduring one, of the little village;—yarn, spun, doubled and twisted, long ago, and still produced there, was always noted for its excellence. This has led to the best article of that kind, wherever made, being known throughout the States as "Germantown Wool." The "stone house, topped with creeping vines," spoken of on p. 372 of Vol. V., was, as I am now informed, used as a bakehouse for troops during the Revolution. An interesting note as to Ellinkhuysen, who executed the engraving of Frederick the Great, has been furnished by Mr. John B. Linn, of Bellefonte, and is printed on p. 488. The paper-mill erected by Christopher Sauer was

on the Schuylkill, not on the Wissahickon. "Duncan's Island," on p. 391, should have been followed by the words, "at the mouth of the Juniata," not by, "near Sunbury." Another son, named Wm. Logan Fisher, who died unmarried, should have been given to Thomas R. Fisher, on p. 367. Charles J. Wister never lived in any other house in Germantown but that inherited from his grandfather. We may now pass to the west side of the road.

Of the Wagner house and grounds, next to Toland's, much more can be said, for the researches of Mr. John W. Jordan now greatly aid me. He writes: "In Vol. V., p. 250, occurs the following: 'John Zachary had purchased part in 1745 from John Theobald Ent, and in 1747 he built the present house.' Ent, or rather Endt, although not originally a Moravian, joined that church, and took a very active part in their affairs in Germantown and its neighborhood. On the 12th of January, 1742, a Synod of the church was held in his house, over which Count Zinzendorf presided. Endt's children attended the Moravian schools. The property and house adjoining Endt's belonged to the Rev. John Bechtel, a Palatine from Franckenthal, whose daughter married the Indian Missionary, Büttner. Bechtel prepared for the Moravian Church a reformed catechism, which was printed by Franklin in 1742. John Stephen Benezet's house was near by."

Count Zinzendorf arrived in Philadelphia on the 18th of December, 1741, and almost at once repaired to Germantown, where he boarded with Bechtel. In 1742, the Moravians began a school there, but as it was further up the road, an account of it should be deferred until the house where it was held is reached. In January of 1746, sundry residents of Germantown, viz., John Peter Müller, Englebert Lock, Jean de Dier, Peter Hoffman, Anthony Gilbert, Cornelius Weygand, Marcus Münzer, and Hans Gerster, in behalf of themselves and others, made application to the Moravians at Bethlehem, desiring them to open a school for girls in their town. John Bechtel, at the same time, offered the use of his house and lot towards the project, and arrangements were completed on the premises for boarders, as well as for day-scholars,



Pennell 11.29.1881



and on the 21st of September the school was opened. That this later school was begun on this property can hardly be doubted, for the copious diaries of the Moravians are minute and accurate to a degree. The location was probably with the view to be nearer the city. The Rev. James Greening and wife, of Bethlehem, were first intrusted with its supervision. The earliest boarders were five girls, late inmates of a school at Nazareth; but soon the children of nearly all the members of the Philadelphia congregation attended. In February, 1747, Mr. Bechtel gave a piece of ground in the rear part of his property, for a Moravian burying place. In April of that year there were fifty children in attendance at this school; some were from this city, others from New York, Lancaster, and other places, and among the number were two Indian maidens, Mohegan converts. Six pounds per annum was the lowest charge for a boarder of Moravian parents. Among the rules were the following: "Parents are desired not to visit their children frequently, as it does them no good; parents are desired not to give their children expensive presents, and thus avoid dissatisfaction; the children are to attend meetings Sunday morning and afternoon." The school was discontinued in May, 1749.

Henry's house, which is the next north of Wagner's, and opposite the head of Fisher's Lane, was spoken of in the Third Walk, p. 252. The accompanying engraving of its front door will no doubt recall many pleasing associations.

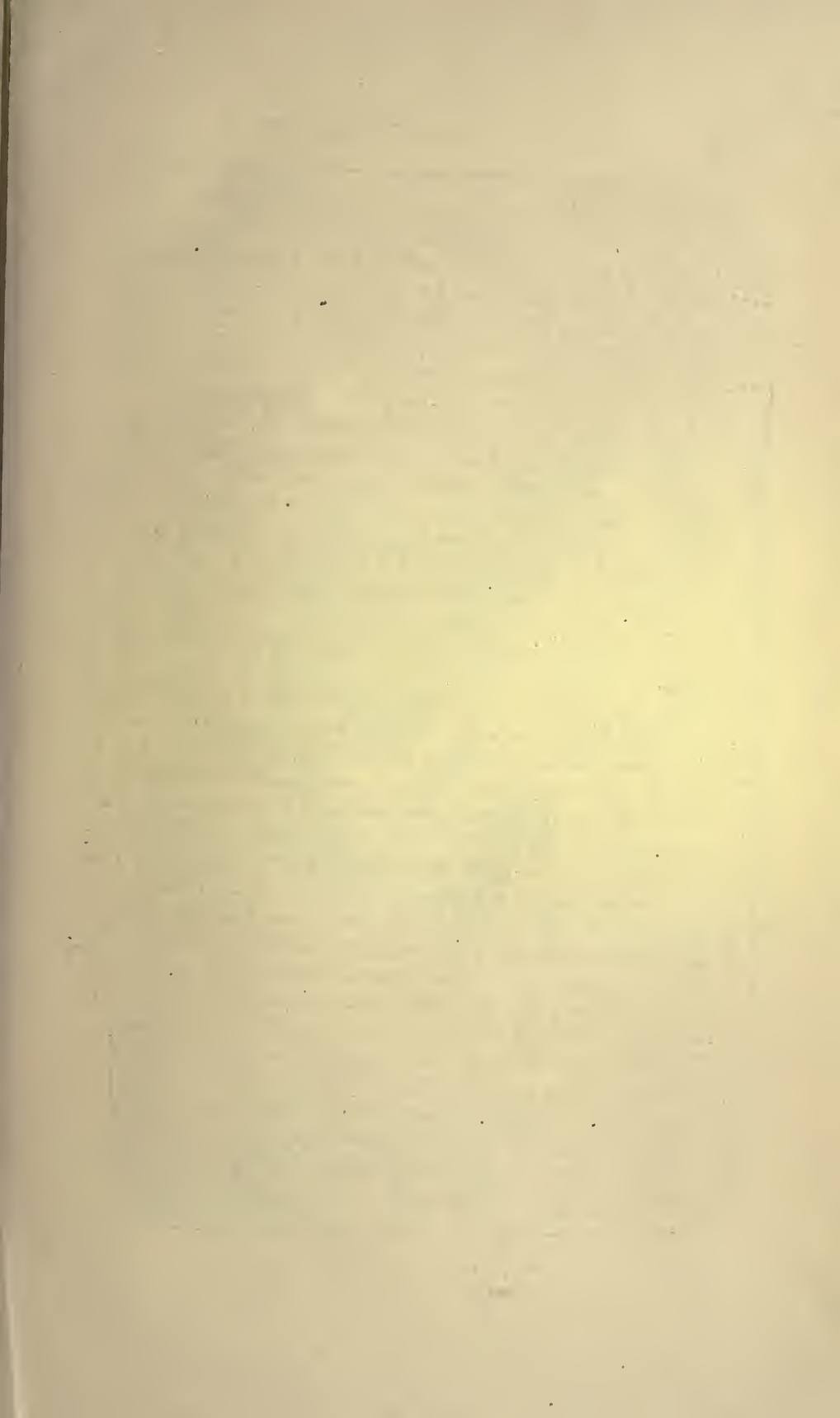
West Logan Street, located here, but not yet opened from the west to the avenue, is known, I am told, under that name by the Gas Department, and also by a map. By the Water Department it is known as Norris Street. Those who own lots on it find their deeds give it the name of Terrace Avenue. Some who have tried to thread the mazes of this labyrinth, found, when they came to look upon the Ten Mile Map, their confusion worse confounded, for this has upon it still another name, Abbotsford Avenue. To make the matter still more farcical, there are only two houses on that part of West Logan Street, if it must be called so, lying in the Twenty-second Ward, and not more than three on that part which

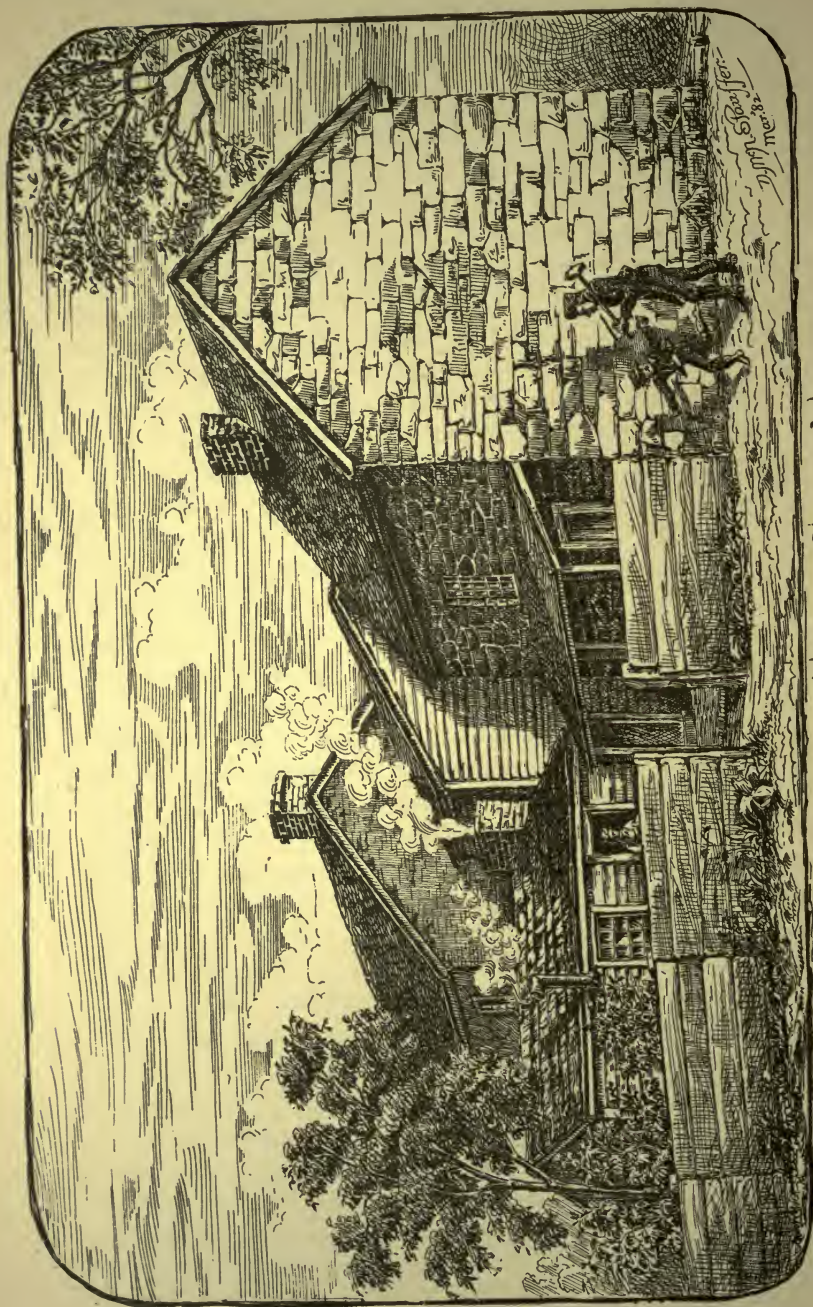
lies in the Twenty-eighth Ward. This profusion of names strongly reminds one of Falstaff's half-pennyworth of bread to his intolerable deal of sack.

Logan's Run crosses the northern part of Henry's grounds, and the depression, continued northwardly, was what was long known as Royal's Meadow, once a charming feature of the old Germantown Road, but now a thing of the past. In our youthful days, the meadow was a pleasing picture, for sheep were always feeding on the rich grass, while an occasional ox made the scene at times still more bucolic. So fine a pasture as was afforded here was of course seized upon by the British, who, with rails overlaid with sod, huttet a part of their cavalry around it. Somewhere about the middle of the last century, there was a person called Royal, but I know not how long had been his line of descent, nor which Royal ancestor it was who ennobled the "Barons of Beef," and knighted the doughty "Sir Loins;" thus graciously conferring titles to be held in honour so long as men have stomachs.

On the 11th of April, 1793, George Royal, a son no doubt, married Mary Sommers. I have seen a portrait of her, a creditable work, by Peale. This George Royal, not the Royal George who so oppressed our grandfathers, lived in the house on the east side, now down, of which an engraving was given facing p. 372. New houses, owned by Mr. John Wagner, now occupy its site. In the engraving, underneath that house, are the words, "On the Road above Fisher's Lane." No 4506, on the west side, is the house of George Royal's son Edward, who bought the meadow.

This house is said to have been erected in 1747, but it has been modernized. Old people used to tell of Edward Royal's humour. He had a horse of a most unpromising appearance, but which, nevertheless, was so very fast as often to pass the stylish looking horses of younger men, who were apt to look with contempt upon his poor "turn out." Once, meeting another waggon in a narrow part of the road, neither driver seemed disposed to be accommodating. Royal quietly bided his time, and at last, the other, whose patience was first ex-





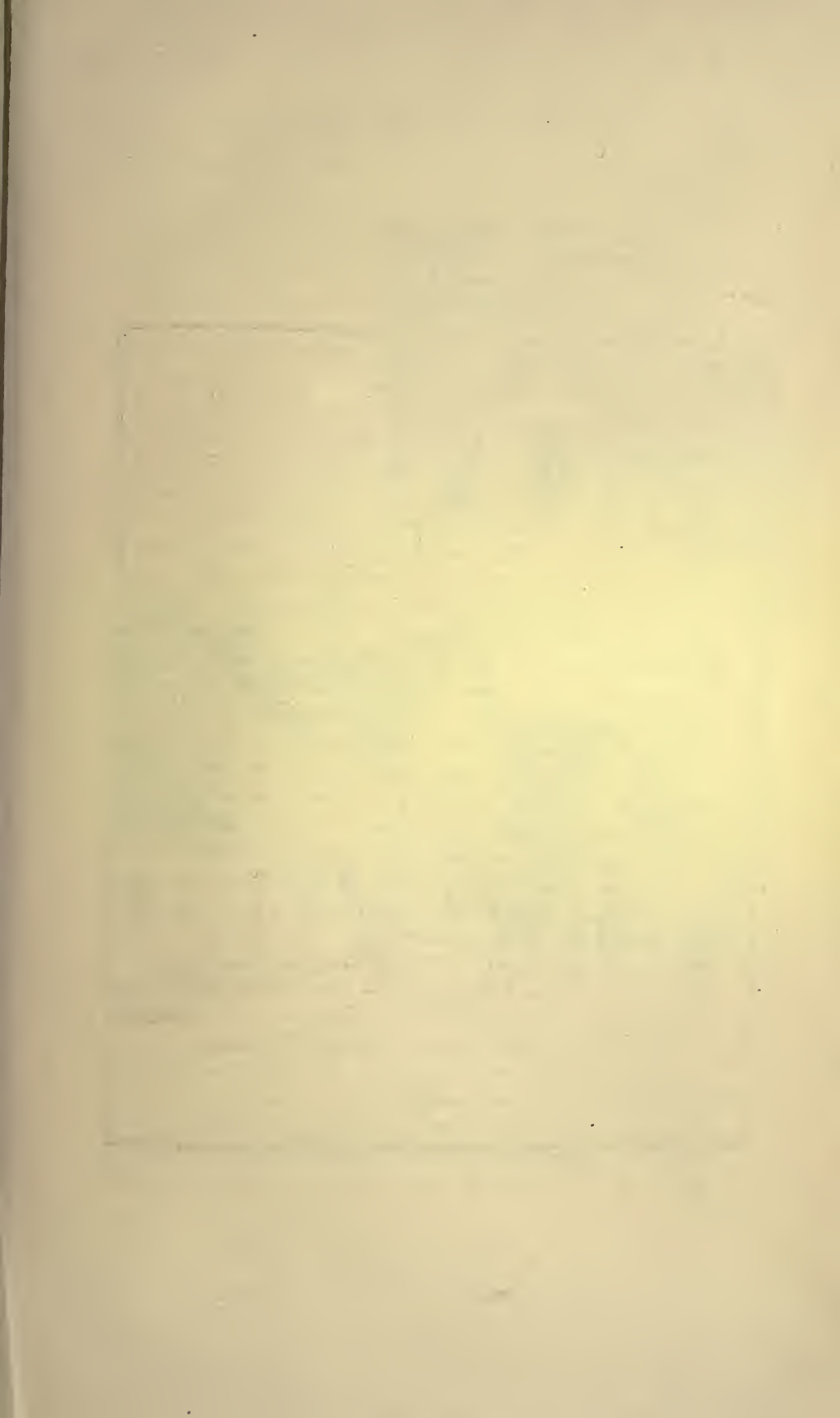
~fleckenstein's House. Spring Lane.

hausted, turned out, but with a sullen look as he did so. In passing, Royal said to him, "Do you know what I would have done if you had not turned out when you did?" "No," said the other, gruffly. "Why then," said Royal, with a quiet chuckle, "I should have turned out myself."

Nearly opposite No. 4506 is No. 4511, the place of residence of another son, Jacob. The children of these brothers continue to occupy these large buildings. About fourteen years ago there was erected upon a part of the meadow's front the row of brick houses, Nos. 4438 to 4460. No. 4515, spoken of on p. 373, was bought by the Royals about twenty-five years ago. Previously it had been for two generations occupied by the Duys, who gave their name to the lane near by.

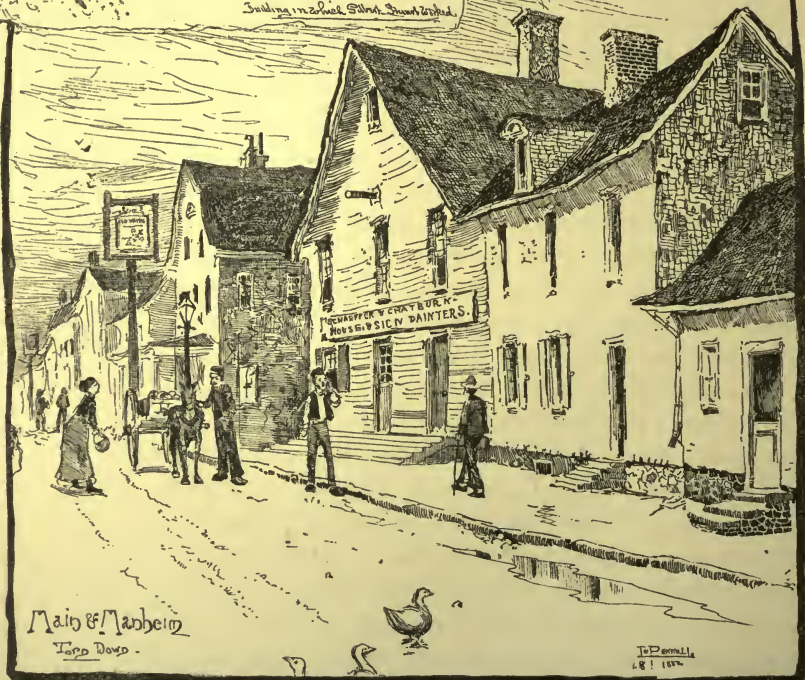
We soon come to Spring Alley, which leaves the avenue, running to the west two hundred and seventeen feet, when it turns to the north with a course parallel with the avenue, soon to enter Manheim St. In the S. W. angle of this alley is the spring from which it takes its name. On the northern side stood the dilapidated old house, No. 4528, where in early days, there was a Samuel Fleckenstein; and later, another of the same name, who lived long to tell of what he saw of the battle of Germantown. In recent days, another, named Frederick, a grandson of the first, lived there, and is well remembered. No doubt they were all alike,—it is known that the two latter were. They were all of them accomplished mechanics. Besides being universal menders of any kind of broken article, they were most ingenious workmen, and the elder of them made the ancient iron moulds, and other iron work, required by the Christopher Saur's in the foundry where they cast their type. The two first were so utterly of the ancient world as to have no comprehension of the marvellous modern invention,—inflation. Whatever might be the job of work they undertook, and no matter how long they might be occupied on it, their invariable charge was but three cents, and Frederick piously followed them in this for many years. But when the civil war came, with its excessive depreciation of paper money, his fortitude failed him. In his agony he made a

supreme effort, and by raising his charge to five cents he saved himself from beggary. With a career almost coincident with the whole existence of Germantown, these men, with their small gains, were contented and happy, and they were not without the respect of the community in which they lived. Who, then, can say they were not wise! The second Fleckenstein, it may be remembered, was with young Miller in Lorain's cellar at the time of the battle. He lived so very long after that as to be with many others on Naglee's Hill, when St. Michael's Church, at Second and Jefferson streets, was burned on the 8th of May in the anti-Catholic riots of 1844. At that time there were no buildings to obstruct the view. Mr. Alexander Henry, one of the number gathered there, fell into conversation with Fleckenstein, and was told by him, that although he had witnessed the Battle of Germantown, and had lived to see that present sight, yet he had never been in the city of Philadelphia. His shop was a small one, as may still be seen, but it was always well filled, for chickens and pigeons seemed to dispute with the owner and his customers the possession of the place. Mr. George B. Wood, the artist, has preserved its appearance in an excellent painting he has made of its interior. Frederick Fleckenstein was fond of botany and of mineralogy, and many were the tramps he took with his devoted friend, George Redles, in quest of what was game to them. They not only knew of every rare and curious plant to be found in their vicinity, but such as were confined to the neighboring Jersies did not elude their search. "Freddy" was a single-hearted man, who had come down to our day with the simplicity of the time in which he was born. He came from the era when men with hardy frames lived out their days, to be gathered to their fathers in a ripe old age. But it was his misfortune to fall upon an evil time of mighty changes, an era when physicians seem to be as numerous as patients were in the good old days, as some believe. On the morning of a day about six years ago, the old man felt slightly unwell, much therefore, according to modern notions, was to be done for him, and to be done at once. He was carried out of his





Building on 2nd St. from left.



*Main & Vanheim
Lamp Dows.*

*J. P. Dorell
1891*

house, and sat in a chair for several hours, while the place, which had known no water for a century or more, was cleaned and its ceiling white-washed. He was taken back,—but the change had been too great for him. Pneumonia soon carried him off at the age of only about fourscore years.

Only a little distance north of Fleckenstein's, and we find ourselves opposite the western end of Duy's Lane. On the northern side of this lane, about a quarter of a mile to the east, is an old house, which in 1837 was purchased by the late Jeremiah Hacker, and in which his family still reside. It is probable that at some future time I may be able to obtain material for an interesting note concerning it.

The inn, at the S. W. corner of the avenue and Manheim Street, is in the style of an old-fashioned hipped-roof building. Not long ago, it was considerably enlarged and much improved, but tastefully so, and without materially altering its distinctive character. Pickus kept the place in its earlier day of an insignificant size; and Bockius, afterward. And then there came William K. Cox, who enlarged it, and who, in his turn, played the host there. As is the case with so many of our roads and streets, the lane alongside of this inn has had as many aliases as a prudent burglar. By some it was called Pickus's Lane, by others, Betton's. There were still others who styled it Bockius's. The following of the later occupant called it Cox's. The name which it now bears was given by one of whom I am fortunate enough to have received an account written by Mr. Edward Biddle.

"Jacque Marie Rosét was born at Lyons, France, in the year 1765. He lived there until twelve years of age, when, his family removing to Austria, he was, on the nomination of the Emperor, Joseph II., admitted to the Imperial Academy at Presburg to be educated. When a young man, about twenty-seven years of age, he was attracted to this country, like Lafayette, by a strong admiration of the character of General Washington. Landing here on the 10th of December, 1792, it was his good fortune while making his way up Chestnut Street, with several of his countrymen, to meet General Washington, who recognizing them as Frenchmen,

to whose nation our country had been under peculiar obligations, stopped and greeted them, with the expression (according to the anecdote as given in Watson's Annals) of '*Bien venu en Amérique.*'

"This incident naturally made a very agreeable impression on Mr. Rosét, and one which he invariably referred to with great pleasure in after life. Mr. Rosét, being a thorough linguist, was shortly after his arrival here appointed to a position in the Foreign Department of the General Post-Office, then at Philadelphia. There, experiencing the difficulty arising from the use of foreign names in this country, he adopted the name of Jacob, under which he was always afterwards known. By his marriage with Elizabeth Stubert, which occurred December 5, 1793, he had eight children, four of whom reached years of maturity. Mr. Rosét became subsequently engaged in mercantile business in Philadelphia, and resided at this time at the N. E. corner of Seventh and Arch Streets. Before removing to Germantown, he lived for three years at Richmond Hill, at the Falls of Schuylkill. In the year 1821 he moved to Germantown and took up his residence in the old Toland property in Main Street below Manheim, where he lived for twelve years, afterwards moving into larger quarters on a street running west from Main Street. This street having at that time no fixed name he christened it Manheim, in honour of the beauty of the ladies of Manheim in Germany, and had a slab of marble inserted in the house on the corner of Spring Alley and the street, bearing on its northern front 'Manheim Square,' and on its eastern, 'Manheim Spring Alley.' In the house referred to above, on the north side of Manheim Street, before Greene is reached, he passed the remainder of his life. It was an old-fashioned but comfortable dwelling, having originally been two houses which he had joined, converting the two into one. The upper stories he had thrown into one large room where, of a Sunday, he would gather the children of the neighborhood, with whom he was a great favorite, and give them religious instruction. Mr. Rosét had a great fondness for flowers, and this taste he was enabled to gratify, having in the rear of his

house a large garden; his collection of Dahlias is said to have been particularly fine, and he was very fond of drawing attention to their different varieties. When Mrs. Butler (Fanny Kemble) passed his house in her morning rides, she was invariably the recipient of a bouquet from the gallant old gentleman's hands.

"Mr. Rosét, though educated a Catholic, attended, while in Philadelphia, the Dutch Reformed Church. When he removed to Germantown he attended the Lutheran Church, becoming a member of it when in his 80th year. Mr. Jacob Rosét enjoyed good health up to almost the last moments of his life. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-six, and it is related of him as showing his wonderful vitality, that only a few hours before his death, he rose in his bed, and waving off the skullcap which he wore, gave vent to three cheers! for '*la France.*' He lies buried with his wife in the old Lutheran Church-yard at Germantown. Mr. John Rosét, his eldest son, is well remembered in Philadelphia as a merchant. He married Miss Mary Laning of Wilkes-Barré, a grand-daughter of the late Judge Matthias Hollenback of that place, and left by her a large family who survive him; of his three daughters residing in Philadelphia, one married Dr. John L. Ludlow, another the late Mr. John Brodhead, and the third, Mr. Anthony J. Drexel."

Dr. Samuel Betton, originally of the Island of Jamaica, had a considerable estate there, and derived a good return from it until its labor system was disturbed. But it was years before this occurred that he came to reside in Germantown; and it was just as old age was carrying the excellent and venerable Dr. Bensell from a scene which he had long graced. Although Germantown had long been called the Montpelier of America, it was, perhaps, not alone its salubrious air that attracted Dr. Betton to it, for there yet lingered there a Revolutionary character, Colonel Thomas Forrest, who had a daughter fully as attractive as the air of the place. He married her, and bought the rather striking, but agreeable looking house, "White Cottage," that yet stands on the north side of Manheim Street, west of Greene.

With good taste he erected the large octagon room on the east. When first at this house, I was but a boy. I had been told that those of the name of Betton were of the family of Bethune, whose illustrious head was the Duke of Sully, minister of Henry of Navarre, the great Henry IV., of France, and that their descent could be traced through a thousand years. I had just read the memoirs of the Duke, and as I was received by the venerable doctor with more than courtly suavity, I could not doubt, as with his handkerchief he wiped a few drops of rain from my shoulders, that such consummate grace was a part of his rich inheritance. It is told, that his was the first house in Germantown where silver forks were known. His son, the late Dr. Thomas Forrest Betton, married Elizabeth, a daughter of Albanus Logan, of Stenton. These are now represented by Mr. Samuel Betton, the present occupant of the White Cottage.

Opposite White Cottage is "Taggart's Field," where yet stands a house, part of which is said to be of pre-revolutionary date. The British Infantry were huddled on these grounds. When they had passed away, young Miller saw on this field Count Pulaski's Legion of Cavalry, four hundred men in their uniform of nearly white. He said the Legion was formed mostly of prisoners of Burgoyne's Army, Germans, and others.

A little beyond Betton's is the place of Mr. Thomas A. Newhall, originally Robert Toland's. In 1860, when the Marquess of Chandos, who a year afterwards succeeded to the Dukedom of Buckingham, was here, he was a guest for some ten days at this house. The Prince of Wales was in Philadelphia at the same time. The Marquess visited the Hall of the Historical Society, and on observing there the original portrait of William Penn, which had been presented by a great-grandson, Granville Penn, he told me that he remembered it well. He had been an Eton boy, and often spent a few days at a time at Stoke-Poges, the seat of the Penns, and had seen it there. The portrait had just been returned here from Boston, where Mr. Schoff was about finishing an engraving of it. The Marquess told me that the Prince, who was especially fond of antiquities and historical



The White Cottage.

associations, had, in conversation with him, spoken of having inquired whether there was anything of Penn here; a house that he had lived in, or anything that had belonged to him. On this, after mentioning the house in Letitia Street, and what else there was of Penn's, I said that when the engraving should be finished, it would give me pleasure to send impressions of it to appropriate persons in England. This I afterward did, through the late Granville John Penn, suggesting to him that, among others, one should be sent in his name to the Prince. He did this, and in due time inclosed to me the letter written to him by the Prince's Equerry, Gen. Knollys, to the effect, that while not strictly in accordance with etiquette, yet it was accepted, as it was a work of much merit, and had been sent in so impersonal a manner.

Some forty years ago the large old double house of stone, on the avenue, now bearing the number 4558, was occupied by Commodore James Barron, at that time in command of the Navy Yard here. He was not less accomplished as a sailor than as a gentleman. He was also something of an artist, as may yet be seen by a production of his brush, a painting of one of James Gowen's fine cattle, now in Mr. Blake's parlour in London. The Commodore had a grandson residing with him, then a schoolboy in Germantown. He is now the Captain James Barron Hope who was invited by Congress to write, for the celebration of the centennial of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, the ode repeated by him in this city, under the auspices of the Historical Society, on the 14th of December last. Mr. Hope remembers the Sunday dinners at his grandfather's house, at which Count Miollis was usually a guest, and that this gallant gentleman, then an exile, taught the French language at McClanahan's Academy, for his livelihood. He had been of the Great Napoleon's Army, and was the officer who made a prisoner of the Pope. A leg which he had lost was replaced by one of cork. This was soldierly, but much was added to it, for his gallantry had been rewarded with many decorations, and these it was his pride to wear upon festive occasions. His appearance at table therefore made an indelible impression

on a youthful mind. Like most Frenchmen, Count Miollis took little interest in public affairs; but once, however, when some occasion called forth every one, he with them all, went to the poll to deposit his ballot. To his intense surprise his right was challenged. It is not easy to imagine his wrath, for he conceived that he was to meet, successively, in mortal combat, all of the opposing party. To his disgust, he soon found, as he supposed, that they feared to meet him. It is said that to the day of his death, he never clearly comprehended the matter, so completely was he bewildered by the term "challenge," which had been used in the conversation.¹

¹ Commodore James Barron was a son of an earlier commodore known as "James Barron the Elder," who was born at Old Point Comfort in 1740, and who, in 1780, was promoted "Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia State Navy." This navy was not disbanded until the Federal Constitution was adopted, in 1787, in which year the commodore died. In his turn he was a son of Colonel Samuel Barron, of "Little England," in Elizabeth City County. It is in this, one of the original shires of the colony, or Old Dominion, that Fortress Monroe now stands, occupying the site of an earlier work, erected about 1630, and rebuilt, it is supposed, about 1639. This came to be called Fort George, but hardly, I suppose, until the time of the Hanoverian succession. Colonel Barron was commander there in 1740, and there, his son, spoken of above, was born. In the year 1749 a great hurricane and flood swept away all of the fort except some strong masonry.

The Barrons of the era of the Revolution (there were six of them, Samuel, Richard, James, William, Robert, and David) possessed considerable properties in the region, and were so largely in the shipping business that during the war they fitted out many a vessel, and saw and did much fighting; and there are few waters of the earth which could afford a better field for this, than did the broad expanse of Chesapeake Bay. Hardly any knowledge of their many actions would have been preserved but for much too brief articles in the *Virginia Historical Register* and the *Southern Literary Messenger*. The "Liberty" was one of the vessels commanded by a Barron. She was in more than twenty decisive actions without striking her colours, and surviving hostilities, she proudly carried them in peace.

Only one of the Barrons remained at home during the war; David, the merchant, in order to conduct the business. Their contributions to the cause of the colonies were to the value of \$150,000. No claim for compensation was made for this until about the year 1850, when about one-third of the amount was paid their heirs. But in recognition of their unselfish devotion there was ever at the disposal of the family, a Midshipman's Warrant, and once there was one sent to Mrs. Commodore Samuel Barron, for her child.

The house spoken of seems to have been destined to be the continued abode of heroes. After Commodore Barron left it, Captain Henry A. Adams, a Pennsylvanian who entered the Navy in 1814, became its occupant. He, in turn, was succeeded by Col. John G. Watmough, who earned his laurels in the brilliant sortie at Fort Erie. His elegant and impressive manners, and his still open wound, more than thirty years afterwards, made him sheriff of the county, and sent him as a Representative to Congress.

Germantown Avenue is becoming so much of a place of business, as to be less interesting, and much less picturesque than in earlier days, when it was only the "Old Germantown Road," lined with quaint looking places of residence. In that day it was thought that business pursuits should hardly be permitted there. It was conceded, however, that, should the imperative wants of the people require a departure from

It so happened, at that time, that her only child was a girl, so she returned it. In the course of a few months her husband died, and a son was born to her, whereupon the warrant was again sent to her. She returned it, saying her boy was an infant. Upon this the Secretary of the Navy again sent it to her, with a letter to the effect that she had no right to decide for the child, but that she should retain the warrant, and, at the proper time, let the child decide for himself. This she did; and the boy, a nephew of the commodore James who commanded here, grew, and served with credit. In time he became a commodore, but he is now, at an advanced age, living in retirement.

The changes in recent times have been so very great that, to the younger generation, it may seem ridiculous to be speaking thus of "children in arms." Nevertheless, boys so bred, often, in manhood, achieved world-wide fame. I may therefore be pardoned mentioning the fact that the second President of our Historical Society, Major Duponceau, was once a "child in arms;" for while yet an infant, he held a commission as lieutenant. He has told me that when arrayed in his uniform, and carried about the Isle of Rhé, in his nurse's arms, the respectful soldiers of the old French Monarchy would soberly yield to him the accustomed military salute. Later than this is the instance of Sir William Gomm, also in some degree connected with us of Pennsylvania, for he married a great-granddaughter of William Penn. He entered the army as a cornet at the age of ten years, and in time became the commander-in-chief of the British Army in India. He died in 1874, while Governor of the Tower of London. As his age was ninety-one years, he had thus held his commission for more than eighty years.

a rule so rigid, there might, out of an abundant grace, sanction be given to a few uneasy spirits whose shops should be such as that of Mr. Green, the hatter, No. 4562. A quiet repose and an ample evidence of enjoyment of the fruits of toil, seem palpable in a long old building like this, where nine parts are a proof of prosperity, while only one presents an appearance of traffic. Formerly, at this old house there were some fifty martin boxes, and the interesting birds that occupied them, numbered a hundred or more. About ten years ago they suddenly disappeared, and, doubtless, for a good reason, for they have not returned. Many have thought that the street to the west of the avenue, and parallel with it, derived its name from the family which occupied this house. This may not be so, although the authorities lend colour to the belief, by painting the name "Green" on the sign-boards. Some say the true name is "Greene," after a general of Germantown's battle, and claim that this is evident from the names of succeeding streets, Knox, Wayne, and Pulaski, which also commemorate the names of officers engaged in the famous conflict.

In our early Provincial days, many Germans, as we well know, fled from persecution in their fatherland, and found a refuge in Germantown. It is not often, however, that the fact is recalled that, at the same time, there were those in an English Colony in America who, to save their lives, fled therefrom to find safety in Pennsylvania. One of these was Edward Shippen, a wealthy merchant of Boston, and of an English family of some prominence, for he had a nephew, "Honest Will Shippen," as Robert Walpole called him, who was a member of parliament. Edward was tried in Massachusetts, and found guilty of being a Quaker, and was punished according to its law, by being driven at the cart's tail around the streets of Boston, and soundly whipped the while, by the hangman. This was not agreeable, but he did not feel degraded by it, for it is crime, not punishment, that degrades. Gen. Morgan of our revolution believed this, when he received four hundred and ninety-nine lashes in Braddock's Expedition, saying to the day of his death, that the British



Ye Roebuck Inn.

W. J. Roebuck
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still owed him one, as the officer had made a miscount. Edward Shippen of course came here,—it was about the only place on earth where he could come,—and he became the first Mayor of Philadelphia, and built “Shippy’s great house,” for so the name was pronounced, in Second Street above Spruce, long known as the “Governors’ House,” because after his time so many of them occupied it. Many of his descendants, like himself, have been prominent in our public life, both in Provincial days and ever since.

As early as 1709, Joseph Shippen, a son of Edward, began to purchase land in Germantown, and in time he or his sons owned one hundred acres, lying in one body there. In 1716 he went there to live, perhaps in the summer time, and no doubt it was he who erected the house, whose site is now occupied by that of Mr. Heft, No. 4612. But whether he, or others of the family, lived in it for any length of time, does not appear to be known. There were other houses on their property. In his deed of 1740 to his sons, Edward, Joseph, and William, the house is mentioned as the “Roebuck Tavern.” In a deed of July 10th, 1788, from Joseph Shippen to his brother William, the lot on which their house stood is described as eighty-four feet front, and seven hundred and eight feet deep, with a brick house thereon erected, still “known by the name of Roebuck Tavern.” In 1819 William Shippen, a great-grandson of the preceding William, and Mary his wife conveyed the property to George Heft; with whom it became the well-known “Buttonwood Tavern,” marked by two stately trees of that variety, standing before it, only one of which now remains. It is a large, old, gnarled tree, spectre-like, for its bark is gone, and altogether it is one of the most striking looking trees in Germantown. The Hefts must have enlarged their grounds, for now, the frontage on the avenue is about two hundred and fifty feet. In Dec., 1854, on the settlement of George Heft’s estate, the property came to his son Caspar, the present owner.

A few words more should be given to those of the Shippens who were associated with ancient Germantown. Joseph Shippen’s youngest son, Dr. William, was born in 1712. He

attained real eminence as a physician, and reached the age of ninety with the love of all who knew him. He was twice elected a member of the Continental Congress, and, notwithstanding his advanced years, he was, as its journals show, constant in his attendance. By his wife Susannah, a daughter of Joseph Harrison of this city, he was the father of Professor William Shippen, born in 1736. Professor William Shippen studied here with his father, and afterwards abroad, under the celebrated Hunters, in England. In 1776 he was appointed "Chief Physician for the Flying Camp." In March, 1777, he laid before Congress a plan for the organization of a Hospital Department, which, with some modifications, was adopted, and on the 11th of April following he was unanimously elected "Director-General of all the Military Hospitals for the Armies of the United States." He died in Germantown on the 11th of July, 1808. Thacher, in his Medical Biography, speaks of these Shippens, father and son, and in high but just terms. Dr. Wistar's eulogium on the professor, 1809, is a graceful and charming tribute. Professor Shippen was married in London, about the year 1760, to Alice, a daughter of Col. Thomas Lee, Governor of the Province of Virginia. By her his son, who reached maturity, was Thomas Lee Shippen, born in 1765. He was a graduate of Princeton, was a student of law at Williamshurg, Va., with James Madison, and afterwards he was of the Inner Temple, London. In 1791 he married Elizabeth Carter, daughter of Major James Parke Farley, and granddaughter of Col. William Byrd, 3d, of Westover on the James. Their son was Dr. William Shippen, born at Farley, Bucks County, Penna., in 1792, married, in 1817, Mary Louise Shore, of Petersburg, Va., and died in Philadelphia, June 5, 1867. He was a Vice-President of the Historical Society.

No. 4622 is where Mr. Wm. Wynne Wister lives. This house was once the place of residence of Gilbert Stuart, the artist, and back of it are the old walls, still standing, the remains of his studio where he painted his excellent portrait of Washington. Near by, and still on the west side, is Mr.

Harlan's large double house No. 4626, at first used as a summer residence, but of late years, continuously. Next to it is No. 4630, where "Squire Baynton" lived.¹

¹ Peter Baynton, pronounced Banton, was one of the early emigrants to Pennsylvania. He came from Bedminster, near Bristol, in England, and was here as early as 1686, for in that year he was a Justice of the Court at Upland, or Chester. That he had a house there is shown by the fact that on the 26th of Dec., 1693, the commissioners met in it. This had been the house of James Sandelands, whose widow, Annika Kyn Sandelands, was the wealthiest woman of the Province. She married Peter Baynton, and their only child was Rebecca, who in 1713 married Thomas Weston. The name here might therefore have then become extinct, had it not been for a great-nephew, born Dec. 27th, 1695, also named Peter, a son of Benjamin Baynton. It was no doubt the great-nephew Peter who was in Philadelphia in 1721 engaged in business, and who in the following year went for a time to the "Cherry Stones," and to other places in Virginia, and later to Charleston, S. C. In a letter written from the latter place, he expresses regret that he had left here; a regret that continued, for in less than a year he returned. A vessel in which he made shipments for Charleston had, for its captain, George Barefoot, and he had dealings there with Fenwicke Golightly. With such a gift for meeting with odd names it requires but a slight stretch of the imagination to suppose that in Virginia, he must have had transactions with the Steptoes and Lightfoots. In Charleston he married Miss Paris, who, however, lived but a short time. His second wife was his cousin Mary Budd, of New Jersey, a daughter of John and Rebecca (Baynton) Budd. On the 22d of Feb. 1743-4, he was drowned in the Delaware, near Burlington, his place of residence, and his remains were interred in the grounds of St. Mary's church. His career had been a prosperous one;—the roofing and shingling of St. Mary's was done at his cost. By his will he bequeathed to his wife, Mary, £640 per annum, and left £250 towards erecting a new Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Benjamin Baynton, his eldest son, we suppose, was bred to the law, but died at the early age of twenty-one, and was buried also at St. Mary's, where the beautiful epitaph on his tombstone still attracts attention.

Another son, John Baynton, whose mother was a Budd, was born Dec. 17th, 1726, and was married Dec. 17th, 1747, to Elizabeth Chevalier of this city. After the custom of that day they had fifteen children, one of whom married Joseph Bullock, and was thus the mother of Rebecca who married Charles J. Wister. Another, Elizabeth, on the 18th of Dec., 1773, married Abraham Markoe, the first Captain of the First City Troop, and brother of Peter, the Philadelphia poet. Still another one of them became the wife of Col. George Morgan of Morganza, near Pittsburgh. John Markoe, a son

A large old double house, of stone, standing somewhat back from the line of the avenue, now bears the number 4634. The old Bringhurst House was nearly opposite to it. For more than thirty years past it has been owned and occupied by the late Isaiah Hacker and his family. Long ago it was erected as a place of residence by David Hayfield Conyngham, who was born at Letterkenny, Ireland, on the 21st of March, 1750-1, and who was a son of Redmond Conyngham, of Letterkenny, Esquire, and his wife Martha, daughter of Robert Ellis, of Philadelphia. Redmond Conyngham came here in 1756, and was one of the original members of the firm of J. M. Nesbit & Co. He returned to Ireland in 1767, and died in 1785. David remained here, and on the 4th of December, 1779, married, at Whitemarsh, Mary, daughter of William and Mary West. She died August 27, 1820. He was a partner in the old house which, under the name of J. M. Nesbit & Co., became so distinguished during the Revolution.

of Abraham, had a daughter, Elizabeth Baynton Markoe, who married the late William Masters Camac. Benjamin Baynton, a son of John, was a captain in the 60th Reg. Br. Army.

John Baynton was a merchant of eminence in this city, and was of the firm of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan whose losses by Indian depredations were so great, that they had assigned to them in compensation, it is said, the territory now occupied by the state of Indiana. No doubt John Baynton was the owner of the country-seat at Fourth and Wood Streets, "Bedminster," spoken of in Vol. IV. p. 419. He died in Philadelphia on the 8th of May, 1773. One of his sons, Peter, was born in 1754, and in 1771 read law with Alexander Wilcocks. In 1799 he was Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania. It was after this, no doubt, that he lived for a time, in the Saur House spoken of in the last Walk, but subsequently he moved to the house spoken of above, No. 4630, on the west side of the road. At a later time Mr. Benjamin J. Leedom lived in the house. In Germantown the former occupant was always called "Squire Baynton." He died somewhere between the years 1817 and 1825. John Baynton, his son, lived in Mississippi for a time, and was cashier of a bank there. He became Mayor of Natchez, and married there Miss Sessions. In after years he returned to Philadelphia, where he died about twenty-three years ago, leaving a widow, who is the only one here now bearing the name. Burke, in his *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, under Baynton-Rolt of Spy Park, says, "Sidney, in his *Treatise on Government*, affirms that, in antiquity of possession and name, few of the nobility equal the family of Baynton."



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The title was changed after 1783 to Conyngham, Nesbit & Co. David H. was descended from William Conyngham, Bishop of Argyll, 1539, and was therefore of the same line of descent as the Marquess Conyngham of Ireland. He was first cousin to William Conyngham, created Baron Plunket, the eminent Chief-Justice and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1820–1841, and also of Capt. Gustavus Conyngham of the U. S. Navy, 1776–1783. He was father of the Hon. Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster Co., and the Hon. John N. Conyngham of Wilkes-Barré. He died on the fifth of March, 1834, and was buried in the grounds of our Christ Church. The career of Mr. Conyngham was a varied and interesting one, and such excellent material is in existence for a memoir of him, that I refrain from saying much more, as I understand one is to be written by the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, of Wilkes-Barré. One or two points in our local history impel me to say that his reminiscences show that the “Schuylkill gun” bearing the motto “Kawanio Che Keeteru Schuylkil,” now lying at Fort Mifflin, was, in the beginning of the Revolution, in use at the Association Battery, the site of the late Navy Yard. It would be a graceful act on the part of the Secretary of War to deposit this historic gun with the company from whom it is believed to have come,—the ancient “State in Schuylkill.” This society, the oldest social club in the world, would be sure to guard it as a treasure next in importance to its own history. It is also shown that Mud Island, as the iconoclasts of our day style it, was, by the heroes of '76, called Governor's Island. Conyngham, together with some friends, rescued Dr. Kearsley and Jabez Maud Fisher from the mob in the beginning of the Revolution, and afterward saw the latter in London. Fisher was a brother of Joshua, Samuel R., and Miers Fisher, and died in England in 1778. After Mr. Conyngham left the house, and perhaps immediately, Miss Hannah, a maiden sister of John and Charles J. Wister, occupied it for a dozen years or more. In 1832 Samuel Taylor and William Rainey sold the house and lot to Alexander Prevost, who, in 1835, sold to the Rev. William Neill, pastor of the old Presbyterian

Church on the Main Street below Haines. This gentleman, in 1844, sold the property to the late Isaiah Hacker.

The house next, to the north, bears the number 4636. It has an exterior so shaggy as to bid defiance to the most rigorous climate, and, consequently, promises every comfort within its walls. Some one, with a diamond, wrote on a pane of glass, in one of the windows, "Ann W. Morris, and Maria Abercrombie, 1807." Anne Willing Morris is to be spoken of hereafter. The latter name was that of a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, of the United Churches of Christ and St. Peters. She was married at an early age, but unhappily, for a separation soon took place. Resuming her maiden name, she was known, until her death, eight years ago, as Mrs. Abercrombie. Many remember her for a vivacity and freshness of feeling, extremely rare at the age which she attained;—a few, much older, recall the fact that these were characteristics of her earlier days. Long ago Mrs. Abigail Johnson Morris, a sister of Justus Johnson, lived in the house, but of later years it has been occupied by the family of the late William Howell.

No. 4638 is Handsberry's house. Last autumn it was the theatre of a scene that always pleases,—the ancient couple residing there celebrated their golden wedding. Woltemate's green house, No. 4646, is the site of the residence of the Van Lauchets. Christian and John, grandsons of the long ago Barbara Van Lauchet, have recently died. They were the last of the name, of a family from Holland, that came to Germantown at an early time. Michael Riter's Indian Queen Inn is soon reached, afterwards converted into the grocery store of Naaman Keyser, at the S. W. corner of Indian Queen Lane. With those of the olden time, this ancient name of the lane still holds, though moderns affect to call it Queen Street. The attempt can hardly succeed, for even the influence of the tavern, ever so potential in human affairs, has failed in the effort to have it called Whittle's or Riter's Lane. An earlier name, Bowman's, has also passed into oblivion.

BENJAMIN HORNOR COATES, M.D.,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
AND FOR MANY YEARS ITS SENIOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

BY JAMES J. LEVICK, M.D.

On the walls of the venerable Pennsylvania Hospital there have hung, for nearly seventy years, two very characteristic, life-size pictures. One of these is that of Dr. Benjamin Rush, a man distinguished in the halls of legislation and in those of medical science.

For thirty years, from 1783 to 1813, he served, and faithfully served, as attending physician at the Pennsylvania Hospital. He died of a malignant fever April 19, 1813, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. At a meeting of the managers of the hospital held 5 mo. 31, 1813, a month later, occurs the following minute. "A communication signed by twenty-nine persons was received, in which they say—'feeling very sensibly the loss of our deceased Professor, Doctor Benjamin Rush, and sympathizing with you on account of the loss your institution has sustained by his death, our minds have been excited to a spirit of commemoration, and we respectfully suggest for your consideration the propriety of having a full-length portrait taken, from a family likeness, for your Institution, the expense to be defrayed from the medical fund.'" The communication was referred to a committee of the managers, with instructions to confer with the physicians of the house, and inform them that if the proposal be assented to by them, measures will be taken to have the picture executed. At a meeting of the Board held 1mo. 31, 1814, the committee reported that an order was drawn in favor of Thomas Sully, artist, for four hundred dollars, for the picture painted by him of Dr. Benjamin Rush.

A very short time previous to this, Thomas Sully, an eminent painter, born at Horncaster, Lincolnshire, England,

June, 1783, but who lived for many years in Philadelphia, and died there Nov. 5, 1872, had presented to the hospital a life-size picture of its President, as appears from the minute of the annual meeting of the contributors, held 5 mo. 3, 1813, which reads as follows: "It having been stated that Thomas Sully had presented to the Institution a likeness of Samuel Coates, President of the Board of Managers, it was resolved that the thanks of this meeting be presented to him for his valuable picture. By a resolution of the meeting Thomas Sully is made a hospital contributor."¹

The picture is eminently lifelike; the subject a handsome man, apparently in a hale middle life, is standing in the library of the hospital near an open window, one arm resting on a writing desk, his countenance beaming with intelligence and benevolence. Taken from life, it is, as has been said, an eminently lifelike picture.

Samuel Coates, whom the picture so faithfully represents, was, indeed, no ordinary man. For more than forty years he was a member of the Board of Managers of the hospital, and for thirteen years its President. This excellent charity, in 1751 "piously founded for the relief of the sick and the miserable," has been in operation for nearly a century and a half, in all which time its managers have been men of established position and unquestioned integrity. Giving, as they do, their time and labor with no compensation other than that which comes from a consciousness of duty well performed, with large pecuniary interests entrusted to their care, and the welfare of great numbers of the sick dependent upon them, they present now, to their fellow-citizens, as their predecessors have in past years, an instructive illustration of the fact that, with proper care in the selection of its rulers, a large public institution may be conducted, from generation to generation, with the same economy and integrity as that

¹ I desire here to express my obligations to William G. Malin, Esq., for the opportunity of examining the minute book of the hospital, and for aid furnished me in my investigations. For nearly sixty years he has been officially connected with the hospital, and knows more of its history than any other man now living.

which characterize the best regulated private households. Samuel Coates, during his long connection with the hospital, served it with an earnestness and fidelity which at no time in its history have been surpassed. The minutes of the Board attest the truth of this statement. When additional funds were needed, he was among the first called on for aid, either directly, or indirectly by the influence of his character on other and wealthier citizens. Foremost among these was his warm personal friend, Stephen Girard, to whom an appeal was rarely made by Samuel Coates in vain. There lies before me now an original paper in his handwriting, with the autographs of the signers, bearing this inscription: "Benjamin West, of London, having promised to present to the Pennsylvania Hospital his fine painting of Christ Healing the Sick in the Temple, with a painting to be over each fireplace when a building is raised to receive them, the subscribers, on their part, agree to pay to the contributors to the said hospital, the several sums to their names hereby subscribed towards erecting a house for his pictures."

"1816. July 4. Stephen Girard one thousand dollars.

\$1000 paid to S. Coates.

" 8. L. Clapier (additional) \$100.

" 16. Edward Thomson \$200, paid.

Caleb Cresson, Jr., "100, paid."

It is an interesting fact that of \$1710, raised by voluntary subscription for the construction of this building, now used as the hall of the Historical Society, one thousand dollars of it was the donation thus obtained by Samuel Coates of Stephen Girard.

Among Samuel Coates's own donations to the hospital appears on the minute of 10 mo. 29, 1804, the following record, characteristic of a peculiar phase of the early life of Philadelphia: "Samuel Coates presents to the hospital a German servant girl, to remain three years, which the Board accepts, and requests that he will get the indentures executed. He also offers Francis — for \$80, for three years, which was accepted, Francis consenting to serve and perform any duty that may be assigned him."

Samuel Coates had been brought up in the counting-house of his uncle, John Reynell, a shipping and commission merchant, himself a large-hearted philanthropist, one of the earliest managers, as he had been one of the first contributors to the hospital. Having lost by death his children, John Reynell adopted his wife's nephew, giving up to him his business, and, at his death, leaving him the house at the north-west corner of Front and Walnut Streets. Samuel Coates married, first, Lydia, daughter of Joseph Saunders, by which marriage he had several children, and, some years after her death, he married Amy, daughter of Benjamin and Rebecca Hornor. In the old Front Street house was born November 14, 1797, Benjamin Hornor Coates, their second son.¹ Benjamin was a bright and a studious boy. Indeed, from his very early years, he showed that wonderful love for books and for science which was so characteristic of him throughout his life. It is told of him that when but a mere lad it was his practice on his return from school to get possession of Rapin's History of England, place the book, which was too heavy for the little fellow to hold, on the floor, and lying down beside it pore over its pages with intense interest and delight.

Having received an excellent literary and classical education at the Friends' Grammar School, he entered as a student of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated in the spring of 1818, having offered as his inaugural thesis an essay on "Blisters." Previous, however, to graduation he had served for several years as a "medical

¹ "Dr. Coates's maternal ancestor, John Hornor, landed at Burlington, N. J., Nov. 1, 1683. He was a native of Tadcaster, Yorkshire, England. The records say that he was a man of wealth and education. He selected a tract of land at White Hill, a beautiful eminence commanding noble views of the Delaware River. The site is now occupied by the mansion of Commodore Charles Stewart. Dr. Coates's great-grandfather and his son, John Hornor, very actively aided in establishing Princeton College, not only by contributing largely, but also became security for sums of money which were not met. They had to part with considerable property to discharge these debts. Dr. Coates's great-grandfather, Isaac Hornor, was the first person in the province of New Jersey to emancipate his slaves, of which he had a number from his father."

apprentice" at the Pennsylvania Hospital. These apprentices were students of medicine who were indentured to certain of the managers of the hospital for a period of five years, to learn "the art and mystery of medicine," and generally graduated before the term of indenture had expired. The last survivor of these apprentices, Dr. Reynell Coates, thus writes, under date of Jan. 10, 1882: "We were bound apprentices to certain of the managers (a brace of them for each of us), and had the right to claim all the privileges of pupilage with each and all of the attending physicians and surgeons of that institution, according to the custom of that age. We selected the teachers, whose practice we most approved of, as our private preceptors.¹ We watched at the bedside daily, and officiated in the pharmaceutical and dressing departments, graduating while still on duty, and prescribing in the intervals of the bi-weekly visits of the senior staff. . . . I believe that the hospital *internes* were exempt from private individual instruction by custom, if not by university rule. The senior resident was far more frequently the consulted than the consulter. I am the last living apprentice to the art and mystery of medicine."

The hospital service ended, and his diploma honorably obtained, Dr. Coates began the practice of medicine at his old home, Front and Walnut Streets, a part of the town now entirely given up to trade, but then in the midst of an intelligent and wealthy population. Here he remained for some years, and, as appears from a letter written by Dr. Physick, bearing date of September 25, 1822, "with much success in practice." Subsequently he removed to the neighborhood of Third and Spruce Streets, later to Seventh and Arch Streets, to Seventh and Walnut Streets, and lastly to the northwest corner of Seventh and Spruce Streets, where he remained till the close of his days.

Dr. Coates was elected attending physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital in the year 1828, and continued there as physician and clinical lecturer until the year 1841.

¹ There is reason to believe that Dr. Philip S. Physick was regarded by Dr. Coates as his preceptor.

Dr. Kirkbride, who was at the time an *interne* of the hospital, says of him: "Dr. Coates was a faithful and regular attendant at the hospital, courteous to his assistants, and kind to his patients; he was a fluent and instructive lecturer. He delivered the address at the laying of the corner stone of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, June 22, 1836. It was an able and eloquent discourse."

Dr. Coates was elected a Fellow of the Philadelphia College of Physicians, May, 1827; was a member of other medical societies, of one of which, the Philadelphia County Medical Society, he was president, and in all of which he held at various times highly responsible positions. He was a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences; of the Athenæum; and of the Library Company of Philadelphia, of which his grandfather was one of the original shareholders. Besides these he was a member of many of the charitable and benevolent associations of Philadelphia. A very pleasant professional association to which he belonged was a social club, aiming also at medical improvement, the members of which met alternately at each other's houses. This was known as the "Tea and Toast Club," and among its members were the late Drs. Bache, Bond, Hodge, Wood, Meigs, and Coates.

But though a physician from choice, and deeply imbued with the love of his profession, Dr. Coates was by no means exclusively devoted to medicine or to medical literature.

There were, indeed, few subjects in literature or in science which did not in some degree at least claim his attention. A member of the American Philosophical Society, of which for some years he was the senior vice-president, he was always ready to take part in the discussion of papers on physical science which came before it. At the Academy of Natural Sciences he participated also in the consideration of the special branches of natural science which claimed its attention. A Fellow of the College of Physicians, there was scarcely any form of disease with which he was not acquainted, both as respected its phenomena and treatment, and its bibliographical history; and more than once he has surprised the young author of a supposed original paper, by quotations from

Hippocrates, Galen, and others of the fathers in medicine, showing that the subject then under discussion had been known to them, though subsequently lost sight of to the profession generally.

As a member of the Historical Society, of which he was one of the founders, long a member of its council, for many years its vice-president, and always its friend, he was thoroughly familiar with our colonial and state history, with the character of the early settlers, and with its early and later literature.¹

¹ One so fond of research as Doctor Coates was could not fail to be interested in the history of his family, the country to which that family for many centuries had belonged, and the town from which the name was derived. He has left among his papers a number of manuscripts bearing directly on these subjects. They have evidently been prepared with much care, and have required great research. He says of them: "These results are founded upon an examination of a great number of magazines, particularly the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and various local histories." Among these he frequently quotes from Nichols's *Annals of Leicestershire*. I have thought it due to one who had done so much for our Historical Society that some results of these examinations, by our late Vice-President, should be preserved in the pages of its MAGAZINE, and have, not without much labor, prepared the subjoined synopsis of them.

Samuel Coates, the father of Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, was the son of Samuel and Mary Langdale Coates, and was born in Philadelphia, August 24, 1748, O. S.

His grandparents were Thomas and Beulah Jacques Coates, of Sproxton, Leicestershire, England, where, and in the neighboring village of Cotes, this family had existed for many generations. Thomas Coates came to Pennsylvania A. D. 1684, receiving with other properties, as his city lot, the piece of ground at the northwest corner of Second and Market Streets, the northern boundary being that of what is now Christ Church ground, the western extending to and including Grindstone Alley on Market Street, a portion of which property is still owned by his descendants. Thomas Coates was a member of the Religious Society of Friends. He was the son of Henry and Elizabeth Coates, and was born at Sproxton, Leicestershire, England, September 26, 1659. His wife was Beulah Jacques, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Jacques, and was also a native of Leicestershire. The family of Jacques is probably of French origin, but had long had a settlement in England, as Jacques is an ancient name in Leicestershire, and a rank similar to that of Cotes. If French it is probably Norman-French, and cannot have reached England later than in the time of Henry VIII.,

Dr. Coates was a classical scholar, as his father had been before him. He loved the language of Greece and of Rome,

when a person of that name may have come from France in the King's army of invasion.

In 1639 Sir Roger Jacques, Knight, was Mayor of the City of York.

For the family history of Langdale, Dr. Coates refers to Burke's Extinct Peerage, "where it may be easily obtained." Sir Marmaduke Langdale was created Baron Langdale by Charles II., in April, 1658, two years before the Restoration, for his extraordinary loyalty.

A full account of the family of Reynell is given, and in it occurs this quotation from Prince: "It is manifest that the Reynells were ever men of great credit, fidelity, and service to their king, country and state, as well in peace matters as in wars."

An interesting paper on the *Village of Cotes* is also given, from which it appears that so early as A. D. 1220 there was attached to the Church of Prestwold, a chapel called *Cotes*, which was free, and endowed with all the sacramental rights and rights of sepulture, and provided with a resident chaplain. The parish received tithes of Sir Robert Putrel de Cotes, and Elyas de Prestwold.

In 1332 lived Willielmus de Cotes, Armiger, and had his coat armour this year. In 1359 Roger de Cotes was the first prior of Kirby Beler. In 1440 Hugh Cotes was rector of Bottesford Church, by the patronage of Margaret, Lady Ros, who was herself a relative of the rector.

In 1601 Alexander Cotes, gentleman of Leicester, married Martha, daughter of Henry Wigley, of Scraptoff, and Frances, third daughter of Richard Bradgate, Esq., of Peatting Parva, who were probably the grandparents of Thomas Coates.

Among these papers also are a sketch of the village of Sproxton, notices of Sir Roger Cotes of Burbage, in Leicestershire, the famous mathematician and friend of Sir Isaac Newton; notes of the family of the De Albini, founded by Robert, standard-bearer of the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings. There is also a paper on the Counts and officers of the Saxon Coasts, in which the writer decides that the name of Cotes is not of Norman (les Côtes the Coasts), but of Saxon origin. He writes: "The name may be said to be common, and yet not numerous. It was written indifferently Cotes and Coates, but not Coats. The family [in England] furnished a mayor or two, a few citizens of great wealth, a considerable number of clergy of the established Church, a few army officers, a surgeon or two, a secretary or two of large public institutions, one distinguished man of science, one general, and six or seven holders of handsome hereditary estates. Their alliances with nobility appear in the Leicestershire families—1st, with the De Albanies, and through them with the De Roses, and the Duke of Rutland, if this be the real meaning of Mr. Nichols; 2d, by the ennobling of Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and 3d, by the relationship of Roger Cotes,

and the poetry which found its expression in them. He was familiar with the French and German tongue, and it is believed with at least one other of the Continental languages.

To the current literature of his day he was a generous contributor; was an intelligent historian, and a poet of no mean order. Though "a Friend," he had an innate military genius, was thoroughly familiar during the Mexican War with the movements and strategy of our generals, and sometime before the war of the Rebellion had actually begun, he pointed out to several of his fellow members of the Historical Society that if this should come the decisive struggle of the war would be at or near Gettysburg. His knowledge was indeed vast and varied. It has more than once been said of him that he was "an encyclopædia of knowledge," from whose resources he could at any moment draw forth things old and things new with such readiness and ease as amazed those to whom he was but little known. Those who knew Doctor Coates will, I am sure, agree that I have not exaggerated the attainments of this remarkable man.

Allusion has been made to the fact that Dr. Coates was one of the founders of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and it seems eminently proper that here, on the pages of its MAGAZINE, some further notice should be taken of this fact. It may, therefore, be well to state, that this Society, which now numbers nearly a thousand members, owns a library of

the mathematician, to the Marquis of Kent. It is evident that the name by its wide dispersion comes from different sources. The syllable Cot or Cote, mentioned by Johann, occurs in a vast number of ancient names of places, and it is equally evident from the meaning *cots* or *cottages*, that the name when ancient was always territorial. On the Continent this is an evidence of noblesse. . . . The family of this name, which I should say possessed the highest rank, was that of the Cotes of Woodcote, Shropshire. Next to this those who use the spelling Cotes in other localities. I should call *Coats* decidedly incorrect. The *a* never appears in the name till after Richard Cromwell's time, and my great-great-grandfather, Henry Coates, is absolutely the first, and this by a family record to whom I find it attributed. It is probable that this change was made by the Puritans, who destroyed so many monuments in the churches and churchyards."

nearly seventeen thousand volumes, besides much else that is valuable in manuscripts, pamphlets, and pictures, illustrative of our early provincial history, owes its origin to a parlor meeting of seven gentlemen, of whom Dr. Coates has long been the sole survivor. These seven gentlemen were Roberts Vaux, Thomas I. Wharton, Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, Stephen Duncan, George Washington Smith, William Rawle, Jr., and Dr. Caspar Wistar.

In the interesting address of President Wallace, delivered on the opening of the new hall of this Society March 11, 1872, it is stated that the first meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was held in the parlor of Thomas I. Wharton. The statement is doubtless correct, but the venerable widow of Roberts Vaux, who still lives—a beautiful example of a bright, intelligent, genial old age—assures me that it was in her parlors, now 1132 Arch Street, that the Historical Society originated; that she distinctly remembers the occasion, and the evening in which it was formed. The gentlemen named were engaged in social conversation, at her house, when Roberts Vaux called their attention to a notice of the annual dinner of “The Sons of New England,” which a day or two before had been held, and he then said—“We should have such a Society among us,” a suggestion which was cordially approved and promptly acted on. The name of “The Sons of the Soil” was first proposed for it, but was objected to as being “too clannish,” and the much more appropriate name of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was then, or later, adopted. This statement is, without doubt, correct, and it is equally true that the first formal, official meeting was held at the house of Thomas I. Wharton. Two months later twelve names were added to the original number, the sole survivor of “this roll of honor” being Daniel B. Smith, the first Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

In the quiet retirement of his Germantown home Daniel B. Smith now lives, bearing with him in his honored old age the respect of all who know him, and the grateful, affectionate regard of those who had the privilege, in their early life, to sit under his teachings, and with whom he shared, at much

personal sacrifice, the best fruits of his richly cultivated mind.

How largely Dr. Coates aided in the work of the Historical Society is shown by the subjoined statement, kindly furnished by John Jordan, Jr., Esq.: Dr. Benjamin H. Coates was an incorporator under the first Constitution June 2, 1826; was a Vice-President from 1863-'75; Honorary Vice-President from 1875 to time of his decease; was Corresponding Secretary from 1841-'43; was Counsellor from 1825-'41, 1844-'49, 1850-'63—was, in other words, forty-eight years in active, and six years in honorary service; was in membership fifty-seven years.

In view of what this Society has already accomplished, and of the great benefits to the city and State which may be fairly expected of it, the community in which we live owes to these first members a debt of gratitude which cannot be too often remembered or too largely paid.

Dr. Coates was a ready and a prolific writer. Below¹ is

¹ Cases, Memoirs, Essays, Pamphlets for private distribution and courses of public lectures. Contributions to Chapman's Medical Journal, 1819-26, and to N. A. (Medical) Journal, of which Dr. Coates was one of the founders, published 1826-31, 12 vols. Courses of Lectures on Physiology, the Practice of Medicine, and Clinical Courses in Medicine in the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1828-41. Two courses of Physiological Experiments on Absorption, with Drs. Lawrence and Harlan. Dr. Coates being reporter 1821-22. On a Mechanical Bed for Fractures. On Gangrene of the Mouth of Children. On Delirium Tremens. A Memoir of Thomas Say, Naturalist. A description of a Hydrostatic Balance. A Narrative of an Embassy to the Western Indians, from the original manuscript of Heindnek Aupanmut, with prefatory remarks by Dr. B. H. Coates, April 19, 1836 (Hist. Soc. Mem.). Notice of the Life of Samuel Powell Griffiths, M.D., 1830 (Ib.). Report of the Committee on Epidemic Cholera, 1832, Philadelphia College of Physicians. Annual Discourse before the Historical Society, 1834, on the Origin of the Indian Population of America. Oration before the Philadelphia Medical Society, Feb. 10, 1830. On Certainty in Medicine, April 4, 1841. Remarks on Evidence in regard to the Larva of the Hessian Fly, May 29, 1843. Address read on the Centennial Anniversary of the American Philosophical Society. Effects of Secluded and Gloomy Imprisonment on Individuals of the African Variety of Mankind, in the production of disease. Annual Address on the Events of the Year, Philadelphia County

given a list of his contributions to literature, taken from Allibone's Dictionary and the collections of the Historical Society.

Dr. Coates, with such an unusual mental organization, was not without some of the eccentricities of genius, and the peculiarities of the student. A brain so much in action—rarely, indeed, knowing what repose was, could not be other than acutely sensitive to all external influences. He was, indeed, of a highly nervous temperament, often timid among, and shy of strangers, by whom he was sometimes misunderstood, and whom in his turn he sometimes misunderstood and misinterpreted. But they who knew him well, knew that beneath this sensitive exterior there existed a kindness of heart, and a conscientiousness in the performance of duty, which won their regard and commanded their respect. Within a few days there has been mentioned to the writer, by the daughter of the subject of it, an incident in the early life of Dr. Coates which he is glad here to put on record. A young medical friend, just starting out in practice, had incurred pecuniary obligations which he found it difficult to meet. Dr. Coates, though himself a very young man, learning of these difficulties, promptly offered his aid, paid his friend's office rent, and relieved him of his embarrassments. The friend subsequently became a successful and wealthy physician, and the debt was fully repaid, but he carried with him to the end of his life, and transmitted to his children, the grateful remembrance of Dr. Coates's kindness.

The last years of Dr. Coates's life were marked by great failure of his physical and mental health, so much so, indeed, as to cloud his bright mind, often to give much needless anxiety to himself, and much real solicitude to his friends. He died October 16, 1881, aged nearly eighty-four years. The

Medical Society, Feb. 22, 1860. Notice, Biographical, of Charles Caldwell, M.D., Jan. 9, 1855. Congratulatory Verses to Wm. Hepworth Dixon. Poetical Address before the Historical Society on the inauguration of its new hall, March 11, 1872. Sketch of "Earl Douglass," of Philadelphia, an aged colored man, a very amusing and well-written paper; Lippincott's Magazine, May, 1869.

funeral was from his home, Seventh and Spruce Streets, where the last years of his life had been passed. Here old friends came to pay their tribute of respect to one whose wonderful genius they had all recognized, and whose kindness of heart some of them were fully cognizant of.

As he lay in the calm, peaceful repose of death, all traces of the anxiety which, of late years, had clouded his brow, had passed away from it, and his countenance seemed, even in death, to be lighted up with the intelligence which had marked it in his early life. To more than one of these old friends, thus standing beside his bier, there came the thoughts, if not the words, which Tennyson has applied *In Memoriam* to another:—

“As sometimes, in a dead man’s face,
To those who watch it more and more,
A likeness hardly seen before
Comes out—to some one of his race.

“So—brother—now thy brows are cold,
I see thee what thou art—and know,
Thy likeness to the wise below,
Thy kindred with the great of old.

But there is more than I can see,
And what there is I leave unsaid,
Nor speak it, knowing death has made
The darkness beautiful with thee.”

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRÉSOR,
JULY 1, 1777, TO JULY 1, 1778,

CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

INCLUDING ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF LORD AND SIR WM. HOWE
UP THE CHESAPEAKE, THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE, AND FROM THE
OCCUPATION TO THE EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA, WITH THE
REDUCTION OF MUD FORT OR FORT MIFFLIN.

CONTRIBUTED AND EDITED BY G. D. SCULL, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

(Continued from Vol. V. page 417.)

September 12th. At 2 o'clock this afternoon Major-Genl. Grant with the 1st and 2nd Brigade marched from Chad's Ford towards Concord. The patrols from each Corps in scouring the woods near them picked up Waggons, Horses, Ammunition, Provisions and cattle and several Rebels that had secreted themselves.

13th. Lord Cornwallis with the 2nd Battalion Light Infantry and 2 of Grenadiers marched at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 in the morning to join the body under Major-Genl. Grant and to move on towards Chester. A hard North West wind and cold. Neighboring Inhabitants Coming in for Protection. At 5 o'clock this afternoon the troops with Lord Cornwallis reached Ashton¹ within 4 miles of Chester. The peasants about employed in burying the dead Rebels without our Centries, who have now become very offensive. This day the 71st Regt. took possession of Wilmington, the rebels having left 7 pieces of Cannon unspiked and also 2 Brass field pieces taken from the Hessians at Trenton. Wind still to the Northward and cold.

Sunday 14th. A detachment at 6 this morning escorted our wounded men to Wilmington by the same opportunity. An Engineer and Company & Carpenters went in order to fit up the Hospitals, &c., and this evening the noted Dr. Rush,

¹ Now Aston.

a rebel Doctor and delegate with 3 Surgeons to attend the wounded Rebels left scattered in the Houses about the field of Battle unattended by their Surgeons till now.¹ Wind northerly and chilly. The Courier returned with a receipt of the delivery of a letter from the General to Lord Howe, delivered near the head of Elk to the Cornwallis, an armed vessel. Thirteen rebel prisoners and deserters sent into this camp by Lord Cornwallis. Dry weather & very favourable for the wounded. Persons during the Campaign constantly employed under the Chief Engineer² in surveying the roads the Army marches and their Encampments, &c., and fields of battle.

15th. Wind N. E. and raw. Lord Cornwallis who is advanced, sent several waggon loads of flour to this army. Came in two more Rebel Surgeons to dress their wounded and two more on the road, coming in. Arrived 2 light Horse deserted from the rebel army at Philadelphia, also deserted to us, one Willis a Rebel Captain of Grenadiers. A heavy cannon fire heard in the Delaware most of this morning. Prisoners taken, found in the woods, that could not escape. The rebel wounded sent off to the Turk's Head Tavern³ 5 miles from Dilworth, Except Doctor Delegate Rush. The Commander in Chief went with his Escort only of Dragoons to Lord Cornwallis' Post $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile west of Chester. At 4 o'clock P. M. learnt that the rebel army which had crossed the Schuylkill at Philadelphia had repassed it to this side of Levering's Ford and were pursuing the road to Lancaster.

¹ Washington, in a letter to Genl. Howe dated from "Head Quarters of the Army" September 13th, 1777, appoints, agreeably to the permission accorded, Doctors Rush, Leiper, and Latimer and Mr. Willet, a mate in the Hospital, with their attendants, and also adds Doctors Way and Coats to the Surgeons. Dr. Benjamin Rush was not a delegate to Congress at the time of the battle of Brandywine, but Physician General of the Middle Department.

² Engineers in 1777-8—Captain Montrésor, Capt. Moncrief, Lt. Pitts, Lt. Sutherland, Lt. Haldane, Lt. Tyers (Guides), Captain Nichol, Lt. Hart 46th, Lt. Munro 42nd, Lt. Sproule 16th, Ensign Wheeler 55th, Ensign Valency 16th.

³ Now West Chester. The old tavern, modernized, is still standing.

This night at 8, the body with Lord Cornwallis moved from near Chester towards the Lancaster road. This day—two men were executed, one Grenadier, and one light Infantry.

16th. At half past () this morning the army marched towards Lancaster by the way of the Turk's head, Goshen meeting and the sign of the Boot on the Downing Town road. At 11 o'clock we made a junction with Lord Cornwallis's Column, which immediately marched to the White Horse on Lancaster road and this column with Lt.-Genl. Kniphuysen Continued to the sign of the Boot (being Commander in Chief's Head Quarters) when they encamped owing to an Equinoxial gale at N. E. accompanied with incessant heavy rains. We fired a few shot at their Patrols of Light Horse. About 2 this afternoon we were attacked on our right Flank by a body of the Rebel army under General Wayne together with a large body of militia previous to which we heard several cannon and small arms fired in Lord Cornwallis's column. We soon drove them. The Yagers behaved admirably. The Enemy left 9 dead on the Field and a Captain wounded with a 3 pounder and since dead and we took 13 Prisoners. Our loss was only 3 wounded—with Lord Cornwallis's column the Rebel left 12 dead and 30 prisoners amongst which a Colonel and a Brigade Major. The rebels on the firing decamped and in all the rain it marched to Hasel's Ferry. This Head Quarters is at the sign of the Boot in the Township of Goshen and within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of the Township of W. Whiteland. The Boot is within 5 miles of Downing Town.¹

17th. The rain and wind continued at N. E. but not so incessant, the roads became very heavy, and the lowlands overflowed. There being but few houses and barns our troops suffered much from the weather. Several people returned from the rebels with various accounts, but in general

¹ The Boot Tavern is on the road from Chester to Downingtown, at the junction of that road and one which led to the White Horse on the old Lancaster Road. The student of the movements of the British should also consult Judge Futhey's paper on the Massacre of Paoli, PENNA. MAG., vol. i. p. 285, and S. W. Pennypacker's Annals of Phoenixville, p. 101.

agree that Washington with the gros of the Rebel army is now on the Lancaster Road between the White Horse and Downing Town, a homely Tavern on the road to Swedesford with 13 others, say 37 pieces of Cannon. Excellent intelligence from the rebel camp. The Commander-in-Chief received a letter this evening from our Ships of war, and three victualers, one at anchor in the Delaware off Chester. Rebel Camp moved from Howell's ferry in order to proceed to the Swedesford but their Express returned, not passable. So they returned and took their strong ground from the White Horse to Malins.

18th. Between 3 and 4 this morning (the Equinoxial Gale still continuing at N. East, with small rain) the Army marched from the Boot 3 miles to the White Horse where we joined Lord Cornwallis's column, halted an hour, and the whole army moved on towards Philadelphia, until we arrived at Randel Malins, being $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles further. There we struck off (the roads forking) the road to the Swedes Ford to Treduffrin, one mile beyond Howell's Tavern, being $4\frac{1}{2}$ to that Tavern and encamped one mile further, making $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles more, in all this day, Eleven miles. Lord Cornwallis's column continuing the Philadelphia Main Road from the Forks at Randel Malins¹ (which was Washington's Headquarters the night before last) which road runs nearly parallel with the Swedes Ford Road, running only one Mile from this Camp, where his Lordship formed a junction and encamped. Several shot fired during the course of this day and some prisoners taken from the rebels. Some deserters and a Light Horse. The Army passed over the rebels late encampment where they had a most favourable position being a prevailing gradual height in the valley. This night, our out Centries took a Virginia Lt. Colonel, who mistook this Camp for the rebel one. Observed 2 reconnoitring parties of the Army at a distance during the

¹ Mr. Thomas Louis Ogas, of West Chester, writes that he is informed by Mr. Jos. Eldridge, who lived many years in the vicinity, that the house very much modernized is still standing. It is situated on the Conestoga turnpike west of where it branches off from the Lancaster Road.

march. Near the $\frac{1}{2}$ of my artificers, labourers and waggoners as well as the Engineers are fallen sick with the prevailing distemper of the Fever and Ague. We found the Inhabitants in general at their Homes. Several small hills in getting to this Encampment, which made the rear long and Baggage late. The rebel dragoons took a servant and a driver at an Inhabitant's house in the rear. A man sent out discovered upwards of 3800 Barrels of Flour, Soap and Candles, 25 Barrels of Horse Shoes, several thousand tomahawks and kettles, and Intrenching Tools and 20 Hogsheads of Resin in a Barn, 3 miles from hence at the Valley Forge.¹ A detachment of 3 Companies Light Infantry went this night to possess it, the Commanding Officer of the Light Infantry had his horse shot.

19th. Wind N. W. very fine weather, which comes very seasonably to refresh the troops and dry the roads which are very sloughy about this place. The halting this day very necessary for the men and particularly for our horses. A Dragoon deserter came in. Abundance of Forage upon every plantation. The Commander-in-Chief's dispatches sent this day to Lt. Genl. Burgoyne. At 2 this afternoon Lord Cornwallis's column marched and encamped within 2 miles of French Creek at the Bull's Head and Mouth,² all upon the neighboring Height. This morning between 2 & 3 the Rebel congress precipitately abandoned Philadelphia, owing to a false alarm and proceeded to Reading. As many men have lately fallen sick, empty waggons are ordered to each of the Corps. Lt. Col. Harcourt with a party of dragoons and Light Infantry made an Excursion on the Philadelphia road and brought in 150 horses which were much wanted, got from New Town square 6 miles from hence. They took likewise one Captain, and 8 rebel prisoners. Heavy dews. Cou-

¹ See Woodman's Valley Forge, published in the Phila. *Sunday Dispatch*, 1865.

² Near and east of Pickering Creek. It was built in 1731 by W. Moore, and was the first public house in the neighborhood. An interesting account of it will be found in *Annals of Phoenixville*, p. 181.

riers constantly going towards and returning from the Enemy's Camp.

20th. Weather extremely fine. At 2 this morning the guards moved and posted themselves with the Light Infantry at the Valley Forge. Waggons employed in carrying off from the magazine there, the rebel stores. This morning 5 rebel centries fired on the Guards who took the whole. They slightly wounded 1 of our officers. This night Major Genl. Gray was detached with the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry, 42d and 44th Regts. and Sergeant and 12 of 16th dragoons to surprise 2 Brigades of near 2000 men under the command of General Wayne. Between 10 and 12 they fell in on the Rebel picket, between the Admiral Warren and the Paoli, which fired on them; they rushed in and put the whole of the picket to the Bayonet and then huzza'd which further alarmed the main body, however our troops rapidly advanced on their left, which were chiefly in their wigwams, and put between 4 or 500 of them to the Bayonet and the rest fled except about 100 that were taken prisoners, amongst which was a Major and a French officer and also 9 loaded waggons with 4 horses each, and brought off their cattle. Their General escaped and 4 pieces of Cannon through the woods. Our loss was a Captain of Light Infantry, one Sergeant, and one Private killed, and 2 dragoons and 2 Light Infantry, and 3 Battalion men wounded. This capital service, was effected without our firing a shot.¹

21st Sunday. At 5 this morning the Army moved, marched 3 miles to the Valley Forge and 2 more to Moor Hall² making 5 miles and there encamped, the weather very fine, but some few light showers. No firing during this march. We found the houses full of military stores. This country abounds with Forage, but the cattle drove off. Fevers and agues still prevail. A bridge was ordered to be made across the Schuylkill at this place where the River is 120 yards, and got in

¹ See PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. I. p. 285.

² For an account of Moore Hall and William Moore, whose residence it was, see Annals of Phoenixville, pp. 18 and 45.

great forwardness, intending to deceive the enemy. Almost every day, one or two deserters come in.

22nd. Near 2 hours before daybreak, the enemy began to make some movement to their right. At 7 Sir Wm. Erskine with the mounted and dismounted Chasseurs, one Squadron of 16th Dragoons and part of the 2nd Light Infantry patrolled up the Pottsgrove Road which leads to Reading. Weather fine, rather cold wind, frost at North West, sun crosses the line. This country abounds with forage. Inhabitants, many about Moorehall fled, being disaffected.¹ At 5 this morning the Hessian Grenadiers passed the Schuylkill at Gordon's Ford under fire of their artillery and small arms, and returned back being intended as a feint.² At the same time the Light Infantry and Grenadiers passed over the Schuylkill at Fat Land Ford without a single shot and there took post.

23rd. Just after 12 o'clock this night the whole army moved to the opposite side, on North Side of the River Schuylkill by the way of the Fatland Ford, and by 10 A. M. the whole Baggage and all had happily passed it. After the principal body had got on the North Side of the Schuylkill about 1 mile the Army halted to dry themselves and rest. At 7 A. M. they moved forward the Egypt road and continued to Norrington where Head Quarters was fixed and the whole of the Army came to their Ground by 3 o'clock P. M. Major General — covered the rear with 10 Battalions and the Chasseurs. The Front of the Army extending within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of Swedes Ford on one Philadelphia Road and $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles on the other one called the Manitawney road. During this day only a few scattering shot. We took 4 rebels Light Horse, some prisoners, waggons and 3 loads of Ammunition and some stores of Liquors. Our couriers affirm that the

¹ The sweeping statement of Washington in one of his letters to Congress (Sept. 23, 1777), that the inhabitants of this locality were "to a man disaffected" to the American side, has been generally followed without further inquiry. It is curious that directly the contrary statement should be made by a contemporary Briton in the same words.

² Gordon's Ford was at the site of Phoenixville. Two or three men were killed in this engagement. See *Annals of Phoenixville*, p. 106.

Rebel army principally retreated to Reading. On leaving the ground of our last Encampment we set fire to the Valley Forge and destroyed it.¹ The Enemy abandoned the Swedes Ford and left two 18 Pounders on the works then loaded but not spiked. An Excellent day for marching, cool and pleasant. About 9 this night our pickets in the rear fired a few shot at some skulking rebels.

24th. Weather delightful. Four or 5 shot exchanged between our foraging parties and the rebels about 9 this morning. Early this morning our pickets in the rear fired at some straggling rebels. This Township of Norrington is very rebellious. All the manufactures about this country seem to consist of Powder, Ball, Shot and Cannon, firearms, and swords. The Army halted this day.

25th. Wind fresh at N. N. East. The whole marched in 2 columns and arrived at Germantown, being Eleven miles, marched through a great deal of wood land and some stony ground. All the afternoon and night heavy rain and hard wind. Towards the Town by the Frankford road. Our Light Horse took a Colonel, a principal Commissary, a captain of a Frigate, and a Captain of Light Horse, and 2 or 3 of his men.

26th. At half past Eight this morning Lord Cornwallis with the two Battalions of British Grenadiers and Hessian Grenadiers, two Squadrons of sixteenth dragoons and artillery with the Chief-Engineer, Commanding officer of Artillery, Quartermaster and Adjutant-General marched and took possession of the city of

PHILADELPHIA

at 10 the same morning amidst the acclamation of some thousands of the inhabitants mostly women and children. After the necessary guards were fixed, the Troops were posted as follows, the Hessian Grenadiers to the North of the city, the East Battalion British Grenadiers at the Bettering House, &c., fronting out from the centre of the city, and the 1st Battalion British Grenadiers at the Shipyard, to the South of the City, form-

¹ Woodman's Valley Forge.

ing a semi-circle, and covering the whole. At the same the Engineers with working parties constructed 2 Batteries and marked out a 3d along the waters edge with 6 medium 12 Pounders and 4 Royal Howitzers to prevent the Enemy's fleet repairing up the River or annoying the city. Took a Lieut. of the rebel Gallies prisoner. Fine weather. Wind at N. and fresh. This day a large party of the Enemy unperceived attacked the Queen's Rangers, shot the sentry and another, but were repulsed with great alertness, one of their Lieutenants we found dead on the field. This day myself and servant near being taken at Gloucester Point by the enemy's galley stationed there whilst I was reconnoitering. A messenger sent yesterday to acquaint our Fleet at Chester that we were in possession of Philadelphia.

27th. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, wind at the West. Two of the Rebel Frigates and 5 row Gallies came up with the Tide with orders to lay as close to the City as possible, and cannonade it in order to drive the King's Troops out. Fortunately the 2 lower Batteries were just completed as they approached us within cannon shot, when we opened upon them and the artillery being extremely well directed their best Frigate the Delaware which got somewhat aground, stuck to us and one of the Gallies having her foremast carried away run ashore at New Jersey directly opposite to our Batteries. The other Frigate and 4 Gallies in great haste put about and went back to the Fort. This Frigate has 24 Twelve pounders, and 6 Nine pounders with 150 men. She had but one man killed and 6 wounded. She was 2 or 3 times on fire owing to one of our shot having drove through her caboose, it not being easily extinguished was also owing to one of our Royal Howitzers having burst within her near the bows. Captain Moncrief and the carpenters principally on board the Frigate to extinguish the Fire by cutting away parts of her side. Learnt by deserters from the Rebel Fleet that the Galley drove ashore on the Jersey side had 4 men killed and 6 wounded.¹ We found in this city about 50 Boats of all sorts

¹ For note on capture of the *Delaware*, see PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. I. p. 9.

and procured a Durham boat from Frankford creek that will hold 100 men. The Boats of the Ferries secured, accounts received that Lord Howe and the Fleet were within the Light House. This afternoon began to reconnoitre the heights near this city, for forming the defense of it, by Field Works, running from the Schuylkill to the Delaware rivers.¹ This I was given to understand was our present grand object. Some party of the Enemy attacked the Queen's rangers, killed one man and wounded three officers, but were immediately drove back with some loss. The Commander-in-Chief entered the city and returned. I attended him and settled for the payment of the Inhabitants that could be procured to work. Allowance 8 Shillings a day to four and eight pence per day.

28th Sunday. As cold as in the beginning of November. Wind at N. E. and fresh. Lt. Colonel Monkton and a detachment of 600 Grenadiers crossed the Schuylkill Ferry to escort some sailors sent by the Roebuck to man the rebel Frigate. The Commander-in-Chief entered this city and returned to his Head Quarters at Stenton near Germantown. Early this morning I begun on fixing the Situation for forming a chain of redoubts for the defence of this city. This afternoon I attended Lord Cornwallis in viewing the Position I had fixed on for the works, extending along the heights from Delaware to Schuylkill, North of the city. Finished the North Battery, near Kensington. Several guns small arms, &c. discovered, also quantities of ammunition, Intrenching Tools, &c. Found at daylight this morning that the Galley had got off and returned to the Rebel Fleet. M. Duché,² minister was put in Jail for having been concerned

¹ It has been generally supposed that it was not until after the battle of Germantown that Howe decided to fortify himself in Philadelphia, but from the following it appears that preparations were made for that end as soon as he took possession of the city. Colonel Nicolas's map of the English Lines near Philadelphia is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A description of them will be found in *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. IV. p. 181.

² A sketch of the Rev. Jacob Duché, by Rev. Edward D. Neill, will be found in *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. II. p. 58.

in the Rebellion. Deserted to us this morning a Sloop with 2 guns and 30 armed men. Also several deserters and a Trumpeter of Rebel Light Horse. Deserted to us 30 armed men with a Galley which they run ashore below Gloucester Point, while their Captain was gone for Orders.

29th. Wind at N. E. and very cold. The detachment of Grenadiers returned from towards Chester and escorted safe the seamen sent by Captain Hammond of the Roebuck, consisting of one Lieut., 2 midshipmen, and 50 men, and a few hours after arrived 14 more seamen. Several persons concerned were apprehended and confined in the Jail. A Proclamation dated yesterday was issued this day by the Commander-in-Chief, signifying no further indulgences to Rebels, all former proclamations being now void. Engineers begun to mark out the defences. Large quantities of small arms discovered; also more Cannon. Several new discoveries of Boats. Several desertions from the Rebel Army.

Transmitted to my friend Boddington, copies and Triplicates of my public accounts, as my Controul, in case of Enquiries or Retrospections for the conduct of the Expenditures. This night the rebels sent down 3 large Fire rafts to burn some of our Ships of war who kept a smart cannonade upon them, but being too late in the tide, returned with the Flood to their own Shipping, came in three dragoons from the rebels.

October 1st, Wednesday. Wind stiff to the North. Weather extremely pleasant. The 2nd Battalion Grenadiers returned but with little cattle. Several deserters from the rebels came by 4s and 6s. Several Scows, Flat Boats and others found and brought to Town that were laid hid in the marshes and several from Windmill Island and two Field carriages complete.

2nd. Weather vastly fine. Foggy mornings. Heavy cannonade down the river at 9 o'clock A. M. About 50 deserters chiefly from General Wayne's brigade. Wind S. S. W. The Delaware Rebel Frigate removed to the North Battery. A few of the Inhabitants made a kind of beginning at the Redoubt this afternoon. At 10 this morning signed the order for Provisions for 340 Inhabitants to work on the redoubts.

Not yet attended the work. This return dated October 1st and ending 4th both inclusive.

3rd. The mornings very foggy, but the weather fine. Inhabitants went to work this morning. But 300 men though signed for 340 days provisions. Regulated the Foreman to the workmen. This evening as the day was closing 2 Skiffs were brought to Schuylkill Ferry (the Rebels on our arrival having broke the canoe on the opposite side) as an officer and 20 Grenadiers were to escort myself, Captain Moncrief and Brigade Major Ferrington to ascertain the distances to the shipping and Forts, though dark, however, these boats would contain but myself and 5 Grenadiers, who were first over and the other Captain Moncrief and 4 Grenadiers. The Rebels abandoned the Island as did their Hospital.

4th. As the day was breaking and during our Reveille beating, our Pickets were unexpectedly attacked by the rebel army, &c.¹ A Flag of truce sent out to the Enemy for surgeons for their wounded. During the action of this day, the countenances and actions of many of the Inhabitants of Philadelphia were rather rebellious and seem to indicate their wish for the rebels to regain the city.

5th Sunday. Weather extremely fine but hot and dry. One captain, 2 subalterns, and 30 of Royal artillery detached this day to Chester, to bring to Philadelphia two 8 inch Howitzers, and two Eight Inch Mortars, if no Howitzers then another mortar of 10 Inch. A Battalion of Grenadiers and the 23rd or Welsh Fusileers went at the same time to escort them, accounts received from the Lower Chevaux des frizes that our ships of war had weighed them under cover of their ships, and 200 men of the 71st Regiment now in possession of the fort at Billingsport. Sixty deserters from the Rebels.

6th. Weather very warm. Wind S. W. 30 deserters from the rebel army, who left it yesterday at the 29th milestone

¹ For the particulars relating to the Battle of Germantown, Captain Montrésor relies on a cutting from a Philadelphia newspaper and refers to a "letter of Washington's to Congress of Oct. 5, 1777, from camp near Pennebacker's Mill." The reader can also consult the address by Dr. Lambdin, P. A. MAG., Vol. I. p. 368.

from this city. Washington's Headquarters at the Trap;¹ a large body at Perkioming creek, and another at Skippack. This night returned the escort with Provisions and Artillery from Chester, and the 42d and 10th Regt. two 8 inch Bran Mortars, two 8 inch Bran Howitzers, and 400 eight inch Shells, and 500 Barrels of Pork. This night almost a continued cannonade between the Enemies Row Galleys and our Ships of war, between Fort Island and Chester. Arrived an Agent of Transports from Lord Howe's Fleet having left them off the Capes in a hard gale of wind. Scattering parties of the rebels fired at our outposts this night but were repulsed.

7th. Wind W. S. W. The weather extremely hot for the season. Early this morning an account of Lord Howe, and the fleet being certainly in the Delaware. The 23d Regt. marched from Philadelphia to Camp at Germantown. An Engineer and 100 Grenadiers proceeded this morning to reconnoitre Province Island for fixing of Mortars and 8 inch Howitzers. Some deserters from the Enemy. In the evening the rebels pushed 2 Galleys in the mouth of the Schuylkill which obliged the detachment with the Engineers to return to Philadelphia by Gray's Ferry. Gallies fired and the Fort together one hundred Shot at us. Dispatches arrived at Head Quarters from New York by Chester.

8th. Weather remarkably fine and favourable for our wounded men. Wind West. Several deserters from the enemy. Hurley an ensign and adjutant and deserter from the 44th Regiment when at Boston (after having been tried by a Court Martial) was executed this morning in the Artillery Camp. This night at Sundown we made a Battery of No. 2 Medium 12s at the N. side of the mouth of Schuylkill; before it was finished 3 rebel Galleys came to their usual station at the mouth and hearing our workmen, fired grape

¹ This is an error, Washington's headquarters were at Pennybecker's Mill on the Perkiomen. The journal of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D.D., of the Trap, covering the period that a portion of the American Army was at that place is published in the collections of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., Vol. I. p. 147. Phila. 1853.

3 inch shot, which we did not return, until our Battery was completed. The 10th Regiment marched from Camp to assist as a working party, this night but the boats in the morning from Gray's Ferry coming to Province Island Ferry were taken by the rebels and the people wounded and another attempt in the Evening failed owing to the lateness of the tide. The artillery moved this Evening to Schuylkill Ferry a two medium 12 pounder, two 8 inch Howitzers, and 2 Eight Inch mortars, and 100 rounds to each, 400 Fascinis, and pickets to Plank timber and Tools, and a Detachment of Three hundred Grenadiers and one Field 6 Pounder.

9th. Wind at E. & S. E. A very heavy rain particularly this afternoon insomuch as to prevent the working and covering parties from proceeding to Province Island. Nine Rebel Galleys attacked our Battery of 2 medium 12 pounders but were beaten back. We lost one Grenadier killed, three wounded and a waggoner and two Horses killed. This evening on the turning of the tide two Brigs and a floating Battery moved up between Little Mud Island and Fort Island. The Fort this day apprehensive of our having taken port on Province Island fired from the Fort on it from 7 to 8 o'clock A. M. Accounts from General Clinton having proceeded from New York up Hudson's River with a considerable body of Troops to co-operate with General Burgoyne from whom some favourable accounts have been likewise received at Head Quarters. Several deserters came in.

10th. A keen North Wester. Weather delightful but cool. This night the Engineers constructed a battery unperceived, the battery 250 yards from the enemy's floating battery, and 500 yards West of the Fort on a dyke in an overflowed meadow. Advanced Lieutenant Sproule for the Inhabitants working on Redoubts—Thirty guineas out of my own pocket. The above, or Middle Battery, constructed on Carpenter's Island, for one 8 inch Howitzer, and one Eight inch mortar. Begun our first Battery against Mud Island, but not before on account of the extensive works in Town, Bridge across the Schuylkill, the reason for very heavy rains and overflow of the Delaware, and in making good such Breaches of the

several dykes as immediately affected the attacks and that by the Carpenters in the Engineers Department assisted by the Detachment.

11th. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 this morning the rebels landed about 180 men near the battery built last night, and advanced and summoned it and the Captain of the 10th delivered it up, with his detachment of 50 men and two officers and a medium Bran 12 Pounder and 4 artillery men, which was retaken immediately by Captain James Moncrief Engineer and 50 Hessians, recovered the gun unspiked and all the detachment except 2 subalterns, 5 grenadiers and 2 artillery men. During this day the Rebels fired 3000 Cannon Shot at this battery from the instant day broke. The Troops being few and harassed no work this night. This morning cold and white frost.

12th Sunday. Weather delightful. At 11 o'clock this morning about 500 Rebels landed in the front and 2 flanks of the Battery with Bayonets fixed (previous to which they shelled it with a very heavy cannonade, from the Fort, Floating Batteries and Gallies) our detachment of 50 men $\frac{1}{2}$ Hessians $\frac{1}{2}$ British under a Hessian Captain; received them with a well directed fire of musketry, the attack for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, the rebels concealing themselves under the Dyke and behind trees and bushes, in the mean time Major Gardiner with 50 Grenadiers moved from his post to outflank the rebels and the battery, which he succeeded in by the rebels taking to their boats, during which the detachment of the battery kept up a smart fire. We lost 2 British and 2 Hessian Grenadiers and 3 British wounded. The rebels took their killed and wounded off in their boats under their own Fire.

13th. Wind S. W. and delightful weather. The redoubts for the defence of Philadelphia continued on, though slowly, as none but Inhabitants are employed on it, and that at 8 shillings per day and Provisions. This morning the Batteries could have opened on the enemy but for the battery intended on the right which could not be begun on account of the clearness of the night. For the working and covering parties this night, 400 men. Deserters daily come in. This night

I began a battery on the point of Province Island at the Post houses for 2 Iron Eighteen Pounders. Large quantities of Forage collected and brought in the neighborhood of the city by the Commissary General, artillery, &c. &c.

14th. Wind at N. W. fine weather. Working party and covering for this night 500 men. Continued on the Post House Battery and completed it during the course of this night. Also began on a new Battery to the right and finished it,¹ raised and thickened the middle Battery. The night very fine for work but too clear. Enemies send boats cruising, but we continued undiscovered. Some deserters came in. The Vigilant armed ship advanced early this morning and fired at the Rebel Fort. This night the rebels employed their Boats in loading their stores, &c., at Red Bank, where they have a Fort which they are now employed in strengthening.

15th. As soon (after daybreak) as the Fog was dispelled which was about 7 o'clock the 4 Batteries under my direction opened upon the rebel Fort and marine, the former we discovered to be nearly abandoned and the latter weighed and sheered off, excepting one Floating battery of 18 Eighteen Pounders which continued about 1 hour and changed her position more distant. Our batteries were as follows:—

Battery on the north side of Schuylkill Point,	2 medium 12 Pounders
do. at the Post Houses . . .	2 rebel Iron 18 do.
do. Middle (battery) 1	Eight inch Howitzer and one 8 inch mortar.
do. Night do. do. do. do.	do. do.

During the course of our firing one rebel iron 18 pounder burst, while I was on the Post House Battery and killed one artillery man and wounded 3 more. Could observe an additional vessel of our Fleet added to the Roebuck and Vigilant now at anchor off of Little Tinnicum Island. The two Batteries on the Right continued to throw a shell or Howitzer about every $\frac{1}{2}$ hour during the course of the night. Wind this day chiefly S. W. weather charming.

16th. At nine this morning a Court Martial sat for the

For one 8 inch Howitzer and 1 Eight inch mortar 600 yds from Fort.

trial of such persons as were thought to have misbehaved on the 11th Inst. in surrendering to the enemy the middle battery on Carpenter's Island. Wind at N. E. but delightful weather. Fired some Red hot shot out of the Howitzers to set fire to the barracks. The lightness of our Artillery and the shortness of our ammunition not making that instant impression the Commander-in-Chief wished and expected he this day at 1 o'clock altered his present Plan. Guards for the Batteries at and near Province Island, 360 men. Observation by the Commander-in-Chief, respecting the reducing of Mud Island Fort, "That 3 weeks were now elapsed and nothing done." Quere? Whether that might not be related (with submission) to him, about his staying so far away at Germantown?

17th. Weather cold and raw and cloudy. Wind E. N. E. About noon 7 Deserters came off from the Fort in an excellent Barge. This day principally employed in my department in transporting the materials for the Bridge of Schuylkill at Gray's Ferry together with its boats. Shell and Howitzers continue from the battery at the rate of 10 every 24 hours. The 2 medium 12 Pounders brought back from the redoubt at the Battery at the Post Houses. Obligated to take the peasantry from the redoubts to load material.

18th Wind at N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. weather extremely fine. The utmost preparation making to forward the Bridge at Gray's Ferry across the Schuylkill. The detachment from Wilmington and last from Chester, arrived on the opposite side at 2 o'clock P. M. The Tide surprisingly high. Wind this afternoon Southerly. With the detachment arrived the Engineer with it and another recovered of his wounds. The overflow of the meadows is such that the tide is rather over the platform of the right and middle Batteries and Boats pass from Ferry House to Blakely's. Wrote to the Honorable Board. The detachment of yesterday from Wilmington brought 500 convalescents. Arrived Lord Rawdon with dispatches from General Clinton of his having stormed Forts Montgomery and Clinton, killed 100 and took 300 rebels with the loss of 156 killed and wounded on our side.

19th. A thick fog, weather very fine. The Commander-in-Chief with the army marched from Germantown to the heights North of Philadelphia extending from the river Delaware to the Schuylkill $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and encamped in the rear of the 10 redoubts. I am now constructing a kind of communication now kept up with the Fleet by the way of Province Island and Bow Creek. The cannon from the Fort damaging our Right Battery. Obligated to repair them at night.

20th. Wind S. W. and the weather remarkably warm. At 4 this morning 12 Flat bottomed Boats and a whale boat arrived at Philadelphia from our Fleet after receiving abundance of Grape from the Fort and 2 Gallies below without any injury until they arrived near our Battery two medium 12 pounders, on the North point of Schuylkill where they were fired on (that Garrison not being apprized) and lost one seaman. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 this morning, the Engineers finished the Floating Bridge across Schuylkill upwards of 400 feet. Rebels fired a feu de joie from the Fort and Ships, &c.¹ Commander-in-Chief visited the works. An officer and 6 mounted Jagers patrolling near the Falls of Schuylkill were met by a troop of Rebel Horse and obliged to fly having one killed, but Plunket their Captain pursuing too far fell in with one of our Pickets and was wounded and taken with another. Arrived in the night as far as Blakely's House a 13 inch mortar and this night made greatest put of its battery about 350 yards from the Rebel Fort. Communication open with the Fleet from the Batteries to Bow Creek, the road to Blakely's House. The effect of these Batteries were answered by driving off the Rebel Floating Batteries and Gallies and opening a kind of communication with our Fleet, they were also intended to annoy the Fort and set fire to the Buildings, which did not take place for the Instant the shells fell, they were immersed in the mire, that work being constructed in and on the mud.

21st. A sharp North Wester and rather cold. At 8 this morning our Troops embarked in 12 Flat bottomed Boats at

¹ On account of the news of the surrender of Burgoyne.

the North End of Philadelphia and landed on the Jersey Shore consisting of 3 Battalions of Hessians, Regiment of Mirbach and Chasseurs with all their Battalion Guns and 2 Royal Howitzers to attack the Rebels at Red Bank. On the redoubts 720 of our Troops and I discharged the peasantry. I began on the Tête de Pont on the West Side of Schuylkill with the Detachment left there 71st and 1 Battalion Hessians and 27th Regiment. Wrote to Captain McKenzie respecting my letter to the Board to return home to lay before the Commander-in-Chief. Accounts in the night that Genl. Weeden and 4000 rebels had crossed South Side of Schuylkill.

22nd. A very sharp white frost. Wind at North. Accounts that the rebels had passed a considerable body from their camp across the Schuylkill, the 10th and 28th ordered as a working party, and I began on Hamilton's House¹ opposite Gray's Ferry. The Troops continued on the Redoubts, began on damming out the waters at Province Isd. by filling up the Dykes that the rebels had cut to overflow the meadows by 11 Inhabitants from town, a skin of ice this morning just perceptible and that was all. Early this morning 8 Flat bottomed Boats arrived in the Schuylkill from the Fleet with 50 hogshheads of rum without a single shot from the enemy. At 3 o'clock P. M. the works for the tete de pont at Gray's Ferry ordered to be stopt and the Detacht. to return and the bridge to be taken up and carried to Middle Ferry. In the night recd. the acct. of the Hessians having attacked the Rebel works at Red Bank, carried their out-works and afterwards repulsed. Count Dunop wounded mortally.

23rd. Wind northerly and fresh and cold. Before day break the 27th Regt. and a Battalion of Light Infantry crossed the Delaware to reinforce and cover the Hessians who retired this afternoon to Cooper's Ferry opposite the city. The working parties instead of doing their duty by thirds, do it now by fourths. The parties entered on the redoubts.

¹ Now known as the Woodlands.

Before the Explosion of the Augustas Powder Magazine which was at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 A. M. many of the seamen jumped overboard apprehending it, some were taken up by our ships boats, but the Chaplain, one Lieutenant and 60 men perished in the water. The Augusta has got aground but not on the Chevaux de frises as did the Merlin sloop of war but nearer the Jersey shore. 200 Grenadiers were ready for the assault and had marched to the Ferry at Province Island where the Fleet Boats were ready to receive them. During the course of this mornings unfortunate manœuvre the Rebels sent down a fire raft. 2 of our ships boats towed off and 2 went ashore. Four row Gallies came down this evening from Bristol and come too behind Petty's Island about 3 miles North East of the city. This night made work for 30 men on each side of Middle Ferry house to cover the workmen making the Floating Bridge. 2 Light 12 pounders brought from the Park and fixed on a rise to secure the Bridge.

24th. Wind at N. E. and raw. Began and finished 3 Lodgments for 40 men each as a Tête de pont opposite on West Side of Schuylkill. Began this morning to lay the Bridge and Middle Ferry and I completed it this afternoon. I directed a small work to be made to cover the 2 Medium 12 pounders and the 9 Pounder at Schuylkill St.

25th. Wind at E. N. E. small rain and a thick fog. Engineers mending the causeway to Blakely's House across the meadows. Two floating Batteries begun on for carrying each two 32 pounders. This day the commander-in-chief's Proclamation of the 1st October expires.¹

26th. Wind at N. E. and thick moist weather. An Agent of Transports arrived before day from the Fleet with 24 flat bottomed boats with provisions. This evening returns leaving 8. This night went the mail for England but not yet to sail. This day the marines of the Fleet took possession again at Billingsport in New Jersey.

27th. A storm at N. E. and heavy rain. At night a mere

¹ The proclamation summoned the citizens to take the oath of allegiance on or before the 25th of October under certain penalties for neglect thereof.

Tempest. No working parties this day and indeed from the nature of this overflowed land and the heavy rains and great freshet in the Delaware retards our progress beyond description.

28th. The Tempest with rain continued. Wind at N. East. No working parties whatever this day. This morning between 6 and 7 the Commander-in-Chief's dispatches left this for England escorted to — by the two Battalions of 71st Regt. At 2 P. M. the floating Bridge at Middle Ferry was carried down the Schuylkill by the N. E. Stormy High tide and rapid stream and Ebb together. By the dispatches this day I wrote to the Board for 6 months leave or to be relieved, if not to be permitted to resign. The Schuylkill so rapid, could not depart, the Province Island Detachment. The Fresh so high in the Schuylkill as to carry off part of the wharf.

29th. The Storm continued at N. E. but neither so violent either in wind or rain. The weather too bad for work. Parties however of the seamen attempting to collect the Bridge and some carpenters squaring for another. Gallies attacked our lower Batteries with Grape but drove off. An Express went to the Fleet. One deserter came in. The Floating Batteries retarded in their building by the weather.

30th. Wind at W. N. W. and cold the weather very clear. Returned the messenger that was sent to Genl. Burgoyne from Treduffrin who could not succeed. Boats from the Fleet with Provisions and Rum. Ground too wet to go on with the works. This night the Rebels set fire to several of our boats that formed our Bridge at Middle Ferry and were carried away to the opposite shore.

31st. Wind at N. W. weather very fine. The Boats that attempted coming up from our Fleet towards 2 A. M. were fired on by the Rebel Gallies and returned back. A Battery of Light Infantry went $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles on Germantown road and saw no Rebels. Repossessed the Tête de pont at the Middle Ferry over Schuylkill without opposition. Knocked off one of the rebel's thighs with a cannon shot. Our party 60 Inhabitants this day and 30 more at night. Arrived this morn-

ing a Lieut. of the 62d Regiment from Lt. Genl. Burgoyne with a pass from Gates. A rebel General sent to the Commander-in-Chief here with an account of the Convention, with an account that our Northern army had lain down their arms, were on the march to Boston and there to Embark for England in Transports to be sent there from us and not to serve during the rebellion.

November 1st. 1777. Wind N. somewhat Easterly but Extreme fine weather. Flat boats brought up Provisions and 3 twenty four Pounders, Iron. Rebels fire across at people as they ride on the Banks of the Schuylkill. Two hundred of the Rebels employed in cutting up the road to Bow Creek¹ and breaking down the dam to overflow us.²

Sunday 2nd. A thick fog, Wind at S. E. weather extremely fine with a white Frost. A working party ordered of 200 men but Countermanded by the Commander-in-Chief lest it should bring on the Fire on the Boats expected up from the Fort this night. Rebels fired a few shot at our detachment, at Tête de pont. A deserter came in.

3rd. Wind at West and very fine weather. Early in the morning generally foggy. Came up about 3 this morning Provisions and three 24 Pounders in Boats. This day General orders Contain the Convention or rather Capitulation of Genl. Burgoyne's army. At 9 o'clock at night began on a Battery for six 24 pounders. Daily working parties from the Troops continue on the redoubts.

4th. Wind at West the day delightful. The mud Battery fired at our Shipping without effect. The Ship with the Rebel Commodore was struck by a shot from one of our

¹ It empties into the Delaware at the lower end of Hog Island, and is one of the boundaries of Philadelphia. Its position will be found on the map of Operations in the Delaware. Writings of Washington, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 136.

² November 1st. we are just now an army without provisions a Rum artillery for Beseiging, scarce any ammunition, no clothing, nor any money. Somewhat dejected by Burgoyne's capitulation, and not elated with our late manœuvres as Dunop's repulse and the Augustas and Merlin being burnt and to compleat all, Blockaded. (From note book of Captain Montrésor.)

medium 12 pounders and their fleet hauled nearer the Jersey shore. The Battery began in last night left and changed to the Front Dam 90 yards nearer the Delaware. Boats come up from the Fleet with regimental Baggage and their Quarter Master.

5th. Wind at West morning hazy. Weather very warm and fine. Began on another floating bridge across the Schuylkill at Middle Ferry formed by Logs. Arrived this morning before daylight our Flat Boats from the Fleet with Provisions. Rain all the afternoon and night. The Commander-in-Chief visited Province Island and Carpenter's Island and the batteries and other works thereon. The rebels opened a Battery of two Guns, near Manto Creek against our shipping which was returned by them. Rebel Gallies at the same time went down and fired on the Fleet and were beat back. The Battery on the Front dam being found too miry this night the working party continued on the work of the night before last. This morning the Detachment on Province Island relieved by the twenty Seventh and the twenty eighth Regiment.

6th. Wind at W. and the greatest part of this day Rain. Arrived before daylight Boats from the Fleet with Provisions. Working party of 200 men Continued on the six twenty four Pounders Battery at Province Island. The weather too wet for the Troops to work on the redoubts. Two deserters came in from the Rebel Camp. Quarter Master General received orders to fix our Quarters near this city, intended for 10.000 men. Gun powder found lodged in the Chimnies in this city by the Rebels.

7th. Wind at N. W. weather very fine but cold. Boats come up from the Fleet before daylight with Provisions, Rum and 100 Barrels of Powder. Working party of 200 men continued on the Battery for six twenty four Pounders. Parties on the redoubt from the Line.

8th. Wind N. W. weather very fine. Boats happily got up again from our Fleet. Brought up 20 anchors for the Bridge. Provisions and 5000 Guineas for the Army. Rained all the afternoon and heavily all the night, which impeded

our work. Our light horse attacked 2 Squadron of the rebels Light Horse and drove them, took their Major and a French officer and some horses and a Dragoon.

Sunday 9th. Wind N. W. weather delightful. Finished this night a 2nd Redoubt near Blakely's House. Could not open our Battery this morning owing to the badness of the weather last night. Accounts received of the arrival of our reinforcements from New York. Some seamen deserted to us.

10th. Morning damp and thick. Wind at S. W. at 7½ A. M. *We opened our Batteries against Mud Island Fort*, the whole consisting of two 32 pounders, six 24 pounders Iron, one 18 pounder, two 8 inch Howitzers, two 8 inch mortars, and one 13 inch mortar for throwing pound shot and carcasses. Rebels from 2 Batteries fired 5 gun all silenced by noon except one which was not silenced at dark. Afternoon, began to rain with a gust at S. W. and continued raining most of this night. Notwithstanding began on fortifying Blakely's house. Bridge across Schuylkill at Middle Ferry passable for Horse and foot. Two of our men killed and one wounded by the rebels cannon shot. One Grenadier, 1 artilly man killed on our battery. Directions on our batteries to fire 80 rounds each Gun.

11th. A West N. West wind and as cold as in the depth of winter. A white frost and the ice ½ an Inch thick. All the ordnance except the two 8 inch Howitzers which was slightly disabled. Deserters to us some seamen from the Rebel ships. One artillery Sergeant killed in our Battery, which continued firing all day and blew up the Centre Block House in the Fort. The Batteries repaired in the night. One corporal killed and 2 Sergeants wounded at Blakely's House being in the line of Fire. An 18 pounder the rebels weighed from the wreck of the Augusta, burst in firing it at our Batteries from Red Bank, killed 1 and wounded 8 in the N. E. stockade. Bridge across Middle Ferry Schuylkill finished. This night at high water at 10 arrived 2 Brigs and 2 sloops loaded with Provisions and ammunition which supplies the army with provisions 3 weeks to come.

(To be continued.)

THE GERMAN ALMANAC OF CHRISTOPHER SAUER.

BY ABRAHAM H. CASSEL, OF HARLEYSVILLE, PA.

Long before the arrival of the German printing press, the great desideratum of the German colonists in America was an almanac in their own language. To illustrate the assertion I will mention a few facts: 1st. When the provincial council was held in Philadelphia, about the year 1735, there was so much uncertainty about the time that many members came a week before the appointed time; those from a distance remained at the expense of the government, while the others returned and came again the week following. 2d. A member of the Dutch Reformed Church—a sister well known for her exemplary piety and regular attendance at the house of worship—was missing on a certain Sabbath from her accustomed seat, to the great surprise of a neighbor woman, who thought there must certainly be something the matter to account for her vacant seat. She, therefore, went to her good neighbor's house to ascertain the facts, when, on opening the door, she found her busily engaged at the wash-tub, not knowing that it was the Lord's day. 3d. A preacher by the name of Rittenhouse one Sabbath, while on the way to his charge, espied some men at a distance busily engaged in rolling and hauling logs. He rode up to them to reprove them for their Sabbath breaking, and judge of their surprise on being told that it was the Lord's day, and that he was even now on his way to church, etc.

Therefore, when the printing office was established at Germantown, numerous requests were made to Christopher Sauer, and renewed, until, in compliance, he published his first almanac in August, 1738. A copy of this is now lying before me. Its external aspect is similar to the 4to. almanac of the present day. It consisted of three sheets, or twelve leaves, had no outside title leaf or cover, and the calculations or months followed in close succession on both sides of the page, without

any intermediate reading. The phases of the moon, etc., were at the bottom of the pages, and the conjectures of the weather were interspersed throughout the calculations. In this way the almanac proper occupied only six leaves, or twelve pages, the remainder was occupied with very interesting reading matter, chiefly of a physiological and hygienic character, in very simple language, and with many striking illustrations for the benefit and instruction of the, at that time, lamentably ignorant public, which he purposed to serve in every possible way and manner. Also an account of the eclipses, etc., a record of the colonial and provincial courts and fairs, a chronology of important events, tables of high roads and distances, a ready-reckoned interest table, and a list of books sent to him on commission from Frankfort-on-the-Main; besides several other advertisements, etc., and thus was the first German almanac ever published in America completed.

The succeeding copies were similar in their outward construction until 1743, when he enlarged it to four sheets, or sixteen leaves, and designed and engraved a highly emblematical plate for the outside or cover. Besides many other figures, which I shall not attempt to describe or elucidate—it contained a flying angel. In one hand he held a wand entwined with two serpents, and in the other a large flag-like scroll with some illegible inscription upon it. As it was a first attempt at engraving, the execution thereof was (as might be expected) coarse and rough, although well designed. Still he shifted with it until 1759, when it had become so defaced from its excessive use as scarcely to show what it meant to represent. Then, with the assistance of an apprentice, Justus Fox, he re-engraved and somewhat improved it, and added different mottoes in the scroll consistent with, or in reference to, the forebodings of the times. That of 1759 had on it "*Krieg und Kriegs geschrey*," i. e., wars and rumors of war. That of 1765 had "*Kümerliche Zeiten*," i. e., perilous times. That of 1767 had "*Hoffnung besserer Zeiten*," i. e., hopes of better times, etc. These mottoes he would fre-

quently change so as to suit the ominous aspect of the times, either for better or worse as its signs might indicate.

He continued it with four sheets until 1748. The public became so interested with the reading matter, and he so anxious to serve them with whatever he thought useful, that he added a half sheet of four pages, filled chiefly with medical advice and other useful receipts, which were so well received and so duly appreciated as soon to encourage the addition of another half sheet for the year 1750 (and as physicians were very scarce and distant in many places in the then thinly-settled country, and the community generally too poor to afford their aid and advice), his efforts, therefore, for their benefit were so highly prized as to induce the addition of another whole sheet, making a complete 4to. annual of forty-eight closely-printed pages of choice religious and practical literature, *principally of his own composition.*

Encouraged by the still increasing success, he commenced in 1762 with a regular description of all the herbs used in the whole materia medica, giving their German, English, and Latin names, their virtues, uses, etc., with practical instructions for their application in the various cases of disease, adapted to the comprehension of the most illiterate. The ground-work of this was taken from the great *German Herbal* of the illustrious Dr. Zwinger, Prof. in the University at Basil, and continued until 1778, when he completed it, and furnished it with an index, referring to the number of the almanac in which each subject was respectively treated upon. Some that did not care to preserve their old almanacs separated this portion each year, and bound together when completed, thus forming a neat volume of useful references, several of which are still in existence.

In 1763 he also commenced the publication of a Revised History of England, of which he likewise appended each year from eight to ten pages, giving a complete outline of its foundation and subsequent history to the Reformation, and a very minute detail during that eventful period down to the coronation of William and Mary, with portraits of the most prominent characters, etc. His intention was to bring it

down to the present time, but, in 1778, the Revolution broke up his establishment, which left his very interesting history unfinished at the period as above mentioned.

An almanac was something so new and so entirely unknown amongst the ignorant portion of the community, that it was looked upon as a great novelty. Many bought it without knowing its proper use or design, and, therefore, laid too much stress upon it; for from the known integrity and veracity of Mr. Sauer, they would regard and confide in it as a thing infallible. Consequently many were disappointed when they referred to their almanacs for a fair day for some particular purpose, and then found the contrary to be true. As, for instance, a man by the name of Welker, from above Sumneytown, had occasion to go to Philadelphia. So he referred to his almanac, which promised a row of fair weather. In consequence he started without a cover to his wagon, but had not gone far until it began to get cloudy, and soon to rain, and was very disagreeable. The man was sorely vexed at being thus deceived and fooled just on account of that silly "Weather Book," and thought if only he could get hold of that old Sauer, he would give him a complete reprimand for publishing such lies. So, when he came to Germantown, he stopped at the printing office somewhat in a passion to give the printer his intended lecture. But Sauer in his accustomed meekness replied: O, Friend! Friend! be not thus angry, for although it was I that made the almanac, the Lord God made the weather, etc. Whereupon the man cooled off, and went his way pretty well satisfied, especially when it soon lighted up again, and he had fair weather for the rest of his journey.

Another man who had a little journey to perform likewise referred to his almanac, and as that promised fair weather he went without his overcoat, when it also happened to rain and to be very disagreeable. He, too, stopped at the printer's to give him a severe reprimand for deceiving him so with his lying weather-book—that he was now so wet and chilly, and in danger of taking a severe cold, and all just on account of his foolish almanac, which occasioned him to leave home

without his overcoat. Sauer calmly listened until the man was done with his reproof, and then answered: "Well, friend, as you were so disappointed, I will give you a piece of good advice gratuitously, and if you follow up to that you will not have occasion to blame me so soon again, namely—always to take your 'overcoat' along whenever you leave home by fair weather—when it is foul then you may do as you like—by following this advice you will never be disappointed, and will have no occasion to blame me hereafter."

In consequence of these and similar accusations, Sauer gave an explanatory preface or prolegomena in the almanac for the year following, in which he explains what an almanac was, and what its proper uses and intents were, etc., and excuses himself as not guilty nor blamable for any of the inaccuracies or unreliability thereof, as he was not properly the almanac maker. But that he had given the very best that he could possibly procure, and goes on to tell that he had bought six of the different English almanacs, and compared them with the astrological prognostications of the heavens, and found that sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes all six, and sometimes none of them corresponded. But that he adopted the one which appeared to him as the most reliable—but found that it was with almanac-making as with all other human performances—full of frailties and imperfections, and that those who were the best astronomers and the most accurate calculators were the least competent judges of the weather, and those less competent at calculating were generally the better prognosticators. As, for instance, one of our best and most popular astronomers had failed entirely in his conjectures of the weather; while another much less accomplished one had generally conjectured very correctly, but two years ago he failed entirely concerning the eclipses, for the one which he said was here invisible was visible and total, and the other was also visible, and by several hours earlier than predicted. Thus we see that no one is perfect, and that our best endeavors are but piece-meal (*Stück-werck*), and full of weakness and imperfection.

But this year he says we procured two copies, and went to

the trouble of comparing each calculation, one with the other, so as to form one out of the two as nearly correct as may be, and we trust that as far as the rising and setting of the moon, etc., is concerned, we have not erred above a quarter of an hour, which, however, is near enough for all that may have occasion to travel by moonlight, and in regard to her phases we think it does also not depend upon several minutes. But with the rising and setting of the sun we tried to be as exact as possible—but that there is not an error of a minute or so, we will not guarantee. The prognostication of the weather is only conjecture, and yet not altogether accidental or casual, for much of it may be foretold by a proper observation of the signs in the heavens, from the aspect of the moon, stars, etc. To illustrate it, and, in order to make it comprehensible to the illiterate, he employs several very curious figures or parables.

In the compilation of his almanac he was very conscientious about inserting the names of the saints, or saint days as they are generally called, which occupy the margin of our 4to. almanacs. 1st. Because they were of Popish origin, and might have a tendency for evil rather than good. [While on those days they of the Romish faith were accustomed to meet in their churches to descant on their fame, and to extol their greatness, goodness, holiness, etc.; how they had labored, suffered, and died, and of the mighty works and miracles that they had done, etc., whereby they idly entertained their audiences to the utter neglect of obeisance to Jesus, the great head of the church—and all they said concerning those so-called saints were, for the most part, but falsehoods and lies. And yet so apt to take with the credulous and inexperienced, as to exclude the purer truth as it is in Jesus. And while he also observed that Protestantism was ever too much inclining towards Popery, and already so much contaminated with its doctrines and usages, that he feared the insertion thereof would tend to perpetuate it rather than to check it, and, therefore, would best be omitted from the almanac.] But while many of the peasantry were so accustomed to refer to their almanacs for some particular saint's day when a cer-

tain work was to be done, or when this or that seed should be sown and planted, that they would scarcely have known when to sow clover, or how to plant their potatoes without them; he, therefore, inserted them, in the hope that while the people were so irreligious and so indisposed to worship anything save their mammon, that it might do no harm. For as many worshipped neither God nor the Son of God, they would also not worship these saints, and thus, after a good deal of reflection, he finally complied with their requests, and inserted them.

About the same time, they began to print almanacs in Germany with various fancy colors so as to show those "particular days," and the changes of the moon that were in request for this or that particular purpose, more strikingly and prominently to the eye. Therefore, Sauer was also requested by those who recently came in, to print his almanac in colors likewise, which he also attempted, and in 1748 successfully accomplished, several of which are now lying before me, so beautifully variegated with black and red as to do honor to his ingenuity in the art of color printing, which was but little known at that day.¹

In an advertisement of his first colored edition, he says "that he had printed them thus in compliance with many urgent requests for the purposes above mentioned," with remarks on the folly and absurdities of such beliefs, and that whoever laid any stress on, or placed any confidence in such days, as having a particular virtue for this or that purpose is guilty of the grossest superstition. As, for instance, when it is said that the 15th of July was the day upon which the Apostles dispersed to go into all the world to preach the gospel to every creature, and that it was, therefore, the proper day to "disperse" or to destroy bugs and lice, is very superstitious indeed, and no intelligent man—no, not even in Rome

¹ A part of the colored edition was also interleaved with white blank paper to facilitate the farmers and others in keeping their rural memoranda, which was very customary at that time. I have several specimens in which the minutest circumstances and transactions are noted down.—A. H. C.

itself, will believe it any more, and thus it is with all the rest of those reputable days.

As the colored edition required a much finer and better quality of paper, it was subjected to a higher price, which gave occasion to a good deal of dissatisfaction from those who did not value it, which obliged him the next year to print also a plain edition for the usual price, which was nine pence, the colored being a shilling apiece. But the year following he printed them all on the same paper and for the same price, and thus he continued to do until 1754, when he printed the last colored edition. "Because (as he says) there are but so very few who value it, we are, therefore, not inclined to print any more with red ink hereafter, but will rather reduce the price a penny apiece, or a shilling at the dozen—at which price he continued to sell them until 1762, when he was obliged to put them down to six shillings a dozen to compete with the other almanac publishers, who began to flood the country with their productions, among whom Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Gothard and Anton Armbrüster were the most successful. The latter also published a very beautiful edition in colors as early as 1760 if not earlier, whose columns also were well filled with a continuation of original sketches from American history, especially of the first settling of the several colonies, and of the earliest discoveries of the western territories, etc., which, on account of the great scarcity of such computations, were deemed very valuable at that time, and it is doubtful whether the world has produced a more interesting annual than Sauer's and Armbrüster's almanacs were—the former on account of its herbology and hygienic instructions, besides the very interesting sketches of English history, and the latter for its American history, and other articles which were calculated to instruct as well as interest.

Another interesting feature of Sauer's almanac was his extensive correspondence with many of the most prominent characters both of Europe and America, from which he would cull largely for an article in the form of a dialogue between an inhabitant and an emigrant on subjects of political and domestic economy, as also on that of vital Godliness, replete

with pious instructions and occasional reflections, which was continued for a number of years, or until 1757, when it was intimated by some that they would rather have narratives and other descriptive facts from history in the place of it, whereupon he changed it into the garb of historical reminiscences, but still in the conversational form between *Albertus* and *Christian*, in which character it was continued until 1760, when it was crowded out to make room for his great herbology.

In 1751 he received information that the British Parliament was about passing an Act for changing the commencement of the year, and the correction of the calendar, and soon after he saw in an English newspaper that the King had signed ninety-five bills, among which was the aforesaid Act. He, therefore, delayed his almanac until this Act could reach this country, so as to make it correspond correctly with the new arrangements—for previously the year commenced on the 25th of March instead of January 1st, and was also eleven days short of true solar time.

But notwithstanding the Act had already on Wednesday, the 22d of May, received the royal assent, it had not been received here yet on October 1st, when he says in an editorial, “that thus far nothing could be done at the almanac, as he was still kept in suspense for the arrival of the Act to know what changes and alterations were to be made,” and says “that he feared if it should tarry long yet that many might wish to celebrate their Christmas when the new year had already commenced, these would then fall too badly short.”

Therefore, seeing that it was getting very late, he concluded to print the latter part, which at that time consisted of four sheets, so as to have it speedily completed when the Act should be received. (Accordingly, he began to prepare the articles to make up the forms, and when just completed he received a very valuable communication in relation to Indian affairs from the justly celebrated Conrad Weiser for insertion. But as the forms were all made up, and just ready to be struck off, he could give it no place any more for that year, and as Mr. Weiser wished to have his manuscript back

again, Sauer answered immediately, thanked him politely for his kindness, and explained the circumstances why not inserted, but that they were equally fit for the newspaper or calendar, and that he would copy it and return him the original with the next parcel.)

But while thus engaged the Act came, but likewise too late to give it a place in the almanac, and yet anxious to have it public to explain the new arrangements, on that account he published that week's paper on a double sheet, and gave besides the Act a short historical account thereof, and a preface under date of October 16, 1751.

As my chapter on the almanac is already too long, I will not enter into particulars about it, but will merely state that the almanac is now lying before me, and that the eleven days short of true solar time were added to the month of September, and brought in between the 2d and 14th, as follows: counting 1st, 2d, then after 2d the jump of eleven days, making what would naturally be the 3d to be the 14th, but from thereon in the regular order again, giving to September instead of thirty days only nineteen, and to the year only 354 instead of 365.

Sauer's almanac had an unprecedented sale, and was for many years the only one in the German language, and although composed of but one set of calculations it was nevertheless so extensively sold throughout the German colonies—even in those of South Carolina and Georgia—that he was every year obliged to enlarge his edition, and yet frequently fell short or ran out before the time. The edition for 1761 was so soon exhausted that he advertised in different papers, that if any storekeeper, hawker, or peddler had more on hand than they had prospect to sell, he would thank them very kindly if they would return them and receive their money again, the sooner they would do so the more obliged he would be, as the demand still continued and the supply was almost exhausted.

From 1755 he also published an English edition of the almanac in 12mo. or small 8vo. for several years. But as the English competition was so great he could not compete with it, and hence relinquished its issue.

German competition he had none until the aforesaid Franklin and Armbrüster. The former published an English almanac in 12mo. as early as 1733, and a German in 4to. form in 1748, but did not succeed so well with the German as to continue it. Then came Armbrüster's in, which succeeded very well, and existed for many years. Next came Heinrich Miller's in 1762. The Fraternity's at Ephrata (a very nice religious one) in 1771. Francis Bailey's with David Rittenhouse's calculations in 1775, and Mathew Bartege's, of Frederickstown, Maryland, in 1776, which I believe were all that were published contemporary with Sauer's, whose last one was issued in 1778, when the Revolution broke up his establishment (and disposed of all his apparatus). But as the Sauer almanac was held in such high repute, a Mr. Theophilus Cossart, of Lancaster, attempted an improved imitation of Sauer's emblematical plate, and printed the Sauer almanac for that and the following years from 1779 inclusive. Melchior Steiner, of Philadelphia, also commenced the issue of a new almanac that same year.

The genuine plate of Mr. Sauer's almanac came into possession of Peter Leibert, a brother, of Germantown, who was an apprentice, and latterly a journeyman printer of Mr. Sauer. He got it from John Dunlap, of Philadelphia,¹ who procured it as is generally believed through the hands of Col. Bull from the confiscated sale of Sauer's establishment, and continued the issue of the German Sauer almanac from his own establishment in Germantown from 1784, and from him it passed to his son-in-law, Michael Billmeyer, and after his decease it came into the possession of Wm. W. Walker, in Third Street, Philadelphia, who has until recently been publishing the old Germantown almanac with its "*Hoffnung besserer Zeiten*," in its very identical appearance.

¹ Later researches prove that Dunlap, a printer in Market Street, Phila., actually issued it regularly in continuation of the same series, making his 1st the 41st, and so on, until his disposal in 1784, when it numbered the 46th edition instead of the 6th. He also forwarded it to the same agents, and it was in every respect a perfect fac-simile continuation, until Leibert's issues commenced a new series, and continued it in connection with Billmeyer until about 1835.



William Richards.
of Batsto, N.J.
1738-1823.

A SKETCH OF SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF
OWEN RICHARDS, WHO EMIGRATED TO
PENNSYLVANIA PREVIOUS TO 1718.

BY LOUIS RICHARDS, READING, PA.

The surname of Richards is of Welsh origin, and from that nationality, it may be generally asserted, the great majority of those who bear it in this country are descended. In Wales it occurs with great frequency, and from thence has been borne into other parts of Britain, and especially England, where it is almost equally common. It was at first a Christian name, merely, from which the *s* was omitted, the latter being added when it came to be used as a patronymic.

The earliest families of Richardes in New England were of Puritan stock, their ancestors emigrating hither from old England at various dates during the seventeenth century. In a "Genealogical Register of the Descendants of Several Ancient Puritans," vol. iii., compiled by the Rev. Abner Morse, A.M., Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and published in Boston in 1861, several thousands of the name are traced out, through many generations, from the emigrant founders. Of the twelve original ancestors whose posterity is sketched, the earliest mentioned is Thomas Richards, who, it is stated, was born about 1590, and came to Dorchester in 1630, ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims.

Among the colonists who came over at the invitation of William Penn, at the date of the foundation of the province in 1682, or within a few years subsequently, were, as is well known; a number of Welsh, to whom the Proprietor granted a tract, or barony as it was termed, of forty thousand acres west of the Schuylkill. The original warrant was issued in 1684, and the territory it embraced was mainly included in the townships of Newtown, Goshen, Uwchlan, Tredyffrin, and Whiteland in Chester County; Haverford and Radnor,

originally also in Chester, now in Delaware County, and Merion, formerly Philadelphia, now Montgomery County. Gwynedd Township, Montgomery, originally in Philadelphia County, was also settled by people of this nationality, about 1698. The broad fertile region known as the Great Valley, in Chester County, a large part of which was included in the Welsh grant, began to be extensively populated by them in 1711. The names given to most of the townships mentioned unmistakably suggest the circumstances of their origin. A considerable proportion of the early Welsh settlers were Friends, a large number of them were Baptists, and a few adhered to the Church of England. They were a hardy, sober, and vigorous race, possessing means, enterprise, and energy, and constituted a valuable accession to the original population of the province, to which they gave some of the most distinguished men in its early history. Their native language continued to be employed to some extent, it is said, down to about the period of the Revolution. At the present day they have become largely merged in other nationalities more numerous represented in later immigrations. Their descendants are recognized by their names, and the localities in which they originally settled in any considerable numbers are invariably found to be English-speaking communities.

Among the early records of Philadelphia and Chester Counties, which date back to 1683, are to be found the names of several Richardes, who located within their limits—all undoubtedly of Welsh, or, more immediately, English origin. Joseph Richards was a member for the county of Chester of the first Assembly convened by Penn in 1682, and purchased 500 acres of land in Aston Township the same year. He died in Chichester in 1710, and a son and a grandson bearing the same Christian name, succeeded, respectively, to the ownership of a portion of his estate. Solomon Richards was also a "first purchaser," and drew for city lots in Philadelphia in 1682. One Richard ap Richard was a landowner in Whiteland Township in 1710. Others of the earliest of the name mentioned in the Chester County records were Nathaniel, who was a landholder in Aston Township in 1692, and died there in

1700 ; Guenlyon, of Haverford, who died in 1697 ; Rowland, of Merion, who purchased in Tredyffrin in 1707-8, and died there in 1720—a grandson of whom had the same name ; William, whose estate was administered upon in 1716, and Thomas, of Tredyffrin, who died in 1739. The ancient records of Philadelphia County mention, among others, Philip and John Richards, whose wills were probated respectively in 1698 and 1711, and both of whom were residents of the city.

1. OWEN RICHARDS, a few of whose descendants it is proposed to trace, emigrated to Pennsylvania from Merionethshire, a county of North Wales. According to tradition, he sailed from the port of Chester, England, and landed at Philadelphia, accompanied by his wife, three sons, James, William, and John, and a daughter, Elizabeth. There is no means of ascertaining the exact date of his arrival, but it was certainly before the year 1718, and probably not earlier than 1710 or 1715, though the last two dates mentioned are merely conjectural. There is some reason to think that he may have resided for a time in Tredyffrin, Whiteland, or some other Welsh portion of Chester County before referred to, and some of the earliest of his name already mentioned may have been, and probably were, his kindred. Both suppositions are without any record evidence to support them, but they are rendered at least plausible from the fact that certain names which appear in some land transactions of his in another county, a few years later, are unmistakably those of original residents of Chester.

The first positive trace of him discoverable is by his purchase, December 22, 1718, of 300 acres of land in Amity Township, then Philadelphia, now Berks County, from one Mouns Justice, at that time a resident of the Northern Liberties. The latter was one of several Swedes to whom a warrant for a tract of ten thousand acres was granted by the Proprietary, through his Commissioners of Property, in 1701. These Swedes belonged to the congregation at Wicaco, and their pastor, Andreas Rudman, who was one of the grantees, probably negotiated the purchase. Possession was taken

under the warrant, and patents for these lands in severalty were issued in 1704 and 1705. Out of the Swede tracts, collectively, the township of Amity was formed, and it constitutes the location of the earliest settlement within the limits of the present county of Berks, which was erected in 1752. Justice's patent is dated in 1705, and was for 700 acres. The portion of the tract purchased from him by Owen Richards, it has been ascertained, lies close to the present village of Weaverstown, about three miles from the Schuylkill, a considerable part of it being at this date in the possession of the heirs of Daniel McLean. The land is rolling and of good quality for agricultural purposes. A small tributary of the Monocacy Creek runs through it.

In 1726, Owen, together with one David Harry, from Chester County, also a Welshman, bought 250 acres of land in Oley Township from John Banfield, 100 acres of which were a portion of a larger tract which had been patented to John Longworthy, of Radnor, in 1714. This land is in the southeastern corner of the township, on the Manatawny Creek, about half a mile from a well-known tavern called the "Yellow House." Richards and Harry resold this tract the same year to John Ellis, of Springfield, Chester County, and in 1735 it passed to Jacob Hill, remaining in the possession of the Hill family for a century and a quarter.

Owen Richards doubtless resided in Amity Township, on the property purchased by him from Justice, from 1718 until his death, the date of which is uncertain, though records show that it did not occur previous to 1734. In 1729 he sold one-half of this tract to his eldest son James, in consideration of £7, and "natural love and affection." The remaining portion, which he probably occupied, it is likely passed to his heirs, as no conveyance of it by him, or recital thereof, is to be found of record. When and where his first wife died is unknown. It cannot be affirmed, indeed, with any confidence, that she ever saw America. The records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, show that he was married in 1727 to a second wife, Elizabeth Baker. She survived him, and died in 1753, without issue, aged about eighty years. She was

buried, as was doubtless also her husband, in the ground of the Episcopal church at Douglassville, on the Schuylkill, in Amity Township, anciently a Swedish church known as "St. Gabriel's at Morlatton," the organization of which dates back to about the time of the original Swedish settlements before referred to. Its oldest existing records begin in 1736.

The descendants of Owen Richards have frequently been confounded with those of another family of the same name, but of German derivation, residing in Berks, Montgomery, and some other adjoining counties. The latter were originally called *Reichert*, their first ancestor in this country being Johann Frederick Reichert, a native of the Kingdom of Wurtemberg, who patented lands in New Hanover Township, originally Philadelphia, now Montgomery County, in 1720, and died there in 1748. Their name has been anglicized for over a century, having been changed to Richards, as is said, by English schoolmasters, out of preference for their own tongue. Of this stock, which is a very numerous one, were John and Matthias Richards, grandsons of Frederick, both early members of Congress from Pennsylvania, a son of the latter, Judge Matthias S. Richards, of Reading, the late George Richards, of Pottstown, formerly a State Senator from Montgomery County and a son of John, and his brother, Mark Richards, for many years a well-known merchant of Philadelphia. A number of families who still write their name Reichert are found in various portions of Berks and neighboring counties. These are also of German descent, and of Palatinate origin.

The children of Owen Richards, of whom any trace or tradition remains, appear to have been—

2. JAMES, of whom no information is obtainable beyond the record of his purchase from his father of the 150 acres in Amity in 1729, and the sale by him of the same tract in 1741 to Peter Weaver. In the deed conveying away this land he is styled "labourer," and he was a single man at that date. He probably left no descendants.
3. WILLIAM.
4. JOHN, who appears to have resided in Amity, or vicinity, for some years, though the records do not show that he was a landowner. His wife's name was Sarah, and the names of two of their children, as

appears by the Register of St. Gabriel's Church, were Edward and Susannah, the former baptized in 1737 and the latter in 1739. Another child (name not given—probably an infant) was buried in 1736. The tradition is that he eventually removed to Virginia, where some of his descendants remain at the present day. From him, it is said, "Richards' Ford," on the Rappahannock, takes its name, and from his posterity proceeded a family of the name who settled in Kentucky.

5. ELIZABETH, of whom nothing whatever is traceable. It is likely that she d. unm.

3. WILLIAM, through whom all of the family who here follow are traced, was without doubt born in Wales, and had probably about arrived at manhood at the date of his father's emigration. He appears at one time to have been possessed of considerable estate, but closed life in comparative poverty. In 1735, he bought from one Michael Waren, 150 acres of land in Amity, which had also been a part of the Mouns Justice tract. It adjoined the 150 acres acquired by his brother James from Owen, but did not constitute any part of the latter's original purchase. In 1740, William, together with his wife Elizabeth, sold 53 acres of his land to Peter Weaver—the same who the following year purchased the whole of James's. One of the witnesses to the deed of conveyance is Rowland Richards. What disposition he made of the balance does not appear. It may have been comprised in a tract of 184 acres situated in the same vicinity, which he mortgaged in 1747 to the executors of Samuel Powell, Jr., for £140, the debt being repaid by his assignee, Jacob Roads, in 1751, presumably out of the proceeds of the sale of the land. The mortgage contains no recital of title. To his occupation of tiller of the soil, he at one time added the functions of constable of the township. In the first volume of the Pennsylvania Archives, first series, is published at length a deposition which he gave in 1738, containing a diverting account of his rough experience, as one of His Majesty's peace officers, with some violators of the ancient provincial laws against the obstruction of the navigation of the river Schuylkill by the erection of racks for the taking of fish—a subject of ab-

sorbing importance in the primitive days of river transportation, when grain was conveyed to Philadelphia by rafts.

He died in Oley Township in January, 1752. His will, dated December 26, 1751, is on file in Philadelphia, and mentions the names of all his children. The inventory of his personal estate amounted to £207 7s. 10d. Pennsylvania currency. The appraisers were Ellis Hughes—without doubt a Welshman—and George Boone, for many years a prominent provincial magistrate of Oley, who belonged to a family of Quakers of that neighborhood, and was the uncle of Daniel Boone, the pioneer of Kentucky. Nearly one-half of the sum total of the appraisement is made up of obligations for moneys due the decedent by various persons, while the character and valuations of the different chattels enumerated seem to indicate that at the time of his death he was a small tenant farmer, whose resources had been run down to the verge of exhaustion.

The witnesses to his will were James and Jane Norrell and Benjamin Longworthy. His wife Elizabeth and Peter Weaver were appointed executors, but the latter renounced. He directs all his personal property and movables, "within and without," to be sold, and gives his wife the use of the proceeds for life, but adds that "if she thinks proper to alter her condition, she shall have her thirds according to law"—a favorite mode of restriction upon widows in those days. He enjoins that his son William "is to live with his mother for the space of one year, and then be put out to a trade which he likes." His daughters Ruth and Sarah were "to be to the care and discretion of their mother," each receiving £5 Pennsylvania currency, and the latter, in addition, the testator's "chest of drawers at Cornelius Dewees's." His son Owen and his daughters Mary Ball and Margaret were each given five shillings Pennsylvania currency—a slender patrimony! His son James received £10 and a mare. The residue of his estate was given to William upon his coming of age, and after his mother's decease.

Of his seven children it would appear that but three, Mary, Owen and James, had attained their majority at the date of

the will. The following notices of them are given in the supposed order of their ages:—

5. MARY married John Ball, who resided in Douglass Township, Berks County, and acquired land in Amity in 1754. One of their children was Joseph Ball, who became a prominent merchant and extensive landowner and capitalist of Philadelphia, accumulating a large fortune. He was interested in various business enterprises in that city, among which was the Insurance Company of North America, established in 1792, of which he was one of the original directors, and President in the years 1798 and 1799. In his early manhood he was employed as manager of the iron works at Batsto, Burlington County, New Jersey, then owned by Col. John Cox. He was there in that capacity during the earlier part of the Revolutionary War, and in 1779 became proprietor. The works were extensively employed in the manufacture of shot and shell for the Continental service. In the 4th volume of Pennsylvania Archives, first series, pp. 757, 761, 762, a correspondence of Mr. Ball and Col. Cox with the Committee of Safety of Philadelphia in May, 1776, shows that the ammunition then being furnished to the Committee was, by their special order, hauled by teams from Batsto to Cooper's Ferry (now Camden), instead of being transported by the usual less expeditious mode of conveyance by water. He took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania September 10, 1777, under a law passed by the Assembly to insure fidelity to the interests of the State on the part of its citizens. During the struggle for liberty he was a decided patriot, and advanced liberally of his rapidly accumulating means in aid of the cause. After the close of the War, it is said that he was extensively embarked in the schemes for the restoration of the public credit set on foot by Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, by means of which he, in common with many others, suffered considerable pecuniary loss. Mr. Ball died in 1821, aged 73 years, leaving a widow, Sarah, but no issue, and his vast estate passed to an immense number of collateral heirs, occupying many years in process of distribution.
6. OWEN was baptized, according to the records of St. Gabriel's Church, before mentioned, together with his brother James and sister Ruth, September 20, 1737. He appears to have been a farmer by occupation, and is assessed in Amity Township as a tenant from 1756 to 1760, and in Union Township from 1766 to 1773, after which no further trace of him is to be found in the county records. He removed, probably about the commencement of the Revolutionary War, to Northumberland County, or some other of the then so-called western portions of the State. A person of his name, pre-

sumably the same individual, appears on the list of privates of Capt. Gray's Company, Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, in 1777. The names of his children, as given in a tabulated list of the heirs of his nephew, Joseph Ball, were William, John, Mary, Elizabeth (Barr), Eleanor (Hamilton), Jane (Stevens), and Sarah (Roberts).

7. JAMES.
8. RUTH married Daniel Kunsman. Nothing is known of her family record excepting the names of her children, which were Rebecca (Hoffman), Elizabeth (Miller), Mary (Seiler), Catharine (Canstatter), and William.
9. WILLIAM.
10. MARGARET married Cornelius Dewees. The Deweeses, as I am informed by one of their descendants, were of Huguenot stock, the name being originally written De Wees. Several of them are found among the list of landholders in Philadelphia County as early as 1734. Margaret died in 1793. Her children were William, Owen, David, Cornelius, Mary (Patterson), and Samuel.
11. SARAH married James Hastings, and resided for a considerable portion of her life in Virginia. She died, probably about 1825, leaving three children, Howell, William, and John.

7. JAMES was b. about 1722, and was baptized, as above stated, in 1737. He was engaged all his life in farming, and resided first in Amity, and subsequently in Earl and Colebrookdale Townships, Berks County, being assessed as a property owner in the last-mentioned district from 1768 to 1797. He owned 150 acres of land at the head of Ironstone Creek, about two miles northwest from the present borough of Boyertown, upon which he resided. He served for a short period during the Revolutionary War, and his name appears on the roll of Captain Tudor's Company, Fourth Pennsylvania Continental Line, as a Sergeant, enlisted May 10, 1777. He was a man of immense frame, and great physical strength, and his long life of rugged toil was varied with many lively episodes of conflict and adventure. Disposing of his property in Berks to certain of his sons, he removed, with perhaps some of his youngest children, in 1797 or '98, to the North Branch of the Susquehanna, near Danville, then Northumberland County, where he d. in 1804, aged upwards of eighty.

His wife's name was Mary, and his children were William, Frederick, Elizabeth, James, Owen, Mary, Sarah, Hannah, and John. Of the daughters, Hannah d. unm.; Elizabeth m. Enoch Rutter; Mary, Henry Fox, and Sarah, Henry Schmale. Descendants of several of these children remain, both in Berks and on the Susquehanna. William, the eldest son, was b. Jan. 27, 1754, and m. Mary, daughter of John William and Elizabeth Miller, of Earl Township, by whom he had four children, William and Elizabeth, both of whom d. young, James, b. March 27, 1782, and John, b. June 5, 1784. William Richards d. about 1786, and his widow in 1838, at an advanced age.

James Richards, last mentioned, was distinguished for the fervor of his religious convictions, and the purity of his character and life. He m. 1811, Ann Hunter Smith, dau. of John Smith, Esq., of Joanna Furnace, Berks County, and Elizabeth, his wife, and was the father of the late John S. Richards, Esq., for many years a prominent and well-known member of the Bar of Reading. James d. September 21, 1828, and his widow, April 25, 1857. John Richards m. 1st, 1811, Rebecca, dau. of Michael and Susanna Ludwig, who d. January 19, 1840, and 2d, 1841, Louisa, dau. of Ephraim and Elizabeth Silvers, who d. January 26, 1880. He had seven children. He was a native of Colebrookdale Township, Berks County, and removed to New Jersey in 1808. He was engaged for forty years in the iron manufacturing business, principally at Weymouth and Gloucester Furnaces, Atlantic County, of the latter of which he became a proprietor in 1830. In 1836-37 he was a member of the Legislature of New Jersey for the county of Burlington, but, with this exception, declined all public positions, his predilections being wholly in the line of business life. He resided from 1848 to 1854 at Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, where he continued the iron manufacture, retiring in the latter year to an estate called "Stowe," in the vicinity of Pottstown, Montgomery County, where he d. November 29, 1871, in the 88th year of his age. He possessed in a marked degree the characteristics of energy and self-reliance, and was a fair example of the success which, in spite

of the lack of early advantages, usually attends the exercise of these qualities when joined to principles of strict business integrity.

9. WILLIAM was b. September 12, 1738, and was baptized at St. Gabriel's Church, Feb. 23, 1739. At the time of his father's death he was in his fourteenth year, and in accordance with the directions of the will of the latter that he should be taught such a trade as he preferred, was sent to Chester County, and placed, it is believed, at Coventry Forge, on French Creek, to learn the occupation of a founder. Coventry was built by Samuel Nutt, an Englishman of enterprise and fortune, about 1718 or 1720. At the time William went there, it was under the management of John Patrick, also an Englishman, who was early associated with Nutt in that capacity. In 1764, William m. Mary, dau. of John Patrick and his wife Anna, dau. of Oliver Dunklin. She was b. June 24, 1745, and had a brother Samuel, who was b. in 1743, and m. Rachel Gibbs, and a sister Esther, b. in 1747, who m. Ezekiel Leonard. After the death of his first wife, John Patrick m., 1755, Abigail Hockley. In 1748, he purchased from the heirs of his father-in-law, Oliver Dunklin, 150 acres of land in Amity Township, before mentioned, which he disposed of in 1750 to Henry Van Reed, from Holland, the ancestor of the well-known family of that name in Berks, in the possession of one of whose descendants the premises still remain. John Patrick d. in East Nantmeal Township, Chester County, in 1765. His son Samuel was also a forgerman, and an agreement is still in existence, bearing the date of 1767, in which he undertook to blow the Cornwall Furnace, then in Lancaster County, for the proprietors, Peter and Curtis Grubb, at "five shillings per ton for pigs," and "forty-five shillings per ton for stoves." At a later date he was engaged at an establishment called the Forest of Dean Furnace, in Orange County, New York.

William Richards was subsequently employed at Warwick Furnace, another well-known establishment, on French Creek in the vicinity of Coventry, built by Samuel Nutt's widow, Anna Nutt, in 1737. About the year 1768, he went to

Batsto Iron Works, New Jersey, before mentioned, as founder, his family continuing to reside in Pennsylvania. In 1774, he purchased a tract of 210 acres in East Nantmeal Township, Chester County, from the heirs of his father-in-law, John Patrick, who had bought it in 1763 from the heirs of Samuel Savage. He sold this farm to one Jacob Weimands in 1775, and was subsequently, in 1778, the owner of another tract of 151 acres in West Whiteland Township, afterwards known as the "Ship Tavern" property, situated on the Lancaster Turnpike, near the present station on the Pennsylvania Railroad called Whiteland.

In June, 1775, he was commissioned by the Assembly of Pennsylvania as "Standard Bearer to the Second Battalion of Associators of Chester County." On August 13, 1776, as appears from his private diary, he joined the Revolutionary forces, his family being then resident at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, where he was in camp with the army during the memorable winter quarters in 1777-78. The length of his entire term of service is not known, but it probably extended over the greater part of the active period of the war. In January, 1781, he accepted the position of resident manager of Batsto, tendered him by Col. Cox and Mr. Charles Pettit, succeeding his nephew, Joseph Ball. He shortly afterwards acquired an interest in this large and then celebrated manufacturing establishment, and about the year 1784 became sole owner. He rebuilt the works, and made extensive additions and improvements, his operations expanding from time to time with his increasing prosperity. His domain extended over many thousands of acres, and he acquired what was then regarded as a princely fortune.

He was a man of unbounded enterprise and untiring energy, of great firmness of character and tenacity of purpose. These qualities well fitted him to be a leader, rather than a follower of men. A large community gradually grew up around him, in the midst of which he lived in a style suited to his wealth, commanding the respect and confidence of his dependants, who in turn prospered under his judicious supervision. In person he was six feet four inches in height, of

gigantic mould, and great physical strength—his robust frame being a fitting tenement for his vigorous and active mind. A miniature profile engraving of him by St. Mémin, accompanying this sketch, taken in advanced life, portrays him as of calm and reflective features, equally indicative of force of character and benignity of disposition. Surmounting his long thick hair is a flat circular comb, such as the then prevailing fashion warranted as a masculine ornament.

His first wife, Mary Patrick, by whom he had eleven children—seven sons and four daughters—d. November 24, 1794. He was m. in 1796 to Margaret Wood, a daughter of Isaac Wood, of Moorestown, Burlington County, New Jersey, who was b. in 1767. Eight children—seven sons and one daughter—were the result of this union. In 1809 he relinquished the iron works at Batsto to his son Jesse, and removed to Mount Holly, Burlington County, where he became a landowner, and though past threescore and ten, thoroughly identified himself with the growth and development of that place. In this new home, surrounded by his numerous family, he d. on the 31st of August, 1823, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and his remains rest in St. Andrew's Cemetery, belonging to that denomination, near Mount Holly, beside those of his second wife, who survived him until December 21, 1850. The spot is marked by a plain high marble tomb, inscribed with the date of his decease and age.

The children of William and Mary (Patrick) Richards were—

12. ABIGAIL, b. June 1, 1765; d. May 14, 1794.

13. JOHN, b. June 1, 1767; d. November 30, 1793.

14. SAMUEL, b. at Valley Forge May 8, 1769. He was for many years an extensive iron manufacturer in the State of New Jersey, and a prominent and esteemed merchant and resident of Philadelphia. He m. 1st, 1797, Mary Morgan, dau. of William Smith, merchant of that city. She d. in 1820, and he m. 2d, 1822, Anna Maria Witherspoon, dau. of Burling Martin, of New York, who survived him. Mr. Samuel Richards had eleven children. Two of those by his first marriage were Sarah Ball, the widow of the late Stephen Colwell, merchant of Philadelphia, and Thomas S., also a large iron works proprietor, who m. Harriet, dau. of General Francis Nichols. Mr. Richards d. January 4, 1842.

15. ELIZABETH, b. August 26, 1771. She m. 1799, the Rev. Thomas Haskins, of Maryland, and had three children. Her husband d. June 29, 1816, and Mrs. Haskins, September 24, 1857.
16. REBECCA, b. August 7, 1773. She m., 1794, John Sevier, of Tennessee, and had seven children. She d. May 10, 1809.
17. WILLIAM, b. July 1, 1775; d. December 21, 1796.
18. JOSEPH, b. October 6, 1777; d. March 26, 1797.
19. THOMAS, b. February 10, 1780. He was a merchant of Philadelphia, and m., 1810, Ann Bartram, by whom he had nine children. He d. October 17, 1860—the date upon which it had been arranged to celebrate his golden wedding, and the marriage of his daughter.
20. JESSE.
21. CHARLES, b. August 9, 1785; d. May 11, 1788.
22. ANNA MARIA, b. February 8, 1789; m., 1810, John White, of Delaware, and had three children. She d. May 2, 1816.

The children of William and Margaret (Wood) Richards were

23. BENJAMIN WOOD, b. Nov. 12, 1797.
24. CHARLES HENRY, b. April 9, 1799; d. April, 1802.
25. GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. May 6, 1801; d. June, 1802.
26. AUGUSTUS HENRY, b. May 5, 1803; m. Rebecca, dau. of the Hon. John McLean, of Ohio; was a member of the Philadelphia Bar, to which he was admitted in 1826; had two children; d. in 1839.
27. WILLIAM, b. January 16, 1805; m., 1831, Constantia Marie Lamand, and had five children. He inherited in a very striking degree the physical constitution of his father; was of remarkably large and massive build, and possessed the strength of a giant. He d. April 19, 1864.
28. GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. May 3, 1807. He was a merchant of Philadelphia, and subsequently engaged extensively in the cotton manufacture, and was active in the directory of prominent railroads in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and for many years of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia. He m., 1829, Mary Louisa, dau. of Louis Le Guen; had eight children; d. April 22, 1874.
29. JOSEPH BALL, b. November 9, 1811; d. January 30, 1812.
30. MARY WOOD, b. March 6, 1815; d. September 19, 1860.

20.. JESSE. He was b. at Valley Forge, December 2, 1782, and succeeded his father, as before stated, in the management of Batsto. In 1829 he rebuilt the works, and, in 1846, the furnace having been abandoned, established extensive glass

1. The following cases were reported to the American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914:
1. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
 2. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
 3. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
 4. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
 5. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
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 7. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
 8. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
 9. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.
 10. A case of acute inflammation of the lungs, reported by Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1914.

The following are the names of the patients and the names of the physicians who reported the cases:

1. The patient's name is John J. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., and the physician's name is Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill.
2. The patient's name is John J. Smith, of Chicago, Ill., and the physician's name is Dr. J. H. Smith, of Chicago, Ill.
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P. W. Richards

1797-1851.



manufactories, which he carried on successfully until his death, June 17, 1854. He greatly enlarged and improved the Batsto estate, which, toward the close of his proprietorship, comprised about forty thousand acres. This property he left to his children, who occupied it and carried on the glass manufacture for a considerable period. It passed a few years since into the ownership of Mr. Joseph Wharton, of Philadelphia.

Jesse Richards was a member of the Assembly of New Jersey for Burlington County at the Sessions of 1837-38 and 1838-39. He m., 1810, Sarah Ennals Haskins, dau. of the Rev. Thomas Haskins, before mentioned, by his first wife, Martha Potts,—Mr. Haskins having previously m., as his second wife, Elizabeth Richards, sister of Jesse. Mrs. Richards d. Oct. 14, 1868, in her eightieth year. They had seven children. One of the eldest, Thomas Haskins Richards, a graduate of Princeton, was a member of Assembly in 1841-42 and 1842-43, and member of the Senate for Burlington County in 1847, '48, and '49.

23. BENJAMIN WOOD. He was b. at Batsto, November 12, 1797, and graduated at Princeton in 1815, in his eighteenth year. Whilst at college he received very deep religious impressions, and decided to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian church, but the extremely delicate condition of his health at that period compelled him to abandon this intention, and to seek the restoration of his physical strength by travel. After an extended tour through the southern and southwestern States, he returned, greatly re-invigorated, and went to Philadelphia in the year 1819, and entered upon mercantile pursuits. Becoming interested in municipal affairs, he was elected to membership of the City Councils. His capacities for public service, and the confidence of his fellow-citizens, led to his selection in 1827 as a member of the Legislature, in which he served for one year. While in the Assembly he evinced a particular zeal in the cause of public education, procuring the first appropriation from the State for the establishment of public schools in Philadelphia. He was an active promoter of the common school system, after-

wards adopted, and was one of the original members of the City Board of Controllers. Under an Act passed in 1829, he was appointed one of the Canal Commissioners of Pennsylvania. In April of that year, he was chosen Mayor of Philadelphia, to fill the unexpired term of George M. Dallas, who had resigned. The office was at that time elective by the City Councils, and the period of service one year. In October following, William Milnor was chosen for the succeeding term, but Mr. Richards was again elected in October, 1830, and re-elected in 1831, serving until October, 1832, when he was succeeded by John Swift.

His public spirit led him to take an active part in the organization and promotion of a number of the leading benevolent and educational institutions of the city. He was one of the founders of the Blind Asylum, an early manager of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, a member of the Philosophical Society, and a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. He took considerable part, at one period, in Federal politics, and was appointed by President Jackson a director of the United States Bank, and a director of the Mint, but resigned these positions upon being elected Mayor. He was the chief magistrate of the city at the death of Stephen Girard, and after the expiration of his term, became a director of Girard College.

While travelling in Europe in 1833 for the restoration of his then seriously impaired health, his attention was directed to the subject of rural public cemeteries, more especially in consequence of a visit which he made to that of Père la Chaise at Paris, and upon his return he wrote much for the journals of the day to direct public attention to the desirability of establishing some worthy institution of this character for the city of Philadelphia. Having secured the active co-operation of several other prominent citizens in this project, the result was the purchase and organization, in 1835, of the beautiful cemetery at Laurel Hill. In 1836, he originated and founded the Girard Life Insurance, Annuity, and Trust Company—one of the earliest of a numerous class of institutions of the city since grown to great business magni-

tude and importance—and was its President from its organization until his death.

The qualities which prominently entered into the elements of his character were great benevolence of heart, profound convictions of right and justice, and unflinching moral courage. These, combined with a strong degree of intellectual force, and a disposition to employ his talents and energies for the good of his fellows at large, constituted what may be truthfully termed a highly successful life, the impress of which has been deeply engraven upon the institutions of his adopted city. In person Mr. Richards was of tall and imposing figure, and of peculiarly symmetrical and attractive features. In the earlier part of his public life he was considered one of the handsomest men in Philadelphia, and a portrait of him, by Inman, which hangs in the Mayor's office, and from which the accompanying picture was taken, confirms the justice of the compliment. He was m., in 1821, to Sarah Ann, dau. of Joshua Lippincott, and left seven children—four sons and three daughters. He d. July 12, 1851, aged fifty-three years. His wife d. March 19, 1862. His remains are interred at Laurel Hill.

Thus imperfectly, from very meagre materials, have been compiled a few facts which may prove of interest to some of those to whose descent they more or less immediately relate. It may be added that the inquiries which led to their development were originally stimulated by some researches of the writer for other purposes into the records of the county of Berks, where, as it has appeared, the scene of the narrative opens. It is due to him to remark, in conclusion, that the natural feeling of hesitation with which a publication of this mass of personal details was at first regarded, has only been overcome by the reflection that the subject-matter, at least, is in harmony with the character and design of the medium through which it is presented—a consideration which it is hoped will be accepted as a sufficient apology for the propriety of a work of this nature, which, under any circumstances, usually proves a perilous undertaking.

FENWICK'S PROPOSAL FOR PLANTING HIS COLONY OF NEW CÆSAREA OR NEW JERSEY.

[The following is a reprint of the first printed paper relative to the colony of West Jersey, after it came into the possession of Byllinge and Fenwick. Copies of the original are so rare that Mr. Whitehead writes, that the only copy heard of was offered for sale in London in 1853. The one from which we print is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and was purchased at the sale of the library of the late George Brinley. It was from the "Penn Papers," and bears a memorandum in the handwriting of William Penn on the margin. It is a single sheet, about the size of a foolscap page, and is printed on both sides; that portion of it signed by Fenwick is given on the first page, the description of the country being on the second or back of the sheet. In printing we have carefully followed the spelling and punctuation of the original, and the same variation of type, making it as near a reprint as a modern font will permit.—Ed.]

FRIENDS,

THESE are to Satisfie you, or any other who are Sober, and are any wise minded to go along with me, and Plant within my COLONY; That we shall no doubt find, but that New CESEREA or New JERSEY, which is the Place which I did Purchase: Together with the Government thereof, is a Healthy Pleasant, and Plentifful Country: According to the Report of many Honest Men, Friends, and others who has been there, and the Character given thereof, by JOHN OGILBY in his AMERICA, which I herewith send. The Method I intend for the Planting of all, or so much thereof, as I shall reserve to myself, my Heirs and Assigns for ever. Is thus:

1. **W**Hoever is minded to Purchase to them and their Heirs for ever, may for Five Pound have a Thousand Acres, and so Ten Thousand Acres; and thereby be made Propriators or Free-Holders.

2. Who is minded to Carry themselves, (and not Purchase) with their Families at their own Charges, are to have the Freedom of the Country when they Arrive, and one hundred

Acres for every Head they carry above the Age of Fourteen, to them and their Heirs for ever. At the yearly Rent of a Penny for every Acre, to Me, my Heirs and Assigns for ever.

3. Who are minded to go as Servants, who must be Carried at my Charges, or any other Proprietor, or Purchasors, or Carries themselves with Servants at their own Charges as aforesaid; they are to Serve 4 years, and then to be made Free of the Country: Their Masters are to give them a Suit of Cloaths, and other things sutable; a Cow, a Hog, and so much Wheat as the Law there in that Case allows; with Working Tools to begin with: And then he is to have of me, or his Master out of his Propriety, a hundred Acres, Paying the yearly Rent of a Penny for every Acre: To me and my Heirs for ever, or to his Master and his Heirs.

And as for the Planting of the Whole, with Ease, Satisfaction and Profit, as well to the Poor as the Rich: this Method is intended, and approved of by many that are preparing to go with me, which I intend will be about the middle of the next Month call'd *April*, or the end thereof without fail, if the Lord please.

First, 10000. Acres being pitch'd Upon, and divided according to every mans Propriety; then Lots shall be cast, and when every one knows where his Lot lies, there being also a place Chosen and set out for a Town or City to be Built, in which every Purchaser must have a Part, by reason of *Delaware* River for Trade. Then every one must joyn their Hands, first in Building the Houses, and next in Improving the Land, casting Lots whose Houses shall be first built, and whose Land first Improved: And as the Land is Improved so it shall be for the Use of all the Hands and their Families which are joyned in this Community, until the whole 10000. Acres be Improved; Then every one to have his own Lot to his own Use: And so this Method to be used till the Country be Planted.

If any like not this Method, they may be left to Improve their Propriety alone. If any happen to go who is not Able to get a Livelihood here, nor to Pay their Debts out of their Stocks, the Governor and his Council shall take care, upon

notice given thereof by the Creditors, that such shall make Satisfaction out of their Estates, as the Lord shall give a Blessing to their Labours, and an Increase of their Substance. Provided the Creditors hinder not their Passage, but give the Governor and his Council a Particular of their Debts.

The Government is to be, by a Governor and 12 Council to be Chosen every year, 6 of the Council to go out, and 6 to come in; whereby every Proprietor may be made capable of Government, and know the Affairs of the Country, and Privileges of the People.

The Government to stand upon these two Basis, or Leges, viz. 1. The Defence of the Royal Law of God, his Name and true Worship, which is in Spirit and in Truth.

2. The Good, Peace and Welfare, of every Individual Person.

This 8th. of the 1st. Month.
1675.

I am a Real Friend and Well-
wisher to all Men.
J. Fenwick.

The Description of a happy Country.

D*elaware-Bay*, the Mouth of the River, lieth about the Mid way betwixt *New York* and the *Capes of Virginia*.

The best Commodities for any to carry with them to this Country is Clothing, the Countrey being full of all sorts of Cattel, which they may furnish themselves withal at an easie Rate, for any sort of *English Goods*, as likewise Instruments for Husbandry and Building, with Nails, Hinges, Glass, and the like. They get a Livelihood principally by Corn and Cattel, which will there fetch them any Commodities: Likewise they Sow store of Flax, which they make every one Cloth of for their own wearing; as also Woollen Cloth, and Linsey-woolsey; and had they more Tradesmen amongst them, they would in a little time live without the help of any other Countrey for their Cloathing; for Tradesmen there be none but live happily there, as Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Masons, Taylors, Weavers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Brickmakers, and so any other Trade: Them that have no Trade betake themselves to Husbandry, get Land of their own and live exceeding well.

We shall conclude our Discourse of this Country with a notable Character given thereof by a late Writer, as to the great advantage of happy living in all respects, for whosoever shall be pleas'd to betake himself thither to Live.

IF there be any terrestrial happiness (saith he) to be had by any People, especially of any inferior rank, it must certainly be here. Here any one may furnish himself with Land, and live Rent-free, yea, with such a quantity of Land, that he may weary himself with walking over his Fields of Corn, and all sorts of Grain, and let his Stock amount to some hundreds; he needs not fear their want of Pasture in the Summer, or Fodder in the Winter, the Woods affording sufficient supply, where you have Grass as high as a Man's Knees, nay, as high as his Waste, interlac'd with Pea-Vines, and other Weeds that Cattel much delight in, as much as a Man can pass through: And these Woods also every Mile and half Mile are furnish'd with fresh Ponds, Brooks, or Rivers, where all sorts of Cattel, during the heat of the day, do quench their thirst, and Cool themselves. These Brooks and Rivers being environ'd of each side with several sorts of Trees and Grape-Vines, Arbor-like interchanging places, and crossing these Rivers, do shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of the Sun. Such as by their utmost Labors can scarcely get a Living, may here procure Inheritance of Lands and Possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of Cattel, enjoy the benefit of them whilst they live, and leave them to their Children when they die. Here you need not trouble the Shambles for Meat, nor Bakers and Brewers for Beer and Bread, nor run to a Linnen-Draper for a supply, every one making their own Linnen, and a great part of their Woollen Cloth for their ordinary wearing. And how prodigal (if I may say) hath Nature been to furnish this Countrey with all sorts of Wild Beast and Fowl, which every one hath an interest in, and may Hunt at his pleasure; where, besides the pleasure in Hunting, he may furnish his House with excellent fat Venison, Turkies, Geese, Heath-hens, Cranes, Swans, Ducks, Pigeons, and the like; and wearied with that, he may go a Fishing, where the Rivers are so furnish'd, that he may

supply himself with Fish before he can leave off the Recreation. Here one may Travel by Land upon the same Continent hundred of Miles, and pass through Towns and Villages, and never hear the least complaint for want, nor hear any ask him for a farthing. Here one may lodge in the Fields and Woods travel from one end of the Country to another, with as much security as if he were lock'd within his own Chamber: And if one chance to meet with an *Indian* Town, they shall give him the best Entertainment they have, and upon his desire direct him on his Way. But that which adds happiness to all the rest, is the healthfulness of the Place, where many People in twenty years time never know what Sickness is; where they look upon it as a great Mortality, if two or three die out of a Town in a years time. Besides the sweetness of the Air, the Countrey it self sends forth such a fragrant smell, that it may be perceiv'd at Sea before they can make the Land: No evil Fog or Vapor doth any sooner appear, but a North-West or Westerly Wind immediately dissolves it, and drives it away. Moreover, you shall scarce see a House, but the South-side is begirt with Hives of Bees, which increase after an incredible manner: So that if there be any terrestrial *Canaan*, 'tis surely here, where the Land floweth with Milk and Honey.

THOMAS WHARTON, JUNR.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF '76.

BY ANNE H. WHARTON.

(Concluded from Vol. V., page 439.)

The 4th of July, 1777, was celebrated in Philadelphia with public demonstrations of joy; a few days later news reached the city of Sir William Howe having sailed from Sandy Hook, and various were the surmises as to his destination, which were turned into murmurs of alarm when it was ascertained that he had landed his army at the Head of Elk, less than a hundred miles from the capital.

In the midst of active military preparations, while the threatening of invasion hung like a cloud over the city, a perplexing matter of home discipline was laid before President Wharton and the Council: Congress, deeming the continuing at large of certain disaffected persons, in Pennsylvania and Delaware, inimical to the cause of the Colonies, ordered the arrest of such by the executive officers of those Provinces. On the 31st of August, David Rittenhouse, Colonel William Bradford and others waited upon the Council, in consequence of an invitation from that body, when a Resolve of Congress of the 28th instant was read to them, in confidence, and their assistance requested in making out a list of persons suspected of being dangerous to the State.¹ The list, then formed, contains the names of some forty highly respectable citizens, most of whom belonged to the Society of Friends, although among the number were those of two clergymen, and that of one Thomas Pike (dancing

¹ Nearly at the same time, as appears in the Minutes of Congress, Aug. 28, 1777, there had been transmitted to it a letter from Gen. Sullivan, enclosing a paper said to have been found among baggage taken at Staten Island. This paper professed to contain information from a yearly meeting of Friends, said to have been held at Spanktown, N. J., Aug. 19th.—*Exiles in Virginia*, p. 36.

master). Some of these gentlemen were paroled, giving a verbal promise not to leave their houses, write, or give any intelligence to the enemies of the Colonies; among the latter was no less patriotic personage than Samuel Shoemaker, who earnestly protested to his disapproval of the proceedings of certain leading Friends. Although, as appeared from the report presented to Council on the 3d of September, no papers of a dangerous character were found in the possession of the persons named, some twenty of them were put under arrest, and confined in the Free Mason's Lodge in this city. On the 5th of September, a remonstrance from the prisoners was laid before Council by President Wharton, upon which it was ordered that the said remonstrance be presented to Congress, and that the question of the release of the gentlemen in the Lodge, on their subscribing to the oath of allegiance to the State, be also referred to that body.¹

Without pausing to dwell on the smaller details of this affair; or to quote the numerous and pathetic remonstrances of the Friends, or the correspondence that passed between Congress and the Council,² whose pleasure it seemed to be to bandy the matter between them, for a time, without approaching any adjustment of the difficulty; it is sufficient to say that the prisoners refusing to comply with the terms proposed, the Supreme Executive Council, on the 9th of September, in view of the approach of the enemy, issued an order for their speedy removal to Staunton, Virginia. On the 14th of September, when the prisoners had advanced on their journey as far as Pottsgrove, Levi Hollingsworth and Benjamin Bryant overtook them with writs of *habeas corpus* for nine of their number, granted by Thomas McKean. Two days later, however, a bill passed the House of Assembly, which justified the President and Council in their proceedings against the prisoners. "It was," says one of their number, "to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and deprive us and others from a trial, and the rights and privileges secured by the law to

¹ Minutes of Supreme Executive Council.

² All of which are given at length in the "Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council," and in Thomas Gilpin's *Exiles in Virginia*.

freemen." Such, indeed, it seemed, when, empowered by this bill, President Wharton, disregarding the writs "allowed" by the Chief-Justice of the Commonwealth, issued a second order for the removal of the Friends, this time naming Winchester, Virginia, as the place of their exile. Thus, these twenty citizens, numbering among them such men as Edward Penington, the Fishers, Thomas Gilpin and Thomas Wharton (own cousin of the President), were banished from the Province which their ancestors had settled, a little less than a hundred years before, and which it had been their pleasure, and part of their religion, to hold as an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted from all nations.

This, in brief, is the outline of a transaction that must have caused excitement, dismay and indignation in the Quaker City, only exceeded by that produced by the entrance of the British a few days later. A transaction, which viewed with the impartiality that a hundred years lend to those who scan the pages of history (due allowance being made for the fact that in the hurry and confusion of the hour, the President and Council had little time to deliberate upon the matter), can scarcely be considered as other than an act of flagrant injustice. The banishment of these gentlemen from their homes, without allowing them time or opportunity to provide for the support of their families during the coming winter, without fully informing them of the "head and front of their offending;" because they refused to take certain oaths (it being against the tenets of their religion to take an oath), or to sign the prescribed parole; and who perhaps became *irritatingly conscientious* when the matter was pressed home to them, seems to us a violation of the rights of citizenship: a measure more worthy of John Adams and John Hancock of Massachusetts, by tradition antagonistic to Quakers, than of the Pennsylvanians then at the head of affairs. It is not strange that the former should have considered them dangerous and turbulent citizens; but it does seem remarkable that those who lived in daily intercourse with them should have permitted men of known reliability

and integrity of character to rest under charges which they could not themselves have believed.¹ This, too, when had milder measures been used toward them, from the outset, instead of the military rule which seemed in itself an insult to their profession, they would doubtless have yielded to the necessities of the case. Be it remembered, also, that citizens far more inimical to the interests of the Commonwealth were allowed to remain in their homes in peace and security, there to receive the red-coated warriors with greater demonstrations of joy than would have been consistent from "them that are clothed in drab," and to enjoy with them the comforts of the Capital during the winter of '77 and '78. Although it has been urged, in extenuation of the course pursued by him, that President Wharton acted *ex officio*, he has been severely censured, and not alone by Friends. That he himself instigated any of the stringent measures used toward the banished citizens has never been charged against him; yet his most partial biographer cannot excuse him for not throwing the weight of his influence on the side of the Friends, who were, as far as known, taking no means to aid the enemy. Aside from the arbitrary nature of the proceeding, what possible benefit to the Commonwealth could the President have expected to result from it? If an example were needed, certainly a more noted one could have been found than these peace-loving citizens, of whom even John Adams remarks, and with singular inconsistency in view of the part taken by him in the expulsion of the Quakers: "From these neither good is to be expected, nor evil to be apprehended. They are a kind of neutral tribe, or the race of the insipids." On the other hand, although these are days when no biographer is expected to be a Boswell, it is but just to say that President Wharton's conduct in this affair was in perfect conformity with his views and professions; none, who are familiar with his letters and proclamations, can remain ignorant of the fact that his patriotism was of so intense and

¹ Nine of these gentlemen had signed the Non-importation Agreement of 1765.—*Exiles in Virginia*, p. 46.

devoted a nature that he could brook no half-way measures in others; in his eyes those who did not dedicate themselves heart and soul to the cause of liberty deserved to be ranked with her declared enemies. It must also be taken into consideration, that the seeming lack of consistency in many of the Friends led to the gathering of the vials of wrath that were now poured upon their devoted heads; admitting as they did the injustice of Great Britain, they had, from the beginning, opposed hostile measures, and had repeatedly called upon their members to refrain from taking part in the same, crying out, "Peace, peace, when there was no peace." Furthermore, the Friends formed but a small portion of those who were apprehended during this fall and winter; the large number of disaffected persons in and around Philadelphia seeming to call for vigorous action on the part of the Council, in view of the approach of General Howe toward the capital. Thus, with the sound of the enemy's gun in their ears, expecting each morning that the sun rose upon the city that it would set upon a foe encamped within her gates, some excuse may be found for those at the head of affairs in Pennsylvania, if, like others in similar positions, in order to escape the labor of solving a perplexing question, they banished it far from sight and hearing.

On the 10th of September, 1777, a proclamation was issued over the signature of the President, which concluded with the following spirited period:—

"The Council therefore most humbly beseech and intreat all Persons whatsoever, to exert themselves without delay, to seize this present opportunity of crushing the foe, now in the bowels of our Country, by marching forth instantly under their respective officers, to the assistance of our great General, that he may be able to environ & demolish the only British army that remains formidable in America, or in the World. Animated with the hope that Heaven, as before it has done in all times of difficulty & danger, will again crown our righteous efforts with success, we look forward to the prospect of seeing our insulting foe cut off from all means of

escape, & by the goodness of the Almighty, the Lord of Hosts and God of Battles, wholly delivered into our hands.

"Attest, THO'S WHARTON, jun'r, Presd't."

"TIMOTHY MATLACK, Secretary."

"GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE."

On the 14th, public money and papers were removed to Easton; but it was not until the 23d, when the sad tidings of the surprise and massacre of the troops under Wayne, at Paoli, reached Philadelphia, accompanied by positive intelligence that Howe's army was *en route* for the city, that the Supreme Executive Council consented to leave it;¹ the British entering three days later. Christopher Marshall makes the following record in his diary, Lancaster, Sept. 29, 1777: "Took leave of sundry of the Congress, who were setting off for Yorktown. . . . Many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia came to-day and yesterday to this place, as did our President or Governor, the Executive Council, and the Members of Assembly, who met here this day in the Court House." On establishing themselves at Lancaster, the Council instituted regular expresses to pass and repass from Council to camp once in two days, that co-operation between the government of the State and General Washington's army might be ensured. Constant communication with Congress was kept up, and earnest and continuous efforts made by the President to raise in the minds of the people an enthusiastic determination to expel the enemy from the State. In reply to a letter from Colonel Tench Tilghman, announcing the news of Burgoyne's defeat in the north, Thomas Wharton wrote the following:—

LANCASTER, Oct. 17, 1777.

"SIR: The Council express their sense of the obligation they are under to you for the intelligence contained in yours of the 15th, which has given the highest satisfaction to every friend

¹ Mr. C. H. A. Esling has communicated to me the fact that on this occasion, his great-grandmother, Mary Baker, rowed the Governor of Pennsylvania from her home. "The Chapels of Point No Point," on the Delaware near Bridesburg, across the river to the Jersey Shore.—A. H. W.

of liberty here. They have no expectation of regular correspondence with you, but they cannot forbear expressing a wish that you will give a line on such interesting events as deserve particular notice. These expresses are intended to gain the intelligence necessary to keep up the spirits of the people, and excite them, if it be possible, to some degree of vigor. Every possible means will be used for this purpose.”¹

On the 20th of November, the Assembly and Council, at Lancaster, met, and re-elected Thomas Wharton President, with George Bryan Vice-President, for the ensuing year. At no period in her history was the position of Chief Executive of Pennsylvania surrounded with greater difficulties than during the winter of '77 and '78. Congress, having lost some of its most influential members, was filled with petty rivalries, and proved a far less efficient body than formerly. The enthusiasm that once inspired the army had, in large measure, faded away before the reverses of Brandywine, Paoli, and Germantown, while Pennsylvania—resting under the near shadow of these defeats, with Sir William Howe and his officers comfortably lodged in her capital, offering gold to the producers of the surrounding country for what her Governor could only give paper—was called upon to raise troops, as if by magic, equip them, and send supplies to headquarters to meet the ever-recurring demands of a large and destitute army. Although loud and bitter were the complaints filed against the Commonwealth for her tardiness in answering the demands made upon her, we read of no personal attack made upon her Chief-Magistrate. Indeed, the blame heaped upon this State far exceeded her deserts, the fact being frequently overlooked that her resources had been already drained for the sustenance of the army during the past months, and that, after being the battle ground of the Republic during that time, she was not in a condition to be an unfailing source of supplies. The following extract from a letter, written by Wayne to Wharton, in December, proves to us that Pennsylvania was sometimes found to be acting the

¹ *Penna. Archives*, 2d Series, vol. iii.

part of a too liberal hostess: "Whilst other States are exerting every power (under a Resolve of Congress) to provide for their own troops only, you are following the generous course of providing for the whole. This, Sir, is being generous out of time!"¹

The cause of the Colonies was that for which he labored, and to which he dedicated his best energies; but dear to Thomas Wharton's heart as a Pennsylvanian, a matter of pride, or of deep humiliation and regret, was the conduct of the troops of this Commonwealth. December 12th, he writes to General Armstrong, referring to a recent engagement at Whitmarsh, when Howe moved out from Philadelphia with the threat that he would drive Washington beyond the Alleghanies: "The precipitate retreat of the enemy after so much Gasconading is a convincing proof that their army is not so formidable as they would wish us to believe, or they put great dependence in our want of bravery, and therefore, expected our army would retreat from hill to hill as soon as they approached; they have, however, been disappointed, and I trust we shall benefit by this last movement of theirs. The conduct of our militia gives me real pain, Council is informed from various hands that they have behaved very infamously. The loss of our worthy General Irwin,² I have been informed, was owing entirely to their base behavior."³

General Reed, who was on a visit to headquarters at this time, describes the same engagement in a letter to President Wharton (the place alluded to was Mr. Wharton's country seat, Twickenham, in Cheltenham Township, Montgomery County):—

"We first saw them [the enemy] at Ottinger's, near your house, but in a moment they moved, crossing your meadows in considerable numbers, but scattered. General Potter, Cadwalader, and myself endeavored to draw up the troops in the woods back of your house in order to flank that wing."

¹ *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 142.

² General James Irvine of the Pennsylvania Militia.

³ *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 85.

Elias Boudinot, writing to Thomas Wharton, Dec. 9, 1777, says: "The enemy continued to advance, and posted their pickets about half a mile from our army, their main body lying back of your house. In this manner we lay watching their motions and they ours, when, on Monday, to our great surprise, they moved off by the Old York Road, and got into town about midnight, burning a house or two on their way. Yours is not among the number. I believe the damage done to you is very inconsiderable."¹

In a letter to Elias Boudinot, written December 13, 1777, Thomas Wharton says: "I hope our troops may not retire to winter quarters, and leave our country open to the ravages and insults of the enemy, possibly some opportunity may turn up in the course of the winter for our army, if they should be near the enemy, to attack them with a good prospect of success, which, if scattered, or at a great distance, cannot be put in execution."

Writing to Joseph Reed a few days later, he says: Our army withdrawing its protection from the inhabitants of Phila., and Bucks Counties fill'd the House of Assembly and Council with the utmost distress and anxiety for their safety, and induced them to remonstrate to congress against their retiring to such a distance from the enemy as to leave the inhabitants an easy prey to their wanton and savage treatment, I however hope the General Officers have altered their plan and that they have reconsidered the situation of our country and will afford that relief to those who they are bound to protect as they have an undoubted right to expect. . . . I hope with the blessing of providence we shall enjoy peace and tranquillity in the course of a few months, is it not disgraceful that a handful of men should possess the capital of one of the most wealthy States, and with all our exertions not have force sufficient to destroy every man in the twinkling of an eye, if we were so dispos'd?"²

Although such were his views on the subject of the army going into winter quarters, President Wharton's co-operation

¹ *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, vol. i. pp. 351, 352.

² *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 120.

with the Commander-in-Chief, against whom formidable cabals were organized during this winter, seems to have been ever earnest and vigorous. In a letter written to General Washington, March 10, 1778, he says: "There is not any State on this continent which has been so oppressed with Continental business as this has been, from the beginning of the present controversy to this hour. Its exertions have been so zealous and unremitting that no time has been lost in inquiries after groundless charges of neglect made against it, which have been generally calculated to excuse indolent or improvident officers, or to disgrace the government established in it. The amazingly difficult task which your Excellency has to perform while you are embarrassed with perpetual applications and complaints of officers, who are not fully acquainted with their duty, must, too forcibly, convince you how near to an impossibility it is to conduct a very extensive business without the subordinate officers discharging, in some sort, their duty; and it is from the example of your Excellency alone that it is believed to be possible to conduct the affairs of a large army under the difficulties which you have had to contend with. Equal abilities or success in attempts of this kind are not to be expected in many instances. . . . There is at present an absolute dependence on the Council to supply the common rations of the soldiery now in this borough. An earnest desire to serve the general cause, and a zealous attachment to its interest, are the only motives which could possibly induce the Council to undertake such business in any extremity."¹

Indeed, the demands made upon Council during this campaign were not only extensive, but so unreasonable as to have led President Wharton to indulge in some mild sarcasm at the expense of the applicants. Writing to Washington, Jan. 1778, he says: "The officers, whose wants it is believed are very pressing, will be in some measure relieved; but it cannot be expected that powers of this extraordinary nature, can be exerted to procure any other goods than warmth and decency

¹ *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. pp. 353, 354.

require. Lieutenant Peterson, of the eighth Pennsylvania battalion, applied to the Council for clothing for himself and several officers. At the foot hereof we transcribe, from his application, a specimen of their wants. The call upon the State was thought to be for covering for the naked part of the army; and as no idea that fine ruffled shirts, laced hats, or even fine ones of beaver, silken stockings, or fine scarlet cloth, came under this description, no provision has been made, nor can be expected.”¹

In view of the onerous and perplexing duties at this time devolving upon Thomas Wharton, and the promptness and faithfulness with which they were discharged, it is impossible to regard Marshall’s unamiable soliloquies without a smile: “An invitation made by the President at Major Wirtz’s, to which was invited scarcely any other but a parcel of Tories in this place, some of them inhabitants, and some who reside here from Philadelphia. Poor Dr. Phyle and some of his principals, were not counted worthy to taste of the dainties, and thereby they escaped being intoxicated and made drunk, and next day sick, etc.”² From which a certain amount of pique is obvious on the part of Mr. Marshall, at not having, himself, been counted worthy to partake of these same dainties and potations, from which he chose to consider that Dr. Phyle had made a happy escape. “Last Sixth day another Ball or Assembly in Lancaster, where, it’s said cards were played at a hundred dollars a game, President there, O poor Pennsylvania!”³

In accordance with a recommendation of Congress, setting apart Thursday, December 18th, to be observed as a day of solemn thanksgiving and praise, President Wharton called upon the good people of the Commonwealth to keep it as such, in remembrance of former mercies of God, and in the firm trust that He, who had blessed them thus far, would continue to aid them in the prosecution of a just and necessary war. Great and noble were those spirits, in council and

¹ Sparks’s *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 71.

² Christopher Marshall’s *Diary*, p. 140

³ *Idem.* p. 170.

in camp, which discerned causes for thankfulness and hope amid the thick clouds and darkness that hung over the patriot cause at the opening of the campaign of '78, when the torch of liberty burned so dimly that, seen no longer a blazing beacon on the hill-tops, it flickered like a feeble rushlight in her watch-tower, menaced by every passing breeze. Brave and true were the statesmen and soldiers, who labored cheerfully in this cheerless hour for the good of the Colonies; when continued disappointments and defeats had attended their councils and armies; when, with a depleted treasury, uncertain credit, and troops ill fed, and poorly provided to endure the rigors of winter, they strove to hold out against a powerful and opulent nation, possessing all the sinews of war. Well, indeed, might Pennsylvania, in the words of her warrior parson, prepare herself, by solemn prayer, to meet the Lord her God at the beginning of this winter, destined to be a winter of sorrows to her, and to the army which so sadly and wearily encamped upon the bleak hill-sides of Valley Forge. With what interest and admiration Thomas Wharton, at Lancaster, watched that army, in which seemed centred the hope of the future of America, we learn from his letters to Washington. If the soldiers suffered, as suffer they did, from cold, hunger and exposure, it was, as we have seen, from no neglect on his part; but because, under the existing state of affairs, it was impossible to furnish them with adequate supplies, there being elements in the population of Pennsylvania that seriously militated against such a general and enthusiastic uprising of the people as the exigencies of the case demanded.¹ Stretching between the camp and the invading army in Philadelphia was a rich and populous country, so largely inhabited by Tories, however, that the benefit was far greater to the enemy's troops than to those of Washington; while, as Reed says in writing to Wharton from Valley

¹ Joseph Nourse wrote from the War Office at York, Nov. 1777: I am to inform you, Sir, that the Board have undoubted information that part of several Townships in the vicinity of this place are notoriously disaffected to the cause of America, and under the influence of —, and Mr. Rankin, who is now with the enemy.—*Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 42.

Forge, in February: "The intercourse between the country and the town has produced all the consequences foreseen by many in the beginning of the winter. The supply of provisions to recruit and refresh our enemies, I count the least pernicious. The minds of the inhabitants are seduced, their principles tainted, and opposition enfeebled; a familiarity with the enemy lessens their abhorrence of them and their measures; even good Whigs begin to think peace, at some expense, desirable."

But the story of these months has been told us, and so fitly and beautifully told, that none need ever again essay a recital of the noble endurance and matchless courage of that ragged and starving army, and the heroism of its leaders, which have been immortalized by the eloquent, almost inspired words of the gifted orator, who, standing amid the historic shadows of the old encampment, sang her grand and solemn epic; giving back to the listening hills and the valleys that had known them, in tones of thrilling enthusiasm or tender sadness, the century-old story of the sufferings and triumphs of her heroes.¹

Of the patience with which the army at Valley Forge bore the hardships attending their situation during this severe winter, President Wharton says: it "is an honor which posterity will consider as more illustrious than could have been derived to them by victory obtained by any sudden and vigorous exertion."

On the 11th of May, news of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles reached Lancaster, and was received with public demonstrations of joy. A few days later, a shadow was cast over these rejoicings by the sudden death of the President. On the 13th Mr. Matlack writes to Mr. Peters: "His Excellency, the President, is much indisposed;" on the following day we notice the last record of his name as presiding over the sessions of the Council.²

George Bryan thus announced this sad event, in a letter written to General Washington, from Lancaster, on the 23d:

¹ *Valley Forge Oration* by Henry Armitt Brown.

² *Colonial Records*, vol. ix. p. 488.

"This morning early, his Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Junior, Esquire, died here very unexpectedly. The State suffers by the loss of the worthy president. But tho' Council sensibly feel the want of his presence in their deliberations, your Excellency may be assured of their most spirited exertions," etc.

To which General Washington replied from Headquarters at Valley Forge, May 28th: "I received your favor of the 23^d instant, and sincerely condole with the Council and state on the loss of so worthy a citizen and president."¹

On the 25th instant the funeral of President Wharton was solemnized with civil and military honors; his remains, which were interred in the Evangelical Trinity Church of Lancaster, being followed to the grave by a large escort. All due respect was paid, on this occasion, to his Excellency's character and station; the Council attending in a body, also the Honorable Speaker of the House of the General Assembly, in company with other persons of distinction in Lancaster at that time. Why the Lutheran Church was chosen as the final resting-place of Thomas Wharton, appears from the following entry made by Marshall in his diary: "May 24th. Preparations making, it's said, at [the] Court House for a grand interment of Pres. Wharton this afternoon at the Lutheran Church. It's said the vestry of that church gave an invitation and permission to be buried there, which the vestry of the Episcopal Church neglected, and the Friends were not applied unto for leave to be buried in their ground. . . . In the afternoon went to the burial of Pres. T. Wharton, attended with military honors to the Lutheran Church."

The following extract, from a memorial volume of this Lutheran Church of Lancaster, taken in connection with the statement in the minutes of the Executive Council, and elsewhere, proves conclusively that Thomas Wharton was interred literally "in the Evangelical Trinity Church," and that his remains occupy the grave in front of the old altar and pulpit:—

¹ *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. pp. 546, 558.

"We had frequently heard that some person had been interred immediately in front of the old pulpit and altar, and that when the brick pavement of the aisle was removed, the grave was disclosed; but no one appeared to know who it was. When the repairs were commenced in the autumn of 1853, the removal of the floor again brought it to light; but nothing about the grave or in the church records afforded any clue to the name of the occupant.

"A few days ago the writer found a small memorandum by Dr. G. H. E. Muhlenberg, in which he sets forth 'Data for the granting of a lottery to the members of the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster;' the fifth being as follows: 'The congregation have been from the beginning good Americans; they have received President Wharton in their Church, and Gov. Mifflin on their burial ground without any gratuity. Does not one good turn deserve another?'"

We are surprised to learn that even British journals deemed the death of the Governor of Pennsylvania worthy of a passing notice, as an announcement appeared in the list of deaths of the Gentleman's Magazine of August, 1778.

Although to Thomas Wharton it was given to conduct his native State through the darkest year of her history, amid toil and discouragements of which we can now form no adequate conception, he was not permitted to behold the full dawn of victory and peace soon to break upon the cause for which he labored. To him Germantown and Brandywine were as "twice told tales;" but not for him were the brighter pages of Monmouth and of Yorktown.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from Vol. V., page 461.)

McCALL—PLUMSTED.

133. MARY McCALL,⁵ daughter of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., March 31, 1725. She became, September 27, 1753, the second wife* of William Plumsted, eldest son of Clement Plumsted, a native of Norfolk, England, who settled in Philadelphia,† by his second wife, Elizabeth Palmer, of our city,‡ born November 7, 1708. Mr. Plumsted inherited nearly all his father's property (except the very considerable portion of it bequeathed to his three children by his first wife), embracing land in and near Amboy and Gloucester in New Jersey, and in Kent County on Delaware, and Bucks County, Pennsylvania, besides a wharf and stores on the east side of Plum Street in Philadelphia. He continued Mr. Clement Plumsted's busi-

* His first wife was Rebecca, daughter of Philip Kearney, of Philadelphia, great-aunt of Charles Kinsey, of Burlington, N. J., who m. Elizabeth, daughter of Reynold and Anne (Lawrence) Keen (254), to whom Mr. Plumsted was married at Philadelphia Friends' Meeting, April 19, 1733. Their daughter Elizabeth became the second wife of Andrew Elliot, who m. Mr. Plumsted's sister-in-law, Eleanor McCall (137).

† Clement Plumsted was a Common-Council-man and Alderman of Philadelphia, and thrice (in 1723, 1736, and 1741) occupied the office of Mayor, represented our city and county in the General Assembly, and was finally appointed a Member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. A further account of him and his descendants will be comprised in the forthcoming *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*.

‡ A near relative, probably, of Anthony Palmer, the Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania, who was present at her marriage (by Friends' ceremony), and signed the certificate. Mr. Clement Plumsted's first wife, Sarah Biddle, had only one child, also named William, who died in infancy.

ness as merchant. He was elected a Common-Council-man of Philadelphia, October 2, 1739, and an Alderman, October 6, 1747, and filled the office of Mayor from October, 1750, to October, 1751, and again for the unexpired term of Charles Willing, deceased, from December 4, 1754, to October, 1755, and finally (by re-election) from the latter date to October, 1756. He was commissioned a Justice of the Peace for Philadelphia City and County, May 25, 1752, November 27, 1757, February 28, 1761, and January 17, 1765; and for Northampton County, November 27, 1757, and November 19, 1764. He represented Northampton County in the General Assembly of the Province in 1757-8, and was appointed on the Committee to audit and examine the accounts of the Commissioners that year.* From June 19, 1745, until his death, he held the office of Register-General of Pennsylvania. By Acts of Assembly, passed October 31, 1761, and November 2, 1762, he was empowered to draw on David Barclay, Jr.,† of London, Agent of the Government of Pennsylvania, for the money allotted to the Province by Parliamentary grant for the years 1758, 1759, and 1760, and direct the appropriation of the same, in case of the death of his associate in this authority, Benjamin Chew.‡ He was one of the gentlemen who pledged the payment of the tax on the Proprietary estates, to facilitate the passage of an Act for raising money for the defence of the Province in August, 1755, already spoken of, and in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia, November 24, signed an earnest "remonstrance" to the Assembly on behalf of the city, appealing to that body to organize a militia to protect

* *Penna. Archives*, vol. iii. pp. 452-3.

† Uncle of Patience Barclay, who became the second wife of Reynold Keen (85).

‡ Member of the Provincial Council, and Attorney-General, of Pennsylvania, afterwards Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. He succeeded Mr. Plumsted as Register-General. His granddaughter Elizabeth Henrietta Philips, his great-grandsons William Henry Rawle and Oswald Jackson, his great-granddaughter Charlotte Manigault Wilcocks, and his great-great-grandson William Poyntell Johnston, M.D., all married descendants of Jöran Kyn.

the people against attacks of the Indians.* He was a Member of the Association Battery Company of Philadelphia in 1756, and a Commissary-Agent in our city towards the close of the French and Indian War. He was one of the first Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and a Trustee of the College and Academy of Philadelphia from their foundation until his death. He abandoned the principles of the Society of Friends, in which he had been educated by his father, and adopted the established religion, becoming a Vestryman and Warden of Christ Church, and signing the petition to the Proprietaries for the site on which St. Peter's was erected, being, with his brother-in-law, Samuel McCall, Jr., a Member of the Committee on building the latter edifice. He was an original Member of the noted fishing company, known as "the Colony in Schuylkill," instituted May 1, 1732, and a Subscriber to the First Dancing Assembly of our city, held in 1748. It was in one of his stores, in Water Street above Pine, according to Watson,† that the first English theatrical troupe which visited Philadelphia, called "Hallam's Company," opened their theatre. He resided in a house on the east side of Second Street above Chestnut (on the site of the present Nos. 47 and 49), which afterwards became the Prince of Wales Inn. Mr. Plumsted died in Philadelphia, August 10, 1765. The following obituary notice of him appears in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of that week: "On Sunday last died here, after a short, but severe, Illness, William Plumsted, Esq., one of the Aldermen of this City; and the next Day was buried in St. Peter's Church Burying Ground, in the plainest Manner, at his own Request, according to the new Mode, lately used in Boston and New York, having no Pall over his Coffin, nor none of his Relations or Friends appearing in Mourning. . . . We flatter ourselves, that this frugal and laudable Example of burying our Dead, so seasonably set by People of Family and Fortune, will be imitated by all, both in City and Country; the good Effects of which must soon

* The "Remonstrance" appears in the *Minutes of the Provincial Council*.

† *Annals of Philadelphia*, vol. i. p. 471.

be felt, especially by those in low Circumstances.” Mrs. Plumsted also died in Philadelphia, and was buried with her husband, September 13, 1799.* They had seven children, born in Philadelphia:

328. WILLIAM, b. August 4, 1754; bur. in Christ Church Ground, March 11, 1756.
329. GEORGE, b. August 9, 1755; bur. *ibid.* July 15, 1756.
330. WILLIAM, b. August 29, 1756. He d. unm. in Philadelphia, and was bur. in St. Peter's Churchyard, August 27, 1794.
331. CLEMENT, b. October 4, 1758. He d. unm. in Philadelphia, September 23, 1800, and was bur. *ibid.*
332. ANN, b. July 7, 1760; bur. *ibid.* December 7, 1772.
333. CATHARINE, b. *in eodem partu*. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, and was bur. *ibid.*
334. GEORGE, b. May 3, 1765. He engaged in mercantile pursuits in Philadelphia. He m. in this city, December 3, 1795, Anna Helena Amelia, daughter of John Ross, a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, who settled in Philadelphia,† by his wife Clementina, daughter of Captain Charles Cruikshank, R. A., also of Scotland, who fought in the Netherlands, and at Quebec under Wolfe, and owned and occupied the beautiful country-seat, called by him “the Grange,” in Haverford Township, Chester (now Delaware) County, Pa., afterwards purchased and inhabited by his son-in-law, Mr. Ross.‡

* A portrait of Mr. Plumsted, by Copley, one of Mrs. Plumsted, by Hesselius, and a miniature likeness of each are in the possession of their granddaughter, Miss Clementina R. Plumstead, of Philadelphia.

† Son of Murdock Ross, of Aberdeen. “At the breaking out of the Revolution he warmly espoused the cause of American Independence, and became a banker in South Carolina, being subsequently sent from that State as a Delegate to Congress.” (Sketch of his son, Charles Ross, Captain of the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, in the *History of the Troop*, p. 145. Lanman does not mention him.)

‡ For an interesting account of “this ancient seat of grandeur and elegance,” adorned by a sketch of the mansion (known as “Clifton Hall”) erected upon it by John Wilcocks, a former proprietor, drawn by Captain Cruikshank in 1770, see Doctor Smith's *History of Delaware County*, pp. 393, *et seq.* “The land attached to the Grange was partly in three Counties—Chester (now Delaware), Philadelphia, and Montgomery—which Captain Cruikshank increased by purchase,” likewise enlarging and modifying the house. “Mr. Ross added to the buildings, and also increased the quantity of land to an aggregate of six hundred acres.” The great natural and artificial beauties of the place are sympathetically described in a poem by Doctor

Mrs. Plumsted was b. November 26, 1776. Mr. Plumsted d. in Philadelphia, April 5, 1805, and was bur. in St. Peter's Churchyard. In an obituary notice of him in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, April 11, it is said: "The memory of Mr. Plumsted is endeared to his friends by the mildness of his manners and disposition, by his hospitality, by his charities to the poor, by his liberality to public institutions, and by his integrity and uprightness in all his dealings." Mrs. Plumsted survived her husband many years, subsequently marrying the Hon. Philip S. Markley, of Montgomery County, Pa., Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, a Member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and afterwards Naval Officer for the port of Philadelphia. She d. in Philadelphia, January 18, 1846, and is bur. with Mr. Plumsted.* They left issue.

Charles Caldwell, a visitor to Mr. Ross, about 1798, printed in the same work, pp. 556-7, from a MS. furnished by Mr. Ross's son-in-law, the late Samuel Breck. After the death of Mr. Ross the estate was purchased by another son-in-law, John F. Mifflin, half-brother of Thomas Mifflin, the distinguished Governor of Pennsylvania.

* Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Plumsted, by Gilbert Stuart, are owned by their daughter Miss Plumstead.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

[Contributed by Edward H. Ward, Jr.]

ROBERT MORRIS TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

JNO NICHOLSON ESQ^r

Dear Sir,

Hills Nov^r 1 1797

Your several favours of this day (if distressing Billets can be called favours) No 1 to 6 were brought out by Charles this Evening, by the last of them I see you had just rec'd mine which enclosed a Copy of the letter I wrote to the Trustees this morning. What you find right therein you will confirm, and if anything you condemn correct it by a letter from yourself, for we must follow them up and at least do all we can to prevent an unnecessary sacrifice of our property. I see by your No 1 that you will need sleep to-night as well as myself and when I go to Bed I will say as they do in England over a pot of ale "Heres to you" My letter to the Trustees is a reply to this of yours without comment. Poor Boone, Poor Nicholson, Poor Morris, Poor Sterritt, Poor Sheaff. Poor — but who is not poor, except Ashley & Co. this replies to No 2. I have sworn to let no body inside of my House and not to go outside of the walls myself. If I see them it is out of a window, I being up stairs and they down When I snuff the open air it is on the top & there is some thing else to snuff there unless you keep to Windward as you know. I wish I had some persons that I could name to take a smell to Leward until they would consent to do not *their needs* but ours, *thats a good one*. You have got a Boon, but it is of that sort that you & I have too many of, what the plague will you do with it. I wish to answer this question myself but cannot, and fear it will equally puzzle you. No 3. Damn the actions *Descript and non Descript* I hate them all and have a great mind not to "tir one tep" Cha^s Young I do not like thee Cha^s Young, neither do I like thy business Cha^s Young but I feel for thy situation and regret that my Friend & I ever suffered thee to whistle away a Segar in our Company—No 4. *Suits* again, a curse on all *suits* say I. If they were good comfortable Winter Suits one might dispose of them, the more the better; but these damned Suits wherein a Lawyer is the Taylor are neither good for man, Woman, Child or Beast. Away with them, away with them to Chief Justice McKean. He will dispose of them—a letter for Mr Ingraham sent to Doct^r Wistars will reach him and letters sent to W^m Sansom House will probably reach Mr Sansom. So much for No 5 and as to No 6 and last, to fulfil the Scripture I made it first, however a word more to it: dont you think Mr Ashleys leading Strings may give way, if the Comm^r should take the Studd, & I fear they will for some of them we know are apt to ride resty, did you mark, "yes I am sure you did" Gen^l Forrests expressions about the dapper little Dorsay—has not he got the Trustees in leading strings. now if we could cast a noose around his muzzle we might lead him, he would lead the Trustees, and they would lead the comm^r. I think this would make as good a scene as Bates with Eo, Meo & Pleo or what the Devil are their names for I believe I am near them but not quite right. do I write like a man in distress or one deranged, perhaps I am both. Good night, I wish you rest.

ROB^t MORRIS.

[Original in collection of R. C. Davis.]

[Contributed by Dr. Horace Evans.]

ROBERT MORRIS TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

No. 3.

HILLS, Decr. 14th, 1797.

JNO: NICHOLSON, Esq.: Dear Sir,

I have already acknowledged the receipt of your billets No. 1 to 5 of this day, but I was then too much hurried to say in reply all that ought to be said. Your sentiments in regard to C. Y. agree exactly with mine, but what can we do. Issuing paper is worse than Death or Jail, or anything. We have no money, nor anything that will command it, and as to security, nothing seems to be deemed security now, short of Prime Street security, and that is not worth Doctr. Logan's apple-tree buttons. Mr. Reinagle may be liable to Mr. Hallowell's ca. sa. and yet be worth more money (say property) than Mr. Hallowell or his client. Why therefore should he not enter bail and justify. But they mean to browbeat him, and for this purpose have employed E. Tilghman who knows Reinagle's circumstances from his having been a client, and I think Tilghman ought to have had more pride and spirit than to have been made a "cat's-paw," under such circumstances. However, if Mr. Reinagle has spunk enough to see the thing out and go through with what he has undertaken, I should like the tryal. Mr. Gibson is afraid of Tilghman. He believes him infallible, and dare not risque opposition to him, but if he means to be a *great lawyer* he should glory in opposing the whole *Bar*, and of all men his *old Master*. I mark your good intentions, in regard to Reinagle entering bail for me in preference, if he cannot do it for both. This is, I think, what I should have done if the case had been reversed, and consequently it meets my approbation, altho' I fear that he cannot serve either of us unless the court chooses. Your interview with J. Baker was no doubt very interesting, both to him and to you, and I do not wonder that your feelings were wound up to a high pitch, but you must not go to Pruen Street. Parry the present difficulties, and fortune will smile hereafter, but if the key is once turned on you by the hand under any authority but your own, God only knows when that door shall be opened to you; perhaps never, until you shall be insensible to the affairs of this world.

I have already told you my regret at poor Dr. Moulder's exit from his own castle, and with you I disapprove of his not holding off as long as he could. Your consolation in this case is the only solid one which can protect a man against a reproaching world. I see you did not send on my letter to Sheriff Boone in time, and I have received one from him recapitulating his distresses. If you neglect forwarding my letters I must not entrust you with them. Mr. Gibson should let us know as soon as possible Mr. Duponceau's determination as to the French business.

If Noailles has a mind to serve you let him go and enter special bail to all the actions that require it. I thank you for the hint of Lovering and will take care, for he shall not come within these doors, nor will I go out thereof. William and Charles sallied forth whilst I was writing No. 2 to look for C. Tunis & Co., but the latter avoided the rencounter, and as far as we know, went off. But I remember it was a sentiment of E. Thompson their principal, that by perseverance he could take any man living, therefore I must be eternally on my guard by supposing that he and his myrmidons are constantly on the watch.

Good Night,

ROBT. MORRIS.

JNO: NICHOLSON, Esq.

DR. BENJ. RUSH TO GRIFFITH EVANS.

Dear Sir,

Accept of my thanks for your friendly and interesting letter from Paris. I deplore with you the factions which have torn that country to pieces, but you and I believe that "all evil is good in disguise," and of course that the present distractions of France are nothing but the seeds of great and universal happiness.

The United States continue to exhibit proofs to the world that Republics are practical governments. We are still peaceable and happy, and I have no doubt but we shall continue to be so, for many, many generations to come.

D^r Priestley has fixed his permanent residence in North^d town. He is now on a visit to our city in which he is admired, and caressed by all classes of citizens, and by the Autocrats, for his *political*, and by the aristocrats for his *religious* principles. He has preached three times in the Universal Church to crowded and respectable audiences. His sermons (one excepted) were very popular. The unpopular one gave offence only by detailing the vices of Heathens in too gross language, in showing the necessity of the Christian Revelation to correct and banish those vices from civilized Society.

M^r Winchester preaches on Sunday evenings to crowded audiences, but they are composed chiefly of the second and lower classes of our citizens. He is as usual, eloquent, Scriptural, and irresistible in his reasonings upon all Subjects.

The Treaty with Great Britain, though not popular in the House of Representatives, will it is expected, be supported by them. The treaty with Spain will, it is said, be ratified by a unanimous vote in the Senate. Thousands on the western waters already begin to shout its applause.

With best respects to D^r Edwards I am my Dear Sir

Your Sincere Friend

Philada. March 4th 1796.

BENJ: RUSH.

DR. BENJAMIN RUSH TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

Dear Sir,

Nothing could be more opportune than your kind offer to the poor Africans. They had nearly despaired of being able to complete their church. The person who once offered to lend them money was Col. Cox. Finding that you had anticipated him in that benevolent act, he followed your kindness by bequeathing to them one hundred pounds. From their numbers, their increasing prosperity, and their punctuality in all their engagements, I have no doubt but your interest will be paid to a day every quarter. The lot and building amply secure the principal. In all my intercourse with the blacks, I have found them affectionate and grateful. You will find them more so,—for you have greater demands than I have ever had, upon their gratitude and affections. I find they have allotted a pew for each of us, on different sides of the pulpit of their church. On Saturday next they purpose to raise their roof, after which they are to have a dinner under a tree at a private house in the Neck, about a mile from town. I hope I shall have the pleasure of meeting you there, for they intend to invite you with two or three more of their white benefactors. I wish to suggest to you an idea of offering 10,000, or more acres for sale on moderate terms, and on a credit for a few years, to *Africans only* who have been brought up as farmers. The attraction of color and country is such, that I think the offer would succeed, and thereby a *precedent* be established for colonizing in time, all the Africans in our country.

Adieu—my dear friend—May Heaven prosper you in all your great and extensive pursuits, and may you long continue to enjoy the highest and only rational pleasure that wealth can confer—I mean the luxury of doing good.

From yours

Sincerely

BENJ^a RUSH.

August 12th 1793

[Contributed by George de B. Keim.]

BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.

Respected Friend, }
ALLEN McLANE. }

PHILADELPHIA, 8 Mo: 3^d: 1824.

Thy favor bearing date on the anniversary of the battle of Long Island is now before me.

On that day the Regiment^o of Riflemen under the command of Col. Samuel Miles and of which I was first Major, was in danger of being surrounded by a heavy body of the British Army, and being the only officer then mounted, the Colonel requested me to ride with speed into the Brooklyn lines and request of the commanding officer a reinforcement—when I applied to Gen: Putnam he said he could not spare a man. The enemy was approaching our left near the Wallabout. Soon afterwards a number of Miles's Regiment came into the lines near the centre, and brought the sad tidings that Col. Miles was taken prisoner, that Col. Piper was killed, with many other officers and privates.

I collected all the officers and privates that had escaped that could be found, and I hastened to Gen: Washington, who was in the main work on the right of the lines, and requested instructions as to the position I should take with the riflemen:—He directed my view to the Mill dam, and some of the Americans on our right that was retreating through the Marsh from the Heights where Gen. Stirling was engaged. I hastened to the Mills, pulled them down for the retreating troops to pass over the Creek. The advance of the Americans had taken a British officer and 18 Marines—they got first over the creek into our lines, and you was one of the party that was guarding the prisoners.—I recognized you my old fellow Citizen and considered my friend Allen McLane an officer from the Philadelphia Militia thus saved from the British who were in view on the high ground firing their Howitz and field pieces at them.—Gen: Stirlings horse fell about this time, and his division followed the party that brought off the prisoners, and hundreds of the Americans escaped this way, which tended to strengthen Gen: Washington's lines.

I am very respectfully

Thy friend,

ENNION WILLIAMS.

[Contributed by Charles Roberts.]

DAUPHIN COUNTY, PA., IN 1789.

Sir,

LOUISBOURG, March 5th, 1789.

A Hurry of Business added to a want of Health has hitherto prevented me from paying that Attention I could have wished to your Questions respecting the County of Dauphin. I now give you the Result of my Enquiries upon the different heads you propose arranged in the order of your Queries.

Answer to 1st Qu. Dauphin, formerly contained within the Limits of Lancaster County, but divided from it and erected into a separate County by Act of Assembly passed March 4th 1785.

Ans^r. to 2^d Qu. It's Boundaries on the West and South West are the Western Shore of the River Susquehanna (the River being within the Limits and Jurisdiction of the County) on the South East Conawagoe Creek as far as the Head of it and from thence running in a direct Line to the south East Corner of Heidelberg Township where it strikes the Berks County Line thence north West by the Line of Berks County to Mahantango Creek thence along the same by the Line of Northumberland and crossing the Susquehanna to the Line of Cumberland County. It is thus described in the Act of Assembly, but perhaps it may be sufficient for your purpose to say. That it is bounded on the West and south West by the Counties of Cumberland and York, on the South and South East by Lancaster County—on the East & North East by Berks and on the north by Northumberland, the greater and best part of the County lying in the valley between the blue or Kittatinny Mountain, and the Conawago Hill or South Mountain, which latter Name it obtains in Cumberland County. Its form is triangular and its Extent along the Susquehanna about forty-five miles from thence to the Line of Berks County about thirty-five Miles and from thence to the same River along the Line of Berks and Northumberland Counties about fifty-five miles.

Ans^r to 3^d Qu. There are 3250 taxable Inhabitants in Dauphin from whence perhaps it may be estimated that there are not less than 16, or 18000 souls. These consist with a very few Exceptions of German and Irish or what are in Pennsylvania called Scotch Irish and their descendants. I think about two thirds of the Inhabitants are Germans or of that Extraction. The principal religious denominations among them are Lutheran and Calvinists perhaps about an equal number of each—there is also a small Congregation of Moravians who have a place of worship about a mile from the Town of Lebanon. There are besides a good number of Menonists and a small Society of Roman Catholics who have a Chapel in Lebanon Township.

The religious Profession of the Irish families is the Presbyterian. They have three meeting houses, one in West Hanover, one in Paxton and one in Derry Township. There are also a few Seceders and Covenanters who being too inconsiderable in number to form distinct Societies have generally fallen in with the before mentioned Congregations. The english Episcopalians, Quakers &c of which we have a few are by no means numerous enough to have places of Worship.

Ans^r to 4th Qu. The soil is generally good and in some parts remarkably fertile more particularly in Lebanon and Heidelberg Townships and in that part of Paxton lying along the River. A great portion of the County is Lime stone land but as it approaches the Kittatinny Mountain which runs through it a Distance of near thirty Miles it is generally a gravelly or light slaty soil which however produces very good and certain Crops of excellent Wheat Rye &c Beyond the mountain to Northumberland County which Tract of Country comprehends upper and middle Paxton Townships. The quality of the soil is much inferior to the other parts and is very little cultivated. It is generally timbered with pine & white oak and watered with a number of fine Streams which enable the Inhabitants to erect Saw Mills and to drive on a very beneficial Trade in Boards &c but tho' the soil of this Country is somewhat sandy & in other parts wet as may be inferred from the timber yet it produces pretty good Grain and affords a great deal of good meadow Ground. From the best information I am inclined to think that the proportion of the Land under Cultivation will average at less than an half. The trade to Philadelphia and the Mills on the Road thither, our principal Export being Wheat and flour—we also export Bar Iron and the neighbouring Country is supplied with Boards Scantling &c from Louisbourg and Middletown which are situated on or near Susquehanna down which great Quantities of these Articles are rafted in the Spring and Autumu at which Seasons

the waters being high the navigation is rendered safe and easy Our Exports (except what are taken off by the watermen who bring down Lumber and Grain) are conveyed by Land, the navigation of the Susquehanna being at present too much obstructed below Middletown by Rocks Falls &c to make it eligible to convey them by Water to Baltimore and the other Markets in the Chesapeake which may possibly be the case in future when the Country has ability to remove these Obstructions.

Our chief Imports besides the Articles brought down the River as already mentioned are European and East and West India Merchandize brought from Philadelphia. The natural Growth of the Soil is generally Hickory, Oak, Chesnut, Poplar and near the River Walnut Locust, Linn or Linden, Maple, Ash, Beech & with the Herbage usual in other parts of the State. Its productions from Culture are Wheat Rye, Oats, Barley, Indian Corn, Flax, Hemp &c.

Ans^r. to 5th Qu. The Rivers are the Susquehanna the Swetara a large stream which has its source in Berks County and after watering a considerable Extent of Country in its windings empties into the Susquehanna at Middletown—the Quitapahilla which discharges itself into the Swatara and the Tulpehocken which empties into Schuylkill (about a mile from Reading) between the Head waters of which (i.e the Tulpehocken) and the Quipahilla which approach within a mile of each other near the town of Lebanon it has been in Contemplation to cut a Canal and thereby by means of Locks &c to open a navigable Communication between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna a work which though at present laid aside will probably one day be carried into Execution. There are besides these several less important Streams vizt. Paxtang, Conewano, Spring Creek, Clark's Creek, Sturgeons, Armstrong, Beaver Creek, Monady, Wickonisky, little Swetara &c most of which afford seats for Mills & every kind of water works.

I know of nothing remarkable in the Mountains of which there are several in the County vizt. the blue Mountain already mentioned and several other Ridges in its Neighbourhood such as Peter's Mountain, Berry's Mountain &c and the Conawagoe Hill, in which there is a Mine of Iron Ore belonging to the Estate of the late Mr. Grubb (part whereof is in Lancaster City) which appears to be inexhaustible—

There is a Spring near the foot of the blue Mountains much celebrated and resorted to by the Country People on Account of its supposed Efficacy in the Cure of Rheumatic and other chronic Disorders, but from what I can learn if it possesses any virtue it arises chiefly from its excessive coldness.

There is also a Cave on the Banks of the Swatara about a mile from Hummel's town in derry Towanship deemed a great Curiosity by those who have seen it. It's Aperture being under a pretty high Bank is from 15 to 20 feet wide and from 7 to 10 in Height—You enter by a gradual Descent and in your Progress pass through a number of Passages and Apartments of various Dimensions, some low and narrow others very high and spacious, vaulted by magnificent Canopies fretted with a variety of depending Petrifications, some of which are drawn to a great Length by means of their continued Exudation. But much of their original Beauty and Transparency is obscured by the smoke of the Torches from time to time employed in conducting the curious Traveller through this gloomy Recess. From the Entrance of the Cavern to a small Fissure or Outlet at the Extremity which is barely large enough to admit the Body of a Man is about 200 yards measured in a strait Line on the surface of the Ground under which it passes, but the Distance must be much greater to those who have the Courage to trace it in its subterraneous Windings. This is the only natural Curiosity in the Country that I have heard of and I know of no Antiquities or artificial ones.

Ans^r. to 6th Qu. The Country was first settled by Emigrants from Ireland.

Ans^r to 7th Qu. The state of Agriculture is much the same as in the neighbouring Counties & will doubtless admit of much Improvement. The same may be said of the Manufactures though some Branches seem to merit a particular mention viz^t. A nail factory at Louisbourg which is carried on by means of a stamping Machine much cheaper & more expidiously than in the usual mode of drawing—also a Powder Mill of Lebanon Township in which is manufactured Powder of a very superior Strength and Quality. Besides these I cannot omit a Grist Mill within a Mile of Middletown seated very advantageously on the Swetara & about half a Mile from the mouth of it. It is a very large and handsome stone Building has four pair of Stones and is perhaps in every respect one of the most complete in Pennsylvania. But what is perhaps more deserving of Attention is the Race a Canal from twenty to thirty feet in Breadth and carried with such a decree of Boldness to a Length of 476 perches through Rocks and Hills and every Obstacle which occurred in its Course as cannot fail to excite a very high Idea of the enterprizing Spirit & persevering Industry of Mr. George Frey the undertaker and owner.

We have as yet no Academy or public schools but shall in common with the other Counties of the State have a Tract of Land granted & appropriated by the Legislature for the Establishment of one besides which we are entitled to the annual proceeds of a Ferry across the Susquehanna at present rented for £155 per An^m. which shon'd it (as in all probability it will) be applied to this Use will constitute a very respectable Fund.

Ans^r. to 8th Qu. The County comprehends ten Townships viz^t. Paxton (or Paxtang which is the original Indian name), upper Paxton, Middle Paxton, East Hanover, West Hanover, Derry, Loudonderry, Lebanon, Bethel and Heidelberg—and ten Towns viz^t. Louisbourg or Harrisburgh containing about 130 dwelling houses, a Gaol being a plain stone Building and a German Church a Log Building—Lebanon containing about 180 Houses and two German Churches built of Wood. Middletown containing 90 odd Houses & one German Church of Wood. Hummel's town containing about 35 Houses & one German Church of Wood.—Anville or Miller's town containing about 35 houses Heidelberg or Shaffer's town containing about 70 Houses & 2 German Churches one of which is a handsome stone Building—Newman's town containing about 20 houses—Tulpehocken or Myer's town containing about 25 houses—Williamsburg or Jones's town containing about 40 houses and one German of Wood. N. B. In Lebanon one of the Churches belongs to the Lutheran the other to the Calvinists, so in Heidelberg, but in the other Towns where there is but one, it generally belongs to both societies and is used by them alternately.

Ans^wr to 9th Qu. The Name of the principal Town or Seat of the Courts is Louisbourg so styled by the Supreme Executive Council in their proceedings as well as in those of the Courts altho' it is more generally known by the name of Harrisburgh—it is a fine flourishing place & its progress amazing having been laid out a little better than 3 years. It lies between the 40th & 41st degree of Latitude and is somewhat more than a degree & a half West of Philada. its Distance from that place 100 Miles and its Bearing about West and by North—

This is the most accurate Information I cou'd obtain with respect to the Objects of your Inquiry. I have probably been more minute than necessary in some Cases, but agreeably to your desire was willing to give as full an Answer as possible and shall be happy if it affords you any Assistance in your very useful Undertaking in which I wish you Success and

Am Sir

Your very hble Serv^t

ALEX. GRAYDON.

To Mr. JEDEDIAH MORSE.

POSTSCRIPT to the PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL, July 12, 1770.

A L E T T E R

From the *Merchants Committee* of New-York, to the *Merchants Committee* in this place, dated New-York, July 10, 1770, with the Answer.

New-York, July 10, 1770.

GENTLEMEN,

IN pursuance of the printed advertisement, inclosed you by our last express; we are directed to acquaint you, that the sense of our inhabitants has been again taken according to the inclosed written proposals from our committee; which was not finished until last night; and as there appeared a great majority for importing everything, except such articles as are, or may be hereafter be subject to duty for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, and in consequence thereof, many orders for goods may be sent by the packet to sail to-morrow or next day; we are ordered to give you the most early advice of this event by another express, that if your merchants should chuse to send any orders, they may avail themselves of a vessel which, we hear, will be ready to sail from your port for London on Saturday next. Another opportunity will also offer from hence for Liverpool the same day.

We are very sorry our late earnest endeavours to harmonize with our brethren of Philadelphia, have proved abortive; but we flatter ourselves the event will abundantly justify the measure adopted by the majority of our inhabitants, although they appear just now to be singular in their opinion.

We remain,

With great regard,

Gentlemen,

Your most Humble Servants.

To Committee of Merchants }
in Philadelphia.

In the above Letter was inclosed the following.

THE above persons are requested by the committee of merchants to divide themselves in pairs, one of each party; and to take the sense of their ward for, and against Importation; by taking down the names of the inhabitants after reading to them the following proposition, without using any other arguments, viz.

As by the return of our expresses from Boston and Philadelphia, we are advised by let-

ters from their committees, that a majority of both places are for maintaining their Non-Importation Agreements on their present footing.

Is it your sentiments that we should also abide by our present Non-Importation Agreement; or to import everything except the articles which are, or may hereafter be subject to Duty?

It is expected that every Person who is waited on, will candidly give his opinion for, or against importation, and that the Committee appointed to wait on them, will make a return of their voices to the Committee of Inspection, at Mrs. Wrag's on Monday Evening the 9th of July, without fail.

By Order of the Committee.

Philadelphia, July 11, 1770.

WE are sorry to find by your letter on the 10th inst. by express, that a majority of your city have determined to break your Non-Importation Agreement; a measure which we think will be prejudicial to your own and the liberties of All America.—Arguments are now vain.—To posterity and to your country you must answer for the step you have now taken.—The disposition you shewed on a former occasion, and the letters we received from you since the passing of the Act of 7 G. 3, promised a different conduct. We cannot even “flatter ourselves the event will justify the measure you have adopted.” You have certainly weakened that union of the colonies on which their safety depends, and will thereby strengthen the hands of our enemies, and encourage them to prosecute their designs against our common liberty. We cannot forbear telling you, that however you may colour your proceedings, we think you have, in the day of trial, deserted the cause of liberty and your country.

We are, gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servants,
And assured friends.

To The MERCHANTS COMMITTEE
of New-York.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS: THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, etc. etc.—Edited by William Henry Smith. Robert Clark & Co., Cincinnati, 1882, 2 vols. 8vo. \$6. This work is the most valuable contribution to the literature of the Revolution that has been made for years. It, indeed, could not be otherwise, if the material of which it is composed warrants the title which has been given to it. St. Clair, who was a Brigadier-General in 1776, and a Major-General in 1777, was a central figure in the Revolutionary war. It was not, however, in that struggle alone that his fame was won. Under Wolfe and his successors he served in the war for the conquest of Canada, and after the establishment of independence led the ill-fated expedition which bears his name against the Indians. As governor of the northwest territory from 1787 to 1802, he served his country as faithfully as in the field. The close of his chequered life is as sad an episode as any in our history, and will long serve as an example to prove the truth of the popular, but rather questionable estimate of the gratitude of republics. The manuscripts which form the base of the work were purchased from the descendants of General St. Clair by the State of Ohio, and other sources have been drawn upon to make the series complete. Under the authority of the Legislature of Ohio they have been published, and now they are accessible we wonder that they did not appear before. The letters and documents are prefaced with an appreciative sketch of St. Clair, but it is not necessary for us to trace his fitful career so well is it known, nor, indeed, would our space permit us to do so were we so inclined. We shall, therefore, only point out some few of the new facts that have been brought to light, that our readers may understand the value of the work.

It has been heretofore stated that St. Clair was the grandson of the Earl of Rosslyn, but although of the same family, Mr. Smith says he was not descended from the Earl. He was born in Thurso, Scotland, in the year 1734. His father died while Arthur was quite young, and when the latter had arrived at a proper age, he was indentured to the celebrated Dr. William Hunter, of London. The study of medicine had no charms for him, and after the death of his mother in the winter of 1756–57, he obtained an ensign's commission. He came to America, and under Amherst at Louisburg and Wolfe at Quebec, he participated in the most brilliant engagements of the Canadian campaign. At the close of the war he married Phœbe Bayard. By this marriage he received the sum of £14,000, a legacy to his wife from her grandfather, James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts. In 1762 he resigned his commission, and shortly afterwards settled in western Pennsylvania in the Ligonier Valley. He soon became intimate with the most influential men of the colony, and was employed in public business of importance. In the volumes before us there are many letters of interest to Governor John Penn and others, regarding Lord Dunmore's war and Dr. John Connolly, which supplement those printed in the Pennsylvania Archives.

Upon the breaking out of the Revolution in 1775, St. Clair suggested at once the seizure of Detroit by a volunteer expedition to be sent out from

western Pennsylvania, but the plan was not approved of by Congress. Had it been so, it is possible it would have been successful, but the conception of the idea serves to show the decisive character of the man, and how entirely he was in sympathy with the colonists in opposing the measures of the crown. On January 3, 1776, St. Clair was chosen by Congress to command one of the four battalions to be raised in Pennsylvania, and on March 12th left Philadelphia for Canada with six companies fully equipped, and took part in the disastrous campaign beginning with the retreat from before Quebec. In his correspondence covering this period, with his Pennsylvania friends, there are many passages of peculiar freshness and interest. In a letter addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel William Allen, who had served under him, and who left the army after the passage of the Declaration of Independence, and subsequently joined the British, we have St. Clair's views on independence. Mr. Smith says that he had the honor of reading the Declaration to the troops at Ticonderoga, but it is not so clear that the honor was considered one at the time. On September 1st he wrote to Colonel Allen, whose course he deprecated: "I wish you had returned to the regiment. Though I well knew your sentiments, I really expected you would have come back. 'The osier keeps its footing when the oak is torn up by the roots.' You know my way of thinking, and you know likewise the obligations I have for your family—obligations which no change of circumstances can ever cancel. But you will excuse me, my dear sir, when I say that I believe it would have been true policy to have given some way to the temper of the times. If I remember rightly, there were two points on which we were perfectly agreed: First, that independence was not the interest of America, if the liberties of America could be otherwise secured; Secondly, if foreign troops were employed to reduce America to absolute submission, that independence or any other mode was justifiable. There is now no doubt about the employment of foreign troops, which I own I think was the watchword to every man of property in America, for I doubt very much whether, if Great Britain should succeed by force if much odds would be made by the lordly conquerors betwixt friends and foes, or if nature and foreign avarice and rapacity would not be glutted with the indiscriminate spoil of both. I am persuaded many worthy men would not have wished times to go as they have done, because they thought it not consistent with the true interests of America, which might have long been happy in a regulated (not an absolute) subordination to Great Britain, amongst whom I think I may reckon your venerable father; but that fatal proceeding has cast the die." We cannot agree with Mr. Smith that this letter was dictated by a wish to serve Chief-Justice Allen, the father of the Colonel. From what we know of the former, we do not believe that St. Clair could have rendered more bitter return for past kindness than by persuading his son to remain in the American army after independence had been declared. To us the letter appears to be a free and confidential one, from one friend to another, and while it is evident that St. Clair yielded his opinion to the popular wish, it is equally clear that he did not think that the time had arrived to take the final step.

One of St. Clair's correspondents was Thomas Smith, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. In 1776 he was a delegate to the Convention which formed the Constitution of that State. Whoever wishes to understand the division of parties here at the most critical period of the Revolution, must not fail to study the proceedings of that body. The abrogation of the Provincial Constitution under which the colony had grown in wealth and power, and the fact that its destruction was the work of men new in the political arena, was an event which caused the most bitter feeling, and its consequent effect on continental politics has proved a stumbling block to more than one historian. A number of members of the convention

were opposed to the work of the body. Of these Thomas Smith was one, and his letters present with vivacity the feelings of the minority. In August, 1776, he wrote to St. Clair that he was recovering from an attack of sickness "when the convention met. I was chosen one of them—a pretty Solon you will say. No matter, we have now sat three weeks, and agreed upon the fundamental principles of our Government. They are somewhat singular, however. The most of us have not had our judgments warped in favor of any other, and not a sixth part of us ever read a word on the subject. We are only to have one Legislative branch, viz., the Assembly, who are to be chosen annually, and a rotation to take place every three years. Instead of having a Legislative Council, it seems we are to have a convention every three, five, or seven years (it is not yet settled which), who are to inquire into and supply defects, deviations, or abuses in the Constitution. In what manner the executive and judicial are to be chosen I cannot yet say; as we only settled the other points last meeting. I was in a small minority. I believe we might have at least prevented ourselves from being ridiculous in the eyes of the world were it not for a few enthusiastic members who are totally unacquainted with the principles of government. It is not only that their notions are original, but they would go to the devil for popularity, and in order to acquire it, they have embraced levelling principles, which you know is a fine method of succeeding. Don't, therefore, be surprised if in the next letter I write to you, I should inform you that we had passed an Agrarian Law." On the 22d of the same month he wrote: "I feel the truth of your sentiments with regard to the Constitution that we are about forming. In several sects of religionists in the different ages of the world, and in some even now, inspiration was supposed to have a considerable share in the direction of their actions, and they very gravely supposed themselves gifted with it. I believe we shall have the honor of first introducing the same doctrine into modern politics. A motion was made without a blush, by a member, that whatever might require the consideration of the House might be printed before any resolve was passed upon it for the use of members, as several of them could read *print* better than writing. Our principle seems to be this: that any man, even the most illiterate, is as capable of any office as a person who has had the benefit of an education; that education perverts the understanding, eradicates common honesty, and has been productive of all the evils that have happened in the world. In order that inspiration may be our only guide, every person who is to be chosen into any office, that was formerly supposed to require some degree of human knowledge and experience to enable the person to execute it with justice—every such person, I say, is to be turned out before he can possibly acquire any experience. . . . We are determined not to pay the least regard to the former Constitution of this Province, but to reject everything therein that may be proposed, merely because it was part of the former Constitution. We are resolved to clear every part of the old rubbish out of the way, and begin upon a clean foundation. You know that experimental philosophy was in great repute fifty years ago, and we have a mind to try how the same principle will succeed in politics. You learned fellows who have warped your understandings by poring over musty old books will, perhaps, laugh at us; but, know ye, that we despise you."

With these few extracts, which are of especial interest to Pennsylvania, we must close our notice of the volumes. It is impossible for us to speak of the many letters that appear in them from Anthony Wayne, James Wilson, and other names so familiar to us, or to more than allude to the claim of St. Clair to the credit of having proposed the strategic movement at Trenton, immediately preceding the battle of Princeton. The fortitude with which he bore the odium heaped upon him on account of his retreat from Ticonderoga

before the superior force under Burgoyne, until vindicated by a court-martial ; his services as President of Congress, and as Governor of the Northwest Territory, must also be passed by. This last is the subject which called the work into being, and will naturally attract the attention of those most competent to review it from that standpoint. We have preferred to speak of it as a Pennsylvania work, deserving the attention of her sons. This it is throughout, for it is the record of a life that reflects honor and credit on the State, a life that was worn away in the service of the whole country, and that was deserving a kinder fate. The work is an excellent one, and will have a prominent place in the historical literature of the country.

WILLIAM WATSON, FIRST SETTLER OF NOTTINGHAM TOWNSHIP, N. J.—The Memorandum Book of William Watson, the first settler of Nottingham township, adjoining the City of Trenton, New Jersey, is in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. From it we extract the following:—

Left farnsfield my dwelling in the County of Nottingham in Ould England the 29th day of the 5th month, 1684. Lodged at Sawley, 15 miles.

30th day. Passed by Ashby 8 & by Tamworth & lodged at Brimigim¹ 14 miles.

31st day. To Bewdely 10 miles—took water there called Severn and lodged on the water.

1st day of the 6th month. Lodged on the water.

2d day. At Upton by Severn.

3d day. Past by Gloster and lodged on the water all night.

4th day. Lodged on the water at ——— mouth, 7 miles from Bristol.

5th day. 6 miles unloaded and lodged in the citty. Several weeks thence came in the ship called Bristol marchant William Smith cheefe commander, very well accomodated arrived safe ffiladefia near eight weeks—rented a part of a house there 4 weeks—my son William Watson died & was buried there.

Then I, William Watson & my two suns Isaac and John Watson & my daughter Elisabeth Watson & William Blair or Blanty & John Abot my cuntrymen that came as my servants, sattled a plantation and called the plase farnsfield in the township of Nottingham in the County of Burlington in the province of wast New Jersey.

Born at farnsfield in Ould England

Isaac Watson. Birth 15 day 6 month 1670.

William Watson the son of Richard Watson 30th day of 9th month and Margaret his wife was born at Kirklington in the County of Nottingham Ould England.

Baptized at the ——— in the year 1639.

William Watson son of William Watson & Ann his wife was born at ffamfield in Ould England & was buried at ffiladelfia the ——— of the 9th mo 1684.

Elizabeth Watson born at ffarsfneld in England & died 1668 at ffamfield in the town of Nottingham in the County of Burlington in west Jersey the 12th day of the 2d month 1688.

John Watson born at ffamfield in Ould England ——— 9 mo 1673.

Copy.

Received of William Watson Twenty Seven pounds in full for six passages on the ship Bristol Merchant for Pennsylvania ye 9th — 6th mo 1684.

William Smith.

¹ Birmingham.

Paid Samuel Louis one passage £4 10s.

supposed for himself	} Seven
three sons	
one daughter	
two servants	

Adj. Gen. Wm. S. Stryker, under date of Trenton, Feb. 4, 1882, writes. The Watson tract now includes the following farms, viz.:—

D. C. Abbot	110 acres	
Margaret do.	180 "	To-day south of Lambertton along the
I. N. Burton do.	100 "	Delaware eastward and southward of
Caleb Pitman	110 "	the southernmost limit of the City of
Andrew K. Rowan	165 "	Trenton.

—665 acres.

There still stands on the farm of Mr. Rowan a substantial, fine house, erected by Isaac Watson, in 1708. No descendant of Wm. Watson is known to exist in the county. J.

THE HISTORY OF PAPER-MAKING.—Much has been written on the manufacture of paper, but as the subject is not exhausted something may be gleaned from a volume that I have before me. It is a 12mo. of 156 pp., entitled *Œuvres du Marquis Villette, A Londres, MDCCLXXXVI. Ce volume est imprimé sur le Papier d'Ecorce de Tilleul.* This paper, made of the bark of the Linden tree, is yellowish and somewhat coarse and rough, but it is firm. At the end of the volume are a number of leaves, each bearing a printed title—the first, *Papier de Guimauve*, Mallows; then comes *Papier d'Ortie*, Nettles; and then follow in succession, *Papier de Houblon*, Hops; *Papier de Mousse*, Moss; *Papier de Roseaux*, Sweet Calamus; *Papier de Conferva*, Hair-weed, of two species; *Papier de Bois de Coudrier*, wood of Hazel; *Papier de Bois de Fusain*, wood of the Spindle tree; *Papier d'écorce de Fusain avecce son épiderme on croûte*, bark of the Spindle tree; *Papier d'écorce de Chêne*, Oak bark; *Papier d'écorce de Peuplier*, Poplar bark; *Papier d'écorce d'Ozier*, bark of the Water Willow; *Papier d'écorce d'Orme*, Elm bark; *Papier d'écorce de Saule*, Willow bark; *Papier de Bardanne*, Burdock; *Feuilles de Bardanne et de Pas-d'Ane*, leaves of Burdock and Colt'sfoot; *Feuilles de Chardons*, leaves of Thistles. By an inscription on the bastard-title it appears that this curious volume was presented, December, 1788, by J. P. Brissot de Warville, who visited Pennsylvania, to Miers Fisher, of Ury. From him it passed to a nephew, Thomas Gilpin, who had the paper mills on the Brandywine. On the first of April, 1877, it was presented by Mrs. Mary Rodman Fisher Carpenter to Mr. William Redwood Wright, a great-grandson of Miers Fisher.

In this State, paper was successfully made of straw, in 1831, by George A. Shryock and Dr. Samuel D. Culbertson, at their mill near Chambersburg. William Magaw, of Meadville, made some discoveries on the subject about the same time. This, according to W. I. H. McCauley's History of Franklin County, p. 98, was "the very first use of straw paper as a staple article in our world."

It is an interesting fact that the first wood pulp profitably prepared for the manufacture of paper, suitable for the purposes of printing, was also made in Pennsylvania. Although several intelligent Englishmen had succeeded in producing such a pulp by chemical methods, these were found to be quite too costly to yield any useful result; and it remained for Mr. Morris L. Keen, of West Philadelphia, to discover a mechanical process for attaining an end which has completely revolutionized the art of paper-making within our generation. This great invention was first carried into

effect by Mr. Keen in the old engine-house of the Wilmington and Philadelphia Railroad, at Gray's Ferry, and was brought to perfection by him, with the aid of Mr. Hugh Burgess, one of the English chemists alluded to, in a paper mill started at Royer's Ford, in Chester County, Pa., in 1854, leading to the formation in 1863 of the well-known "American Wood-Paper Company," originally under the direction of Mr. Keen. T. W.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID, for the use of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, of the City of New York, N. Y., James Parker, 1767. A copy of this work, purchased at the sale of the Brinley Library, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mr. William Kelby, of the New York Historical Society, writes that the copy in the library of that institution was presented by Egbert Benson, and bears a memorandum in his handwriting to the effect that it was translated by Francis Hopkinson, of Philadelphia. We are indebted to the Rev. T. W. Chambers, D. D., of New York, pastor of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, for the translations of the following extracts from the church records. They are the only ones in which the name of Mr. Hopkinson appears.

NEW YORK, May 22, 1764.

Resolved—That Mr. Evert Byvank be discharged from his engagement to versify the Psalms in English in the same manner as they are versified in the Low Dutch, and that the Committee with Mr. Hopkins inquire into the best method of doing this according to the genius of the English tongue, and the versifying be done accordingly.

NEW YORK, June 29, 1764.

A letter was read from Mr. Francis Hopkinson dated June 11, 1764, concerning the versifying of the Psalms of David in English in the manner proposed; and the Consistory agreed to pay him for altering what has been done forty pistoles, and for completing the whole one hundred pistoles, fifty of which shall be paid when the work on the new plan shall be half done if Hopkinson asks it; and since certain members are to pay the first mentioned 40 pistoles, the Consistory agrees to repay them out of the first printed Psalm books or out of other funds; and shall also make the necessary arrangement for paying the last named 100 pistoles and the other needful expenses in versifying the Psalms.

SABIN FAMILY OF AMERICA.—The Rev. Anson Titus, Jr., has issued in pamphlet form, with additional information, his sketch of the four earliest generations of the Sabin Family in America, lately published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WASHINGTON COUNTY, PA.—The proceedings at the celebration of this anniversary, which was held on the 7th and 8th of September, 1881, have been published in a neat pamphlet of 109 pages, from the press of E. E. Crumrine, of Washington, Pa.

The address on the General History of Western Pennsylvania was delivered by Rev. J. I. Brownson, D.D.; that on the Civil and Legal History of the County, by Boyd Crumrine, Esq.; on Judge Alexander Addison, by Hon. D. Agnew, late Chief Justice of the Commonwealth; on Agricultural History, by John McDowell, Esq.; on Religious History, by Rev. I. N. Hays; and on Medical History, by G. W. Barnett, M.D. The address of Mr. Crumrine is of special importance, as it contains extracts from the

records of a court held under the authority of Lord Dunmore, when Virginia claimed jurisdiction over the western part of Pennsylvania. All of the addresses are excellent, and we commend the publication to those interested in the history of Western Pennsylvania. The managers of the celebration are to be heartily congratulated on its successful character, and the interest it developed.

YELLOW FEVER IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1803.—In a letter of Miers Fisher, of Ury, Pennsylvania, to his brother Samuel R., at Hartford, Conn., 9th mo. 23d, 1803, he says: "The accounts from the city are daily more distressing. I learn this evening that there are two cases (Yellow Fever) in Farmer's Row, directly back of my house,—two or three others in Dock Street; six in Penn Street, near Jehu Hollingsworth's, two of whose young men were this day sent to the City Hospital; and there are several other cases in Walnut, Chestnut, and other streets. Col. Patton who left the Post Office in Twelfth Street, since noon this day, informed me that he had intended to remove the office back to Third Street on Seventh day next, but the information he got in town prevented it till a more favorable state should appear."

A GERMAN'S INFORMATION REGARDING THE OFFICERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—In the correspondence of Prof. August L. Schlözer, *Göttingen*, 1781 (vol. 8, p. 3), we find the following regarding Washington and his fellow-officers. It is interesting, as showing the character of information on which the opinion of a European regarding the Americans was based. The informant of Schlözer was doubtless a correspondent with the German troops.

American Generals and Staff Officers.

1. General-in-chief, George Washington, was in the years 1756 to 1762, Captain of the Virginia Militia.
2. Major-General Gates is 2d General in Command; was a Colonel in the English Service and a very Capable Officer.
3. Macduggel (McDougal), 3d General in Command, was a Sailor.
4. Lee was a Major in the English Service, and a Capable Officer.
5. Baron Steuben is Inspector General of the American Army, was Quarter-Master Lieutenant in the Prussian Service, and resigned in 1760.
6. Arnold was a horsedealer.
7. Putnam was an Innkeeper.
8. Sullivan was a breechesmaker, then lessee of a ferry, and subsequently an Advocate.
9. Knox was Blacksmith, is General-in-Chief of the whole Artillery.
10. Green is Quarter-Master General, was an advocate from New England, and had been prohibited from pleading.
11. Brigadier-General Scott was a Corporal who deserted from the English.
12. Mühlenberg was a Clergyman in Winchester County.
13. Wayne was a Tanner boy and subsequently Surveyor.
14. Irwin (James Irvine) was a hatter in Philadelphia.
15. Westphal was a Tailor and Citizen of Boston.
16. Maxfeld (Maxwell) was an actual Swineherd in New Jersey.
17. Colonel Procter (Proctor), Chief of an Artillery Regiment, was a slovenly servant under different masters, and finally a Carpenter.

¹ The uncle of the Emperor Justinian, and Pizarro the conqueror of Peru, were also swineherds.

18. *Vibecker* (Febiger) commands the light infantry, was an innkeeper in St. Croix (West Indies).
19. *Fermer* (Lewis Farmer) was a horse-boy at an Inn, and is now, as Colonel, still an Innkeeper.
20. *Balhasar Melchior* (Isaac Melcher) is Barrack-Master General, was a Jew and Innkeeper in Philadelphia.
21. *Nagell*, Chief of an Infantry Regiment (George Nagle, of Berks Co.), was a Cowherd boy of a farmer.
22. *Globber* (Glover), Chief of an Infantry Regiment, was a Tailor.
23. *Mönchen* (Francis Mentges), Chief of a Pennsylvania Regiment, was a dancing-master, and to pay for his passage on his arrival frequently danced at the playhouse.
24. *Lieut.-Col. Fränck* (Franks), Adjutant under Gen. Arnold, was a Jew.

General Adjutants of his Excell'y Gen. Washington.

1. Col. *Fitzgerald* was a bankrupt merchant from Virginia.
2. *Hamilton* was an Advocate.
3. *Mish* () was a Fringemaker in Philadelphia.
4. *Tillerman* (Tilghman) was a merchant's boy.
5. *Harrison* was an Advocate.
6. *Lee* is Private Secretary of Gen. Washington.

General Staff.

1. Col. *Palfrey*, Paymaster of the Army, was a merchant and twice a Bankrupt.
 2. *John Mitchell*, Deputy Quarter-Master General, was a merchant, had been bankrupt at divers times, and for having taken a false oath, had been committed to the Common Jail.
- N. B.—An American Major-General is what is a Lieutenant-General in other Services, and a Brigadier-General is a Major-General.

Board of War.

1. Col. *Petersen*, President (Richard Peters), was a (Büttenträger) Pedlar.
2. *Pickering*, Deputy, was a broken merchant.

Court Martial.

A Captain charged the lieutenant of his Company with having stolen from him a pair of shoes. By the judgment of the Court Martial the Lieutenant was honorably acquitted.

Queries.

PORTRAIT OF COL. THOMAS FORREST.—Where did the editors of the Second Series of Pennsylvania Archives get the portrait which faces page 201 of the eleventh volume? They have had an autograph of Col. Thomas

Forrest engraved beneath it, from which I suppose, they present it as his portrait. It is evidently copied from an impression of St. Memin's portrait of Col. Joseph Mellvaine, of New Jersey (No. 188 of the Collection published by E. Dexter, in 1862).

C. R. H.

REV. THOMAS DUNGAN.—Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE* furnish me more than is told by General Davis, in his *History of Bucks County*, regarding the Rev. Thomas Dungan, who came from Rhode Island to Pennsylvania, and was the first Baptist minister in that colony? My record is that Frances Latham, b. 1611, d. Sept. 1677, daughter of Lewis Latham, married, 1st, Lord Weston; 2d, Wm. Dungan; 3d, Jeremy Clark; 4th, Rev. Wm. Vaughan. William Dungan left four children: 1st, Barbara, who m. 1644, James Barker, of R. I.; 2d, Frances, who m. 1648, Randall Holden, of R. I.; 3d, Margaret; 4th, Thomas, who d. 1688. After the death of William Dungan in England, his widow married Jeremy Clark, and with her four children removed to America. The children of Jeremy Clark were Walter, b. 1640; Mary, Jeremiah Latham, Weston, James, and Sarah. The children of Thomas Dungan (son of William and Frances) were William, Clement, Thomas, Elizabeth, Mary, John, Rebecca, Sarah, and Jeremiah. There is said to be a tradition in Pennsylvania that the Dungans are descended from Lord Dungan, but I have been unable to verify it.

Providence, R. I.

J. O. A.

Replies.

DESCENDANTS OF CHRISTOPHER SOWER OF GERMANTOWN (vol. v., p. 383).—In Part Fourth of the series of articles on the Germantown road and its associations, appearing in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY*, is found the following:—

"One, at least, of the family (of Christoph Saur or Sower), lives in Germantown, Mr. William H. Sowers, who resides in Harvey Street. Another son of Christopher the second, as I am led to believe, went to Lancaster County after the Revolution. He had a son Michael, and a grandson Jonathan, who was the father of this William H. Sowers."

Having in my possession tables of descent from Christopher Sower first, including his only son, all of his grandsons and great-grandsons, with dates of their births, deaths, places of residence, and particulars of their lives, also names of most of their descendants down to the seventh generation, I feel warranted in venturing to say that the statement as regards the descent of Mr. William H. Sowers from Christopher Sower, of Germantown, is an error. The evidence of this is too voluminous to be here presented, and is so complete as to leave in my belief no room to question it.

The name of Saur or Sowers (our family spell the name Saur or Sower) is a frequent one among modern German immigrants, and even in the time of Christopher Sower was not an uncommon one, as appears from the following list found in Rupp's "Thirty thousand names" of immigrants who came to Pennsylvania before 1775.

Oct. 2, 1727.	Jno. Sower.
Sept. 11, 1731.	Adam Sauer.
Sept. 29, 1733.	Henrich Sauer.
Sept. 29, 1733.	Hans Henrich Sauer.
Nov. 25, 1740.	Wilhelm Sauer.
Oct. 17, 1741.	Herman Sauer.
Sept. 20, 1743.	Johan Nickel Sauer.
Sept. 14, 1751.	Johann Dietrich Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Johannes Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Hans Adam Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Hans Michael Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Johann Michael Sauer.

It will be observed that two of the above have Michael, a name not found in our family, as a given name. Christopher Sower in his papers makes no allusion to any of these as relatives, and certainly *their descendants* cannot be *his*.

Mr. Ward's article contains other errors, some of which I will here add:

Ch. Sower, "first," is said by Mr. Ward to have been a "Dunkard" ("Tunker" or "Dunker," in my view, are more correct spellings), and a preacher in that denomination; whereas, he was a "Separatist." His *son* was the Tunker preacher and overseer.

Six-plate stoves were his invention, from which ten-plate stoves afterwards originated.

Mr. Fleckenstein did not "forge" his types. They were *cast* by himself in *matrices*, said to have been forged under his directions by Mr. F.

Phila., March 30, 1882.

CHARLES G. SOWER.

FIRST HOSIERY MILL IN GERMANTOWN (vol. v. p. 367).—MR. T. WARD. *Dear Sir*:—On the page mentioned you quote from an English newspaper a reference to the establishment of the manufacture of hosiery by Thomas R. Fisher, in his mill at Germantown, and give the date of the newspaper as "about 1830." That date could not have been earlier than 1834, about the beginning of which year Mr. Fisher purchased from Thomas Jones his machinery and engaged his services as superintendent of that new department of his business. He had been engaged at the Wakefield Mills only in the manufacture of cloth, either woollen or of cotton and wool mixed, and not at all in that of hosiery.

Thomas Jones died May 7, 1834, before the hosiery machinery was ready for operation at the Wakefield Mills, and was succeeded as superintendent by his son, the late Aaron Jones, who engaged in business on his own account in 1839; was succeeded in the employ of Mr. Fisher by his brother John, now a resident of this city, from whom these facts and dates were obtained.

Thomas Jones and the late John Button commenced the manufacture of hosiery at Germantown about the beginning of April, 1831; having, each of them, moved to that place on the first day of that month, the former from Nicetown, and the latter from South Third Street below Shippen Street; and having, each of them, arrived in this country from Leicestershire, England, in April, 1830. They are entitled to the credit of having been the pioneers of the hosiery industry at Germantown as it is now carried on in mills; though the manufacture of stockings on hand-frames in the homes of the people was coincident with the settlement of Germantown by the Mennonites in 1684.

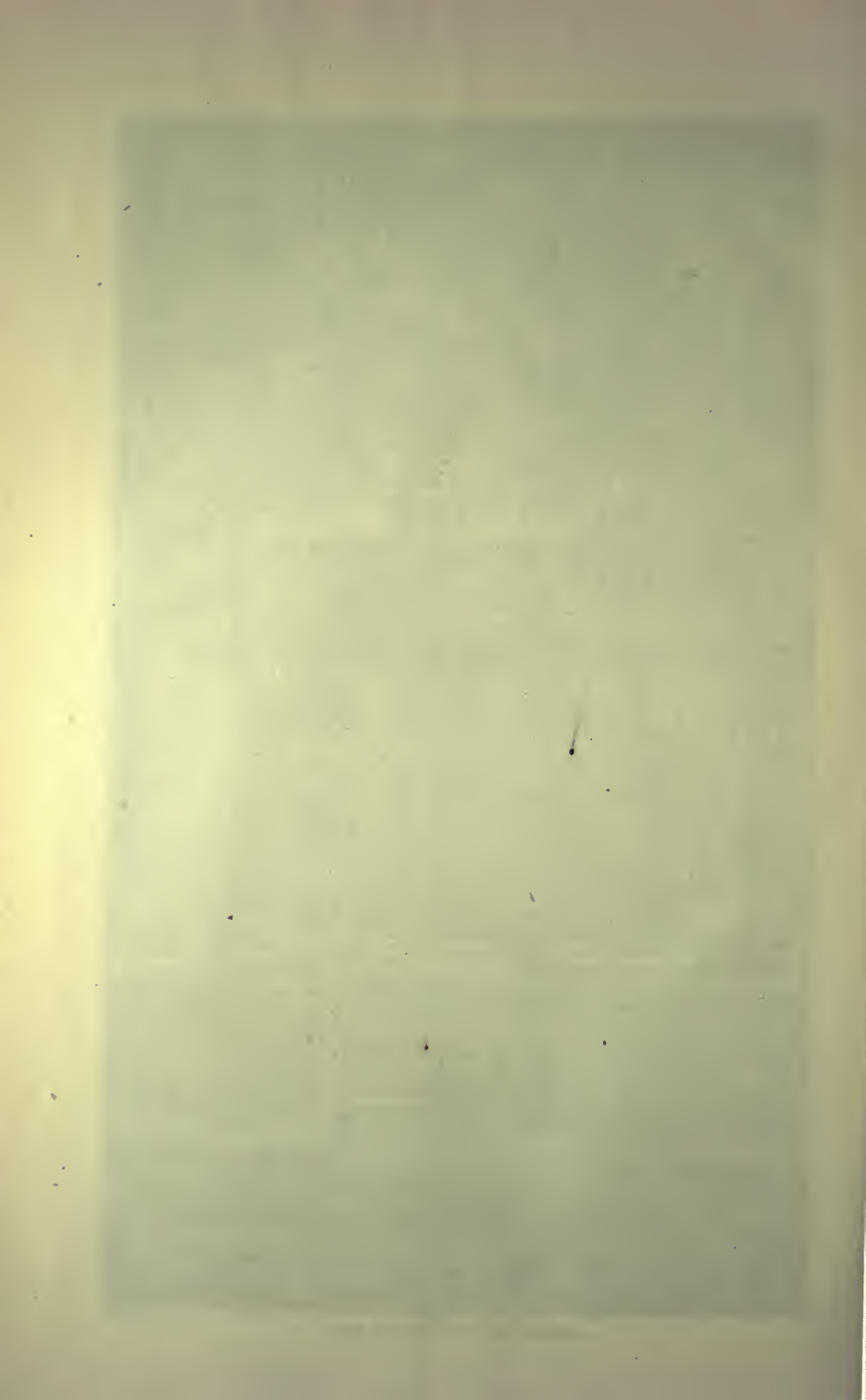
Yours truly,

Philadelphia, March 6, 1882.

W. R. BAGNALL.



GERMANTOWN ACADEMY.



THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. VI.

1882.

No. 2.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

(Continued from page 20.)

PART SIXTH.

In the beginning of the last Walk, p. 2, I gave the location of the Moravian School as on Wagner's grounds, almost opposite Fisher's Lane. One of those copious and minute diaries, kept by the Moravians, says, under the date of 22d of May, 1747, "John Bechtel's house, which we use for a school, is next to Theobald Endt's house, and also near to old John Stephen Benezet's." Endt's house is that occupied by J. Handsberry, No. 4638. The Endts are mentioned in deeds of 1729 and 1745 as saddlers. In the Register at Bethlehem, January, 1742, Endt is given as a clockmaker, but it is not probable that he did much in this line. In the early part of this century the properties, No. 4630 to No. 4638 inclusive, belonged to a well-known family named Forbes. William Forbes erected the house occupied by David H. Conyngham.

A few days after the battle of Germantown the British Army began to concentrate in Philadelphia, and closely fol-

lowing them as they withdrew, a troop of American horse came down the Germantown Road. Reaching Indian Queen Lane, this troop overhauled a British surgeon, who was afoot, and who had just dressed the wounds of three prisoners, American officers, in the house of Widow Hess. As he was about to be captured, W. Fryhoffer intervened, explaining the services that had been rendered by him; whereupon he was told that he could walk to the city at his leisure. "The same troop, advancing a little further, encountered a Quaker-looking man in a chaise, who, in trepidation, making a short turn at Bowman's Lane, upset, and thus exposed a large basketful of plate. He and his treasure were captured, and ordered off to headquarters."

The house on the N. E. corner of Indian Queen, or old Bowman's Lane, and Knox Street, was the last place of residence of Louis Rene Jacques Joseph Binet, whose untimely death some two years ago was the result of being run over by cars, at Fifteenth and Prime Streets. This accomplished Frenchman was born in Brittany, where his grandfather, a friend of the Marquis de la Rouerie, the Gen. Armand of our Revolution, had lived. He had often seen the portrait of the Marquis, which yet hangs in one of the town halls of his native province, and, on visiting the Hall of our Historical Society, he at once recognized the beautiful one on its walls. Mr. Binet was bred to the law. In the year 1856 he visited the Crimea, then a seat of war, and at Constantinople made the acquaintance of Mons. Gardel, whose school for ladies, in Chestnut Street above Broad, is well remembered. Mons. Gardel told him that he had then retired from the pursuit of teaching, and that, after his travels should be ended, it was his intention to pass the remainder of his days in Germantown, of the charms of which he could not speak too highly. Some years now passed by, and the unfortunate Maximilian had become Emperor of Mexico. Mr. Binet was appointed by the Emperor Napoleon III. as "Legal Adviser under the Code Napoleon," to accompany the new-made Emperor to his short-lived empire. When thrones fall there are many exiles, so, when this one fell, Mr. Binet, recalling the account

he had heard of Germantown, at once repaired to the place, and there, as a teacher of the French language, passed the remainder of his life. His ability was great, as was also his capacity for endurance, and these resulted in much advantage to his pupils. In conversation with a friend, Mr. Binel said it was a part of his duty, in Mexico, to pass an hour or more in the morning with their Majesties, explaining what he had been performing in the line of his duty. And, in this connection, he said the Empress, the unhappy Carlotta, seemed to be of a much quicker apprehension than the Emperor—that she never failed to at once comprehend his meaning, as he would explain the defect of some Mexican law, and the remedial effect of a proposed article of the Code.

Further out the lane, nearly as far as to the Township Line Road, the land is a level plain, as it also is out Manheim Street, as far as Mr. Wister Price's country seat. Watson says: "All the British Infantry were on the commons, about where" Col. John Morgan Price's seat was. This was on Manheim Street to the west of Wayne. The large numbers required a considerable space, and, therefore, they must also have covered the favourable ground on the western part of Indian Queen Lane.

On the north side of Indian Queen Lane is a Potter's Field, situated "about 152 perches southwestward from the Germantown Main Street, and purchased for the use of, and as a Strangers' Burying Ground, or Potter's Field, for all Germantown, to serve for a burial place for all strangers, Negroes, and Mulattoes as die in any part of Germantown forever." It was purchased on the 23d of July, 1755, for £5.10, and contained 140 perches. It lies west of Wayne Street, about where Pulaski crosses, and the region about it is called "Pulaski Town." The little piece of land, the Potter's Field, was cut out of the southern side of the large lot, No. 6, which fell to John Bickers, and whose southern boundary is Indian Queen Lane.

At the S. E. corner of lot No. 6, which, of course, is the S. W. corner of the lane and the Main Street, stands the respectable-looking, double house, erected by Joseph Bullock

for his residence, and afterwards occupied by his son, Dr. Bullock. It is said of this house that it reposes upon the foundations of a prior one, the heavy walls and arches of which still remain, and that under the ponderous arches Christopher Saur cast his first type. The house and lot were one of the properties of which the second Saur was so unjustly deprived. It is now owned by the "Trinity Lutheran Church," whose edifice stands next north of it, and the house is its parsonage, occupied by its minister, the Rev. Luther E. Albert, D.D. A house that formerly stood north of it, on the ground held by the church, was, near a century ago, the residence of Dr. Justus Fox, a worthy citizen of that day. He had a son "Mauney"—Emanuel Fox, who became engaged in the manufacture of lampblack. Emanuel's son, George, continued this business, and besides was noted as a great fancier of bees. He was the last of the family who occupied the paternal domain. These Foxs were so conscientious in the manufacture of their product, as to have unconsciously added a leaf of laurel to the wreath of Germantown. In the language of commerce, the term "Germantown lampblack" is still used to designate the highest grade of that article.

The Trinity Lutheran Church, an offshoot of the early Lutheran Church further up the old road, was established in 1836, and held its first services in a brick building at the corner of Main and Mill Streets. On the 28th of February of that year, its vestry was installed by the Rev. Dr. Mayer, of the Church in Race Street below Sixth. Its first pastor was the Rev. Wm. N. Scholl. The first sermon was preached on the 7th of April, 1836. The Rev. S. M. Finckel, D.D., was the second pastor, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Wm. F. Eyster. The present pastor, the Rev. Mr. Albert, succeeded in the autumn of 1851. In the ample burial ground one may observe the grave of Prof. Martin L. Stoevers, of Gettysburg, and that, also, of that very tall man, James Reeside, who died in 1842. He was called "Admiral," because, in his day, he directed the movement of stage coaches, as, earlier, Nelson had directed that of ships, or later, Thomas

A. Scott, of cars. More should be said of a man who was conspicuous in his day, but I will content myself with relating a single incident in his career. In a sitting posture his great height was not apparent. One evening at the theatre, a person alongside of him took offence, for some cause, and made a threat. Upon this Reeside began to rise, but long before he had attained his full altitude, the threatener, filled with consternation at the spectacle, had placed himself at a most respectful distance from him. There is a mound over the remains of Mrs. Stellwagen, believed to have been of the age of one hundred and one. She saw Washington at the Skippack, when the armies were around Philadelphia. One tombstone, of peculiar interest, bears upon it the name and time of birth of an aged man, destined to be laid beneath it. As he has already numbered ninety-three years, the inscription, ere long, may be completed. So near the avenue as to be easily seen, is a large stone cross, a monolith, about twenty-five feet in height, and resembling those often seen in Ireland and in England. It is said to be the only one of the kind in this country. It was erected to the memory of Henry Goodman and his wife, who may be considered to be the founders of this church.

Before Coulter Street is reached, we are at the place of residence of Captain John Stadelman. It is on the south side of the new market house, about where No. 4718 now is. With his parents, he had previously lived in the old Saur house. He commanded the Germantown Blues, a company which did service at Camp Dupont, when, in the war of 1812, it was feared the British might march on Philadelphia. The few lingering remnants of the company have only recently passed away, Stadelman among the last—and it was only about three years ago that he heard the trumpet call. After the custom of the town he reached the age of eighty-seven. He was a representative of an old Germantown family, now almost extinct, and throughout his life most faithfully adhered to the ancient customs of his people. He was eminent as a fisherman, and ever at Whitsuntide would he sally forth to snare a mess of the funny tribe, which he did with a gusto

that Isaac Walton would have relished. Christophel, or "Stuffle" Bockius, as he was universally called, at the N. W. corner of Coulter and the Main Streets, though dead long ago, is well remembered as a farmer, stricken in years, and bent in form. Notwithstanding this, he was the terror of those boys who crossed his fields on their way to and from the Academy. He, too, was a good representative of the olden time of the village. He owned about twenty acres, extending back to the Coulter property, and north from Coulter Street.

The drawing of lots of "October, 1683," held in the cave of Pastorins, in Philadelphia, was spoken of on p. 373 of Vol. V. The land was purchased on the 12th of September, 1683, and was laid out and surveyed by the Surveyor-General on the 22d of March, 1684. Secretary Markham issued the patent for Germantown on the 3d of April, 1689, and the next day, the 4th of April, a drawing was held for the allotment of "The fifty-five Germantown Town Lots, as originally located 29th of October, 1687." An equal number of these lots, that is, twenty-seven and a half, were on each side of the Main Street. "N. B. Each lot being with its appurtenant side-lot, Fifty Acres." Lot No. 7, on the west side of the Main Street, fell to the Frankford Company. In the early records there is some confusion as to the numbers, arising, perhaps, from their being duplicated, a purchaser sometimes taking more than one lot, consequently Lot No. 7 is sometimes spoken of as No. 6. There was laid out and reserved on the eastern front of Lot No. 7, "on the west side of the said Town, one acre of land for a Market, Town House, Burying Place, and other Public Buildings, uses, and behoofs whatsoever," the said seventh lot "then being the midst or centre of the above said Town." The site of this early seat of local self-government is, therefore, well enough defined to be determined by an examination of early deeds, for it lies between Blicher's Lot, No. 6, and the present Meeting House of Friends, which is on Lot No. 8, which, it is stated, fell by the allotment to Jacob Shoemaker. Here, then, was where the Court was held, under authority of the charter granted by Penn on the 12th of August, 1689, and here was

it continued to be held until the year 1703-4, when it was removed to what is now known as Market Square, for the town had grown, and this place had then become more nearly its centre. Little connected with this brief existence may now be gathered, unless it be from the Minutes of the Burgesses. This is in the German language, and, being one of our most ancient records, has recently been deposited, by order of the Court, with the Historical Society. Another volume, the Minutes of the Court of Record, has been lost. A copy, perhaps not entire, belongs to the Society, and extracts from it are printed on pp. 243-258, of a volume entitled "Collections," issued by the Society in 1853. A deed, 28th of Nov. 1693, for part of the lower burying-ground, has on it the seal of the Corporation Court of the early time. This is a trefoil, bearing around it "Sigiilum Germanopolitanum, 1691."

We now come to the site of the Meeting House of Friends. Although but a "Preparative," or a primary meeting, as the world's people might call it, there are few in the country so largely attended. It is now attached to the Monthly Meeting of Frankford, and, by consequence, to the Quarterly Meeting of Abington, which carries it, along with all the other Quarterly Meetings, to be gathered at the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia. Here we have an organization quite as potential in the preservation of discipline and good order as that of any other church. The Germantown Friends, while meeting at each other's houses, before their meeting house was built, issued their famous testimony against slavery, in the year 1688. An account of this may be found in "*The Friend*," Vol. xlviii., 1875. But it is time to speak of their lot of land. In Matthias Zimmerman's explanation of the original location, etc., 1746, copied by Christian Lehman, 1766, it is set down that in the allotment of 1689, Lot No. 8 fell to Jacob Shoemaker. This may be an error, for "in a deed dated 1st Month, 4th, 1690, Abraham Isaac op den Graef conveyed two lots to Jacob Shoemaker, and in 1693 he (Jacob Shoemaker) conveyed them to Friends. In the deed of conveyance, which is still extant, I find these

words: 'Being fifty acres, or a whole lot (three perches square, next to Jacob Isaacs van Bebber only excepted, which the said Jacob Shoemaker herebefore hath granted and conveyed unto the Quakers, so called, for their meeting place, and are always to be fenced by the owners thereof.')

As op den Graef held the lot so very short a time, it is probable that Zimmerman did not think it worth while to mention his name, but gave that of Shoemaker as actually drawing it.

The "three perches square" are yet well enough defined. They front on the avenue, and extend as far north as the Friends' Free Library. On the south side there is a wall, now beginning a little to the west of the street, and at its beginning there are supports for hinges, where, no doubt, hung a gate of entrance. To the west of these supports, lines in the wall mark another place of entrance, perhaps to the graveyard. This aperture is now walled up, as any one may see. The principal entrance to the meeting house was from the Main Street, a little to the north of a large buttonwood tree. No doubt the first meeting house was erected on the "three perches square" immediately on the presentation of it to the Friends. It is supposed to have been of wood, and that its foundation still exists under ground, as a part of such foundation wall was exposed a few years ago in digging. It stood about twenty-five feet back from the street. In 1703 a new building was projected, as is shown by a subscription paper. This was erected in 1705, and was of stone, on the same site. It was in this building that the first Isaac Norris died in 1735. The building stood until 1812, when the third meeting house was built, not, however, upon the same site, but to the west, near where the school-house now is. In 1871 it disappeared, and the fourth meeting house was erected, still further to the west. An old tablet from the third house has been preserved and placed in front of the committee room of the present one.

PENN .	ANNO.	GER
OLD	1705	MAN
NEW	1812	TOW.

In the course of time most of the fifty acres of land which the Friends had bought was sold by them. A few years ago

a part of it was repurchased for a burying ground, and conveyed to the Society, with a condition that should burials cease and the remains be removed, the lot of ground thus presented should remain open for the public.

As long ago as perhaps fifty years Friends had a library attached to their meeting, and about twelve years ago the late Alfred Cope and others began to build upon this foundation. They erected the building of stone on the north side, and stored it with valuable works, to the number of about three thousand volumes. Besides this, Alfred Cope endowed it with funds, the interest to be used for the purchase of books, that its sphere of usefulness might be permanently secured. The number of volumes now approaches eleven thousand. They are of unusual excellence, among them are many French and German works of standard merit, but there are no novels. The library building stands, as I believe, not on lot No. 8, but on the southern part of lot No. 9, which was drawn by Jacob Isaacs van Bebber. This original Germantowner soon left the place, but his descendants have made the name honourably conspicuous elsewhere. One became a Judge of the Supreme Court of Delaware, and another, as I am told, is a physician of great note in Baltimore. "The Van Bebbers of Maryland have been distinguished in all the wars and at the bar; and at the Falls of the Kanawha, Van Bebber's rock, a crag jutting out at a great height over the river, still preserves the memory and recalls the exploits of one of the most daring Indian fighters of Western Virginia."

The library is under the charge of William Kite, a Friend, as so many of his race in this country have been. His ancestor was James Kite, who came here several years before Penn, and took up land under the Duke of York. This lay to the west of the Schuylkill, about midway between Fairmount dam and Belmont, and is now in the Park. With the tender conscience of a "Friend" he would not hold it until he had paid the Indians what they deemed the value of it. In 167- he married Mary, a daughter of William Warner, no doubt an ancestor of him who, as lord of the soil occupied by the "Colony in Schuylkill," was styled by them their

"Baron," and to whom ever on the first of June they yielded the fixed rent-charge, "three fresh sun perch." The estate of the Warners was large, and, on the death of the last possessor, some thirty years ago, the considerable part that still remained was added by the late Owen Jones to his already extensive possessions. In 1703 one of James Kite's sons married a daughter of Hugh Peters, who, though living in the vicinity of Peters's Island, was no relation of the Secretary Peters, who came here later.

Very long before the origin of the library spoken of above, there was another "Germantown Library," the only evidence of which is in the following letter, and a certificate bearing the seal of the library, both discovered lately. The seal has upon it the date of 1745. The letter, which is in reference to the purchase of books from a publisher and importer of English books, tends to show the existence of an English element in the population, and perhaps, also, to show that some desire among the German-speaking element, for English reading, was already making headway.

GERMAN TOWN, Sept. 22, 1764.

To Mr. David Hall,

Sir,

Enclosed you receive the order of the Directors of our Library upon our Treasurer Balltes Reser for the Payment of the sum Due for the Books they lately bought of you for our Library. They have ordered the Treasurer to call on you & pay the contents of the s^d order, and charge me to acquaint you herewith & to send you the enclosed order.

Sir, I remain with due respect, yrs.

Christⁿ Lehman,

Secretary to Library.

The house No. 4772 was the place of residence of Albert Ashmead, a son of John, and grandson of William, who was a brother of Captain John Ashmead of the Revolution. This Captain John made one hundred voyages, three of them to the East Indies, and during the Revolution he was successful in bringing in cargoes of much needed powder.

Albert, the great-nephew, had a turn for military affairs, and in time became Captain of the Troop of Germantown Cavalry. In early days it seems to have been an easier matter to keep up a troop of horse than now, for almost every one had a horse, and in those days men indulged in but one luxury at a time. The life which Captain Albert led was conducive to longevity, for he reached the age of eighty years.

As every one has heard of "Germantown Waggon," some notice should be given of an improvement so notable. The introduction of carriage building in the village, was as follows. William Ashmead, a worker of iron, observing the heavy build and lumbering appearance of the better sort of imported coaches of his day, bethought him to make one on a plan of his own, light built, and with an open front. He did this, and it was at once much used, and in constant demand. A gentleman from Maryland made an offer of £120. for it. This was accepted, although it had been the intention of the builder to retain it for his own use. John Ashmead, a son, saw fit that he should become a carriage builder that he might reap a promised harvest. He built some, and very soon orders came for still more. This was not long after the Revolution. Just then, too, Mr. Bringhurst, a chaise builder, went largely into the business. Coaches and chariots were made for £200, and phaetons for £100. The William Ashmead spoken of, was an ingenious man, and made for himself a plough with a wrought iron mould, instead of the customary board. This great improvement was much admired by Gen. La Fayette, who purchased four of the ploughs for his estate, La Grange. The improvement was soon adopted by another person who made the mould-board of cast iron.

John Ashmead, the father of Albert, lived in the house next to the north, No. 4774. He always attended Quaker Meeting, and was of a happy and cheerful disposition, but he was excessively fond of music; this so grieved the people of that day, that his friends warned him of a probable fate that awaited him—ruin from neglected business. When the British Army, on its march to Philadelphia, entered Ger-

mantown, he was a boy of twelve, and he beheld the host of twenty thousand men moving down the Main Street while sitting, unmolested, at the door of his father's house. The order seemed to be complete; there swept before his eyes the grand array of Britain—the Highlanders in their kilts and plaids, the stalwart grenadiers in martial scarlet, with their burnished arms, the proud cavalry, the mercenary Hessians, and the corps of loyal refugees in their uniform of green—all marshalled by their dashing officers—the chivalry of England. They came with pomp, but not with every circumstance of glorious war, for there was no display of colours, and not a sound of music to be heard,—like a vast machine in perfect order, the army moved in silence most profound. The late Winthrop Sargent used to believe, but perhaps without sufficient reason, that this was a custom of armies when operating in a land that was in revolt. That it was as in earlier ages, when holy church would lay a kingdom under interdict—so then, as he thought, the theory was held, that the sovereign, filled with grief at the “cruel and unnatural rebellion,” as it was called in his proclamations, and desiring “to restore to the people the happy condition of being free subjects of a free state,” could not permit a colour to be displayed before disloyal eyes, nor a band to discourse inspiring airs for rebel ears to hear. In all its progress as the army passed along “there was no violence and no offence.” Men occasionally dropped out of the line, and asked for milk or cider, which Ashmead's father, guardedly standing within his door, gave them. When the cider had run low, a young officer made a request for some, which was given him, but with an apology for its muddy condition, together with an explanation of the cause. He expressed his surprise at the soldiers' exaction, and said it should be corrected. “Quickly there appeared a sentinel before the house, who kept his place till superseded by another, and he by still another, for six or eight changes, until the whole army had passed.”

“Captain J. C.,” perhaps Craig, saw them later, and writes: “The Grenadiers, with Lord Cornwallis at their head, led the van when they entered the city; their tranquil look and digni-

fied appearance have left an impression on my mind, that the British Grenadiers were inimitable. As I am relating the feelings and observations of a boy then only ten years old, I shall mention many things, perhaps, not worth relating; for instance, I went up to the front rank of the Grenadiers when they had entered Second Street, when several of them addressed me thus: 'How do you do, young one—how are you, my boy?'—in a brotherly tone, that seems still to vibrate on my ear; then reached out their hands, and severally caught mine and shook it, not with an exulting shake of conquerors, as I thought, but with a sympathizing one for the vanquished. The Hessians composed a part of the vanguard, and followed in the rear of the Grenadiers—their looks to me were terrific—their brass caps, their mustachios, their countenances, by nature morose, and their music, that sounded better English than they themselves could speak—plunder!—plunder!—plunder!—gave a desponding, heart-breaking effect, as I thought, to all; to me it was dreadful beyond expression."

A few days after this, when the battle occurred, young Ashmead, as any of us would, took refuge in the cellar of Delaplaine's house, on the N. E. corner of Schoolhouse Lane. When the sounds of the guns had ceased, he sallied forth to gather trophies, and secured, as his share of the spoil, two cannon balls. One was English, large, and the other, smaller, American. The former is still preserved by Dr. William Ashmead. At the time of John Ashmead's early marriage it was predicted that "he could not live to hear the next whip-poor-wills," for he was subject to hemorrhages. These, which continued throughout his life, did not, however, seem to have shortened it, for he attained the age of eighty-three years. His wife, who was not thus troubled, survived him a number of years, and attained the age of eighty-seven.

The house on the "Old Germantown Road" numbered 4782 has attached to it associations so interesting as to require more than a few words. It was built in 1772-3 by David Deshler who had come here from Baden, where his father, whose wife was a sister of Casper and John Wister, was an Aid-de-camp to the reigning Prince. Deshler engaged

in business in Philadelphia, on the north side of Market Street west of Grindstone Alley. His business affairs were on a large scale, and so widely extended as even to include a traffic with the distant East Indies, and they resulted in a considerable success. "As honest as David Deshler" is remembered as an old saying. At that time it was a dealer's pride to have everthing in his shop, and Mrs. Deshler, in one instance at least, aided in this. She bought for £5 from a butcher, who had cut himself, the receipt for a salve. This was first called "Butcher's Salve." From its excellence, it soon came to be known as Deshler's Salve, and, though more than a century has now elapsed, it has not yet lost either its name or its reputation. Dr. Wistar inserted the receipt in the Pharmacopœia. Adam Deshler, perhaps a cousin of David, also came here, and has left descendants. One of these is Mr. William G. Deshler, a resident of Columbus, Ohio. The descent of David Deshler's wife is interesting, for it is one of the many instances which show how strongly marked was the religious element in the earlier settlement of Pennsylvania. And this was her descent.

The Pequea Valley, besides having been the loved home of the Delawares, is still the chosen and fruitful region of their successors, the prosperous farmers of Lancaster County. At the first settlement of that region, which was then included in the old county of Chester, it was selected as the preferred residence of sundry French families of the persecuted Huguenots. They bore the names of Dubois, Boileau, Laroux, Lefevre; and some of their descendants remain there to the present day. The aforesaid names were also united with those of Charles De la Noe, a minister, and Andrew Doz, ancestor of Andrew D. Cash, and some other Frenchmen, who had come out under the influence of William Penn, to form vineyards, and to cultivate grapes, "up the Schuylkill." They, however, not succeeding to their expectations, felt prepared to avail themselves of a change to the Pequea Valley, which was brought about by the arrival, in 1712-13, of Madame Mary Ferree, or Mad. Warrinbauer, as she often called herself, a widow lady, having with her three sons and

three daughters, and coming there to seek an asylum from the persecutions of religious intolerance. She had lost her husband, a gentleman of eminence in France, by such persecution, and reaching England for refuge, found friendship in William Penn and Queen Anne, by whom she was aided in her embarkation for America. She became possessed of four thousand acres of the best land in Pequea, recommended by Penn's agent in this country, to her special notice, two thousand acres of which came by a grant from Penn, and the other half by purchase from him. To this place all these French people went for settlement, and were there heartily welcomed by the Indian King Tanawa. When he died, soon after, all the Huguenots attended his burial; and his grave was marked with a pile of stones, which long remained to mark the place, on what is now called Lafayette Hill, near Paradise. The church of All Saints now stands on what was the Indian burial ground. Isaac Lefevre, before named, had lost both his parents and all his family by the massacre in France, which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He came to this country, went to Paradise and married Catherine, one of the daughters of Mad. Ferree.

In time a daughter of this marriage, Mary, grew to womanhood, and wedded David Deshler, and they were the couple who occupied the interesting house on the Germantown Road. A few words may be said as to some of their descendants. They had a daughter, Mary, who, on the 16th of June, 1763, married Ellis Lewis, whose name carries us from France to Wales, from the persecution of the Huguenots to the persecution of the Quakers. One of the most interesting of the old Quaker books, from its quaint and graphic style, is "An account of the convincement, exercises, services, and travels of that ancient servant of the Lord, Richard Davies." In it we meet with the name of Owen Lewis, ancestor of the above Ellis, of the Lloyds of Dolobran, of whom Thomas was one of Pennsylvania's earliest governors. Then come Thomas Cadwalader, the Evans, and Owens, Griffiths, and others, names long and well known here. The author speaks of having been at "the house of Owen Lewis, at Tyddyn y

Gareg near Dolegelle, in Merionethshire, a Man that had been in Commission of the Peace in Oliver's Days, and who was newly come from Prison from Bala." I have seen Dolegelle spelled "Dolgelly, pronounced Dòlgeth'-lee—one of the most lovely spots on the earth, if 'Christopher North' is any judge." These Welsh Quakers were respectable, and some of them more than well-to-do, people;—the great Lord Powys was a personal friend of some, and Edward Lord Herbert, a son, I suppose, of that remarkable character Lord Herbert of Cherbury, manfully stood by them in their difficulties. From Owen Lewis, the Ellis spoken of and also the late Chief Justice Ellis Lewis were descended, and the present Mr. David Lewis, so well known in Philadelphia, is of the same line.

It will be remembered that Sir William Howe had his head-quarters at Stenton, at the Battle of Germantown, October, 1777. The retreat of the Americans left him master of the field, whereupon he moved to Deshler's commodious house. It has been believed that while there, he had a visit from Prince William Henry, a Midshipman in the Royal Navy, afterward William IV. of England. As the Prince entered the Navy in 1779, and came to New York, accompanied by Admiral Digby in 1781, it is not possible that he was here in 1777. It would hardly be fair, however, to take away this story, without giving as good a one in return for it. And the other story is of one who was once in Germantown, and who, under other circumstances, might have been the Prince of Wales, and now, King of England.

In the last Walk, Richard-Plantagenet-Campbell Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, Marquess of Chandos, was spoken of as a visitor to Germantown. He succeeded to the Dukedom of Buckingham and Chandos in July 1861. His grandmother, "only daughter of the third Duke of Chandos, was sole representative of Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and sister of Henry VIII., whose issue, under certain contingencies, were named by that sovereign's will in succession to the crown of England. Had the will of King Henry VIII. been carried into effect, the line of

royal succession would have been so changed that the present Duke of Buckingham would be King of England."

David Deshler lost his wife at the time of the Revolution, but by a prudent care he lived until 1792. From memoranda which exist, it seems his usual dress was of olive-coloured silk velvet, with knee buckles and silk stockings, bright silver shoe buckles, and the usual three-looped hat,—a costume that well became his handsome face and manly form. On his death the house was sold to Colonel Isaac Franks, of the Army of the Revolution. This officer was a first cousin of the celebrated wit and beauty, Miss Rebecca Franks, whose husband was Sir Henry Johnson Bart., and of her sister, Miss Abigail Franks, who married Andrew, brother of William Hamilton of the Woodlands. Col. Franks married Mary Davidson, and was the father of Judge Franks of Reading, and ancestor of some of the Jacobs of Lancaster County, and of a family named Davis, of Camden, N. J. He owned the property, and no doubt lived there until about the year 1804. When the Yellow Fever of 1793 drove so many away from Philadelphia, the officers of the Federal and State Governments of course went with them. From its salubrity, Germantown appeared to be the favorite place of retreat, and thus it was that Washington again appeared there. Col. Franks, who had sought a refuge in Bethlehem, was requested to rent his house to the President, to which he at once acceded. He made an inventory of what furniture, etc., was in the house, and afterwards on the 6th of November, 1793, furnished a detailed statement including the outlay to which he had been necessarily subjected. It will be observed that the statement does not deal in the ponderous figures of this advanced age. One item is:—"Cash paid for cleaning my house and putting it in the same condition the President received it in:"—\$2.50. The entire amount, rent and all, was \$131.56, and this included Col. Frank's travelling expenses from and back to Bethlehem, the hire of furniture and bedding for his own family, the loss of one flat-iron, valued at one shilling, of one large fork, four plates, three

ducks, four fowls, one bushel of potatoes, and one hundred of hay.

When in 1804 the time had come for Col. Franks to leave the house, it was purchased by Elliston and John Perot, who for many years used it as a summer residence. These gentlemen were of French descent. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots in France were harassed by fire and sword, and their ancestor being of that faith suffered much. He was condemned to prison for twenty-one days without food. There is a legend in the family to the effect, that every day a hen laid an egg at the grated window of his dungeon, and that this lenten diet sustained his life until he was liberated. Whether this be true or not, certain it is that the crest surmounting the arms of the Perots, is a sitting hen. Desiring a better supply of food than was afforded in French prisons, he left Rochelle in France, and went to New Rochelle in the Province of New York, where his son James was born. In 1710, this James Perot went to Bermuda, and his sons Elliston and John were therefore of that island, but at times they were engaged in business elsewhere, in different islands of the West Indies. At length they went to St. Eustatia, I suppose, before our war of Independence. In that war that island was captured by the British, who sold at auction the stores they found there. These, as I was once told by a French officer of our Revolution, were in such prodigious quantities, that the auction sales extended throughout the long term of three months. On this island the Perots were imprisoned for a time, but not fancying this, on being liberated, they left it, Elliston going to New York and John to Virginia. Philadelphia, however, ultimately proved to have attractions so superior as to allure them both to it, and here they were in business for many years. More recently a branch of the family has come from Bermuda to Baltimore. On the death of Elliston Perot, in 1834, the Deshler house became, by settlement, a part of his estate. His daughter, Hannah, had married Samuel B. Morris, of the old shipping firm of Waln & Morris, and he purchased the house in 1834.

Samuel B. Morris was of a family in our vicinity, now

almost innumerable. His descent was from Anthony Morris, mariner, who married Elizabeth Senior, about the year 1650. This was so near the time of Admiral Drake that we can imagine him to have been "a most fierce fighting man. He was soon lost at sea, leaving an only child, who bore his own name. This second Anthony Morris was baptized the 25th day of August, 1654, being then but two days old, "as saith the Parish Records of St. Dunstan's Stepney, of London, in the Kingdom of Great Britain." Anthony Morris the Third was born in London in March, 1682, and was brought by his father to New Jersey, when only one year old, and from him was descended Samuel Morris, Captain of the First City Troop, and member of the State in Schuylkill for fifty-four years, and Governor of it for forty-six years. He was grand-father of Samuel B. Morris spoken of above, who resided in the Deshler house until his death in 1859, leaving it by his will to his son Mr. Elliston Perot Morris, who now resides there.

The house is built of stone, and is about forty feet square, with considerable back buildings. The front part would have been wider had it not been for a plum tree which Deshler had not the heart to cut down. Alongside, to the south, commences the beautiful garden, one hundred feet wide, and extending westwardly four hundred and thirty-five feet, in which may be seen box bushes more than a century old. The interior of the house, of an unusual beauty of design and finish, remains almost unchanged from its earliest day. Not very many years ago the aged Jesse Waln, then of near Frankford, visited it. He entered the tea room, situated in the southwestern part of the building, and sat there for a time seemingly lost in thought. At last he spoke, and told Mr. Morris that when a school-boy at the old Academy, a schoolfellow of his was George Washington Parke Custis. He said that one day, towards evening, he went with him to the house, and on Washington's invitation, he remained to tea. A cup and saucer used on that occasion, and a dinner plate which was then in the house, are preserved in the beautiful china closet in the southwest corner of the old breakfast room. They are of those mentioned in the inven-

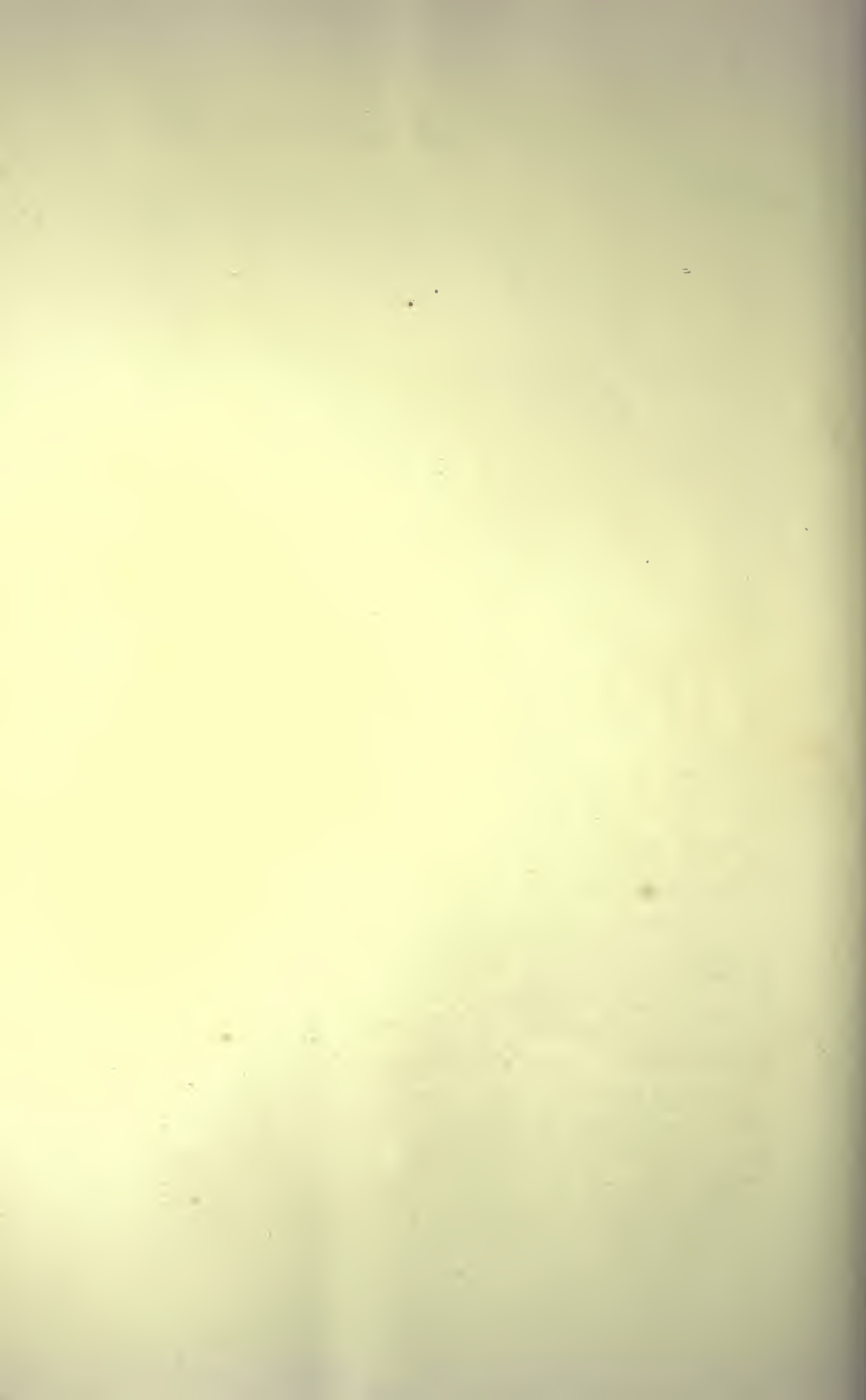
tory of Col. Franks, and came from his family to the present owner. This room is unchanged except as to its windows, which now have large plate glass instead of the former small panes, which interrupted the view of the lawn. A large piece of plate glass has been inserted in the door of the china closet, in order that its contents may be seen. The late Charles J. Wister, a school-boy at the Academy at the time spoken of by Jesse Waln, had his personal anecdote of Washington. It was, that one day the General halted in front of the school, and inquired of some boys there, "where Washington Parke Custis was?" It so happened that young Wister knew, and replying, he told him where. A relic preserved in the house is an ancient silver spoon that once belonged to the Elizabeth Senior who became the wife of the first Anthony Morris. Another relic is the letter which Washington wrote to Captain Samuel Morris of the First City Troop, conveying his thanks for their valuable services in the War of Independence. It remains in the original silver case, with the "pitcher-likeness" of Washington set in gold, which Capt. Dunlap of the Troop prepared and presented to "his friend" Capt. Morris. This relic was shown to me, and is in perfect preservation. While in this house Mrs. Washington raised hyacinths under glass, which was cut, and quite handsome in appearance. On leaving the house she presented the set of six to Catherine, the youngest daughter of David Deshler, who had married Robert Roberts, of the First City Troop. One of these pieces of glass is now in possession of Mr. Edmund H. McCullough, a descendant.

Early in this century the house No. 4784 was occupied by one of the Bringhurst family, related to the Ashmeads. It is now, and has been for a long time past, the residence of the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Shaffer, of St. Michael's Ev. Lutheran Church, who married a sister of Dr. William Ashmead.

Dr. William Ashmead has lived for many years in the house numbered 4788. It is supposed to have been built about 1790 by Mr. Morgan, perhaps him who was connected with Baynton and Wharton. Nathan Bunker, then an apprentice of Mr. Morgan, often visited there. In 1806 it was



: Stairway: Merrif. House:



sold by Ann Morgan, Robert Walm and others. Thomas Armat came there in 1807, and died in 1831, but his family continued there until 1841. Armat was the Englishman who had come here from Loudoun Co. Va. He possessed a considerable property in Philadelphia, and used the returns from it with liberality. It is said of him that during the war of 1812, when calling upon tenants for rent, he would, if he found them unprepared, not only forego his claim, but would furnish them aid from his own resources. He gave the ground on which St. Luke's Church stands, and there was a room in his house called "the Minister's room," where the Rector was ever welcome. At his own cost he erected the hay-scales at Sixth Street and the Germantown Road, and those also at the Market Square, opposite his house, and gave them to certain beneficial societies to collect the returns as a part of their revenue, he, however, keeping them in repair. His son who built the house at Naglee's Hill, Loudoun, was spoken of in the Third Walk. In after years the elder Mr. Armat married a daughter of Mr. Smart, who had been a British officer.

The first school conducted by Moravians in this country was opened in the spring of 1742, in the house occupied by Count Zinzendorf. In March of that year he rented the house now numbered 4792, belonging to an early Ashmead. Two synods of the church were held there, and reports of them, printed by Franklin, are in the library of the Historical Society. On the 17th of April, 1742, "It was resolved to commence a school in Germantown on the model of the Brethren's Schools in Germany;" and on the 14th of May following, "The school was opened by Zinzendorf with twenty-five girls and teachers," Zinzendorf's fair daughter, the Countess Benigna, at this time just passing the age of sweet sixteen, being one of them. In June of the same year the school was transferred to Bethlehem, where it remains, and where no doubt its career of usefulness will be long continued. Early in this century the house No. 4792 was the residence of James Ashmead, a brother of John. The Ashmeads came from Cheltenham, England, in 1682. The first

marriage in the family here, was soon afterwards, with a Sellers at Darby. Before long they had gotten to Cheltenham, Penna., whence in 1711, or perhaps some years earlier, they came to Germantown. A John Ashmead of that early time built on the site of 4790, but only the rear building stands, as the front part was replaced about 1790. The present occupant of the premises, which bear the two Nos. 4790 and 4792, is a great-great-grand-daughter of the John Ashmead last mentioned.

In his early life, Count von Zinzendorf exhibited a strongly marked religious tendency. While yet a child, he used to write little letters to the Saviour, and throw them out of the window, hoping that the Lord might find them. When ten years old he was sent to the Academy of Halle, then under the direction of its founder, the devout Franke. Here he established pious meetings, and founded a mystic order of the "Mustard Seed." It was while he was residing in the Ashmead House that he made a formal renunciation of his rank and title as Count Zinzendorf, before Governor Thomas. This was on the 26th of May, 1742. It arose from a desire to be disencumbered from the forms and ceremonies that necessarily attended rank, and which might prove embarrassing in his ministry, in which he was known as Brother Ludwig. This unusual act excited much remark and speculation. The meeting at which it occurred took place in the Governor's house, where the following persons were present: The Governor, Dr. Thomas Graeme, Judge; William Allen, Recorder; Tench Francis, Attorney General; James Hamilton, Prothonotary Court Common Pleas; Thomas Lawrence, J. P.; Dr. Patrick Bard, the Governor's Secretary, William Peters, James Read, the Rev. Eneas Ross, Rector of Christ Church; the Rev. J. C. Pyrlaeus, of the Moravian Church; John Stephen Benezet, John Sober, Graydon, Samuel McCall, Charles Willing, Benjamin Franklin, and Charles Brockden.

At the southern corner of Schoolhouse Lane stands a large double house of dressed stone, No. 4794. "Bensell's father and old Anthony Johnson both confirmed the fact that the ancient house there, which Dr. Bensell pulled down, was a

house preached in by William Penn. It was low and built of framework, filled in with brick. It was built first for Jacob Tellner, one of the town magistrates." Dr. Ashmead remembers that a few years ago some workmen found under the sidewalk the stone foundation of the old house. The present building was erected about 1795, by Dr. George Bensell for his residence. The woodwork and wainscoting are excellent. As others of the Bensell's are to be mentioned hereafter, it will be convenient to speak of them together. In later years the house was occupied by Charles W. Churchman, recently by Dr. George Malin, and now it is the quarters of the Workingmen's Club.

Along Schoolhouse Lane, or, as it was anciently called, Bensell's Lane, the land is somewhat of a dividing ridge, and so of course it was the route of the Indian Trail from the Wingohocking to the Wissahickon. It is not very far to Green Street, and fortunately I am now able to say how its name came about. Years ago it was a street from Mannheim north, for about three hundred yards, but there was little or no use of it. The grass grew luxuriantly, and sheep fed there, so that the sward was exceedingly rich, and the people called it "Green." From time to time the street was opened further north, preserving this name, until at last it reached as far as to Carpenter's Lane. The old family of hatters and the General of the Revolution are, therefore, not to be credited with this honour.

On the south side of Schoolhouse Lane, beyond Green Street, is the Germantown Academy. Its organization was on the first of January, 1760, and in the following year the buildings were completed. In Sept. 1761, Hilarius Becker made his appearance as the German teacher, with seventy pupils, and David James Dove as the English teacher with sixty-one pupils. Although the mass of the people used the German language, these numbers show that those of the English speaking tongue were rapidly creeping on them. Dove's mode of reclaiming truants was to send in search of them a committee of boys, with a lighted lantern and a bell. This they rang as they went about the town, and soon they would

bring the culprits back filled with shame. Dove remained but a few years, and was succeeded by Pelatiah Webster. It is probable that this gentleman is the same who was graduated at Yale in 1746, and died here in 1795, and that he was the author of "Political Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public Finances," etc., in 1791. On p. 187 of that volume he gives a short account of what he suffered by reason of the occupation of the city by the British. The progress of the Academy was most satisfactory, for in 1764, Greek, Latin, and the higher mathematics were taught. Just before the Revolution additional ground, in the rear of the lot, was obtained. As the Revolution approached, and, at last, swept over them, the school became troubled, so much so, that at times there were long intervals between meetings of the Trustees. After the celebrated battle the Academy was used by the British as a hospital. Some twenty feet to the east of the back part of its grounds, in what was formerly the end of Deshler's lot, is the burial place of six British soldiers who died from their wounds, and whose interment was witnessed by John Ashmead, the active boy spoken of as emerging from the cellar of the old Delaplaine house.

After the war there was a revival, slow, however, of the affairs of the Academy. In the yellow fever of 1793, proposals for an occupation of the building came from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and also from the Congress of the United States. The Trustees seem to have given the first choice to Congress, on the rather easy terms of the restoration of "one hundred and four panes of glass, two window shutters, two door linings, three door locks, the steps front and back of new wood, the hearths to be laid with new bricks, sundry patchings and whitewashing, for which repairs, and no others, the sum of sixty dollars will be allowed out of the rent, which is to be three hundred dollars for one session." In the yellow fever of 1798 the use of the lower floor and cellar was granted to the Banks of North America and Pennsylvania, they agreeing in compensation to paint the building and to renew its roof. What have been mentioned are about the only mishaps in a career of one hun-

dred and twenty years, and they can hardly be complained of when it is considered that the condition of the Academy has long been most satisfactory. During last year additions were made to the buildings.

Above the belfry of this old school-house is a vane, never yet disturbed, and surmounting it is the royal crown of England. Good taste, throughout a century of change, has preserved this, perhaps the only crown in the whole country, as an appropriate relic of colonial days. A bell for the Academy was brought from England in the tea ship Polly, Captain Ayres, about the beginning of the year 1774. The Philadelphians would not permit the tea to be landed, but, respecting the laws, they did not throw it overboard. The vessel, its bulk not broken, lay for a time in a stream below, perhaps Salem Creek, and then returned to England. After the war the bell came here again. In aftertimes a fracture occurred, and it became necessary to recast it, but the original metal was used with only some little addition. In the library of the school is a spy-glass which Washington used at the Battle of Germantown.

Where the next house, to the west, stands, is the site of the school commenced by David J. Dove when he differed with the Trustees, and left the Academy. His effort had but a brief existence. In 1777 the house was the residence of John Miller, a magistrate, who kept a diary of the stirring events which occurred during the time the British Army occupied Germantown and Philadelphia. The diary was of twenty pages, quarto, commencing on the 18th of September, 1777, and continued until the 18th of June, 1778, which was the day upon which the American Army re-entered upon the possession of Philadelphia. This diary was seen by John F. Watson, and possibly may still be in existence. Its publication, entire, would be of much interest. The house, large, and of striking appearance, became the property and summer residence of Wm. Chancellor, son of Dr. Wm. Chancellor, who married Salome, daughter of John Wister. Their grandson, Henry Chancellor, who married Caroline Clapier,

lived there some fifty years ago, as the following from the late John J. Smith may show:—

“The Germantown Road of Mr. Ward proves a capital theme. Will he permit a pertinent story? It was very long before any public conveyance connected Germantown with Philadelphia; the Bethlehem stage and a lumbering concern from the ‘Broad Axe,’ in Montgomery County, came through leisurely once a day, and by carefully waiting on the street, if there happened to be room, it was possible to get a ‘cast.’ If not you might wait till better luck a day or two hence turned up. So lately as just before the introduction of the railroad, in 1832, Mr. Henry Chancellor moved to Germantown, unaware of its great isolation. Having occasion to go to the city, he mounted the outside of the Broad Axe coach early in the day; what was his mortification to find that the vehicle stopped at the Rising Sun, about half way, to give the passengers breakfast! This was Mr. Chancellor’s favorite story.”

Dr. Frailey, a water-cure doctor of his day, dwelt in a very old stone house, which stood on Schoolhouse Lane, some three hundred feet, or more, beyond Chancellor’s. On each side of his house were lines of German poetry, painted in oil colours, some of the marks of which were visible forty years ago. The lines on one side were—

“Lass Neider neiden,
Lass hasser hassen;
Was Gott mir giebt.
Muss man mir lassen.”

Beyond Dr. Frailey’s, in what at one time was called “Ashmead’s Field near the woods,” a large body of Hessians were huted. Their huts were constructed of the rails from fences, set up at an angle of 45°, resting on a crossbeam centre; over these were laid straw, and, above the straw, grass-sod. They were close and warm. Those for the officers had wicker doors, with a glass light, and interwoven with plaited straw. They had also chimneys made of grass-sod. They, no doubt, had made these preparations with the view to pass the winter there, but the battle broke up their plans. One of these

Hessians afterwards became Washington's coachman. In speaking of Hessians it may not be inappropriate to give an opinion, recently expressed, here, by a gentleman of liberal education and of much observation. He is Professor J. C. Bruner, a Swiss by birth, and a fellow-pupil of Louis Napoleon at Basle, and until recently a teacher in Philadelphia and Germantown. He said that while in this country he met many persons in Pennsylvania and in the Valley of Virginia, who were descendants of the Hessian soldiers who had come here in the service of the British Army, and who, by desertion or otherwise, had remained here. From his intimate knowledge of families, and their names, in Switzerland, Mr. Bruner was satisfied, as he said, that these descendants were generally of Swiss origin. His view of the subject was, that the Duke of Hesse-Cassel, desiring to save his own people, sought recruits in Switzerland, and palmed them off on George III. as good, honest Germans of Hesse-Cassel.

In the earlier part of this century, John Coulter, an East India merchant, a director of the United States Bank, and a man of note of that day, owned one hundred acres of land lying east of the Township Line Road, and extending southwardly from Schoolhouse Lane to beyond Indian Queen Lane. Misfortune followed his many efforts to retain the property. A large boarding house, and a most excellent one, was conducted by some of his family. This enabled him to hold a portion of the property, and to prevent its becoming an entire wreck. At the S. E. corner of Schoolhouse Lane and the Township Line Road, perhaps, therefore, on this property, is now the handsome seat of Mr. E. W. Clark. In returning to the avenue we pass along the northern side of the lane. Just to the east of opposite the Academy, is a building of wood, in a neat inclosure. It belongs to that part of Friends who are not styled Orthodox.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA.

BY E. R. L. GOULD.

Few perhaps fully realize the importance of a comprehensive study of local institutions. The centralizing tendencies of the present time are so strong, that the attention of the student of political science is apt to be concentrated upon federal rather than on local authority. He is prone to overlook the fact that the nation is a highly composite organism of which the state, the county, and the township, are subordinate, but very essential members. He is liable to forget that an inadequate or improper performance of functions by the latter is attended by an infusion of disorder, which interrupts the harmonious workings of the whole.

The scope of the present paper will not extend beyond a sketch of those three departments of local management embraced under the heads of Rates and Levies, Roads and Bridges, and the Poor. The early administration of colonial justice has already been treated in an excellent essay on the "Courts of Pennsylvania in the 17th Century," by Mr. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., while the question of Public Schools will be reserved for future discussion.

Before proceeding to give a minute description of Local Self-Government as at present administered in the Quaker State, we shall briefly consider its institutional development. Institutions are not the creations of a single mind nor the products of a separate age. They represent a growth, an evolutionary process. They are the great unities of history. They progress as the social order changes, and we must diligently study their varying stages of development to intelligently comprehend their present character.

In the first place, we shall portray the method of local administration which obtained when the Duke of York possessed the territory which now comprises the States of

New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and part of New Jersey. We venture to do so because of the interest such a sketch will afford from an historical point of view, and also because it will furnish an excellent parallel to the later system of Pennsylvania under Proprietary government. Moreover, the Duke's "Book of Lawes," with few exceptions, formed the legal basis of the proceedings of the courts upon the Delaware after the year 1676.¹ We shall speak more particularly of these courts in relation to their legislative character in a subsequent part of the present paper. They claim our attention because they possessed not only judicial functions, but exercised in addition an important control over local affairs, during the years which immediately preceded the arrival of William Penn.

The administration of the Duke of York was a close imitation of the English system. It recognized the old municipal divisions of ridings, towns, and parishes. The chief officer of the former was a High Sheriff, while the interests of the latter were presided over by a Constable, and a Board of Overseers, at first eight, but afterwards four in number. The sheriff was selected yearly by the governor from three nominees presented to him by the justices of the last sessions. The town officers were directly the choice of the people. The constable was chosen for one year; the overseers for two, one-half of them retiring annually. Under this primary colonial régime the principal unit of local government was the town or parish. Each town had its own peculiar constitution and by-laws, which, when sanctioned by the court of sessions, became the basis of its own administration. Such constitution and laws were framed by the constable and a majority of the overseers, and local observance became binding upon local inhabitants. Every town had likewise

¹ That these enactments were in force in 1676 is clear by the following. It was one of the provisions of the "Book of Lawes" that, "no jury shall exceed the number of seaven nor be under six unless in special causes upon Life and Death." This year, at Whorekill, in a suit about some tobacco, "the president of the court and six, of seven of the jury, acknowledged their proceedings to be erroneous, etc."—Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, p. 425.

its own court,¹ held at convenient intervals, where small cases were heard and decided by its officers. The constable and overseers were also, *ex-officio*, church-wardens, and in this capacity were the ecclesiastical governors and moral guardians of the parish. They not only made provision in the rates for the support of the church and minister, but it was their further duty to make known to the semi-annual court of sessions all unpunished transgressions of the moral code.²

There were two taxes, the public charge, the proceeds of which were applied to the maintenance of the general civil, military, and ecclesiastical authority; and the town rate, which went to the support of purely local government. Both were levied and collected in exactly the same manner. Upon the receipt of a "precept" from the sheriff of the riding, the constable and overseers of the various towns made out a list of taxable persons and appraised all real and personal property. These statements were returned to the sheriff, who, having examined and certified them, transmitted them to the governor. If any inhabitant thought he had been unfairly dealt with in his assessment, he could make complaint to the court of sessions, and there have his grievance redressed. The law which governed collections reads as follows: "The constable shall appoint a day and place and give reasonable warning to the inhabitants to bring in their proportions, upon which every man so warned shall duely attend to bring in his rates, etc."³ Constables were held responsible for the

¹ The "Towne Court" of the Duke's Laws is a very ancient institution. It is the court of the tithing or township transformed. It represents the survival of the Anglo-Saxon "tun-gemot." The establishment of these local self-governing communities in the English colonies of America, is simply a repetition of the course pursued by our Saxon forefathers, in their settlement of Britain.

² This kind of censorship was exercised, during the first few years of Proprietary rule, by the Grand Jury. For an example, see Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, vol. ii. p. 91.

The following presentment at the Chester Co. Court, in 1683, though of a quite different character, is somewhat amusing: "The Grand Jury present want of rings to the snouts of swine."

³ Duke of York's Laws, pp. 49, 50.

collection of the rates, and were empowered to recover arrearages by process of law, even after their term of office had expired. When the full amount of the levy could not be obtained, the deficiency was supplied by an extra assessment. Produce was received instead of money, in payment of the town and public taxes. None were exempt from taxation except justices of the peace and indigent persons, and even the justices were subsequently made liable for the town levy. Local taxation was designed chiefly for the support of the poor and for the maintenance of parochial churches.¹ The needy and the helpless of every parish were the especial charge of the church wardens. They were doubtless considered more in the light of an ecclesiastical than a civil responsibility. Under this régime, we see that county government in the form we now know it, did not practically exist. The riding, it is true, came in as a division between the town and the province, but it had little or no significance as a political factor. It simply represented an aggregation of towns or parishes, and possessed no organized system of municipal government. That such was the case is shown by the following law regarding lunatics. "That in regard the conditions of distracted persons may bee both very chargeable and troublesome, and so will prove too great a burthen for one towne alone to beare, each towne in the rideing where such person or persons shall happen to bee, are to contribute

¹ "Churches shall bee built within three years after this assize, to which end a Towne Rate may bee made, to begin with this year."—Duke of York's Laws, p. 63.

Upon the Delaware, ministers seem to have been supported by voluntary subscriptions. The petition of the Court of New Castle to the governor in 1678 was to the effect that he would "grant leave and permission to obtain and have an orthodox minister, to be maintained by the gift of the free and willing givers."—Hazard, *Annals*, p. 455. This request was granted.—*Ibid.* p. 458.

Ministers who were supported out of the "Towne Rate," elsewhere in the Duke's dominions, could not always have been in the established church, since, according to the report of Bishop Compton in 1680, there were at that time only *four* clergymen of the Church of England in North America.—Hazard, *Annals*, p. 469.

towards the charge which may arise upon such occasions.”¹ Each town, therefore, helped to bear the burden, but the contributions were made distinctly and separately, and not as individual quotas to a permanent county rate. The town or parish was of much greater importance than in later times. It dealt with the leading questions of local government, and its constable and overseers formed a legislative body whose acts, as we have already seen, could only be disallowed by judicial negation.²

After the conquest of the Dutch settlements upon the Delaware by Sir Robert Carre, in 1664, it was agreed that the magistrates then in power should be continued, for a time at least, in the enjoyment of their civil jurisdiction. In 1668 we have the record of the constitution of a court, consisting of a schout and five counsellors, appointed for two years.³ English laws were not immediately imposed upon the people, but it was ordained that the Duke’s enactments “be showed and frequently communicated to the said counsellors, and all others, to the end that being therewith acquainted, the practice of them also in convenient time be established.”⁴ The result thus gradually aimed at was finally consummated by the precept of 1672, which declared “English laws to be established in the town and river. The office of schout to be converted into sheriff for the corporation and river, to be chosen annually.”⁵ In 1676 a proclamation from Governor Andross set forth that the Duke’s “Book of Lawes,” with the exception of the enactments regarding constables’

¹ Duke of York’s Laws, p. 64.

² “The Constable by and with the consent of five at least of the overseers for the time being, have power to ordaine such and so many peculier Constitutions as are necessary to the welfare and improvement of their Towne and if any inhabitants shall neglect or refuse to observe them, the Constable and overseers shall have power to Levie (such) fines by distress; Provided that they (the constitutions) bee not of a Criminall Nature and that every such peculier Constitution be confirmed by the Court of Sessions within four months (later by the next Court) after the making thereof.”—pp. 50, 51.

³ Hazard, Annals, p. 371.

⁴ Ibid. p. 372.

⁵ Ibid. p. 397.

courts,¹ county rates, and a few other matters which pertained particularly to Long Island, should form the basis of civil administration along the Delaware. There were at this time three general courts in operation: one at New Castle, one at Upland, and one at Whorekill. These establishments were not only of a judicial nature, but were also endowed with legislative authority. They could enact "all necessary by-laws or orders (not repugnant to the laws of the governor), to be binding for the space of one whole year,"² for the administration of local matters within their respective districts. They had power to make "fitting rates for highways, poor, and other necessities."³ This levy, on account of convenience, generally took the form of a poll-tax;⁴ the constables making out the list of "tydables."⁵ It was the duty of the sheriff to make collections.⁶ No rates could be laid until the sanction of the governor had been obtained.⁷ For the better management of roads and bridges, the court appointed yearly a number of men to be overseers of highways and viewers of fences.⁸

The court also ordered the building and repair of churches⁹ and selected the church wardens.¹⁰ No mention is made of the manner in which the poor were taken care of, but it is altogether likely that they were the charge of the church

¹ It is reasonably certain, that, notwithstanding Gov. Andross' proclamation, constables' courts were in full operation upon the Delaware. One had been established at New Castle in 1672 (Hazard, *Annals*, p. 396-7), and we have no record showing that it ceased to exercise its powers after the above-mentioned ordinance was promulgated. On the contrary, the order issued in 1677, that the *commons* were to be regulated by the town, shows that New Castle still had some kind of separate government. In 1678, permission was given to Elseburgh, a place within the jurisdiction of the justices of New Castle, to have a constable's court. (Hazard, *Annals*, p. 458-9.) The record of the establishment of these courts in America furnishes one more example of the reproduction of English institutions upon colonial soil. The evidence of their survival is a point of some historical interest, as it makes against the idea of Stubbs and Hallam, who are inclined to deny that the petty constable ever possessed judicial authority.

² Hazard, *Annals*, p. 427.

³ *Ibid.* p. 441.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 447.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 442.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 447.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 428.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 480.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 467.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 461.

wardens, as in New York. Though the court had the power to lay a road-tax, we find no record that such a course was pursued. It was the survival of an old feudal custom in England which compelled all the inhabitants of a particular district to work upon the highways or else to suffer certain pecuniary penalties in case they failed to fulfil the requirement. This system was in vogue in the time of Charles II.,¹ and we have evidence that it also obtained in Pennsylvania. "The imposition of a fine of 25 gilders, for neglecting to work on the roads, was among the last acts of Upland Court under the Duke's government."²

The tenth section of the charter to William Penn gave him the power to divide "the country and islands into towns, hundreds³ and counties." By a subsequent clause he also received authority to erect manors,⁴ and to introduce thereon

¹ See Statutes of the Realm, 22 Charles II., ch. 12, § 10, for fines imposed. In case the labor required by statute was not sufficient to complete all necessary repairs, a tax could be imposed to defray the expense of finishing the remaining work.—*Ibid.* § 11.

² Smith, History of Delaware Co., p. 124.

³ We have not been able to find any evidence to show that hundreds ever existed as local divisions in Pennsylvania, although they were common in Maryland and Delaware.

⁴ Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, has called our attention to what *may have been* a manor in full operation upon a similar basis to those in England. It is cited in Dr. George Smith's History of Delaware County. It bore the name of the Welsh Barony, and consisted of a tract of land comprising about 40,000 acres. The settlers were Welsh Quakers, and amongst other immunities granted to them by their charter, was the privilege to have "our bounds and limits by ourselves, within the which all causes, Quarrels, crimes, and titles [shall be] tryed and wholly determined by officers, magistrates [and] jurors of our own language, which are our equals."

Tradition has it that a certain stone building situated upon the manor of Moreland, was used in early times as a prison-house for the refractory tenants and servants of the first Chief Justice. The whole subject is an exceedingly interesting one, and will claim the attention of the writer in a future paper. The subject of the Manorial System of Maryland is under investigation by Mr. John Johnson, a graduate of the Johns Hopkins University. Mrs. Martha J. Lamb has undertaken the "Historic Manors of New York."

the English system of manorial government. We have seen that the tendency of the Duke of York's laws was to centre local government in the towns. Under the Proprietary administration a totally different order of things was instituted. The county now became the element of primal importance. In fact it may be safely asserted, that, during nearly the entire portion of the first half-century of the government of Penn and his descendants, the town had little or no significance as a political division. The county court of general sessions was the real centre of authority, and all local affairs were administered by officers which it commissioned.¹ Though the town was afterwards admitted to a share of municipal government, it has never quite regained the position it held previous to 1682. We shall further notice, in passing, how some matters were gradually handed over, conditionally, to township control.

By an act passed in 1682, which was subsequently declared a fundamental law, it was enjoined that no separate tax at any time should continue longer than one year. The objects for which county taxes were raised, were "for the support of the Poor, building of prisons, or repairing them, paying the salary of members belonging to the assembly, paying for Wolf's Heads, expence of Judges, with many other necessary charges."² It was the duty of the justices of the court of sessions, with the assistance of the grand jury, to estimate the general county expenses, and to make an assessment, upon the basis of the provincial tax, to defray them. The enactment of 1696 inaugurated a much more convenient system. It provided that six assessors should be annually chosen for each county, to act in conjunction with the justices and grand jury, in determining public charges. This body could levy a rate of one penny in the pound, and six shillings *per caput* upon all freemen between 16 and 60 years of age. The

¹ "The court about this time (1685) appointed the justices, constables, road overseers, etc."—Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, vol. i. p. 304. Seven years later, in one county at least, the road overseers were elected by the people.—See Records of Chester Co. Court for 1692.

² *Laws of the Province of Penna., 1682-1700*, p. 233.

assessors heard and decided all appeals. The Proprietary and his deputies were alone exempt from taxation. It was the duty of the various constables to bring the assessors a list of the taxable inhabitants of their districts, together with an accurate valuation of property liable to taxation. The assessment board determined the required number of collectors and appointed them. The county treasurer was also an appointee of this body. It seems that the above method for raising county rates did not prove satisfactory, since numerous supplemental acts were passed to make provision for the collection of arrearages.

In 1724 a new system was introduced, which, though not unlike the former in its essential features, yet prescribed a mode of procedure somewhat different from that recognized by previous law. It provided for the election of three commissioners to perform the functions which had hitherto belonged to the court of sessions, with a few additional duties. The commissioners issued the "precepts" to the constables, constituted a tribunal for trying appeals, inaugurated proceedings against delinquent collectors, and imposed pecuniary penalties upon the county treasurer, and the assessors for neglect of duty. To facilitate the collection of rates, each county was divided into a definite number of districts. The limit to the assessment provided for by this enactment, was fixed at three pence in the pound, and a nine shillings poll-tax.

The Revolution did not change the form of local government, which had obtained immediately before the year 1776. There was no distinct difference between the administration of the province and of the commonwealth. But in relation to the topic at present under consideration, an advance was made towards the present system in 1779. In that year the assessment board, consisting of the three commissioners and six county assessors, appointed¹ two assistant assessors for each township, to discharge the duties which had hitherto devolved upon the constables, in making the returns of taxable inhabit-

¹ These officers were afterwards elected by the people.

ants and property. By this act stringent measures were also adopted for collecting unpaid rates. If settlement was not made within thirty days, the delinquent's goods could be sold; and if, after three months' time, his obligations had not been met, his real estate could be seized and disposed of by the commissioners to satisfy the claim. The office of clerk of the commissioners, or county clerk, which still exists, was first inaugurated at this time. Supplemental legislation this same year enacted, that the *owners* and not the *occupiers* of real estate should be taxed. Afterwards a proviso was introduced which caused all local rates to be assessed upon the basis of the last State tax. The principle of the division of labor was carried out in making the assessment, each county assessor, with the two assistants, instead of the whole board, performing this duty for every separate district. Collectors were now appointed by the commissioners alone. A return of all county levies was required to be made annually to the general assembly.

In early colonial times the management of roads and bridges was vested in the county. All public highways were laid out by order of the governor and council,¹ while private roads, connecting with them, and cart-ways leading to landing-places, were opened-up at the instance of the court of quarter sessions,² if the viewers had previously made a favorable report upon the projected enterprise. Roads and bridges were made at the expense of the county; but it was not unusual for a lottery³ to be established to liquidate the cost of the undertakings. The court named the overseers,

¹ Colonial Records, vol. i. p. 163.

² The court gave the order to proceed with the work, after the grand jury had presented the need of a new road. Smith (Hist. Del. Co., p. 163) quotes from the Chester County Court records the following: "The road from Darby to Haverford to be laid out by the grand jury and other neighbors." In 1699, six viewers were appointed to do work of this kind; or rather to make a report upon proposals regarding new roads.

³ Lotteries were often made use of to raise funds to open roads, construct bridges, and build churches. For legislation authorizing these establishments, see Laws of Pennsylvania.

and these officers were responsible for the good repair of all highways within their territorial limit. Every freeholder was compelled when summoned to work upon the roads, under penalty of a fine if he refused to obey. Later enactments transferred highways from county to township supervision, directing that the latter should assume all financial burdens entailed in their management. The overseers or supervisors were thenceforth township officers, and two were elected annually for each municipality. They were empowered to levy a road tax, within certain limits, after having obtained the requisite permission from two justices of the peace. They could also hire laborers to repair highways and bridges if they thought fit, instead of summoning the inhabitants to do the work as heretofore.

The Poor question has occupied the attention of the law-makers of Pennsylvania to a considerable extent; and much legislation is to be found upon the subject among the acts of the general assembly. In early times numerous experiments were tried, but the law of 1771 seems to have been the one, which, on the whole, yielded the most satisfactory results. It does not differ very materially from the present poor law of the State. At an earlier period charity had been dispensed at the instance and discretion of the county court; the funds being supplied out of the regular county rate. The poor tax had preference over all others, and was first paid in the disbursement of the moneys. A curious expedient was resorted to to prevent undeserving persons from receiving public support. Every recipient of relief was obliged to wear a badge "with a large Roman (P) together with the first Letter of the name of the county, city, or place, whereof such poor person is an inhabitant, cut either in red or blue cloth."¹

¹ It was customary in England, in addition to the ordinary punishment, to mark criminals with the initial letter of the crime for which they had been convicted. This proceeding was also followed in Pennsylvania. A part of the sentence against Long Finne, for his rebellious acts, was that he should be "branded on the face with the letter R." Hazard, *Annals*, p. 378. See also Records of Chester Court, January 1, 1693, for the punishment accorded to a woman who had been found guilty of fornication.

The act of 1771 provided for the appointment of two overseers in each township, by the justices of the peace, at a yearly meeting specially convened for the purpose. These officers could, with the authority of two justices, levy a three-penny rate on property, and a six shillings poll-tax as often as was thought advisable. The amount thus raised was employed to provide subsistence, shelter, and employment for all those whom misfortune had made a burden to society. The tax was recoverable by ordinary process of law, and was levied on the same basis as the county dues. The overseers were responsible for the collection of the amount assessed, and if they refused to pay over moneys in their possession, they were deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and punished with imprisonment. They were required to keep an account of all receipts and expenditures, and their books were audited by three freeholders annually chosen by the people. A list of the poor was kept on record, and an order from a justice of the peace was necessary for the inscription of new names therein. Strongly protective measures were adopted against the growth of pauperism, as for example, the requirements for gaining a legal settlement in a township, and the restrictions attached to the removal of the poor from one district to another. New-comers had to bring with them certificates, and householders must give notice of the arrivals of guests coming from any place outside of the province, except Europe. Any one, to become legally settled, must have been an officeholder for one year, or must have resided in the same locality at least two years, and contributed to the poor fund. Widows were deemed settled in the same place as their former husbands, and indented servants must have performed one year of service in some particular locality to fulfil the required conditions of residence. All having near relatives who were paupers, were compelled by the province to support them, if in a position to do so. Notwithstanding all this defensive legislation, and despite the influence of these well-timed measures, it would appear that the demands upon public charity were augmented instead of diminished. Complaints were made from time to time that the means for supporting

the poor were entirely inadequate, and in 1779, an act was passed limiting the rate at seven shillings and six pence in the pound, and at not more than six pounds, and not less than three pounds per poll.¹

The Present System.

Local self-government in Pennsylvania at the present time affords a peculiarly interesting study, representing as it does a condition of affairs in which neither the town polity of New England nor the county administration of the South, forms the decidedly predominating element. It occupies the middle-ground between these two opposing phases of local life. In the Southern States the county is the more important factor, and its subdivisions are such only in name, exercising but little control over their own affairs. In New England, on the contrary, the highest political vitality is to be found in the town. The system of Pennsylvania aims at a partition of powers. The officers of the township assume the management of local roads and highways, and in some counties provide also for the support of the pauper population. But while they have the power to impose a tax for these purposes, rates can only be levied upon the basis of the last adjusted county-assessment, and the law prescribes certain limits beyond which they cannot go. Furthermore, no pro-

¹ An explanation of this seemingly high rate is to be found in the fact, that the continental currency had that year reached a very low state of depreciation. There has been preserved in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, a copy of a publication called the United States Magazine, bearing the date of 1779, for which the subscription rates were \$3.00 per copy or \$24.00 a year! It is possible that the apparently high price charged for this periodical may have been due, in some degree, to its widespread popularity, and to the extraordinary demand indicated by the following lines, taken from the dedicatory ode:—

“Statesmen of assembly great;
Soldiers that on danger wait;
Farmers that subdue the plain;
Merchants that attempt the main;
Tradesmen who their labors ply;
These shall court thy company;
These shall say, with placid mien,
Have you read the magazine?”

vision is made for any such democratic institution as a town-meeting, where the people may come together to vote appropriations, and to frame by-laws for their own government. Neither is the township represented by a supervisor upon the county board, as in New York, Michigan, Illinois, and other of the Northern and North-Western States. The county is the leading local unit, and, under the commonwealth, may be said to wield the largest share of political power. It regulates affairs directly, and its officers are responsible to the people for the exercise of administrative control. The chief authority is vested in three commissioners, who are elected for a term of three years. In addition to duties which will be subsequently mentioned, this board is required to transact the county business, to keep a record of its proceedings, to publish annually a correct account of all receipts and expenditures of the previous year, to make an annual statement to the secretary of the commonwealth of all sums paid for the support and maintenance of justice, and to have charge of the erection and control of the county public buildings. Each county has also a treasurer, a surveyor, and three auditors. It is not necessary to define the duties of these functionaries. We do not include in this enumeration those offices which pertain to the administration of justice, as it is our intention to confine this discussion to purely municipal matters.

A board of supervisors, generally two or three in number constitutes the highest township authority. But this numerical limit is not absolute, since the law provides for an increase at the pleasure of the electors. The term of office of this governing board extends over a period of three years. There are also an assessor, two assistant assessors (in triennial years), a town-clerk, a treasurer, three auditors, and two overseers of the poor, where the poor are a township charge. Under a constitutional provision, the election of township officers takes place annually on the third Tuesday of February.

The county rates and levies are made in the following manner. Every third year the board of commissioners issues

a notice to the assessors of the different townships, requiring them to return, within a certain specified time, a correct list of the names of all taxable persons residing within their territorial jurisdiction. The assessors and their assistants immediately proceed to make out the required statement, and to furnish also an accurate valuation of such real and personal property as the law directs. Upon this basis, the commissioners levy a certain rate *per centum*, which rate is uniform throughout the different townships. The commissioners cause transcripts of the assessments to be prepared and furnished to each assessor, together with the rate *per centum* of the amount levied. They also fix a day on which appeals shall be heard. The assessor is then required to give notice, either written or printed, to every taxable inhabitant in the township, of the amount for which he stands rated, and to inform him also of the day set for hearing appeals. All objections raised to the assessment are decided by the commissioners; but if any inhabitant takes exception to their ruling, he may present his case for final judgment before the court of common pleas. The taxes thus levied are collected by a collector for each township, appointed by the board of commissioners. The selection is usually made in accordance with the recommendation of the various assessors, though the range of choice is not necessarily limited to such nominees.

The State taxes are furnished through the medium of the several counties, and the commissioners perform the same duties in relation to their levy and collection, and the same proceedings are had regarding appeals, as in the case of county rates.

The township has the power to lay certain rates independently of county authority or jurisdiction. For instance, the supervisors are authorized to assess the taxables of their township for a sum not exceeding one cent on the dollar upon the valuation of their property, to keep the roads, highways, and bridges in good order. It is also the duty of the overseers of the poor, where the poor are in the charge of the township, to make a similar provision for the support of the indigent and helpless, having first obtained the consent of

two justices of the peace. These rates can only be laid in accordance with the last adjusted county valuation. The township assessor aids in fixing the assessment, and collection is made by persons designated by the supervisors and overseers, in a meeting convened for the purpose.

Roads and highways lying within the boundaries of a township are under its management. They are controlled by the supervisors, and the expense of their good keeping is borne out of the fund raised by the above-mentioned assessment. It is allowable for any person to work out his road-tax instead of paying it in money. This is usually done. With this fact in view, and with the poor more generally in the care of the county, it will be seen that the tendency is to reduce purely township rates to a minimum. The supervisors are also responsible for the repair and renewal of all causeways and small bridges situated on township highways. If a road forms the dividing line between two townships, the expense of its good keeping is shared equally by the two districts. When a number of inhabitants think it is advisable that a new highway should be opened up, they send a petition to that effect to the court of quarter sessions. This judicial body at once appoints viewers, who proceed to inspect the locality through which it is proposed the road shall run. They make their report to the court, and if a favorable view is entertained, the road is confirmed and viewed to be opened. Damages, to be paid by the county, may be awarded for any injury to property, even though the owners were petitioners in behalf of the project. Bridges over large rivers or streams, which would entail more expense in construction than it is reasonable should be borne by one or two townships, are built at the cost of the county. Proceedings are instituted at the order of the court of quarter sessions, who act upon the representation of the township supervisors, or a petition of interested inhabitants.

The poor are legally a township charge; though their care is generally placed in the hands of the county commissioners. In the latter event, the commissioners, with the approval of the court of quarter sessions, select suitable real estate, and erect thereon a building called a "House for the

Destitute." This establishment is used for the accommodation of all poor persons who have gained the required legal settlement. Three citizens, one of whom is chosen every year, constitute a board of directors. This body manages the internal economy of the institution. It also has authority to bind out children as apprentices and to provide employment for the able-bodied poor. The directors furnish a yearly financial estimate to the commissioners, so that due provision may be made for a poor-fund in levying the county rate. The board is further empowered to make any suggestions which they may deem expedient, for improvements or alterations in the institution. It may grant relief, to a limited extent, to needy persons who are not inhabitants of the almshouse. The judges of the various courts of the county, and ministers of the gospel of all denominations are, *ex officio*, visitors of the institution. In this capacity they are entitled to examine into its general condition, and to scrutinize the books of the board of directors. As soon as the poor become the charge of the county, the office of overseer in the different townships is abolished.

When the poor are under the control of the township, their care is entrusted to two overseers, and their maintenance provided for by means of a small tax. The overseers are obliged to furnish relief to all applicants for assistance, who have gained a legal settlement in the township. Aid must also be given to those who have not a legal settlement, until they can be removed to their former place of residence. The duties of the overseers in relation to binding out children as apprentices, and finding suitable work for those capable of active employment, are similar to those devolving upon the county directors. No one is entitled to be placed upon the poor-book without an order from two justices of the peace. Every house-keeper receiving a transient poor person is required to give notice to the overseers within ten days after such reception, or, in case of default, to become responsible for all further maintenance.

A few isolated and comparatively unimportant exceptions may occur to the method of local administration as set forth in the preceding pages. These need not demand our present

consideration. A general likeness pervades the municipal organization of the State, and the foregoing sketch represents, as accurately as possible, that system which prevails throughout the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Passing in rapid review the facts which have just claimed our attention, we cannot help noticing the liberal methods which, from the very first, existed in the administration of local affairs. The control over matters pertaining to self-government was not given to individual isolated communities, as in New England; nor was it concentrated in the larger unit, the county, as in Virginia and Maryland. And yet the system of Pennsylvania was quite as democratic as the one, and as healthfully centralized as the other. The power to make by-laws for municipal management, as well as the authority to legislate for the entire province, was, from the beginning, in the hands of the people or their delegates. All public officers were either elected directly, or chosen by those who were. Penn himself could not appoint even a justice of the peace. The words of the historian Bancroft are strictly true: "But for the hereditary office of *Proprietary*, *Pennsylvania* had been a representative democracy."

The present system of local self-government does not belong entirely, nor even largely, to the period of the commonwealth. It has, of course, been improved and modified by enactments since 1776, but, as a whole, it is simply the continuation of provincial beginnings. The central idea upon which it is based has been the same throughout. That idea is the inalienable right of the people to a control over their own affairs, and may, doubtless, to some extent, be considered as the practical realization of the words of Penn: "If the people want anything which will make them happy, I shall readily grant it." The great principle of popular sovereignty was virtually recognized by the illustrious founder of this State in every department of its provincial administration; and upon this foundation principle the political superstructure of Pennsylvania has slowly and surely risen, until now it may well be called the keystone of the arch of American Liberty.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,

May, 1882.

A VINDICATION OF WILLIAM PENN BY PHILIP
FORD, AND OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO
THE SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 1, 1882.

BY FREDERICK D. STONE.

When the propriety of emigration to America was first agitated among the people called Quakers, the proposition did not meet with approval in all quarters. Many feared that the project was suggested by a desire to escape persecution, and that the yielding to such influences would be inconsistent with the professions of Friends.

Tracts in favor of the movement were written by several of the members. In 1681 George Fox issued his address *To Planters and such who are transporting themselves into Foreign Plantations in America*, and the next year William Loddington wrote *Plantation Work the Work of this Generation*. The evidence that contrary views existed at the time of the settlement of Pennsylvania will be found in a certificate of removal which was given to one who took up land here in 1682. It is as follows:—

At the request of Nicholas Newland we do hereby certify that the said Nicholas Newland acquainted our men's meeting with his intention of removing himself and family out of this nation into New Jersey or Pennsylvania in America, and we have nothing to charge against him or his family as to their conversation in the world since they frequented our meetings, but hath walk'd honestly among men for aught we know or can hear of by inquiry which hath been made, but our friend's meeting is generally dissatisfied with his removing, he being well settled with his family, and having sufficient substance for food and raiment, which all that possess godliness in Christ Jesus ought to be contented with, for we have brought nothing into this world, and we are sure to take nothing out. And he hath given us no satisfactory reason for his removing, but our godly jealousy is that his chief ground is fearfulness of sufferings here for the testimony of Jesus, or court- ing worldly liberty, all which we certify from our men's meeting at Mt. Mellock 25th of 12th mo. 1682. And we further certify that inquiry hath been made concerning the clearness of Nathaniel and John Newland, sons of said Nicholas Newland, from all entanglements of marriage, and that they are released for aught we find. Signed by the advice and in the behalf of the meeting.

TOBIAS PADWELL,
WILLIAM EDMUNDSON,
CHRISTOPHER ROFER,
And others.

In *Plantation Work the Work of this Generation* we have the first accounts of Pennsylvania after it had been given to Penn, as well as the interesting fact that Governor Markham was at New York several days



earlier in June, 1681, than has been heretofore stated. A letter to William Penn from New York, dated June 25, says, "This is to acquaint thee, that about ten daies since here arrived Francis Richardson with thy Deputy."

The descriptions of the country are in letters from Markham. The first is to his wife, and is dated Upland, Dec. 7, 1681. It is as follows:—

An Abstract of a Letter from the Deputy-Governour of Pennsylvania to his Wife. Upland the 7 December, 1681.

It is a very fine Country, if it were not so overgrown with Woods, and very Healthy. Here people live to be above 100 years of Age. Provisions of all sorts are indifferent plentiful: *Venison* especially. I have seen four *Bucks* bought for less than 5s., the *Indians* killing them only for their Skins, and if the Christians will not buy the Flesh, they let it hang and rot on a Tree. In the Winter, there is mighty plenty of *Wild Fowl* of all sorts; Partridges I am cloyed with, we catch them by *hundreds* at a time. In the fall of the Leaf, or after Harvest, here are abundance of wild *Turkeys*, which are mighty easie to be Shot; Duck, Mallard, Geese and Swans in abundance, wild; Fish are in great plenty. In short, if a Country Life be liked by any, it might be here. That which is most scarce is Mutton and Beef, because you must kill it yourself, I mean of your own; and in the Summer it will not keep till you can eat it all, except in great Families. What Beef is killed is in *October*, or thereabouts, and Salted up for the whole year; last *October* I kill'd two very fat *Bullocks*.

The next is to a friend, and was sent by the same ship.

An Abstract of another Letter from the Deputy-Governour of Pennsylvania to a Friend of his in London by the same Ship.

I will now give you an Account of the Country: It is a mighty good *Air*, and very Healthy. Here are abundance of good *Fruits*: all sorts of *Apples*, *Cherries*, *Pears*, good *Plumbs*; but I knew not what to call them; *Peaches* as good as any in the world, some they feed their *Hoggs* with, and some they distill and make of it a sort of *Brandy*; Abundance of *Mulberrys*. The *Hoggs* eat the *Chesnuts*, as they do the *Acorns*; abundance of *Walnuts*; *Grapes* grow wild in the Woods and indifferent good; they might be made very good wine. *Mellons* both *Mus* and *Water* as good as can be; and several others I cannot think of. *Fish* good store; but we are afraid to put out a Net lest *Sturgeon* gets in and breaks it, for we have innumerable of them, that they leap into the Boats very often. *Beasts* we have of all kinds, and *Tame Fowl*. Abundance of *Deer*, the *Indians* kill them only for their skins, and leave the Flesh in the Woods. We have very good *Horses*, and the Men ride madly on them; they make nothing of riding 80 Miles of a Day; and when they get to their Journey's end, turn the *Horses* into the Field: they never Shoe them.

In the *London Gazette*, No. 1752, from Thursday, August 31, to Monday, September 4, 1682, we find the following:—

Deal, Aug. 30. There are now about 30 Sail of Merchant Ships in the *Downs* outward bound, two or three are bound for *Pensilvania*.

In the next issue of the same paper from Monday, September 4, to Thursday, September 7, 1682, we find:—

Deal, Sept. 2. Two days since sailed out of the *Downs* three Ships bound for *Pensilvania*, on board of which was Mr. Pen with a great many Quakers who go to settle there.

After he had sailed, many idle rumors, prejudicial to his character as a man and detrimental to his interests, were circulated. It must have been about this time that a scurrilous pamphlet appeared, entitled *The History of William Pen's Conversion from a Gentleman to a Quaker. Or a Stop to the Call of the Unconverted.* To the poor, trapan'd, simple deluded People in Pensylvania: Dated the 15th. day of the Month *Abib*, in the first *Hegira* or flight of the Prophet *Pen* to his *Sylvania*.

It was also reported that he was dead, and that he had died professing faith in the Church of Rome. These stories gained so wide a circulation that his agent published the following in the *London Gazette* of January 15, 1682-3.

Whereas there is a Report spread abroad of the Death of William Pen, Esq., Proprietary of Pensilvania, to the great prejudice of his Affairs; These are to give Notice, That there is no manner of ground for it, the last Ship that came from thence having brought letters from him, which left him in perfect health, as any Person may be further satisfied by Mr. Philip Ford in Bow-Lane, London.

When Penn heard of the rumors, he wrote, "Some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death, and, to mend matters, dead a *Jesuit*, too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance like death would have been a protection against spite and envy. . . . However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no *Jesuit*, and I thank God very well." Before this letter was received, however, Ford had found it necessary to issue a paper called *A Vindication of William Penn*. The first part of this is devoted to the refutation of charges brought against him as a Friend. In the latter part are abstracts from the first letters he wrote after arriving in America, but as the paper has never been reprinted we give it in full. It is described as being on two pages of a folio sheet. The copy we have had transcribed is in the British Museum. The volume is marked Tracts relating to America and the West Indies. B. M. 616. $\frac{m. 18}{26}$.

A Vindication of William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsilvania, from the late Aspersions spread abroad on purpose to Defame him.

William Penn having been of late Traduced as being a Papist, and Dead, I thought mēet to give a short Relation of the rise and ground of that slanderous Report, and Detect it with an Abstract of his own Letters received since, to show that he is alive.

One of the first and most furious Fomentors and Authors of that late Lying Report of *W. Penn's* being a Papist (after diligent Enquiry made) appears to be *Thomas Hicks*, a Baptist Teacher, the envious false Dialogue-Maker, who has been openly prov'd a notorious Forger, Slanderer and De-

famer of the People called Quakers, wickedly and maliciously rendring them no Christians, but Deceivers and Imposters, &c., and defaming them in their sufferings, which are for Conscience towards God, insinuating, that *The satisfaction of their wills and lusts, and promoting their carnal Interest, to be the chief motive and Inducement thereto, and the great thing in their Eye* (as in his Dialog. I. p. 75. As also his lies and slanders, That he had it under W. P.'s Hand to manifest him the falsest Villain upon the Earth; and that several of his Friends had been with him to see it, and were satisfied it was so; and desired him not to look upon the rest of Friends as upon W. P. And further, That the Books his Name was too, were not of his own Writing, but that he kept a Jesuite for that purpose.

Now I having Information of this false Report and Slander, and being chiefly concerned in the Affairs of W. Penn in his Absence, look'd upon my self oblig'd in Conscience to vindicate his Innocency and Christian Reputation: Whereupon I took with me R. Davis and R. M. with several others upon the Exchange, and asked Tho. Hicks, If he had it under W. Penn's Hand to manifest him as aforesaid? To which he Answered, *Yes he had*. Then I desired him to name one of the Friends that was so satisfied; his shuffling Answer was, *There was a great many of them, but could remember the Names of none of them, it being four or five years ago*. I then desired to see his Letter? He Answered, *He had none*. I Queried, What he had under his own Hand then? He Replied, *He had it in Print*. I demanded the Title? he answered, *The sandy Foundation, for which he was put in the Tower*. Note. That an Explanation was sincerely given forth by W. Penn, concerning the said Book, Entituled, Innocency appearing with open Face, which gave such satisfaction that he was thereupon set at Liberty.

So this was the substance of his Answer, by which you may perceive the feebleness of his false suggestion, and the baseness of his Spirit: then as to his gross Lye of W. P.'s keeping a Jesuit to write his Books, when I charged him with it, to that he was Mute, and would give me no Answer, but shuffled to another thing.

Hereby you may see that the said *Tho. Hicks* appears to be a busie slanderer as well as a manifest Forger of notorious falsehoods, as before charged.

The false suggestion of *Tho. Hicks* taking Air, did encourage others to add hereto, and amongst the several Stories this was one, That *W. Penn* perverted one Mr. *Edsaw*, a *Sussex* Gentlemen; to the *Romish* Religion, who lived and died near his House. The first that I could find who was so bold to affirm this, was *F. F.* who quoted the Duke of *Somerset's* Steward for his Author, to whom I applied myself, and he affirmed, he Reported it not, neither knew any thing of it: That being detected, *F. F.* charged it upon Captain *Gratwick* of *Sussex*, Brother-in-Law to the said Captain *Edsaw*, to whom Messengers were sent by *W. Penn's* Wife to know the Truth thereof, and he also denied it, and said, *He would spit in the face of any man who would charge it upon him.* This he declared before several Witnesses, and said, If she were not satisfied with what he had there declared, he would wait upon her, and give her what satisfaction she pleased under his hand, for he scorned to abuse so Civil a Gentleman behind his back: so the rise of that Story lodges as yet at *F. F.'s* door. And for the pretended perverted Person Captain *Edsaw* (for so he was called) they who are desirous to be further satisfied may enquire of the Warden of the *Fleet*, where, by the Book it doth appear the said *Robert Edsaw* was committed Prisoner to the *Fleet* for Debt the 27th of November. 1678. and not known to go abroad after Commitment to his dying day, which was the 30th of *September* 1681. where he died and not in *Sussex*; and for what he professed as to Religion, he had it not to seek many years before he was Prisoner: Job 13, 4. *But ye are Forgers of Lies, ye are all Physicians of no value.* Psal. 58, 3. *The wicked are estranged from the womb, they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies.* Psal. 109 2. *For the Mouth of the wicked, and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me: they have spoken against me with a lying Tongue.* Jer. 7, 8. *Behold ye trust in lying words that cannot profit.* Jonah 2. 8. *They that observe lying vanities, forsake their own Mercy.*

Next follows the Abstract of several Letters from William Penn Proprietary of Pennsylvania, to P. F. &c. Dated at Upland, Nov. 1. and from West-River, Decemb. 16, Maryland, 1682.

That of *November, 1, 1682.* signifying his safe Arrival,¹ and that day six weeks they lost sight of Land in *England*, they saw it in *America*: and being about twelve Leagues off from the Coast, the Air smell'd as sweet as a Garden new blown. As they Sail'd up the River they received Visits and Invitations from the Inhabitants, the People being Joyful to see him, both *Dutch, Swedes, and English* coming up to *New-Castle*, they received and entertained him with great expressions of Joy after their sort.

Next day after his Arrival, he had the People summon'd together to the Court-house at *New-Castle*, where possession was legally given him; and after that he made a Speech to the old Magistrates, and the People, signifying to them the end of his coming, the Nature and End of Government, and that especially he came to Establish, assuring them of their Spiritual and Temporal Rights, Liberty of Conscience and Civil Freedoms: All he pray'd expected or required, was Sobriety Loving Neighbour-hood; then he renewed their Commissions and so left them. He went from thence to a place called *Upland*, where he called an Assembly,² and gave them as ample satisfaction as at *New Castle*, so they Signed an Acknowledgment, and were very Joyful: The *Swedes* sent one Captain *Lacy Cook*³ to acquaint him, *They would Serve,*

¹ Penn dated his arrival from Oct. 24 (see letter to Lords of Plantation, Aug. 14, 1683, in Proud's Hist. of Pa., vol. i. p. 268), and it has been generally supposed that on that day he passed the Capes of Delaware. The New Castle County records show that he arrived before that place on the 27th of Oct., and received possession of the town on the 28th. On the 29th he was at Upland. By the *New Style* of computing time the anniversary of this event occurs on the 8th of November, and that day is celebrated by the Historical Society to commemorate his arrival in Pennsylvania.—Ed.

² Notices for the meeting of a court to be held at New Castle have been preserved, they are dated "Upland 29th of 8 mo. 1682." Notices for the meeting of an assembly were not sent out until Nov. 8, O. S.—Ed.

³ Lacey Cock.

Love, and Obey him with all they had, and that it was the best day they ever saw.

The City of *Philadelphia* is laid out and begun, and many pretty Houses are run up of late upon the River and backwards, that do very well.¹ An House for *W. Penn* is a Building, whose Family, that went with him, are all come safe; and Entertainment for all beyond expectation, and to their content. The Air is exceedingly clear and sweet, the Food good and plentiful, and as pleasing as one can eat. There is also good Malt Drink: In fine, the Country is without Exception. At *New-Castle* the *Dutch* have their Food much as in *Holland*, and have curious Sallating &c. Excellent Bread, both of Wheat and Mastin, *English* grain.

The *Indians* they saw; the men were strong and Tall, the Women comely, as some Gipsies are in *England*; the Children very pretty; they all wear some Clothes, and some of them wear Broggs.²

From *West-River, Mary-land, Decemb. 16. 1682.* he writes, That an Assembly was held at *Chester* alias *Upland*, where *New-Castle* was annexed to *Pennsilvania*: The Foraigners were Naturaliz'd, and all the Laws past that were agreed upon in *England*, and more fully worded. The Assembly-men were there to their great satisfaction, and such an Assembly for Love, Unity, and Concord, scarcely ever was known in and about outward things in those Parts.

This done, they Adjourn'd; and *W. Penn* took his Journey for *Mary-land*, where he was kindly received by the Lord *Baltimore*, and the Chief in his Province: They Treated at

¹ This information appears to have been given in the letter of Nov. 1st, and if it was the result of Penn's personal observation shows that he visited Philadelphia almost immediately after his arrival, and did not defer doing so until Nov. 8th, as it is contended that the Abbington Meeting Records prove.—Ed.

² This, it will be observed, is the only allusion made to the Indians in either of the letters. No mention is made of the treaty which is said to have been held in November, 1682. Had such an event taken place it is hardly probable that letters giving such minute details as the changing of the name of Upland, would have failed to have mentioned it, or that the person making the abstracts would have overlooked it.—Ed.

one Col. *Taylors*, about settling the bounds between their Provinces: And a solid Conference they had, preparatory to a future Conclusion, the season permitting no long Essays or Treaties. They civilly parted after two Daies Conference.

The day following the Lord *Baltimore* Accompanied him to *W. Richardsons*, which was 3 miles, and then returned: They went two miles farther, to one *Tho. Hookers*, to a Meeting, where the presence of the great God was enjoyed with them.

The firstday following he intended to be at Choptank on the Eastern Shore, where the Colonels, Magistrates and People of several Ranks and Qualities proposed to be.

There are several other Reports I have been Inquisitive to find out the Authors of, and I find them all arise from the same ground with the before mentioned.

I hope therefore this short Scrutiny and Abstracts, will satisfie those, who are not willing to believe Lies, that *William Penn* is not a dead Jesuit, and in time I doubt not but their folly will Correct them that Imagin him a live one, and also Caution others to be careful how they Report things upon Hear-say, to the Defamation of the Innocent. Published in sincerity by him who is a Lover of Truth but a hater of Falsehood, and an abhorrer of those that say *Report, and we will Report it.*

London, 12th. 12th. Month, 1683. Philip Ford.

London, Printed for *Benjamin Clark* in *George-Yard* in *Lombard-street*, 1683.

GEORGE SMITH, M.D.,**AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF DELAWARE COUNTY.****Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 1, 1882.****BY JAMES J. LEVICK, M.D.**

The list of the members of the Historical Society who have died since its meeting in January is an unusually large one, and has in it the names of men eminent in almost every department of civil life.

I have been asked to announce this evening the death of one, who, though not a resident of Philadelphia, was a deeply interested member, and who, by his example and labors, did much to advance the interests and promote the objects of the Historical Society. I allude to the Honorable George Smith, M.D., of Delaware County, the author of the history of that county, a work which is acknowledged to have no superior, if it have any equal, among our local histories.

I leave to others the full record of what Dr. Smith has done in the many departments of literature and of science to which he devoted himself, but I willingly accede to the request made of me, because of my affectionate, respectful regard for Dr. Smith, and because I deem it eminently proper that here, in this Hall, some tribute, however imperfect it may be, should be paid to the memory of one who did so much for history as he did.

George Smith, son of Benjamin Hayes and Margaretta Dunn Smith, was born in Haverford Township, Delaware County, February 12, 1804. He received the earlier part of his literary education in the schools of the neighborhood, and, later, was a pupil at the Academy in West Chester of Jonathan Gause, a successful teacher of that day, and where, as I have to-day been told by one of his classmates, he was a great favorite with his companions, who were accustomed to forecast a distinguished future for him. He studied medicine

at the University of Pennsylvania, and graduated there April 7, 1826. For five years he practised his profession in Darby and its vicinity, but coming into possession of a very considerable estate, soon after his marriage he retired from medicine, and for the remainder of his life was chiefly occupied in the management of his farms, and in attention to numerous public and private trusts, and in the cultivation of his literary and scientific tastes. Dr. Smith married, February 26, 1829, Mary, daughter and only child of Abraham Lewis, of Delaware County. His widow and five children survive him.

From 1832 to 1836 Dr. Smith was State Senator from the district composed of Chester and Delaware Counties, and during that time was largely instrumental in establishing a permanent law for free education, a measure which had long been near his heart, and of which he had been for many years an earnest advocate. "As chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, he drew up a bill embracing the whole subject of public schools, and, supported by Thaddeus Stevens and Governor Wolfe, it was passed substantially as reported by him; and proved to be the first practical and efficient measure on the subject of general education in the State of Pennsylvania."

December 8, 1836, he was appointed by Governor Ritner Associate-Judge of the Courts of Delaware County, an appointment held by him for six years, and renewed by popular vote for five succeeding years. As Superintendent of the Common Schools, and as President of the School Board for Upper Darby district, he continued to show his deep interest in popular education. In September, 1833, with four of his friends, he founded the Delaware County Institute of Science, of which he was President from the time of its organization until his death, a period of forty-nine years. This association, the object of which is to promote the study and diffusion of general knowledge, and the establishment of a museum, is in many respects similar to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and, in Dr. Smith's own words, has been enabled to accomplish most if not all the objects contemplated

in its establishment. How much of this was especially due to its President, who by his example and influence developed and fostered a love for natural science among his friends and neighbors, though well known to them, with his characteristic modesty, Dr. Smith fails to tell us

A generous contributor to the periodical papers of his neighborhood, in the year 1862 he published the History of Delaware County, a work which at once placed its author in the very front rank of careful, painstaking, accurate historians.

This remarkable book, an octavo of nearly six hundred pages, contains the history, from the year 1610 to that in which it was issued, of what is now known as Delaware County. The purely historical part is a wonderful example of careful, patient research, of accuracy of statement, and correctness of language. To this is added an interesting and instructive sketch of the geology of the county, and a copious catalogue of the botany of the same, all from Dr. Smith's pen. A list of the quadrupeds and birds of Delaware County, furnished by his friend and neighbor, John Cassin, is also given.

Nor is this all—as a supplement are printed, in double columns of fine type, nearly seventy pages of the biography of the early settlers and eminent men of Delaware County, including the names of nearly three hundred heads of families, and furnishing an amount of instructive information which it is impossible, even now, fully to estimate the value of.

Nor can any one who has not engaged in a similar service form a just conception of the labor required in such a work; the rejection of what is useless, or not authenticated, the right estimate of verbal testimony, and the care needed to void blindly following the errors of others.

Suffice it to say that all this work has been done, and so thoroughly done, by Dr. Smith, that this book is everywhere regarded as an unquestionable authority on the matters to which it relates, and has been made both the model and the basis of other local histories.

Dr. Smith was fifth in descent from Richard Hayes, who, with his wife Margaret, came to Pennsylvania from Ilminster, Pembrokeshire, Wales, A. D. 1687. They settled on a tract of land in Haverford Township, which is still occupied by their descendants, and here Dr. Smith was born. Richard Hayes was a Friend, and had suffered from religious persecutions in his native land. His son, Richard Hayes, Jr., was, for nearly thirty years, a member of the Provincial Assembly, was Justice of the Courts of Chester County, and held many responsible public trusts. The wife of Richard Hayes, Jr., was the daughter of Henry Lewis, of Narbeth, South Wales, who, with two of his friends, in the year 1682, made the first settlement in Haverford Township, where he gave much of his time to civil affairs and acts of benevolence. He was foreman of the first grand jury for the county of Philadelphia—Haverford and Radnor at that time belonging to Philadelphia. He held the office of Peacemaker for the county of Philadelphia, an office created at the second session of the Assembly, its object being, in the language of William Penn, "to prevent law suits, to act in the nature of arbitrators, to hear and to end differences between man and man." The family to which Henry Lewis belonged had long occupied a good position in Pembrokeshire, Wales, and the name is still held in much esteem in Narbeth and its vicinity. The descendants of Henry Lewis have many of them been noted for intellectual superiority, for their love of the exact sciences, and for the accuracy which has characterized all their public writings. Besides the subject of this sketch, among them were the late Enoch Lewis, the eminent mathematician, and in our day his grandson, Charlton Lewis, who is the editor, and in great measure the author, of "A New Latin Dictionary," a work of more than two thousand pages, which is now recognized as the standard lexicon, not only in our American Colleges, but also in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. To these names we may also, with much satisfaction, add among Henry Lewis's descendants the name of our venerable fellow-member, the Honorable Eli K. Price.

Dr. Smith was also descended from Dr. Thomas Wynne, of

Caer-Wys, North Wales, the friend and physician of William Penn, his fellow voyager on the *Welcome*, and the President of the first Provincial Assembly held in Philadelphia. He was in direct descent also from Dr. Edward Jones, of Merion, whose arrival at Upland preceded by two months that of the Proprietor, and was a lineal descendant of Robert and Jane Owen, that brave pair who, whether as lord and lady of Beaumaris Castle, or, for conscience sake, within the gates of Dolgelley Jail, commanded the admiration and respect of all about them, and whose ancestry is traced by their relative, the learned antiquary Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, back to the sixth century.

I have perhaps dwelt too minutely on this matter of ancestry, but I have done so purposely, because I wish to call attention to the fact, as in this hall I have once before done, that the early Welsh settlers of Philadelphia and its vicinity belonged to a race which has left its impress, in a very marked manner, on the character of its descendants to the present day.

Especially is this true of Radnor, Haverford, and Merion, where many of the present owners occupy the lands they have inherited from their ancestors, these first settlers.

And these first settlers brought with them the virtues of the race from which they sprung, those ancient Britons of whom the Carthaginian historian, four centuries before the Christian Era, said—"they are a numerous and powerful people—very dexterous and busy," and of whom one of Cæsar's cotemporaries wrote, "they are simple in their manners, kind to strangers, and far removed from the wickedness of the present day."

Griffith Owen, in the year 1690, writing from the Welsh Tract, in an earnest protest against what was deemed an unjust taxation, says: "We are descended from the ancient Britons, and always in the land of our nativity, under the crown of England, have enjoyed the liberty and privilege to have our own bounds and limits by ourselves. . . . We endeavour to decide all controversies and debates among ourselves in Gospel order."

Thus living among themselves, and marrying among them-

selves, it is not surprising that their descendants should inherit not only the lands but also the virtues of their ancestors. Nowhere among them could be found a better example of these inherited virtues than was seen in Dr. George Smith. "Simple and unpretending"—"far removed from the wickedness of the men of the present day"—"kind to strangers"—ever alive to the interests of his fellowmen, and especially to those of the community in which he lived, he passed on from youth to middle life, and from middle life to old age, active in all good works, and happy, not only in the respect, but also in the love of his fellow-men.

On the 12th of February, 1882, Dr. Smith was seventy-eight years old, and on that day he wrote several letters to his friends, each of them marked by the vigor of thought and gentle courtesy which were so characteristic of him. Twelve days later he arose early in the morning, but feeling faint, returned to his bed, and in a few minutes, apparently without pain, passed into a state of unconsciousness, which soon deepened into that of death.

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As we pass in rapid review the incidents of such a useful life we find in them much to excite admiration for the dead, and much to comfort and instruct the living.

Born among a people of his own race if not altogether of his own blood, he is a favorite with them from his early boyhood, and they look forward with a pride to a useful future for him.

In his early manhood he cares for their sick, and when called to other duties never neglects their interests and welfare.

Their children need to be educated and he prepares and passes the public school law for them. Difficult questions are to be decided, or a difference of sentiment occurs among them, and he becomes their judge as, in the best sense of the word he had long been, their counsellor, and like his ancestor, Henry Lewis, their peacemaker.

With an ardent love for science himself he infuses into his neighbors some of this same love, and the Delaware County

Institute for Science is established, and its results are seen in the increased mental culture and intelligence of the people. For them, now, the grass in their fields, the rocks by the roadside, and the very soil itself have a new significance and value.

Having cared for the living he turns his attention to their dead, and from out of musty closets, old desks, older Bibles, and meeting-house records, come ancient documents, time-eaten manuscripts, and faded writings, which, like the dry bones in the prophet's vision, are now fitted rightly together, and, under his care, have breathed into them an intelligent existence.

He has now reached his seventy-eighth year, a period of life which though it has its privations has also its privileges. Without those infirmities of extreme age which make the grasshopper a burden, it is yet a time when ambition is satisfied, asperities are smoothed, and when the love of friends is given with a freeness and fulness which are elsewhere accorded only to childhood ; a time of life when the object of this love may look peacefully on the past and hopefully to the future.

Happy in his useful life Dr. Smith is happy in his painless death. A day of his usual activity is passed—a night of calm repose—and, with the dawn of the morning, a mist comes before his eyes and they close to this life forever.

Five days later his relatives and friends, each sorrowing under the sense of a great personal loss, carried all that was mortal of George Smith to the old burial place at Haverford, where, for nearly two centuries, one after another of his family had been laid, and where his honored dust was soon to mingle with that of his ancestors, those worthy Britons, of whom he was so worthy a descendant, and of whom he was—in every way—the peer.

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRÉSOR,
JULY 1, 1777, TO JULY 1, 1778,

CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

INCLUDING ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF LORD AND SIR WM. HOWE
UP THE CHESAPEAKE, THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE, AND FROM THE
OCCUPATION TO THE EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA, WITH THE
REDUCTION OF MUD FORT OR FORT MIFFLIN.

CONTRIBUTED AND EDITED BY G. D. SCULL, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 57.)

12th. [NOVEMBER] Wind at S. blew a gale of wind between 4 & 5 A. M., and the rest of the day very tempestous. The same batteries kept playing upon the Rebel fort as yesterday, the two 8 inch Howitzers still disabled and unrepaired. The Isis, a galley and sloop fired much on the Jersey shore. The Vigilant expected up but had touched ground last night. From one to 3 P. M. the rebel Fire from the Fort was silenced but at half past 3 they opened one Gun from their 2 Gun Battery and 1 from the shoulder of the Mud Battery. Arrived this morning a boat or $\frac{1}{2}$ galley which deserted to us with one 4 pounder, 4 swivels, and two wall pieces with men & small arms. One man killed & wounded mortally and the officer of artillery slightly by the unexpected bursting of one of our 8 inch shells. The N. E. front of the Stockades of ye Rebel Fort practicable in 20 places. The lower Block House declining. Built a Battery on the wharf for one medium 12 pounder. Wind too violent for the Vigilant to come up. One of our shells burst and killed 2 men on the Battery. Remarks—by the Inhabitants that such cold weather never set in so soon. Some trifling snow fell this morning, mixed with rain.

13th. Wind W. N. W. Blowing very hard and too scant a wind for the Vigilant and to attack the Fort. Our batteries continued all the day at the Forts. Our Ships and

Gallies firing on Jersey Shore. Repaired our Batteries this night with 100 men. Parties in the redoubts as usual. Extremely cold this day. Rebels still fire with one Gun, an Eighteen pounder, from Shoulder of Mud Battery and 5 to 6 shot from 2 Gun Batteries. One of our 24 pounders disabled in the Truck. A Boat with 4 men deserted to us from the Gallies and a barge with men to our Fleet. The Cold weather, hard work, bad Pasture and no Grain destroyed several of our Horses, a great scarcity in Philadelphia of meat, drink, clothing, firing, etc. etc.

14th. Wind W. N. W. very cold and raw, weather cloudy, thought to be rather scant for the Vigilant and that it would be sufficient, for as the tides became late to get her over Hog Island bar. Our batteries continued as usual against Fort Island. A floating battery with two 32 pounders, we sent out of Schuylkill and laid her within 500 yards of the Fort at daybreak where she opened very successfully for two hours but was silenced by the Fort, 3 shot went through her and one killed. Rebels fired most of this day from the Embrasure in the Shoulder of the Mud Battery and 2 Gun from the Gun Battery which they advanced in the night.

15th. Wind westerly, weather very fine, but very cold. Before 11 this morning the following ships of war moved nearer the Chevaux de frise vizt. Isis, Somerset, Roebuck, Liverpool, Pearl. Three Regiments of Provincials raising vizt Allen's, Chalmer's and Cliftons. The latter Roman Catholics. This night at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 the rebels set fire to and consumed the Fort except the Block houses and Commanding Officers house and then evacuated Mud Island leaving their colour standing, and fled so precipitately as to leave us 11 pieces of cannon not spiked. Fort Mifflin evacuated by the rebels.

16th Sunday. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 this morning, a boat with some sailors landed at the Fort on Mud Island and took down the Rebel colours which were left standing and hoisted our own. At 9 Sir George Osborne (whom I accompanied) and the detachment intended for the storm, embarked from Carpenter's Island in 8 Flat Bottomed Boats, 35 soldiers each together

with Engineers, a company of carpenters, fascines, scaling ladders, flying bridge, etc., and took possession of the Fort & immediately began on a Battery for four 32 pounders, partly for the Defence of that post and partly to prevent their vessels annoying us in removing the Chevaux de frise. Wind W. by N. W. and thick with some trifling snow.

General orders Head Quarters Philadelphia,

16 November 1777.

The Commander in Chief desires his thanks may be given to all the officers & men employed in the Reduction of Mud Island and particularly to Brigadier General Cleaveland, Captain Montrésor, Chief Engineer, and to Captains Moncrief and Trail and the officers and men of the artillery employed upon that service for their great exertions and indefatigable zeal throughout that very laborious operation, in which the officers and men of the navy took so great a share.¹

¹ Extract from Sir William Howe's dispatch to Lord Geo. Germaine, Philadelphia, November 28th, 1777. "From a variety of difficulties attending the Construction of batteries in a morass, against the Fort upon Mud Island and in the transportation of the guns and stores, they were not opened against the enemy's defences until the 10th Inst. On the 15th the wind proving fair, the Vigilant armed ship carrying 16 twenty-four Pounders and a hulk with three 24 Pounders got up to the Fort through the Channel between Province Island and Hog Island, these assisted by several ships of war in the Eastern Channel, as well as by the batteries on shore, did such execution upon the Fort and collateral block houses that the enemy, dreading our impending assault evacuated the island in the night between the 15th and 16th and it was possessed on the 16th at daybreak by the grenadiers of the guard. Much Commendation is due to Brig. Gen. Cleaveland and to the officers and men of the corps of artillery, and to the troops in general employed upon this service attended with great fatigue."

Extract from Lord George Germaine's dispatch to Sir William Howe 4th of February 1778. "The happy issue of the attack upon the Fort on Mud Island and the very important consequences with which that success was attended by occasioning the abandonment of the Fort at Red Bank, and the Destruction of several of the Rebel Gallies and of opening the Communication between the town of Philadelphia and the shipping gave His Majesty particular satisfaction, and I am commanded to add that the conduct of the land and naval officers who conducted the attack and the alacrity and perseverance of the soldiers and seamen employed in that service have met with His Majesty's approbation. The small loss with which these important

November 17th. Wind W. This morning at 11 o'clock, the Troops that came left from [for] New York under the command of Major Genl. Sir Thomas Wilson.

objects were attained, is a circumstance that could not fail to be very pleasing to His Majesty, and bears honourable Testimony of the wisdom with which the attack was planned and of the attention shown to the safety of the Troops directed to make it, circumstances which must ever reflect credit on the Commander in Chief and endear him to the Army under his orders." Chastellux in his "*Travels in America*" mentions the siege of Mud Fort, and observes that "the person principally employed in sinking the Chevaux de frise and in securing the passage of the river was one Robert White who left the Channel (near the Pennsylvania side) open designedly as he afterwards turned out a decided traitor, went over to the enemy and distinguished himself by every act of hostile violence against his country." The Fort, during the siege, was commanded by Lt. Col. Samuel Smith, who was wounded on the Eleventh of November, carried across the river to Red Bank, the command devolving on Lt. Col. Russell and when he too was disabled upon Major Thayer. Of the 300 men of the garrison, nearly 250 were killed and wounded. The defence was most obstinate and deceived the British as to the strength of the garrison and they were seriously considering the expediency of abandoning the siege, when on the night of the 14th a deserter, in all probability the above Robert White, informed them of the weakness of the garrison and the siege was soon renewed with increased vigour when the Fort was evacuated on the night of the 15th.

In the General orders issued November 16th, 1777, by Sir William Howe, he particularly mentions Captain Montrésor and names other officers to whom his thanks were due, but in his dispatch to Lord George Germaine of November 28th, it will be observed he only mentions by name Brig. Gen. Cleaveland, who really had very little to do in the reduction of Mud Island. Very naturally this omission of the name of the Engineer, who had the practical direction of the works for conducting the siege, was felt as a great slight, and although Sir William Howe afterwards sent one of his aid de camps, Captain Nisbett Balfour, to beg his pardon for the oversight, yet the injury had been inflicted beyond repair and this apology was felt to be but a "poor requital." Captain Montrésor further adds, in one of his note books, "this omission of my name being mentioned to the Secretary of State in the Commander in chief's letter, lost me my rank, and obliged me to resign my command. I was joined in thanks in General Orders with Brigadier Genl. Cleaveland who never was on the Battery until the Guns were mounted and just before they were opened. During that undertaking this grand hero was in bed wrapped up in his flannels and he told Sir William Howe and myself that he wished that grand attack could be changed as his men were disheartened from its Exposure and complaints were made of its flimsiness to obtain it. One of the 'Eagles' (Lord Howe's flag ship) 24 pounders

18th. This evening Lord Cornwallis with the troops for Philadelphia landed at Billingsport where his Lordship took the command. Wind West. As he went through Darby with the 33d Regt. the rebels fired out of a house and Shot his Sergeant Major. The troops entered it and bayoneted the whole.¹

19th. Wind W. Continued taking my tartar Emetic. On the Batteries, since the beginning of throwing them up and happily succeeded by unvaried perseverance.

20th. Wind at W. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 this afternoon the rebels blew up their works at Red Bank. Arrived my Brother, at 12 this day Lord Cornwallis with 6000 men took possession of Red Bank which the Rebels evacuated the preceding night.

21st. Wind at N. E. but very light. This morning at 3 o'clock the moon shining the Galleys began to move from the Rebel Fleet and pass up by the Town and at 4 the rebels set fire to all their marine remaining. As soon as their Galley advanced towards our Guns at the North Part of the city we fired on them as did the Delaware Frigate, which drove one armed Schooner of 8 guns, and one armed Sloop on the Jersey shore. The rebels burnt 15 Topsail vessels and 15 galleys got up the river. Large Party of Rebel Horse and foot attacked our pickets to the bottom of our lines but was repulsed with loss. Came up to the city from the Fleet, 2

would have been left in a mud ditch but for the Engineer. This great hero laid under the heaviest displeasure of Sir William Howe at Boston for abandoning the town a week before the Troops and went below Castle William leaving his artillery and mortars behind and no one to spike some of the guns, &c." Respecting the works and their erection, for the reduction of Mud Island he says further, "During 23 campaigns I have served in this country, this service was by far the most severe, not having been in bed for nine nights together and remaining in general in the midst of the swamps and at a time when I was very unwell and the two last nights no one to assist me in constructing the Left Battery, never quitting in it until it was opened." While in Philadelphia Brig. Genl. Cleaveland was superseded by Brig. Genl. Pattison, who commanded the artillery when the British took possession of the Fort at Red Bank. Genl. Pattison was afterwards Commandant of the city of New York.

¹ Monton says five were killed, see Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., vol. i. p. 29.—Ed.

Barges from the Ships of war. This morning sailed from Chester, dispatches for New York. Rebel Fleet here cost Five hundred thousand pounds Sterling currency.

22d. Wind N. W. but mild and pleasant morning very foggy. Came up to the city 5 trading sloops. A large party of rebels again attacked our Pickets to the right of the line and were drove with loss, they firing out of the Houses, we set fire to Dickinson's and several others. As day was breaking the tender from the Delaware crossed to the Jersies, sunk a rebel armed sloop that was aground. Nine Light Horse taken by our Patrols. Arrived in the Delaware from New York 23 victuallers under convoy of the Thames Frigate. About seven o'clock this morning felt a shock of an Earthquake.

Sunday 23d. Wind S. S. E. morning foggy and continue hazy most of the day but the weather charming. Several Sloops and Schooners arrived at Philadelphia this morning. I demolished all the batteries and redoubts on Carpenter's Island and Blakely's House. The 28th and detachment of Guards 150 men retired leaving the 10th Regt. to occupy the new redoubt at the Province Island Ferry House.

24th. Wind S. W. Weather very fine, very mild but very foggy and hazy all the day. Several ships got up to Town this day and one ship of war the "Camilla." Rain all this night.

25th. Wind at N. W. weather very fine. Lord Cornwallis arrived with the troops at Gloucester. Our pickets without the lines shot a sergeant of Light Horse through the thigh and took him and killed his horse. The 17th Dragoons and part of the troops from Gloucester crossed over to this city. Arrived Brig. Genl. Pattison Royal Artillery. In our attack in the Jersey under Lord Cornwallis we lost 31 Jagers killed, wounded, and missing

26th. Wind W. N. W. weather very fine. Troops crossed from Gloucester in the Jersey to Gloucester Point in Pennsylvania.

27th. Wind W. N. W. weather mild. Troops from Gloucester returned, crossing to Gloucester point until the whole

were over which was effected this morning with Lord Cornwallis. On their retiring a smart fire was kept up by about two hundred of the rebels upon our rear at embarking.

28th. Wind at N. E. weather very fine.

29th. A very heavy storm at N. E. with rain.

30th. Wind at North, North East and some rain. *Sunday.*

December 1st, 1777, Monday. Wind N. W. weather cleared up & fine.

2d. Wind W. N. W. discharged the Brig Lady Howe.

3d. Wind N. W. and Snow but only to skim the ground but not to lay. Orders for the Army to hold themselves in readiness to move to-morrow by 7 A. M.

4th. Wind N. W. The Army's motion countermanded at 3 this morning. But at 10 this night they marched in 2 Columns, the right taking the Germantown Road under Lord Cornwallis, and the left the Manitawney Road along the Schuylkill.¹

6th. This night returned from the Army to Philadelphia the 5th and 27th Regiments. Wind North East.

7th. This morning at 2 o'clock provisions went from Philadelphia to our Army, escorted by the 40th, 55th, 71st Regiments. A Light Horse mounted deserted to us. Wind N. East.

8th. Wind at S. W. very foggy.

13th. Wind N. E.

18th. Discharged master Foreman & of the English contracted carpenters.

22d. Sir Wm. Howe moved out from Philadelphia with 7000 men across the Schuylkill over the 2 floating bridges and so to Darby leaving Lt. General Kniphuysen in command at Philadelphia.

23d. Discharged the master and crew of the Sloop Betsy.

28th. *Sunday*, Wind N. East, weather soft with 4 inches of Snow. The troops with the Com. in Chief returned to this

¹ The skirmish at Chestnut Hill, in which Gen. James Irvine was taken prisoner, and the manœuvres at White Marsh, were all that resulted from this expedition, although it had been the boast of the British army that they would drive Washington over the Blue Mountains.—Ed.

city after a very successful Foraging Party, 200 Tons of Hay & taking this day 2 officers & 37 men of the rebels advanced guard.

29th. Wind at N. W. very clear and very intense cold. At 12 this day I sent off the Alert armed Schooner to New York. The Ice this night one and a half inches.

30th. Wind N. W. amazing cold. Schuylkill frozen over. A deserter from the rebels crossed to us. The Delaware full of floating ice which forced a brig and schooner on Shore at New Jersey at Gloucester where the rebels took possession of them. Four small crafts were drove past the Town. This day is looked upon as Entering Winter Quarters. Mornings and evenings continue fine.

1st March 1778. Returned from Salem (60 miles from hence) the 2 Battalions Light Infantry and the two Established Engineers in flat boats. Weather cold frosty and Boisterous at N. W. A Fall of snow this night.

2d. Returned from Haddonfield the 2 Battalions of 42d and Simcoe's Rangers and 4 field pieces, 3 Pounders, by the way of Cooper's Ferry. A Fall of snow this night. Wind at N. N. W.

3d. Snow all day, wind at N. N. East, now and then we lose a man by Desertion 300 men from the Head of Elk to this day.

4th. Intensely cold, wind at N. West. Good Sleighing.

5th. Wind W. N. W. and cold. River Schuylkill again froze across. Deserters in daily and with their arms. First appearance of some trifling lightning.

6th. Weather moderated, wind northerly. Floating ice in the Delaware. At 10 this night 100 Dragoon and 150 mounted Light Infantry were detached to surprize 300 men near Chestnut Hill but had fled. They took 1 Captain and 18 of the Rebels in arms, and 20 deserted to us. Lumber secretly from the well affected to Government and Hoards discovered here by their means, the Crown of course paying for the same. This supply very apropos for the Troops.

7th. Wind at E. S. E. Foggy and moist weather, some floating ice in the Delaware and Ice on the Edge of the

Schuylkill. This day the Alert Schooner taken by the Rebels with 9 Gun Boats off New Castle and retaken by the Experiment Sir James Wallace. Two hay Transports were at the same time taken and burnt by the rebels.

9th. N. E. wind and snowy weather. Deserters in numbers with arms daily joining us.

10th. Went down a Fleet for Cork, some for York and 1 for London. Wind at North East and Snow. The Cartel to meet at Germantown postponed by Washington.

11th. Rain all day, the weather unsettled for many days past.

12th. The Roebuck removed from the wharves into the stream and the Camilla fell down the river and in the afternoon followed her a Detachment of 1000 men under the Command of Colonel Mawhood, 17th 27th and 46th Regt. Simcoe's Rangers. Arrived the Experiment and Brune &c., with the Rhode Island Fleet to the Chevaux de frise. Weather continues rather hot than warm, being the 1st Spring day.

13th. Weather very warm and the appearance of verdure. Birds about.

14th. At 2 this morning went out 400 Light Infantry and 30 Dragoons to Darby and returned, weather very warm for the Season. Laylock and Gooseberry leaves starting.

Sunday 15th. Weather uncommonly warm. Wind South East. Roads getting better.

16th. Easterly winds and Damp weather. Several Deserters came in with their arms.

17th and 18th. Fine weather. 20 deserters came in. Frogs croak in Swamps indicating Spring.

19th. Fine weather. Began to repair the Parapets at the Redoubts.

20th. 40 Jagers made an Excursion mounted and surprised a party of Rebels of 60 men at the Black Horse on the Lancaster road, killed 2 and took an officer and 10, the rest fled. Weather fine.

21st. Wind at N. W. and Extremely cold with Ice, High

wind. 200 men Light Infantry out and returned with some waggons of Rebel leather.

Sunday 22d. Ice an inch thick and very Cold.

23d. Weather still raw, wind N. East. Roads perfectly dry.

24th. Weather very fine.

25th. Arrived Commissary Loring with General Lee from New York. Weather fine and good roads.

26th. Damp morning, wind N. E.

27th. Arrived the New York Fleet of Transports 40 Sail with the January Packet from England, the whole under convoy of the Thames and Daphne reached to Gloucester Point. Weather very fine, wind North West.

28th. Wind S. S. W. The most part of the Fleet reached the City. Got more materials, Lumber of sorts for getting the Troops comfortably into Quarters, Cavalry & Infantry, and are much indebted to some Loyalists for their supply of the same and their Informations where quantities are secreted, but must be paid for by the Crown beforehand for part as a security. Secrecy is the word or Death, by the Lord as per menage by W—tw—h, who paid the money.

Sunday 29th. Daily Desertion from the Rebel Army. During the Excursion of the Detachment of 1000 men from our Army to Salem &c., in New Jersey under Col. Mawhood the Rebels have had 36 killed besides the wounded and Prisoners.

30th. The Packet and a returned Transport called the Price Frigate sailed from Billingsport for England convoyed part of the way by the Daphne. Wind at North North West.

31st. Wind at N. W. blowing fresh. Weather very fine and the roads drying. The remainder of the Forage vessels from Salem &c. reached the Town. The Commission for the Cartel proceeded according to agreement to Germantown to treat with the Rebel Commissioners.

April 1st. Wednesday. Wind at North West and fresh. Returned the Alert Schooner by means of Sir James Wallace.

2d. I reconnoitred with a Cavalry Party the ground west of the River Schuylkill for a Post, advanced towards where the Enemy were, who fled. Weather bleak at N. E. This

evening heavy rain with smart lightning and Thunder. Lt. Sutherland Engineer returned after having completed the Defences of Billingsport which the Jersey volunteers now Garrison.

3d. Wind N. W. and fresh. Arrived the Greyhound Frigate from New York and Col. Shirreff. The — Galley launched. Gen. Lee had this morning an Interview with Sir William Howe.

4th. Weather raw but fair.

Sunday 5th. Early this morning a Detachment from our Light Infantry crossed the Delaware and surprised a Picket of 50 Rebels between the Ferry House and Haddonfield, Killed 7 and a Captain and took a Colonel, a Major and 2 Lieutenants and 33 privates and their arms without sustaining any loss on our side. Wind N. W. and fresh. This morning General Charles Lee in the Rebel service left this city on his Parole. A rebel officer deserted to us an Irishman.

6th. Wind Westerly and rather cold, weather changes cold after 12. The Cartel again carried on but to be at New Town, Bucks County and Colonel Stephens Col. Ottave and Capt. Fitz Patrick all the Guard Commissioners. Left this City for that purpose. Began this day on the Dams for Inundating great part of the Front of the lines.

7th. Wind at N. West and cold. A remarkably backward Spring, Went out the Philadelphia Provincial Troop of Light Horse with the Refugee volunteers and surprised the Rebels at Smithfield and killed 23 besides the wounded and prisoners and without loss. The Patrole of the 17th Dragoons killed 12 and 1 wounded. Another patrole of Dragoons killed three Rebel Light Horse.

8th. Wind at N. N. West and cold. The Different Detachments Returned. Arrived the Brune Frigate at Chester, having sprung her main-mast in the late Gale. Arrived also the Isis Ship of war with 8 Transports part of 12 separated in ye Gale.

9th. Wind fresh at South, arrived the — Packet with the mail from Falmouth, which brought the disagreeable

Dispatches of recalling home to England the Commander in Chief Sir Wm. Howe and the other changes.

10th. —

11th. Winds S. W. Arrived 40 Sail of Transports &c. from New York under Convoy of the Nautilus Ship of War. A rainy day and much wanted.

Sunday 12th. Fresh Southerly winds, weather very warm. Sero—t—m went out the Light Infantry.

13th. Winds S. S. E. and very warm Sultry weather. Wil- lows in leaf, Engineers met with me to consult on strength- ening our Defences. Returned the Light Infantry and 1 Prisoner. Two new Galleys built this winter, one launched and one on the Stocks.

14th. Wind Southerly. Arrived the Swift Capt. Kepple with Dispatches from England for Sir Wm. Howe and Lord Howe brought by the *Andromeda*, copper bottomed Frigate, Capt. Burn which after delivering the Commander in Chiefs Dispatches to the Swift at Sea, proceeded with the Admiral to Sandy Hook. Rain all the evening and night.

15th. Wind at North and thick weather, small rain and damp. Lord Cathcart's Gd. of Light Horse went out this night, and returned with 7 rebels in arms, the 8th they killed. Light Infantry returned bringing a small Detachment sent to German Town. They took one Light horseman mounted.

16th. Went out this night a detachment of Horse under the Command of Major Givin, in number 150 part of which were the Philadelphia Provincial Light Horse. Rain all this day. Wind at N. N. West. Sailed for New York the Grey- hound Frigate with General Jones and Major Sheriff to the vessels below the *Chevaux de frise*, also sailed for New York the Swift and Dispatch.

17th. A hard N. Wester. Some Heavy Showers and Gusts of wind. The Cavalry 150 in number returned after having surprised Bristol and took Prisoners & brought them into this City, 1 Colonel, 1 Lt. Colonel, 2 Majors, some Captains and subalterns, 3 Captains of the Rebel Galley and several privates. Total 65 besides killing 1 man and wounding 2 without any loss on our side. Vessels for New York did not

sail from Billingsport until this day, went out the Chasseurs, near 500, brought in one Rebel.

18th. Showery weather. One rebel Light horse brought in that was plundering the market people.

Sunday 19th. Charming weather, wind S. West.

20th. Very hard winds at N. W. all day and rather cold. Engineers marked out the two advanced works in the Lines.

21st. The Lord Hyde Packet getting aground and not sail this day. Passengers, Colonel Mawhood, Lt. Col. Fitzpatrick and Major Stanley. 40 Hessians came in as Exchanged.

22d. This day arrived at Chester, a fleet of 35 sail from New York with Forage &c., also arrived the Eagle, Lord Howe. This morning the Hussar Galley launched. This morning the Commander in Chief went out in the front of the lines and approved of my Project for its further Defence. Wind S. S. West. The Rebels consisting of 500 men and 4 pieces of cannon advanced within 4 miles of the Town on the Lancaster road and returned, killing and plundering the market people. This morning sailed the Ld. Hyde packet for Falmouth. A heavy shower this night.

23d. Blowing very hard at N. W. This morning Lord Howe arrived at Head Quarters in this city. Markets plentifully supplied with Shad and herring.

24th. A very violent N. Wester and near as cold as in Winter and the ground dusty. At daybreak this morning 5 companies Light Infantry and 20 Dragoons crossed the Bridge at Schuylkill and surprised 2 parties of Rebels, one posted at Barren hill and one at Paul's mill and took the whole excepting the Captain who swam the Schuylkill, killed 1 and wounded 4, one of which left, being too ill to move. The Prisoners consisted of one Lieut. and 50 men, 3 of which were Deserters from our Army. Begun on our advanced works in Front of the lines consisting of 400 men for the working Party. Two semi-circular Redoubts, one for 100 men to the left and one for 50 in the right.

25th. N. W. Wind and rather cold. The Jagers and Light Infantry went out before daylight. Markets plentiful. Two Troops of Light Dragoons went out this night. *Remark.*

Obliged to send sum of Money to the Loyalists now among the Rebels, for materials which we are at Times so infinitely distressed for in our Department, which they sometimes secretly supply us with and also with materials found here at Philadelphia, particularly lumber, Iron &c., besides what have been concealed and brought to light by Dint of money and without these articles the Troops must have very materially suffered.

Sunday 26th. Wind northerly, the air cool, weather very fine. The 2 troops of the 17th Dragoons returned and surprised a Post of 50 men of the Rebels at North Wales meeting house killed 12 took 6 prisoners, the rest fled. Brought in 2 Waggon loaded with Camp Equipage. Lord Howe went down to the Fleet below the Chevaux de frise this afternoon. Burning the meadows in the Jersies.

27th. Wind Easterly, weather charming. The Experiment sailed. Remains at Billingsport, Eagle and Brune. This night arrived the Resolves of Congress, Dispising the Acts of Parliament & Lord North's Conciliatory Speech. The Commander in Chief sent them in the night to the Packet.

28th. Wind Easterly. At 7 this morning I embarked in flat boats with the 1st Battalion and Light Infantry and crossed the Delaware and landed in the Jersies at Cooper's Ferry and returned to Philadelphia the same day, after fixing upon a Post for covering the wood cutters. The Lord Hyde Packet only sailed from Chester this morning.

29th. Lord Howe returned this afternoon from the Eagle to Philadelphia. Wind N. East. This evening 5 of the leading Quakers that were made Prisoners and Exiled by the Rebels came back to this city from Winchester in Virginia.¹

30th. Wind Easterly and Rain. The Troops intended for taking Post in the Jersies countermanded on account of the weather. Left this at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 this night the Light Infantry and Rangers and some Light Horse vizt., 12 Companies Light Infantry, Simcoe's Rangers and 90 Horse besides those the Light Infantry were mounted on. This night a small party of the British Infantry, dragoons and Queen's rangers,

¹ See Gilpin's Exiles in Virginia, Philad., 1848.

with a few of Capt. Hovenden's¹ Pennsylvania and Capt. James² Chester County dragoons left this city about 11 o'clock and proceeded up the Old York road about a mile beyond the Billet they fell in with Lacy's Brigade of Militia, consisting of about 500 men and immediately attacked them. Lacy at first made some appearance of opposition but in a few seconds, was thrown into confusion, obliged to retreat with precipitation and was pursued about 4 miles. They left between 80 and 100 dead upon the field, and this afternoon between 50 and 60 prisoners, besides waggoners with 10 of their waggons loaded with baggage, flour, salt, whisky &c., were brought in by the troops on their return. What number of rebels were wounded we have not been able to learn. Besides the above waggons 3 were burnt after taking out the horses, also all their huts and what baggage could not be brought off. The royal party did not lose a single man upon this occasion and had only seven men wounded and two horses killed.³

May 1st. Friday. Wind at N. N. West, blowing very fresh with small rain and very bleak raw weather.

2d. Wind S. E. and overcast.

3d. At 6 this morning (Sunday) calm and fine weather. I proceeded to the Jersies with the 55th and 63d Regt. and 12 Philadelphia Horse and began the Defenses on the Confluence of the Delaware and Cooper Creek by 4 Redoubts and flanked by the Cornwallis Galley. Our Horse pursued some Rebels took one and cut another's arm off.

4th. Wind Northerly, the weather very fine. The Hessians were reviewed on the Common by the Commander in Chief. Simcoe's Rangers took two Rebel Light Horse.

5th. Weather extremely fine, wind at N. W. The rebels intercepted a Corporal and 3 men of Hovenden's Light Dragoons, which were taken prisoners out of the Patrol of Six. Arrived 8 sail of Vessels from New York and some victuallers from Cork with recruits, 14 men on their march to

¹ Richard Hovendon.

² Jacob James.

³ A full account of the surprise at Crooked Billett will be found in : *Sketch of the Life and Character of John Lacey*, by Gen. W. W. H. Davis. [*Doylestown, Pa.*] 1868.

Billingsport to join the Royal Army were apprehended by 7 of the Militia, but whilst they were carrying them off to the rebel head quarters, they seized on and disarmed their guards and brought them prisoners to Billingsport and from thence to this city.

6th. Wind Southerly, Excessive hot. Two or three armed vessels, Letters of Marque sailed this day for Antigua. My brother Robert sailed in one of them to join the 48th Regt. at Grenada. Account in a Boston paper of a French Frigate "La Sensible" Marigny Captain arrived in Casco Bay with Simeon Deane¹ and a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive with France and the Americans. Finished our Works in the Jersies.

7th. Wind at E. N. E. weather very fine but dry. Allen's and Clifton's Regt. of Provincials (the latter Roman Catholics) crossed over into the Jersies to join the 55th and 63d Regts. posted opposite this city for the protection of the wood cutters. The 3d Provincial Regt. Chalmer's, Encamped this day near the Schuylkill between the Upper and Middle Ferry. Arrived—Forage vessels from New York. The Printed treaty between France and the Rebels in America from a Rebel paper. Genl. Sir Henry Clinton arrived this afternoon at Billingsport in the Greyhound Frigate from New York. The Porcupine Sloop of War arrived at Chester this Evening from England which she left 25th of March last. This night 2 Battalions of Light Infantry and 2 Gallies with Flat Boats &c. proceeded up the Delaware to attack the Remains of the Rebel Fleet. Foul wind fresh at N. West this night. Thursday night 3 galleys, an armed brig & Schooner² went up the river with a detachment of Light

¹ Silas Deane.

² The long official report of the commanding officer of this Expedition may be thus summarized. "John Maitland, Major Commanding 2d Light Infantry on night of May 7th, and Flat Boats commanded by Captain Henry of the Navy. List of Ships, vessels &c. (burnt on the 8th and 9th May), 2 Frigates, one for 32 guns, the other for 28, 9 large Ships, 3 privateers sloops for 16 guns each, 3 ditto do, for 10 guns each, 23 Brigantines, with a number of sloops and Schooners." Mention is also made of the Houses, as above, accidentally destroyed.

Infantry on each side and set fire to the Washington and Effingham Frigates, a large ship pierced for 24 guns, a privateer sloop, 9 Ships and 14 or 15 small vessels, all of which were consumed, also a quantity of naval stores and some thousands of tent poles, pegs &c. The house of Mr. Borden of Bordentown, Mr. Kirkbrights and the Ferry house were by some means set on fire and burnt to the ground. The troops and vessels arrived on Sunday without loss.

8th. Wind N. N. West. Sir Henry Clinton arrived in this city. Brig. Genl. Leslie with Hovenden's Provincial Light Dragoons crossed the Delaware to take Command at Cooper's Ferry in the Jerseys. The Dispatches by the Porcupine came to the Head Quarters principally for Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton.

9th. Wind at N. West. Sir Henry Clinton visited the lines. (Copied from a newspaper cutting in Journal). "May 9. The following is a list of the General Officers now serving in the Rebel Army, with the order in which they rank and the province to which they belong. George Washington Commander in Chief, Virginia. His commission dated June 15, 1775. Major Generals Charles Lee June 17, 1775, Philip Schuyler, New York June 19, 1775, Israel Putnam Connecticut, Horatio Gates, Virginia, William Heath, Massachusetts, Joseph Spencer, Connecticut, John Sullivan, New Hampshire, Nathaniel Greene, Rhode Island, William Earl, of Sterling New Jersey, Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania, Arthur Sinclair,¹ Pennsylvania, Adam Stephen, Virginia, (broke) Benjamin Lincoln, Massachusetts Bay, Benedict Arnold, Connecticut, Marquis La Fayette, France, Robert Howe, North Carolina, Alexander McDougall, New York, Baron de Call,² Germany, Thomas Conway, France. *Brigadiers*, Wm. Thompson, Pennsylvania, John Nixon, Massachusetts, Samuel Parsons, Connecticut, James Clinton, New York, Christopher Gadsden, South Carolina, Wm. Marryohall,³ South Carolina, Laughlin McIntosh,⁴ Georgia, Wm. Maxwell,

¹ Arthur St. Clair.

³ William Moultrie.

² Baron de Kalb.

⁴ Lachlan McIntosh.

New Jersey, Matthew Alexis,¹ France, De Roche Fernoy, France, Henry Knox, artillery Massachusetts, Francis McNash,² Massachusetts, Enoch Poor, New Hampshire, John Glover, Massachusetts, John Patterson, Massachusetts, Anthony Wayne, Pennsylvania, James Vernon,³ Rhode Island, Peter Mulenberg, Virginia, George Weedon, Virginia, William Woodford, Virginia, Edward Hand, Pennsylvania, Ebenezar Learned, Massachusetts, Ichabod Huntington,⁴ Connecticut, Count Pulaski, Poland, —, —, Stark,⁵ New Hampshire.

¹ We are unable to suggest the proper name of the person here spoken of. No one of the above name was commissioned by Congress. The only French officer who held the commission of brigadier-general at the time, and who is not mentioned by Montrésor, was Duportail.

² Francis Nash, North Carolina.

³ James M. Varnum.

⁴ Jedediah Huntington.

⁵ John Stark.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 110.)

McCALL—CADWALADER—READ.

134. ARCHIBALD McCALL,⁵ son of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., June 26, 1727 (N. S.). He engaged in mercantile pursuits in partnership with his elder brother Samuel McCall, Jr., and, after the death of the latter, acquired a very considerable fortune by trade in both the East and the West Indies. He resided the greater part of his life in a large mansion on the northeast corner of Union and Second streets, in our city, with a fine garden extending along Union Street, and is mentioned in Du Simitière's list of eighty-four families that kept equipages in Philadelphia in 1772, as owning one "post-chaise." He was a Member of the Association Battery Company of 1756. He was elected a Common-Council-man of Philadelphia, October 2, 1764. He was one of a committee of seven persons chosen at a meeting of citizens assembled at the State House October 5, 1765, to wait upon John Hughes, the Stamp Agent, to request his resignation of the obnoxious office,* and signed the famous Non-Importation Resolutions. He was a Subscriber to the First Dancing Assembly of Philadelphia in 1748, and the Mount Regale Fishing Company in 1763. He became a Member of the St. Andrew's Society in 1751. He was a Vestryman of Christ Church. He was married in 1762 to Judith, daughter of Peter Kemble,† of Mount Kem-

* Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, chap. clv.

† Son of Richard Kemble, for some time British Vice-Consul at Smyrna, where he m. a member of the Greek family of Marrocordato, of the Island of Scio, afterwards Consul at Salonica; and grandson of Richard Kemble, a merchant of London, and Alderman of Bishopsgate Ward, son of William

ble, for many years Member and President of the Provincial Council of New Jersey, by his first wife, Gertrude, daughter of Samuel Bayard,* by his wife Margaret, daughter of Ste-

Kemble, of Stamford, England, great-grandson of George Kemble, of Wydell, Co. Wilts, whose arms were confirmed to him by William Camden, Clarendieux King-at-Arms, November 20, 1602, as: "*sable, on a bend ermine three leopards' faces of the first; on a wreath of his colours a wolf's head trunked or and embued bendways.*" Peter Kemble was educated at a classical school in England, where he remained six years, when he was sent to a counting-house in Amsterdam. After serving out his time, he made several voyages to the Levant and coast of Africa, and about the year 1730 went to New York, and settled at New Brunswick, in New Jersey, where he was successful in business, and erected a large house at the lower end of the town, and afterwards one of greater architectural display on the neighbouring heights. Finally he purchased a considerable tract of land about four miles from Morristown, on which he built, calling the place "Mount Kemble." He is described as a handsome man, of middle size, but finely proportioned, highly polished in manner and deportment, a good Latin scholar, and well read in history. He preserved his loyalty to Great Britain throughout the Revolution, but was never otherwise molested than by the cantonment of some regiments on his estate during the winter the American Army passed near Morristown, General Washington himself extending to him and his family every courtesy and respect. He died at Mount Kemble, at the good age of ninety years. (Facts extracted from a memorandum of Peter Kemble's grandson Gouverneur Kemble, kindly communicated to the writer by Charles A. McCall, M.D., great-grandson of Archibald and Judith (Kemble) McCall.) Mrs. McCall's sister Margaret Kemble m. General Thomas Gage, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in North America, afterwards Viscount Gage; and her brother Stephen Kemble succeeded Major André as Adjutant-General of the Royal Army. Her half-brother Robert Kemble m. Anne Cadwalader, sister-in-law of Mrs. McCall's son Archibald McCall.

* Son of Nicholas Bayard, son of Samuel Bayard and his wife Anna Stuyvesant, born at Alphen, in Holland, who accompanied his mother (then a widow) and uncle, Governor Peter Stuyvesant, to New Netherland in May, 1647, and was successively Clerk in the Secretary's Office at New Amsterdam, English Secretary, Commissary of Imports and Exports, Secretary of the Province and Receiver-General, Mayor of New York in 1685, and for many years a prominent Member of the Legislative Council. Samuel Bayard's mother was Judith, daughter of Casper and Judith Varleth, and sister of Jannetje Varleth, wife of Augustine Herman, First Lord of Bohemia Manor, whose grandson Ephraim Augustine Herman married Isabella Trent, great-granddaughter of Jöran Kyn (47).

phanus van Cortlandt.* Mrs. McCall was born February 3, 1743 (N. S.), and died in Philadelphia, December 9, 1829.† Mr. McCall died in this city April 23, 1799.‡ They are buried in Christ Church Ground. They had eighteen children, born in Philadelphia:

335. GEORGE, b. August 25, 1763; bur. in Christ Church Ground March 1, 1764.

336. MARY, b. July 25, 1764. She was m. in Philadelphia, May 9, 1793, to Lambert Cadwalader, son of Doctor Thomas Cadwalader, an eminent physician of that city, and a Member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,§ by his wife Hannah, daughter of Thomas Lambert, of Lamberton, now part of South Trenton, New Jersey.

* The first Mayor of New York City born in America, son of Olof Stephenszen van Cortlandt, who came to New Amsterdam in the ship *Haring* in 1637, as a soldier in the service of the Dutch West India Company, and was promoted by Governor Kieft, and appointed Commissary of Cargoes, afterwards elected one of the Board of Eight Men to adopt measures against the Indians, and one of the Board of Nine Men, of which body he was President in 1650, and subsequently Schepen, Burgomaster, and Alderman of New Amsterdam and New York. Stephanus Van Cortlandt's mother was Anneken Loockermans, sister of Govert Loockermans, whose daughter Marritje married Nicholas Bayard's brother Balthazar Bayard. His wife (the mother of Margaret (van Cortlandt) Bayard) was Gertrude, daughter of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, who emigrated from Amsterdam to Albany, New York, by his wife Margareta van Schlectenhorst.

† A portrait of Mrs. McCall is in the possession of the family of her grandson, the late Hon. Peter McCall, of Philadelphia.

‡ A miniature portrait of Mr. McCall (formerly the property of his sister, Mrs. Plumsted) is owned by the daughters of his son Archibald McCall.

§ Son of John Cadwalader, a young member of the Society of Friends, who emigrated from Pembroke, Wales, to Pennsylvania, towards the close of the 17th century, and, settling in Merion Township, Philadelphia Co., where he followed the profession of "schoolmaster," married Martha, daughter of Doctor Edward Jones, an emigrant from Merionethshire, Wales, by his wife Mary, daughter of Doctor Thomas Wynne, a native of Caerwys, Flintshire, Wales, who came to America in the ship *Welcome* with William Penn, and was chosen Speaker of the second General Assembly of the Province. On his subsequent removal to Philadelphia, Doctor Cadwalader's father was elected a Common-Council-man of the city, and represented the County in the Assembly from 1729 until his death in 1734. For a genealogical account of Thomas Cadwalader and his posterity, see *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, now in press.

Mr. Cadwalader was b. in Trenton, New Jersey,* where his parents then resided, and in childhood accompanied the latter to Philadelphia. He engaged in business in this city in partnership with his brother John Cadwalader. With his father and brother, he signed the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765, his joy at the repeal of the Stamp Act being attested in a letter to George Morgan communicating the news. "If ever the Americans," says he, "should fall into paganism, place dead men among their gods and worship them, there is scarce any one that will have a better chance of being enrolled in the number of them than Mr. Pitt. This great man, by his abilities, virtues, and extraordinary courage, has gained a never-dying name. . . . America is again free! God bless her; long may she remain so. As to the act asserting the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, we shall regard it as waste paper. Let us only enjoy liberty but half a century longer, and we will defy the power of England to enslave us." With his brother, Mr. Cadwalader was a Delegate to the Provincial Convention of January, 1775; and on the 30th of June he was empowered to sign bills of credit by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. He was likewise elected a Member of the Committee of Correspondence. He was chosen Captain of one of the four military companies called "The Greens," formed in Philadelphia after the tidings of the battle of Lexington, and on the 3d of January, 1776, he was recommended to Congress by the Committee of Safety for the office of Lieutenant-Colonel of troops to be raised in Pennsylvania, to which position he was appointed, being attached to the third battalion, commanded by Colonel John Shee. This corps was soon "on a footing," says Alexander Graydon,† one of its captains, "with the most promising on the continent," and, in accordance with the suggestion of Washington, was transferred, with that of Colonel Robert Magaw, from Philadelphia to New York, placed, June 29, under the command of General Mifflin, and marched to the site of the future Fort Washington, which was erected by them to control the river Hudson. Besides performing this arduous labour in the heat of the summer, they improved themselves in tactics, and were pronounced by Major-General William Heath, in a letter to Washington, after his review of them in August, "the best disciplined of any troops he had yet seen in the army." On the 27th of that

* The precise date of his birth is not known, but the disparity of age between him and Miss McCall is gaily referred to in a letter from Mrs. Andrew Hamilton to Mrs. Richard Bache, still extant, announcing their prospective marriage.

† In the interesting *Memoirs of His Own Time*, which casts additional light upon the character of Colonel Cadwalader.

month they were ordered to the aid of the Commander-in-Chief in the battle on Long Island, but could not arrive at New York until afternoon, when the fight was over. Early the next morning they crossed the East River, and discharged the honourable duty of protecting the rest of the troops in the subsequent retreat. On the 31st they marched beyond Kingsbridge, and finally reoccupied their old ground at Fort Washington, when, Colonel Shee obtaining leave of absence, and soon afterwards resigning his command, Lieutenant-Colonel Cadwalader acted as chief officer of the battalion. On the 25th of October he was commissioned by Congress "Colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot."* At the attack on Fort Washington by General Howe, on the 16th of November, Cadwalader was entrusted with the lines to the south, and gallantly held the British in check with an inferior force, to the encouragement, says Irving, of General Washington, who was watching the conflict from the opposite side of the Hudson. "It gave me great hopes," the latter wrote to Congress; "the enemy was entirely repulsed." The successful landing, however, of some Highlanders and other troops to the rear of Cadwalader's lines, in spite of brave opposition by a detachment of his men promptly ordered to the spot, compelled the retirement of the Colonel to the Fort, which was soon afterwards unavoidably surrendered. Cadwalader was marched, with the rest of the captives, to New York, but, in return for kindness of his father to General Prescott, when the latter was a prisoner in Philadelphia, was released without parole and sent home. Doubting his right thereafter to serve in our army, he obtained authority from the Commander-in-Chief to request the naming of some British officer of equal rank, with whom he might be exchanged, but was prevented from attaining his wish by the retaliatory general order, just then issued, prohibiting the release of any field officer. Forced to remain inactive, he was unwilling to retain his commission, and resigned it in January, 1779. Cadwalader took a prominent part in the political conflict concerning the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. "In 1784 he was elected a Deputy to the Continental Congress, and took his seat in January, 1785. He served through that and the two succeeding Congresses, speaking little but working efficiently. Among other committees he was one of the Grand Committee to which was referred the report of the Annapolis Commission, recommending the calling of the Federal Convention, the result of whose deliberations is the present Constitution of the United States. Upon the adoption of this Constitution, Cadwalader was again elected as a Representative from New Jersey, and on the 4th of March, 1789, took

* His commission is printed in *Penna. Archives*, vol. v. p. 53.

his seat in the First Congress. He again served in the Third Congress until March, 1795, when he retired finally from public life."* After his abandonment of the army he resided on an estate near Trenton, probably part of that formerly belonging to his father, which he had purchased in March, 1776, and called "Greenwood," where he dispensed largely the hospitality of the times, and was honoured with repeated visits by Washington. Here he died September 13, 1823, and was bur. in the Friends' Burying-Ground at Trenton. In an obituary notice of him in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* he is spoken of as "one of our most aged and respected citizens," and in *The National Gazette* of the 18th occurs the following tribute to his worth: "In conversation, unaffected and instructive, with perfect simplicity of manner and singleness of heart, he practiced no artificial endeavours to appear better or wiser than he really was: the more intimately he was known, and as the chain of moral principles which regulated his conduct became more developed, the more consistent and exemplary his character appeared. To the good breeding, courtesy, and elegance of the gentleman he united the advantages of early education, and the acquisitions of an enlarged and cultivated understanding, regulated by classical taste, and improved by habits of general reading. Few were so happily gifted with the power of pleasing and the disposition to be pleased; few have enjoyed in an equal degree the friendship, respect, and affection of all around them; and few have been so deeply and sincerely deplored."† Mrs. Cadwalader d. March 23, 1848, leaving issue.‡

337. PETER, b. March 2, 1766; d. young.

338. ARCHIBALD, b. October 11, 1767. He engaged in mercantile pursuits in Philadelphia, and was one of the founders of the Chamber

* *Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, of Trenton, New Jersey.* Privately printed, Philadelphia, 1878. Other statements in the text are drawn from the same source, particularly those which relate to Fort Washington, differing from Bancroft's narrative of that affair.

† Portraits of Colonel Cadwalader are in the possession of his grandson, the Hon. John Lambert Cadwalader, of New York City, late Assistant Secretary of State, and the family of his great-nephew, the late Hon. John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia. An engraving of the former appears in *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. x.

‡ Two sons, one of whom d. in childhood, the other being the late Major-General Thomas Cadwalader, of Trenton. Although Colonel Lambert Cadwalader did not join the Society of the Cincinnati, his son just mentioned, and his grandson, John Lambert Cadwalader, were both elected Honorary Members of the State Society of New Jersey.

of Commerce,* being appointed on the first Monthly Committee of that Association, for February, 1801. He m. in our city, May 3, 1792, Elizabeth, daughter of Brigadier-General John Cadwalader† by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Edward Lloyd, of Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland,‡ and niece of Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, who m. his sister Mary McCall. He became a Member of the First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse May 12, 1798, resigning his connection with that body June 29, 1808. He d. in Philadelphia, April 13, 1843, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground.§ He left issue.||

339. GEORGE, b. May 2, 1769. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and m. in Philadelphia, May 21, 1794, Margaret, daughter of George Clymer, of Philadelphia, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania of 1776, and of that which framed the Federal Constitution, and Representative from Pennsylvania in the First Congress of the United

* The first Vice-President of this society of merchants was Philip Houlbrooke Nicklin, who m. Julia, daughter of General William Macpherson and his wife Margaret Stout, a descendant of Jöran Kyn already spoken of (240). On the formation of the association see Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, chap. ccccxxviii.

† The distinguished Revolutionary officer and soldier, characterized by Washington as "a man of ability, a good disciplinarian, firm in his principles, and of intrepid bravery." He commanded the Pennsylvania troops at the battle of Princeton, and took part in the battles of the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. After the war he became a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Maryland. Accounts of this noted Philadelphian, of his father Doctor Thomas Cadwalader, and of his son Major-General Thomas Cadwalader, of our city, are contained in Simpson's *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians*. His great-grandson John Cadwalader also married a descendant of Jöran Kyn.

‡ A Member of the Legislature of Maryland in 1739, son of Edward Lloyd, a Member of the same Legislature in 1699, 1701, and 1702, grandson of Philemon Lloyd, a Member of the same Legislature in 1671 and 1674, and great-grandson of Edward Lloyd, a Puritan who was compelled to quit Virginia on account of his religion, and settled in Maryland about 1650, when he was commissioned by Governor Stone Commander of Anne Arundel County, and was afterwards for many years a Privy Counsellor of that Province. For a genealogical account of his family see Hanson's *Old Kent*, pp. 28 *et seq.*

§ A portrait of Mr. McCall is in the possession of his daughters, the Misses McCall, of Philadelphia.

|| His son, the late distinguished Major-General George Archibald McCall, has been mentioned in a former foot-note.

States,* by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Reese Meredith.† He joined the First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse September 10, 1794, and served with it in quelling the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania that year. He d. in Philadelphia, April 17, 1799, Mrs. McCall dying three days afterwards, aged twenty-seven years. They are bur. in Christ Church Ground. They left issue.‡

340. SAMUEL, b. May 4, 1770; bur. in Christ Church Ground November 5, 1772.

341. ANNE, b. May 12, 1772. She m. in Philadelphia, September 22, 1796, William Read, son of George Read, Attorney-General of the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, and of the first Senate of the United States, and Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Delaware,§ by his wife

* Son of Christopher Clymer, of Philadelphia, by his wife Deborah, daughter of George Fitzwater and his wife Mary, daughter of Abraham Hardiman, brother-in-law of Samuel Carpenter, the Provincial Councillor, Treasurer, and Assistant-Governor of Pennsylvania, whose nephew Samuel Carpenter m. Mary Yeates, great-granddaughter of Jöran Kyn (44).

† A native of Leominster, Herefordshire, England, who was educated at Oxford, and after the death of his father, John Meredith, emigrated to Philadelphia, in February, 1730, and, entering the house of John Carpenter, became a prosperous merchant. His grandfather, "Richard Meredith, of Presteigne, Gentleman," was the representative of the ancient line of "Merediths of Radnorshire," bearing arms by grant of Queen Elizabeth in 1572: "*argent*, a lion rampant, *sable*, collared and chained, *or*; crest, a demi-lion, rampant, *sable*, collared and chained, *or*." Mrs. Clymer's mother was Martha, daughter of Mr. Meredith's partner in business, and granddaughter of Samuel Carpenter, just mentioned. Mrs. McCall's brother, Henry Clymer, married Mary, daughter of Thomas and Anne (McCall) Willing (317).

‡ Their son William Coleman McCall, M.D., U. S. N., married Mary, daughter of Samuel Dickinson, by his wife Anne, daughter of Brigadier-General Samuel Meredith, first Treasurer of the United States (brother of Doctor McCall's grandmother Elizabeth (Meredith) Clymer), by his wife Margaret, daughter of Doctor Thomas Cadwalader, and sister of Mrs. McCall's grandmother Mary Cadwalader and Rebecca Cadwalader, wives of her grandfather Major-General Philemon Dickinson, who was himself the son of Mary Cadwalader, sister of Doctor Cadwalader, and aunt of General John Cadwalader and Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, above spoken of.

§ Eldest son of John Read, who emigrated from Dublin, Ireland, to Cecil County, Maryland, and afterwards settled on the head-waters of the Christiana River in New Castle County on Delaware. For the most com-

Gertrude, daughter of the Reverend George Ross, of New Castle on Delaware,* and half-sister to Ann Catharine Ross, who m. John Yeates, son of George and Mary (Donaldson) Yeates (120).† Mr. Read was b. October 10, 1767. He engaged in mercantile pursuits and d. in Philadelphia, February 23, 1846. Mrs. Read d. here also July 17, 1845. They are bur. in Christ Church Ground. They left issue.

342. PETER, b. March 27, 1773. He m. in Philadelphia, April 7, 1801, Sarah Stamper, daughter of John Gibson, a native of Virginia, who removed to our city, of which he was twice elected Mayor (in 1771 and 1772),‡ by his wife Anna Ball, b. in Philadelphia, July 24, 1773. Like his brothers Archibald, George, and Samuel, Peter McCall became a Member of the First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse, but resigned his connection with the body the same year (1802). He was a merchant, but, not prospering in business, gave up his residence in Philadelphia, and retired to a home in the country, where he soon d. from the effects of sun-stroke, May 7, 1809. His widow, with her family, thereupon removed to Trenton, N. J., where they dwelt, except for a short interval of time, until the graduation of Mrs. McCall's youngest son at Princeton College, when they returned to Philadelphia. Here Mrs. McCall d. July 22, 1858.§ Mr. and Mrs. McCall are bur. in Christ Church Ground. They left issue.

343. MARGARET, b. in 1774. She d. unm. January 2, 1860, and was bur. *ibid.*

344. SAMUEL, b. February 27, 1776. In youth he went to Canton and South America in quest of fortune, but returned to Philadelphia. He was elected a Member of the First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse, June 2, 1798, and was one of a detachment of sixteen men ordered, in pursuance of instructions from the Department of the Navy, of the 26th of July, to act as guard over the crew of the French privateer *Le Croyable*, in transferring them from Philadelphia to Lancaster jail. He resigned his connection with the Troop February 20, 1810. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and d. unm. in Philadelphia, January 31, 1842, being bur. in Christ Church Ground.

plete biography of Mr. Read, see, of course, *Life and Correspondence of George Read*, by his grandson William Thompson Read (Philadelphia, 1870).

* By his second wife, Catharine van Gezel, of New Castle County.

† Sister, also, to George Ross, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania of 1776.

‡ Son of James Gibson, who emigrated to Virginia from Glasgow, Scotland.

§ A portrait of Mrs. McCall is in the possession of the family of her youngest son, the late Hon. Peter McCall.

345. HARRIET, b. May 3, 1777. She d. unm. June 22, 1847, and is bur. *ibid.*
346. GERTRUDE, b. July 23, 1778; bur. *ibid.* November 23, 1778.
347. JASPER, b. November 5, 1779. He d. unm. about 1800.
348. RICHARD, b. December 9, 1780. He became a merchant, and was for a long time Navy Agent for the United States at Gibraltar, where he acquired a large fortune. He acted as Aide-de-Camp to General Thomas Cadwalader, half-brother of his sister-in-law Elizabeth (Cadwalader) McCall, when in command of the advanced light brigade of volunteer troops formed to protect Philadelphia from the anticipated attack of the British in 1814. He d. unm. September 7, 1831, and is bur. in Christ Church Ground.
349. CATHARINE, b. July 29, 1782. She d. unm. November 23, 1859, and was bur. *ibid.*
350. WILLIAM, b. September 19, 1783. He m. at Easton, Pa., April 18, 1807, Harriet, daughter of William Sitgreaves, of that place, resided for some time in New York, and finally removed to New Orleans, La., where he died in 1840, leaving issue.
351. ROBERT, b. September 26, 1785. With his sisters Margaret, Harriet, and Catharine McCall, he lived in a house at the northwest corner of Eleventh and Chestnut streets, in Philadelphia, passing his summers with them at a country-seat on the Delaware, above Trenton, in New Jersey, where he d. unm. September 20, 1854. He was bur. in Christ Church Ground.
352. HENRY, b. September 27, 1788. In youth he made a voyage to Java, touching at Havana, Madeira, and the Isle of France, in quest of fortune, but, returning to America, ultimately settled in New Orleans, La., in time to join, as a private soldier, in the defence of that city against the attack of the British under General Pakenham, serving through the rest of that campaign. He afterwards became a planter on the Mississippi River, near Donaldsonville, La. He m., in 1817, Lize, daughter of Evan Jones, formerly of Philadelphia, then a planter in Louisiana, by his wife Marie Verret, of that State. Mrs. McCall d. in 1825. Mr. McCall d. in Philadelphia, May 22, 1859, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground. They left issue.

(To be continued.)

PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

DID IT TAKE PLACE IN 1682 OR 1683?

BY FREDERICK D. STONE.

No event in Pennsylvania history possesses more interest at the present time than Penn's treaty with the Indians. The far-reaching influence that the policy then adopted had on the welfare of the colony; the record of the faithfulness with which the promises then made were kept, honorable alike both to the red man and to the white; the prominence with which it stands out at the end of two centuries, as a precedent, that justice and humanity are the most important factors on which to build a friendship with the natives, show it to be a monument, more lasting than any made with hands, to the wisdom and benevolence of those who conceived it, and one to which every citizen of the commonwealth can point with pride. And yet while the traditions connected with this event are cherished with affection, while the sentiments and principles to which it owes its origin are preserved by the followers of Penn, and are struggling for recognition in the administration of Indian affairs of to-day, a skepticism has grown up which questions if such an event ever occurred. To any one who is acquainted with the carelessness to which the archives of this State have been exposed, this is not surprising; nor is it remarkable that a mistaken zeal, in endeavoring to defend *The Treaty*, should in the absence of documentary evidence have claimed for it more than actually took place, and sought refuge in theories that cannot be substantiated.

We believe that to the mistakes thus made every reasonable doubt regarding *The Treaty* owes its origin, and, if we banish from our minds all preconceived theories, enough evidence will be found to prove that just such a treaty as the early traditions point to was held, as well as to show the time of its occurrence.

The deep interest which Penn took in the welfare of the Indians previous to his coming to America is well known. The measures which are to be found for the preservation of their rights in the paper called "Conditions and Concessions," together with the several letters sent them on different occasions assuring them of his desire to live in peace with them, attest this fact. The first land purchased from them for Penn was acquired before he arrived, by Governor Markham, on July 15th, 1682. The second purchase was made at a treaty held on June 23d, and the third on June 25th and July 14th, 1683. It is undoubtedly one of these of which Penn gives a full account in his letter to the Free Society of Traders, dated August 16th of the same year. We believe it to have been the former, as the deeds then executed show a greater number of chiefs to have been present than at the subsequent ones, as well as from a passage in the letter of August 16th, of which we shall speak hereafter (see p. 234). After having described the purchase of land, Penn writes:—

"When the Purchase was agreed, great Promises passed between us, of Kindness and good Neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light: Which done, another made a Speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakan, or Kings, first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the People under my Government: That many Governors had been in the River, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way."¹

We believe that the treaty thus described is the one which has attracted such universal attention, and which it has been supposed was held in 1682. Penn's account of what took place accords in spirit with everything which early

¹ Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders, *London*, 1683, p. 7. See, also, Proud's *History of Pa.*, vol. i. pp. 246 to 264. The letter is printed in full by Proud, but the reader must not allow himself to be misled by the punctuation adopted by Proud. By introducing quotation marks he has in some cases implied that Penn followed original documents. The quotation marks around the Indian language are not to be found in the *London* edition or in the original draft of the letter.

tradition claims marked the character of *The Treaty*. Nor do we think such statements as speak of *The Treaty* being held soon after Penn arrived, inconsistent with the fact that the treaty described took place in June or July 1683.

The first person to say that a treaty was held "as soon as Mr. Penn arrived" was Oldmixon, in 1708, and after doing so he uses the passage we have quoted from Penn's letter of Aug. 16th, which refers to the treaties of 1683. Other early statements are even more general in their character than that of Oldmixon. The time which elapsed between Penn's arrival in Nov. 1682 and the treaties of 1683 is not so great as to preclude one of them from being that alluded to in these general statements. That such was the case seems to us certain when we find that there is no direct evidence that any treaty was held between Markham's treaty of 1682 and June 1683, and find positive proof that at one of the treaties of 1683 great promises of friendship were made. We are aware, however, that a contrary opinion is widely entertained, and that it has been frequently stated that *The Treaty* was held in the latter part of November, 1682, and that it was a treaty of friendship only, while others contend that no such treaty was ever held.

Before going more fully into the subject we will endeavor to show how such widely different views became possible. Down to the early part of the present century no attempt had been made to investigate the subject with special care. Tradition and facts which could not be overlooked had preserved the information that Penn, soon after his arrival, had, at the time he purchased land from the Indians, made a treaty of friendship with them which resulted in an uninterrupted peace of seventy years. We do not hesitate to state that during the 18th and a portion of the 19th centuries, this was the tradition. West's picture of *The Treaty*, painted after the middle of the last century, points to this; and Clarkson, in his life of Penn published in 1813, giving an elaborate account of *The Treaty* from information furnished by West, says that at this meeting Penn paid the

Indians for their land and made a treaty of friendship with them. We do not wish to be understood as quoting West's picture or Clarkson's Life of Penn as authorities of value except in showing what the general opinion was at the time they were produced, the accuracy of neither of them being for some time questioned. As it was known that *The Treaty* took place soon after Penn's arrival, it was but natural that, as interest in the event grew, the idea should have suggested itself that it occurred in 1682, the year he landed. Proud, the historian of Pennsylvania, who wrote in 1797, makes this statement, but in connection with it commits so grievous an error as to show that on this point his information was far from perfect. This statement remained unquestioned until the publication of documents which showed that no treaty of purchase was held between that by Markham (July 1682), before Penn landed, and that of June 1683.¹ To account for this discrepancy it was then suggested that *The Treaty* was one of amity and friendship only, of which no record would necessarily exist;² and skepticism, seeing on what slight grounds the theory was based, scouted it, rushed to the other extreme, and questioned if a treaty specially marked by terms of friendship was then held, which thought has since grown into a general doubt if such a treaty ever occurred.

In support of the theory of a treaty of friendship only, Messrs. Peter S. Duponceau and Joshua Francis Fisher presented a report to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1834, which is printed in Vol. III. Part II. of its Memoirs. The paper contains nearly all we now have on the subject. Nevertheless, we cannot agree with the conclusions which are arrived at, that a treaty of friendship alone was held in the latter part of Nov. 1682, and will proceed to examine their arguments.

Messrs. Duponceau and Fisher, after showing that from existing documents it was evident a treaty of friendship with the Indians was a measure which would be in unison with Penn's

¹ The Indian deeds were, we believe, first printed in Smith's Laws in 1810.

² This idea seems to have been first promulgated by Gordon in his History of Pennsylvania in 1829. See Hist. of Pa. 602-604.

feelings, and that it was undoubtedly his intention to hold one as soon as he should come to America, examine his letter to the Free Society of Traders. The passage in it which reads—

“I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land and to adjust the terms of trade,”

is construed to mean that treaties for land were held at one time, and for the adjustment of terms of trade at another, the plural use of the word treaty showing that more than one meeting had taken place. The treaty which Penn describes in this letter is not considered by them, as it was one of purchase, and the emphatic language which we have quoted on page 218, speaking of the promises of friendship which were then made, is dismissed as having “been a kind of *protocol* used on similar occasions, as may be found in many of the modern treaties in Europe as well as in this country.”

Now there is not the least doubt that prior to the date of this letter (Aug. 16, 1683), Penn had had more than one meeting with the Indians. The Indian deeds show that his first purchase was made on June 23d and his second on June 25th and July 14, 1683. Penn, in a letter to Henry Savelle written on 30th of July, says, “I have made two purchases of” the Indians. There is nothing in his letter to the Free Society of Traders to show that the business conducted at either of these treaties was confined solely to purchase or amity, and there is a positive statement that at one at least both subjects were considered. There is nothing in Penn's language to show that the pledges of friendship made were of the character of a *protocol*. The promises were positive and definite, and were accepted by the Indians at the time.

The next writer whom Messrs. Duponceau and Fisher call to their support is Oldmixon, the author of the *British Empire in America*, a work in two volumes published in London in 1708. Oldmixon received a portion of his information from Penn, whom he knew personally. He says:—

“As soon as Mr. Penn arrived he entered upon Treaties with the Indian Kings to buy land.”¹

¹ Vol. i. pp. 166-7.

He then gives an extended extract from Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders describing the Indians and how the treaties were held, including the extract from the letter we have already quoted in reference to the pledges of friendship, all of which took place in 1683. Further on, Oldmixon says:—

"Mr. *Pen* stay'd in *Pensylvania* two years, and would not then have remov'd to *England* had not the Persecution against the Dissenters rag'd so violently, that he could not think of enjoying Peace in *America* while his Brethren in *England* were so cruelly dealt with in *Europe*. He knew he had an Interest in the Court of *England* and was willing to employ it for the Safety, Ease, and Welfare of his Friends; so having made a League of Amity with 19 *Indian* Nations, between them and all the *English* in *America* having established good Laws, and seen his capital so well inhabited that there were near 300 Houses, and 2500 Souls in it, besides 20 other Townships, he return'd to *England*."¹

From this it is argued that a contemporary of Penn says that he at one time held treaties for purchase with the Indians and at another made a league of amity with them. Now we think, in the first place, that, if this had been so, Oldmixon would not have passed the latter treaty by with a bare allusion to it, and have given so much space to the one of purchase, nor would Penn have failed to inform him of the remarkable character of the treaty which it is claimed had been held. In the passage in which Oldmixon says that Penn made a league of amity with the Indians, he makes no less than two mistakes. He says that Penn returned to England on account of the persecution of the Dissenters, whereas he returned to prosecute his suit against Lord Baltimore. Again, he says that the League of Amity with the Indians was with them and all the English in *America*. Now, certainly Penn had no authority to make any treaty with the Indians touching their conduct towards the English outside of *Pennsylvania*.

In the passage in which he speaks of the treaties of purchase he says they were made as soon as Penn arrived, while we know that they were not made until June and July 1683.

¹ Vol. i. p. 171.

Now, is it, let us ask, safe to put a strict interpretation on the language of a writer whose statements are as loose as we have shown Oldmixon's to be, and to pick out one which is at least questionable, to support a special case? If it is thought that he is so exact a writer, then the order in which events are mentioned (when not dated) should be taken as the chronological order of their occurrence, and this would make the treaty of 1683 come before the supposed one of 1682. But as we read Oldmixon we believe the latter passage to be a mere general recapitulation of what had gone before.

The next writer whom Messrs. Duponceau and Fisher consider is Proud the historian. In the first volume of his work (p. 211) he prints a letter of William Penn dated Chester 12mo. 1682, which date according to *new style* would be February 12th 1683. Proud then writes:—

“The Proprietary, being now returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase land of the Natives; whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness, in all his dealings and communications with them; ever giving them full satisfaction for all their lands &c., and the best advice for their real happiness; of which their future conduct showed they were very sensible; and the country afterwards reaped the benefit of it.

It was at this time, (1682), when he first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, which ever afterwards continued between them.”

From this language Messrs. Duponceau and Fisher understood Proud to mean that soon after February, 1683, Penn began to purchase land of the Indians, and that in 1682 he first entered personally into a lasting friendship with them. But Penn returned from Maryland in December, 1682, and it is perfectly clear that Proud's intention was to state that his intercourse with the Indians was then begun, and not at the time the letter was dated; the date 1682, given in brackets, fixing the time for all that is mentioned on the subject. The letter of February, 1683, has nothing to do with the Indians. It is interpolated in the midst of events which happened in 1682, as is shown by the marginal references. Messrs. Duponceau and Fisher appear to have fallen into an error by supposing that Proud had brought his nar-

rative of events down to the date of the letter in that part of his history in which it appears, but such is not the case, as an examination of his work will show. The entire chapter in which the letter is given treats of the year 1682. Proud's statement, however, on this subject is greatly at fault whichever way he is read, as Penn personally made no purchase of land of the Indians until June 23d, 1683.

We have now carefully examined all the evidence which Messrs. Duponceau and Fisher give to prove that a treaty of friendship only was held prior to and unconnected with those for the purchase of land. We have endeavored to show on what unsatisfactory grounds these claims are advanced. Of our success the reader must judge. There is nothing else in the report bearing upon the subject. The detailed statement of Clarkson is dismissed, as it deserves to be, as wanting in authority. The passages quoted from various Indian Conferences show only that soon after Penn arrived he made a treaty with the Indians. There is nothing in any of them which fixes the date, and we believe the allusions to be quite as applicable to the treaty of 1683 as to the supposed treaty of the previous year.

The language used at these Conferences, however, together with the description of a treaty given in Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders, is a conclusive answer to all doubts that have been raised as to whether a treaty, marked by special terms of friendship, was ever held.

In 1701 William Penn met the Susquehanna Indians to obtain from them a confirmation of the purchase of land made for him by Governor Dongan of New York. The preliminary article of the agreement with them reads:—

“That as hitherto there hath always been a good understanding & Neighbourhood between the sd. Wm. Penn & his Lts. since his first arrival in the said Province, and the Several Nations of Indians inhabiting in and about the same, So there shall be forever hereafter a firm and lasting peace Continued”¹ &c. &c.

In the same year Penn, in answer to complaints made against his proceedings in Pennsylvania, wrote:—

¹ Col. Records, vol. ii. p. 15.

"My profit by the Indians was never sixpence ; but my known perpetual bounties to them have cost me many hundreds of pounds, if not some thousands, first and last."¹

In August 1706, when Governor Evans met the Indians, James Logan, Secretary of the Council, said that in the October previous he had delivered a message to the Indians at Conestoga, and had said:—

"That Governour W. Penn, since first he came into this Countrey, with all those under him, had always inviolably maintain'd a perfect Friendship with all the natives of this Country, that he found possess'd of it at his first arrival.

That when he was last in the Country he visited those of that place, [Conestoga] and his son upon his arrival did the same, in order to cultivate the ancient friendship between ym."²

In July 1712 the Provincial Council met the Indians, and the Indian speaker said:—

"That the Proprietor Govr. Penn, had at his first coming amongst them made an agreement with them that they should always Live as friends & Brothers, and be as one Body, one heart one mind and as one Eye & Ear; that what the one saw the other should see, and what the one heard the other should hear, and that there should be nothing but Love & friendship between them & us forever."³

In June 1715 Governor Gookin in a speech to the Indians said:—

"He was glad to see them retain so strong a sense of that firm Peace, that was settled between Willm. Penn, the founder & Chief Govr. of this Countrey at his first Coming into it, in behalf of himself, and all his People with them & all theirs ; that they were sensible we had always preserved it unviolated on our side & were glad we had reason to say they had done the same on theirs."⁴

Sasoonan a chief in reply said:—

"To prevent any misunderstanding, they now come to renew the former bond of friendship that William Penn had, at his first coming, made a clear and open road all the way to the Indians (by this meaning a friendly communication) that they desired the same might be kept open & that all obstructions should be removed, of wch. on their side they will take care."⁵

¹ Penn Logan Correspondence, vol. i. p. 27.

² Col. Records, vol. ii. p. 244.

³ Ibid. 553.

⁴ Ibid. 599.

⁵ Ibid.

In September 1715 Soteyote an Indian Chief told the Council:—

“That they were very well pleased to find that the Indians who were here in summer, had shown themselves so mindful of former treaties & agreements that were made with Willm. Penn, at his first arrival; that their old men were generally gone off the stage & they a younger Generation were come into their place; that they on their parts should ever desire to live in the same Peace & friendship with us that their fathers had done.”¹

In July 1720 James Logan met the Indians at Conestoga. Their speaker told them:—

“That when Governor Penn first held Councils with them, he promised them so much Love and Friendship that he would not call them Brothers, because Brothers might differ, nor Children, because these might offend and require Correction, but he would reckon them as one Body, one Blood, one Heart, and one Head; That they always remembered this, and should on their parts act accordingly; that few of the old men who were at those councils were living.”²

In reply Logan said the chain of friendship between the followers of Penn and the Indians had “been made near forty years agoe,”³ and Logan’s connection with Indian affairs was then of twenty years’ standing.

The same year Governor Keith wrote to the Five Nations:—

“When Governour Penn first settled this Country, he made it his Chief Care to cultivate a strict Alliance and Friendship with all the Indians, and condescended so far as to purchase his Lands from them, but when he came to treat with the Indians settled upon the River Sasquehannah, finding that they accounted themselves a Branch of the Mingoes or Five Nations, he prevailed with Colonel Dongan, then Governour of New York, to treat with those Nations in his behalf . . . which Colonel Dongan did accordingly.

Upon Governour Penn’s last arrival here, about twenty years agoe, he held a Treaty with the Mingoes or Conestogoe Indians settled on Sasquehannah, and their Chiefs, did then not only acknowledge the Sale of those Lands made to Colonel Dongan as above, but as much as in them lay did also renew and confirm the same to Governour Penn.”⁴

On the 14th of March 1721–2 James Logan and Colonel John French met the Indians at Conestoga. Logan then said:—

¹ Col. Records, vol. iii. p. 607.

² Ibid. 93.

³ Ibid. 95.

⁴ Ibid. 101.

"William Penn, our and your Father, when he first settled this country with English Subjects, made a firm League of Friendship and Brotherhood with all the Indians then in these parts and agreed that both you and his People should be all as one Flesh and Blood."¹

On the same occasion a message was sent to the "Sennekaes," beginning:—

"William Penn made a firm Peace and League with the Indians in these parts near forty years ago which league has often been repeated and never broken."

Early in April 1722 Gov. Keith met the Indians at Conestoga. On that occasion the Chief Captain Civility said:—

"That when the Proprietor William Penn came into this country Forty Years ago he got some Persons at New York to purchase the Lands on the Susquehannah from the Five Nations who pretended a Right to them, having conquered the people formerly settled there; and that when William Penn came from New York he sent for them to hold a Council with him at Philadelphia."

An account of the treaty was then given and Civility showed Governor Keith a "parchment" which William Penn had given them on that occasion, "which contained Articles and Agreements made between the Proprietary and them and confirmed the sale of lands made by the Five Nations to the Proprietary."²

In May 1728 Governor Gordon held a conference with the Indians, and in addressing them used language similar to that of Logan and Keith, and in addition said:—

"Your Leagues with your Father William Penn & with his Governours are in Writing on Record that our Children & our Childrens Children may have them in everlasting Remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you by telling them to your Children, & they again to the next Generation, so that they remain stamp'd on your Minds never to be forgot. The Chief Heads or Strongest Links of this Chain I find are these nine."³

¹ Col. Records, vol. iii. p. 149.

² The account of what transpired at this meeting will be found in Enquiry into the Cause of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians. London, 1760, pp. 8 and 9. A blank is left on the record of the Provincial Council where the minute should be given; see Col. Records, vol. iii. p. 161.

³ Col. Records, vol. iii. p. 310.

And he read an agreement of which we will speak hereafter.

Many other expressions such as we have given are to be found in the records of the Indian conferences, and all point to the undeniable fact, that the long friendship which existed between the Indians and English in Pennsylvania had its origin in promises which were made soon after Penn arrived. It has been argued that these expressions may refer to the treaty of 1701. This treaty seems to have been a very formal affair, and certainly it was a most important one. We do not doubt that tradition has in some measure confounded what was done at it with the earlier treaty which Penn's letter of August 16th, 1683, tells us had been held. But the preliminary articles of the treaty of 1701 speak of the friendship which had existed since Penn's first arrival, and the language of Logan, Civility, and Keith, used between 1720 and 1722, that Penn had made a league of amity with the Indians about forty years before, together with the reiterated statement of others that it was made soon after he first arrived, is too strong to be disregarded. Were it not for the fact that we have the best reason for believing that Penn did not meet the Indians until 1683, we would accept the statement made at these conferences as conclusive evidence that a treaty of friendship was held in 1682. Captain Civility's assertion that the treaty was held forty years before 1722 is certainly remarkable, but it will be noticed that his language couples it with a purchase of land, while no land was bought by Penn personally until 1683, and the Susquehanna land of which Civility spoke was not acquired until 1701. We are inclined to think that Captain Civility's information regarding the time which had elapsed was gathered from the more guarded language of Logan, used on a previous occasion, that it was "*near* forty years ago," rather than from any authority in his own possession. Forty years seems to have been a favorite length of time with the Indians in speaking of their dealings with Penn. The Chief of the Five Nations told Governor Gordon that—

"Governour Penn when he first came into this Province, took all the Indians of it by the hand, he embraced them as his Friends & Brethren &

made a firm League of Friendship with them ; he bound it as with a Chain that was never to be broken ; he took none of their lands without purchasing and paying for them, & knowing the Five Nations claimed the Lands on the Sasquehannah he engaged Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, *about forty years since* to purchase their right in his behalf, which Colonel Dongan did."¹

This speech was made in 1727, but the agreement between Penn and Dongan was made in 1683.

Some may argue from these repeated utterances that "Penn's Treaty" or the "League of Amity" was a myth, having its origin in promises of friendship made on various occasions and referred to at succeeding meetings until the idea was developed that they sprang from some agreement entered into between the English and the Indians at their first meeting ; that this belief was strengthened by the faithfulness with which these pledges were performed until at last an *Ideal Treaty* became surrounded

"With all that fancy adds and fiction lends."

To this it can be answered that such promises must have had a beginning, and that when we find in Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders a description of a treaty, which we have every reason to believe was the first he held with the Indians, that pledges of friendship were then exchanged and kept with a faithfulness which was unprecedented, enough has been preserved to warrant all the honor that has been done the event. It is true that he did not then purchase the whole of his province from the natives as has been represented. It was the first of a succession of purchases which as long as they were prosecuted in the same spirit preserved the peace of the colony. That this policy should not have attracted universal attention while in its incipient state is not surprising. Nothing is more difficult than to trace the origin of truly great events, and we have as much regarding the beginning of Penn's intercourse with the Indians as it is reasonable to suppose would have been preserved. That the "League of Amity" should have played a more important part in Indian Affairs after the treaty of 1701, is in perfect keeping

¹ Col. Records, vol. iii. p. 273.

with the nature of things. The principles on which that treaty was made were those which had inspired Penn's dealings with the Indians from the first, and, as each succeeding year showed the wisdom of the policy, it was but natural that it should have been spoken of with reverence and affection.

It is generally supposed that no record was preserved of what was done at Penn's first Treaty, that its agreements were not reduced to writing. If as we believe *The Treaty* was that held in June, 1683, we certainly have no copy of any formal agreements except such as relate to the sale of land. We do not think, however, that it is quite safe to presume that a document giving the rules that should regulate the intercourse between Penn's settlers and the Indians was never executed or that the Indians never received a copy of it. The heads of a treaty of amity which Gov. Gordon read to the Indians in 1723, have been supposed to be those agreed upon at Penn's first treaty, but we think there can be no doubt that they were drawn from the treaty of 1701. Gordon said on that occasion that all information regarding treaties was handed down orally by the Indians from one generation to another, and this custom is confirmed by Indian testimony. Nevertheless, in 1720 Captain Civility asked in behalf of the Ganawese, who had but lately come into the Province:—

"That they have no writing to show their League of Friendship as the others have and therefore desire they may be favored with one,"¹

which shows that the custom was not uniform.

The 13th article of the paper known as "Conditions and Concessions," which was signed in England, provides with other things that:—

" . . . If any Indian shall abuse, in Word or Deed, any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own Judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his Lieutenant or Deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable Satisfaction be made to the said injured planter."²

The minutes of the Provincial Council of 16th of November, 1685, read:—

¹ Col. Records, vol. iii. p. 94.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 23.

"The Complaint of ye friends, Inhabitants of Concord and Hertford against the Indians, for ye Rapine and Destructions of their hoggs was Read :—

Ordered that ye Respective Indian Kings be sent for to ye Councill with all speed, to answer their Complaint."¹

The minutes of the same body for 13th of May, 1686, read :—

"The Request of Jno. Smith and Henry Painter, Inhabitants of South-ampton Township, was Read, Requesting this board to heare their Complaint agt ye Indians who had Killed severall of their Swine.

This Councill Called them in, and Ordered them to give their Complaint in Writing to ye Secretary, & mention ye names of ye Indians yt they knew, or did Imagine did ye fact, and then ye Councill would take all possible Care to Redress them by Law; and further, Ordered yt ye Respective Kings might be sent to by some proper Messenger to make satisfaction."²

There is nothing to show when the 13th article of this paper was agreed to by the Indians, but its provisions were certainly in usage as late as 1686.

The 14th article provides :—

"That all differences between the Planters and the natives shall also be ended by Twelve men, that is, by Six planters and Six natives."³

Penn in his letter to the Free Society of Traders, after mentioning the promises of friendship that were made at the treaty, writes :—

"We have agreed, that, in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter."⁴

It is, therefore, almost certain that the 14th article of "Conditions and Concessions" was agreed upon at the Treaty of 1683, and, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, it is fair to suppose that the 13th was agreed upon at the same time. It is hardly possible to think that a code of this character should not have been recorded, and it is a fact that in 1685 Penn wrote of the Indians :—

"If any of them break our Laws, they submit to be punished by them; and this they have tyed themselves by an obligation under their hands."⁵

¹ Col. Records, vol. i. p. 162.

² Ibid. 180.

³ Ibid. 28.

⁴ Penn's Letter to Free Society, p. 7, *London Ed.* 1683. Proud's Hist. of Pa., vol. i. p. 259.

⁵ Further Account of Pennsylvania. London, 1685.

This may have referred to the agreement made with the Indians in 1684, that Rum should be sold to them if they would be content to be punished as the English were.¹ But in either case the language points to a written compact with the Indians of which we have no copy.

If there is not enough information on this point to form a satisfactory opinion, it certainly is not safe to say that Penn's first covenant was not reduced to writing or that the Indians had no copy of it.²

Having shown what excellent reasons there are for believing that the friendship between Penn and the Indians rested on promises made soon after his arrival, and how little there is to show that they were exchanged at a meeting held for the especial purpose in 1682, or that they were not recorded, and copies furnished the Indians, we will submit our reasons for thinking that this long and honorable relationship had its origin at that treaty which is described in Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders.

In the first place, the letter pictures just such a treaty as agrees with the early tradition regarding it—a treaty of purchase at which promises of friendship were made.

2d. These promises accord in spirit with what we know it was the intention of Penn to do as soon as he should come to America. The thirteenth and fourteenth articles of "Conditions and Concessions" appear to have been accepted by the

¹ See Col. Records, vol. i. p. 105.

² In 1686 the Indians committed some depredations on the property of Nicholas Scull, and the Provincial Council appointed (*see* Col. Records, vol. i. p. 187) "Capt. Tho. Holmes, with ye assistance of Capt. Lace Cock, Zach. Whitpaine, and such others as Capt. Thomas Holmes shall approve off, forthwith to make Diligent Enquirie into ye truth hereoff, and if it Credibly appears that such Indians were Guilty as Reported, They be Required to make Speedy satisfaction. Wee Referring ye manner and methods of treating ye Indians Concerned wth ye people they belong to, ye Conduct and Discretion of ye sd Capt. Holme, wth ye Concurrence and approbation of the nominated persons." The meaning of this passage is not perfectly clear, and it is possible that Capt. Holme and his coadjutors were appointed in accordance with the provisions of the 14th Article of "Conditions and Concessions."

Indians at that conference, and to have made it a treaty of importance in every sense of the word.

3d. We have no less than five of Penn's letters, written between the time of his arrival and March, 1683, treating of the settlement of his province, or extracts from them professing to give all of importance which they contain. The only allusion we find to the Indians is in Ford's "Vindication of William Penn," which contains the abstracts of two letters, the one from Chester, dated November 1st, the other from West River, Maryland, dated December 16th, 1682. The passage is from the former, and reads:—

"The Indians they saw; the men are strong and Tall, the Women Comely as some Gipsies are in England, the children very pretty; they all wear some clothes and some of them wear Broggs."¹

No mention is made in the latter of the treaty, which is said to have been held in November, 1682. Had such an event taken place, it is hardly likely that Penn, in giving a detailed account of what he had done, would have failed to mention it, or that the person who made the extracts from his letters should have overlooked it, and published the passage in the earlier letter.

4th. The first meeting between Penn and the Indians of which we have any record, took place in May, 1683,² and from what we know of it there is good reason to believe that no very cordial relationship then existed between them. At this time they either failed to understand his wish or refused to comply with it, and before the matter could be arranged Penn was obliged to go to New Castle to meet Lord Baltimore. When he met them in the summer following, he says that their speaker—

"First prayed me, to excuse them, that they had not complied with me, the last time, he feared there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither *Indian* nor *English*; besides, it was the *Indian* custom to deliberate, and take up much time, in council, before they resolve; and that, if

¹ See p. 180.

² See Penn's letter to Lords of Plantations, Proud, vol. i. p. 271. "I was then [May] in treaty with the kings of the natives for land."

the young people, and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay."¹

Now certainly if any "League of Friendship" had then existed, the delay would not have occurred.

5th. No sooner had the treaties of 1683 been held, than his letters are full of his impressions of, and dealings with, the Indians.

On July 24th Penn wrote to Lord Keeper North:—

"I have also bought lands of the natives, treated them largely, and settled a firm and advantageous correspondency with them; who are a careless, merry people, and yet in property strict with us, though as kind as , among themselves; in counsel so deliberate, in speech short, grave, and eloquent, young and old in their several class, that I have never seen in Europe anything more wise, cautious, and dexterous; 'tis as admirable to me as it may look incredible on that side of the water."²

Four days afterwards he wrote to the Earl of Sunderland:—

"For the people; they are Savage to us, in their Persons, & furniture; all y^t is rude; but they have great shape, strength, agility; & in Council (for they (tho in a kind of Community among themselves) observe property & Governm^t) grave, speak seldom, inter spaces of silence, short, elegant, fervent, the old sitt in a halfmoon upon the Ground, the middle aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them, & the young fry in the same manner behind them. None speak but the aged, they having Consulted the rest before; thus in selling me their land they order'd themselves; I must say, y^t their obscurity consider'd, wanting tradition, example, & instruction, they are an extraordinary people, had not the Dutch, Sweeds, and English learn'd them drunkenness (in wth condition, they kill or burn one another) they had been very tractable, but Rum is so dear to them, y^t for 6 penny worth of Rum, one may buy y^t fur from them, y^t five shillings, in any other Commodity shall not purchase. Yet many of the old men, & some of y^e young people will not touch wth such spirits; & Because in those fitts they mischeif both themselves & our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any."³

¹ Penn's Letter to the Free Society, *London*, 1683, p. 7. See, also, Proud, vol. i. pp. 257-8. This passage immediately precedes the description of the treaty at which it is said land was purchased and promises of friendship were made. It shows that the treaty so described was the first at which Penn personally purchased land of the Indians, and the deeds of this purchase show it to have been made on June 23, 1683.

² *Memoirs of Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, vol. i. p. 412 (2d ed.) p. 440.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 246.

Two days afterwards he wrote to Henry Savelle :—

"The Natives are proper & shapely, very swift, their language lofty. They speak little, but fervently & with Elegancy, I have never seen more naturall sagacity, considering them wth out ye help I was going to say ye spoyle of tradition. The worst is that they are ye wors for ye Christians who have propagated their views and yeilded them tradition for ye wors & not for ye better things, they believe a Diety & Immortality without ye help of Metaphisicks & some of them admirably sober, though ye Dutch & Sweed and English have by Brandy and Rum almost Debaucht y^m all and when Drunk ye most wretched of spectacles, often burning & sometimes murdering one another, at which times ye Christians are not without danger as well as fear. Tho' for gain they will run the hazard both of y^t and ye Law, they make their worshipp to consist of two parts, sacrifices w^h they offer of their first fruits with marvelous fervency and labour of body sweating as if in a bath, the other is their Canticoes as they call them w^{ch} is performed by round Dances, sometimes words, then songs, then shouts two being in ye midle y^t begin and direct ye chorus this they performe with equal fervency but great appearances of joy.

In this I admire them, nobody shall want w^t another has, yett they have propriety, but freely communicable, they want or care for little no Bills of Exchange, nor Bills of Lading, no Chancery suits nor Exchequer Acc^t have they to perplex themselves with, they are soon satisfyed and their pleasure feeds them, I mean hunting & fishing I have made two purchases, and have had two presents of land from them."¹

His letter to the Free Society of Traders is dated the 16th of the following month. The draft of it in an imperfect state, is in the Historical Society, and the interlineations and corrections show that considerable time was given to its preparation. Our space will not allow us to make a more extended extract from it than we have already done. His idea of the origin of the Indians is given in it, together with an account of their manners and customs, and, as we have said, a description of a treaty he had held with them, at which land was purchased and promises of friendship were made. The society to which it was addressed had purchased 20,000 acres of land from Penn, and was formed for the encouragement of emigration. The fullest account we have of the province is found in this letter. It might properly be called a report of what Penn personally found his country to be, and of all that he

¹ Pa. Archives, vol. i. p. 69.

had done up to the time it was written. It has been argued that, as we have but few of Penn's letters written immediately after his arrival in America, possibly the one describing the treaty, which tradition says he held as soon as he came here, is lost. With the letter to the Free Society before us such a supposition is untenable. The letter tells all that was done of importance from the 24th of October 1682, and the only treaties it mentions are those of June and July 1683. From a society whose object it was to populate his colony Penn surely would not have kept back the information that he had formed a friendly alliance with the Indians at a treaty held for the especial purpose.

On the evidence we have given we will rest our case.

There is certainly sufficient reason for believing that Penn formed a treaty with the Indians of which friendship was a part soon after he arrived. There is nothing of a contemporaneous nature to show that he met them in council until May, 1683, and almost conclusive proof that up to that time his intercourse with them was of a limited character. There is nothing to show that the business conducted at any early treaty was confined to cultivation of friendly relations and intercourse. The language used at the Indian Conferences between 1700 and 1728 does not, it is true, always speak of the "League of Amity" in connection with the purchase of land, neither does it inform us of the business that was transacted at the various meetings at which the League was renewed,—the omission in the one case being no more remarkable than it is in the others. Treaties certainly were held in June and July, 1683. Few there are, we believe, who will not agree with us that the language of Penn's letters written immediately after these events, is that of a man who had just received his first impressions of the Indians through a personal intercourse with them. The interest which Penn took in their welfare is manifest in every line he wrote at this time, and it is impossible to suppose that he would have remained silent so long had he met them at an earlier period. The importance of the agreement he had made with them was evident to his mind, and the hopes he built upon it are shown

in his self-satisfied language to Lord Keeper North, "I have also bought lands of the natives, treated them largely, and settled a firm and advantageous correspondency with them." That he should have delayed doing so for ten months after his arrival is not inexplicable. His time was at first fully taken up with the organization of his government, and in the journeys which he found it necessary to make to New York and Maryland. The division of his territory into counties and townships also occupied his mind, and it is doubtful if he had sufficient leisure for business with the Indians until the season was too far advanced.

When, therefore, we find from Indian Deeds that in June and July, 1683, Penn made two purchases of land from them ; when in his letter to Henry Savelle, dated July 30th, he limits his purchases from the Indians up to that time to two in number, and on the 16th of the following month gives to the Free Society of Traders a long account of the Indians, describes a treaty he had held with them for the acquirement of land, and says that after "the purchase was agreed great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light;" when we find that at this treaty one of the measures he had proposed in England for the regulation of the intercourse between the settlers and the Indians was agreed upon ; when his letters to his friends show how much he valued what had been done, and how full his mind was of the subject,—is it not obvious that it was at this time the foundation of his friendship with the Indians was laid, that it was from this treaty that the Indians dated their League of Friendship ?

The question naturally arises, At what place was this treaty held ? and on this point it must be confessed the evidence is not convincing. A tradition which existed prior to the middle of the last century claims that it was held beneath the celebrated Elm which stood at Shackamaxon. This story has been so long told as to leave little doubt that that was the site of some important event in Indian history, and the only question which suggests itself is, could the first treaty have

been confounded with any other that was held on that spot? The fact that the latter part of the winter 1682-3 William Penn lived in the Fairman Mansion which stood near the Elm tree; that the description of the treaty, in his letter to the Earl of Sunderland, shows that it was held in the open air; that the Indian tradition related by Heckewelder is that when Penn met them he did so under a grove of shady trees; together with the statement of Benjamin Lay, who came to America in 1731, that the Elm was pointed out to him as marking the spot where Penn's treaty was held,¹—would go to show that the weight of evidence, slight as it is, is in favor of the tradition. There is nothing that can be brought against it but the charge that it is a tradition, and upon the whole we think that there is as much reason to believe that Penn's Treaty was held at Shackamaxon as that the Pilgrims first set foot on Plymouth Rock.

There are some who may feel that to thus connect the Treaty with a purchase of land and reduce its provisions to writing, is taking from its dignity and importance. But it must be remembered that it was the result of what was then done which excited the admiration of the world. The acquirement of land was but a part of the transaction. It was the principles of justice which were then laid down that bore such magnificent fruit; and we cannot but think that, if the records of this event are found to be preserved in the authentic sources we have drawn upon, it is far better than to allow them to rest on tradition and argument.

¹ See Memoir on the Locality of the Great Treaty between William Penn and the Indian Natives in 1682. By Roberts Vaux, *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pa.*, vol. i. p. 79 (2d ed.) p. 87.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. V., page 467.)

July 6, 1736.	Palmer,	Joseph, son of Jonathan.
Dec. 8, 1736.	"	William. Wyatt's Servant.
June 17, 1745.	"	Thomasine, wife of Capt. Anthony.
Sept. 26, 1745.	"	Letthea, wife of John.
May 3, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel.
May 6, 1747.	"	Jane, dau. of Samuel.
Feb. 8, 1747-8.	"	Anthony.
Mar. 21, 1748-9.	"	John. [Anthony, Junior.
May 15, 1749.	"	Elizabeth, widow of Capt.
June 2, 1749.	"	Hon'ble Capt. Anthony, President of ye Council.
Mar. 10, 1755.	"	Samuel, son of Samuel.
Mar. 17, 1756.	"	—— wife of William.
April 5, 1756.	"	William.
Sept. 24, 1756.	"	—— son of John.
Nov. 22, 1756.	"	Samuel.
Nov. 13, 1748.	Pamley,	Elizabeth.
Dec. 5, 1727.	Pansack,	Mr. Daniel.
Dec. 15, 1726.	Panton,	Elizabeth.
Dec. 23, 1735.	"	John.
July 26, 1745.	Pare,	Thomas.
Nov. 27, 1743.	Pargat,	George Frederick.
May 19, 1714.	Parham,	Margaret, dau. of Thomas and
July 4, 1722.	"	Joseph. [Susannah.
Dec. 20, 1723.	"	Thomas.
Feb. 5, 1730-1.	"	William.
Jan. 4, 1735-6.	"	Hannah, wife of John.
Nov. 29, 1714.	Park,	John.
Aug. 1, 1714.	Parke,	Anne, dau. of John and Eliza-
July 6, 1717.	Parker,	Moses. [beth.
Sept. 9, 1723.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Richard.
Sept. 20, 1731.	"	Robert, son of Richard.
Nov. 16, 1735.	"	Anne, dau. of Richard.
Nov. 30, 1738.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Richard.
Dec. 10, 1738.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Richard.

June 28, 1744.	Parker,	Richard.
Mar. 7, 1737-8.	Parkhouse,	Mary, wife of Richard.
Jan. 10, 1736-7.	Parks,	Celia, dau. of Capt.
June 11, 1742.	"	Elias, son of William.
Dec. 7, 1749.	"	Foster.
Jan. 27, 1730-1.	Parry,	John, son of David.
Aug. 25, 1733.	"	John, son of David.
April 16, 1735.	"	Rowland, son of David.
Aug. 24, 1740.	"	Margaret, dau. of David.
April 14, 1741.	"	David.
Mar. 2, 1759.	Parson,	John.
Mar. 13, 1759.	"	Coleman.
Dec. 11, 1726.	Parsons,	Henry.
Aug. 16, 1745.	"	George.
Oct. 19, 1746.	"	Susannah, dau. of William.
Dec. 27, 1759.	"	—— son of John.
Dec. 7, 1709.	Part,	Jane.
Aug. 8, 1758.	Partridge,	—— wife of Peter.
Aug. 22, 1753.	Patterson,	Anne, dau. of Joseph.
Nov. 9, 1754.	"	Samuel, son of John.
July 29, 1742.	Pattison,	Martha.
April 5, 1752.	Paul,	William. [Sarah.
July 25, 1716.	Paulson,	Sarah, dau. of Charles and
Aug. 14, 1745.	Pavy,	Foster, son of the widow.
Oct. 23, 1716.	Pawlett,	Thomas, son of William and
June 28, 1732.	Paxton,	Elizabeth. [Katharine.
June 28, 1738.	"	Thomas, son of Alexander.
Sept. 13, 1742.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Alexander.
Oct. 22, 1758.	Payne,	Thomas. [tleman.
Aug. 1, 1725.	Peacock,	William, of Barbadoes, Gen-
July 14, 1745.	"	James, son of Marmaduke.
Dec. 19, 1736.	Peakson,	Mary, wife of Noah.
Sept. 21, 1747.	Pear,	Martha, dau. of John.
Nov. 27, 1709.	Pearce,	Nicholas.
Sept. 5, 1743.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
April 5, 1756.	"	Benjamin.
Aug. 27, 1746.	Pears,	Thomas.
Jan. 2, 1749-50.	"	Philadelphia, dau. of Naomi.
Sept. 9, 1741.	Pearson,	James.
Oct. 8, 1751.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Sept. 27, 1756.	"	—— son of John.
Nov. 18, 1756.	"	—— son of John.
April 29, 1732.	Peart,	Mary.
July 6, 1732.	"	William, son of William.
July 7, 1732.	"	Mary, wife of William.
Nov. 27, 1736.	"	Rachel, dau. of Benjamin.

Sept. 20, 1741.	Peart,	Benjamin.
Nov. 23, 1742.	"	William, son of Benjamin.
Sept. 8, 1721.	Peartre,	Mary, dau. of James and Catherine.
Sept. 25, 1745.	Peddy,	Isabella, wife of Alexander.
Feb. 22, 1747-8.	Peek,	Jane, dau. of William.
June 26, 1750.	Peel,	Margaret.
July 17, 1750.	"	Rebecca, dau. of John.
Feb. 16, 1750-1.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Captain.
Aug. 7, 1753.	"	John.
Oct. 30, 1759.	"	Margaret.
Nov. 24, 1728.	Peeling,	William.
June 30, 1729.	Pegler,	Mary.
Jan. 14, 1752.	Penney,	Timothy, son of Timothy.
Oct. 7, 1748.	Pennington,	Joseph.
Nov. 19, 1711.	Penrose,	Bartholomew.
Jan. 12, 1736-7.	"	Bartholomew, son of Thomas.
Dec. 22, 1739.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 2, 1745-6.	"	William, son of Bartholomew.
Sept. 4, 1746.	"	Bartholomew, son of Thomas.
Aug. 16, 1747.	"	John, son of Thomas.
Oct. 10, 1749.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Aug. 24, 1751.	"	Benjamin, son of Thomas.
Nov. 17, 1757.	"	Thomas.
Feb. 2, 1758.	"	Bartholomew.
Jan. 1, 1726-7.	Pepper,	James.
July 28, 1742.	Perdue,	Sarah, dau. of William.
April 12, 1739.	Perkin,	William.
Aug. 26, 1732.	Perkins,	William, son of William.
Sept. 22, 1732.	Perks,	Stephen, of Boston.
Feb. 25, 1719-20.	Perres,	Samuel.
June 16, 1714.	Perry,	Charles, son of John and Mary.
Nov. 30, 1715.	"	Catharine, wife of John.
Dec. 14, 1732.	"	Mary. Widow.
Mar. 30, 1734-5.	"	Thomas.
June 9, 1747.	"	Christopher.
June 22, 1750.	"	Rebecca. Strangers' Ground.
Sept. 12, 1759.	"	John.
Jan. 1, 1736-7.	Pery,	Rachel, dau. of Phœbe.
Jan. 11, 1736-7.	Peters,	Anne, dau. of Mary, alias Kelly.
June 24, 1744.	"	Richard, son of William.
Aug. 27, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
July 26, 1750.	"	Thomas, son of William.
Jan. 20, 1746-7.	Petty,	Mary, wife of John.
Jan. 8, 1759.	"	Sarah.

Aug. 2, 1747.	Peywell,	Richard, son of William.
Nov. 12, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Mar. 6, 1722-3.	Phagan,	Syms.
Sept. 7, 1738.	Philips,	Susannah, dau. of William.
April 14, 1742.	"	William, son of John.
April 5, 1748.	"	Susannah, wife of Edward.
Sept. 17, 1748.	"	Anne, wife of John.
Dec. 30, 1712.	Phillips,	Abraham.
June 22, 1718.	"	William.
April 7, 1732.	"	Eleanor, dau. of William.
May 29, 1732.	"	Mary.
Nov. 14, 1733.	"	Thomas, son of William.
Aug. 13, 1744.	"	George.
Jan. 19, 1746-7.	"	John.
Aug. 29, 1755.	"	Thomas.
Oct. 7, 1747.	Phin,	Frances, wife of George.
Dec. 26, 1731.	Phips,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
June 19, 1748.	"	John.
Sept. 2, 1729.	Phipps,	Francis.
Aug. 31, 1733.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
May 3, 1737.	"	John, son of Thomas.
Sept. 14, 1740.	"	Thomas.
Dec. 26, 1726.	Pickell,	John.
April 19, 1736.	Pickerin,	Elizabeth, wife of Philip.
June 24, 1744.	Pickering,	John.
Oct. 15, 1749.	"	Charles.
Sept. 4, 1755.	Pickle,	John.
Nov. 11, 1756.	"	—— dau. of William.
Sept. 17, 1723.	Pidgeon,	—— child of Mr.
Aug. 13, 1753.	"	Richard.
Oct. 14, 1739.	Pearce,	Hugh, son of John.
Sept. 23, 1713.	Pierce,	Mary.
Sept. 9, 1748.	Piers,	John.
July 13, 1748.	Pigot,	Martha.
Sept. 29, 1752.	Pike,	Thomas.
July 26, 1740.	Pillar,	Hannah, dau. of James.
July 26, 1759.	"	Frances, wife of James.
April 13, 1731.	Pilly,	John.
July 21, 1742.	Pinard,	Martha, dau. of Joseph.
Mar. 13, 1757.	Pines,	John.
May 10, 1739.	Pingrey,	Anne. From Samuel Parr's.
July 16, 1731.	Piniard,	Elizabeth.
April 27, 1732.	"	Eleanor, dau. of Joseph.
Nov. 21, 1736.	"	John.
Sept. 29, 1738.	"	Matthias, son of Matthew.
June 4, 1732.	Pinkney,	Rachel, dau. of Caleb.

Sept. 20, 1747.	Pinkney,	Caleb.
July 17, 1746.	Pinyard,	Mary, dau. of Richard.
Sept. 9, 1747.	"	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
Aug. 23, 1748.	"	Anne, dau. of Joseph.
Dec. 4, 1748.	"	Matthias.
Nov. 10, 1748.	Pits,	William.
Nov. 5, 1759.	Pitt,	Henrietta, dau. of William.
Jan. 23, 1734-5.	Plim,	William, son of George.
Jan. 27, 1736-7.	"	John, son of George.
June 6, 1733.	Plumber,	Richard, son of John.
May 20, 1758.	"	Eleanor.
Jan. 22, 1754.	Plumley,	George.
Feb. 25, 1759.	"	Sarah.
June 27, 1715.	Plummer,	Moses, son of Jane.
June 19, 1727.	"	John.
May 28, 1728.	"	John, son of John.
Mar. 11, 1756.	Plumsted,	—— son of William.
July 15, 1756.	"	—— son of William.
Nov. 14, 1748.	Plunket,	Elizabeth, dau. of Mary.
Nov. 12, 1739.	Poate,	—— dau. of Thomas.
Feb. 2, 1736-7.	Pocklington,	William, son of William.
Aug. 25, 1745.	"	John, son of William.
Nov. 2, 1750.	Poet,	Lætitia, dau. of Thomas.
July 31, 1753.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
May 23, 1755.	"	Thomas.
June 20, 1740.	Poett,	Esther.
Aug. 4, 1732.	Polgreen,	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
July 25, 1746.	Pollard,	Sarah, dau. of William.
Sept. 8, 1723.	Pollet,	Thomas.
July 21, 1730.	Pollgreen,	Thomas.
Feb. 5, 1736-7.	Ponder,	Sarah, dau. of Magdalen, alias
Sept. 19, 1749.	Pool,	Thomas. [Low.
Mar. 11, 1712-3.	Poole,	William.
April 1, 1713.	"	Esther, wife of Nathaniel.
Sept. 14, 1747.	Pope,	Hester, dau. of John.
July 2, 1750.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Feb. 13, 1744-5.	Porter,	John.
Nov. 16, 1752.	Posey,	Brian Wilkinson.
Jan. 7, 1745-6.	Posthlethwaite,	Anne, wife of John.
Mar. 17, 1747-8.	Postlethwait,	John.
June 2, 1744.	Potter,	John, son of Lawrence.
		Coates' Ground.
Sept. 4, 1748.	"	Sarah, wife of Lévy.
Sept. 9, 1746.	Potts,	Sarah.
July 27, 1732.	Pounsford,	Anne, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 23, 1736.	Powell,	William, son of William.

July 27, 1740.	Powell,	William, son of William.
May 4, 1744.	"	William.
Nov. 6, 1758.	"	James.
Dec. 15, 1729.	Power,	Jane.
Feb. 1, 1748-9.	Pratt,	Henry.
Sept. 21, 1729.	Pratt,	Matthew.
Jan. 7, 1742-3.	"	Deborah, dau. of Henry.
Dec. 2, 1758.	"	Charles.
Sept. 11, 1720.	Preston,	Margaret, dau. of William.
Sept. 19, 1720.	"	Margaret, dau. of William.
Jan. 30, 1739-40.	"	Hannah, wife of William.
Feb. 20, 1753.	"	William.
Sept. 7, 1758.	"	Martha, dau. of Martha.
Sept. 18, 1709.	Price,	Jeremiah.
Jan. 24, 1710-11.	"	Margaret, dau. of John and
Jan. 8, 1720-1.	"	John. [Ruth.
Mar. 14, 1730-1.	"	Edward.
Oct. 11, 1735.	"	Eleanor, wife of David.
Aug. 28, 1738.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Edward.
Jan. 25, 1738-9.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Oct. 23, 1739.	"	John.
Mar. 24, 1739-40.	"	Timothy, son of John.
Aug. 18, 1741.	"	Capt. John.
Aug. 21, 1741.	"	John. Poor.
Oct. 16, 1741.	"	Rebecca. Widow.
June 19, 1743.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Mar. 13, 1744-5.	"	Thomas.
Mar. 24, 1744-5.	"	William. [Jones.
Sept. 24, 1745.	"	Mary, dau.-in-law of John
Sept. 2, 1746.	"	Rachel, dau. of John.
Nov. 21, 1747.	"	Anne, wife of Benjamin.
Oct. 10, 1748.	"	Jenkin, son of John.
Nov. 3, 1750.	"	John.
Sept. 8, 1751.	"	Catharine.
Nov. 28, 1754.	"	Elizabeth, wife of John.
May 27, 1755.	"	Jonathan.
Oct. 14, 1756.	"	—— son of William.
Dec. 25, 1756.	"	Jacob.
July 10, 1757.	"	John.
Aug. 7, 1757.	"	John.
Sept. 19, 1757.	"	Mary, wife of Jonathan.
Mar. 24, 1759.	"	Sarah, dau. of Ann.
April 26, 1759.	"	Mary, wife of James.
July 29, 1759.	"	Eleanor, dau. of William.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

LETTERS, ETC., FROM THE PAPERS OF GOVERNOR WILLIAM PLUMER, AND OF
WILLIAM PLUMER, JR.

PETER LIVIUS TO GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN.

The attempt which the following letter shows was made to induce General Sullivan to quit the service of Congress proves how early that course was suggested which ended with the fall of Arnold. In Arnold's case we know that Lord George Germane approved of Clinton's part in the plot, if he did not instigate it. In September, 1779, he wrote to Clinton: "Next to the destruction of Washington's army, the gaining over officers of influence and reputation among the troops would be the speediest means of subduing the rebellion, and restoring the tranquility of America. Your commission authorizes you to avail yourself of such opportunities, and there can be no doubt that the expense will be cheerfully submitted to." The author of this letter was Peter Livius, a former resident of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and at one time a member of the Council under the Royal Government. He was an active man in Political affairs in the Province prior to the Revolution, and was appointed Chief Justice. Sabin writes, that as this appointment was likely to produce discord, "he was transferred to a more lucrative office in the Province of Quebec." He was Chief-Justice of Canada from 1777 to 1780, when he went to England, of which country he was a native, having been born at Bedford in 1727. He received an honorary degree from Harvard College in 1767. He died in England in 1795. We do not know under what authority he acted in writing to Sullivan, nor are we aware that he had any to do so, as the word of a man who could write such a letter can have but little weight. It is more than possible that he had formed Sullivan's acquaintance while in New Hampshire, but he could not have known him or he would not have approached him in the way he did. The paper in the Plumer collection is a copy of the original.—Ed.]

Sir,

I have long desired to write my mind to you, on a matter of the very greatest importance to you; but the unhappy situation of things has rendered all intercourse very difficult & has prevented me. I now find a man is to be sent for a very different purpose to you, by him I shall contrive to get this letter to you, a person having undertaken to put it in the place of that which was designed to be carried to you. You know me very well, & are acquainted with many circumstances of my life, & have seen me in very trying situations that might perhaps have been some excuse, yet I am sure you never knew me guilty of any ungentlemanly action. I remind you of this that you may safely trust what I say to you, as coming from a person who has never trifled with any man. You know better than I do the situation of your Congress, & the confusion there is among you, & the ruin that impends: you have felt how unequal the forces of your own people are to withstand the power of Great Britain, & for foreign assistance I need not tell you how precarious & deceitful it must be. France and Spain know they cannot embark in your quarrel, without the greatest danger of Great Britain turning suddenly against & taking possession of their colonies, with so great a force already collected & in America, besides their fears of raising

views of independance in their own colonies, to which they are much disposed. But why should I enlarge on this subject, I am sure you know the futility of all hopes of effectual foreign assistance, & that these hopes have been thrown out only to keep up the spirits of the deluded common people, you therefore will not suffer yourself to be deluded by them; the most you can expect from foreigners is, that they will help at the expence of your countrymen's blood, & happiness, to keep up a dispute that will ruin you, & distress Great Britain. It is not the interest of France & Spain that America should be independant; but if it were possible you could entertain any thoughts that the hopes of effectual foreign assistance were well grounded, you cannot but know that such assistance must now arrive too late; the last campaign was almost consumed before the English army could get collected & in a position to act in America; but now the campaign is just opening, the whole army in the greatest health & spirits, plentifully provided with everything, most earnest in the cause I do assure you, well acquainted with the country, & placed so as to act briskly with the greatest efficacy; a few months will therefore probably decide the contest; you must either fight or fly; & in either case, ruin seems inevitable. You was the first man in active rebellion, & drew with you the province you live in; what hope, what expectation can you have? You will be one of the first sacrifices to the resentment & justice of government, your family will be ruined, & you must die with ignominy; or if you should be so happy as to escape, you will drag along a tedious life of poverty, misery, and continual apprehension in a foreign land. Now, Sullivan, I have a method to propose to you, if you have resolution & courage, that will save you & your family & estate from this imminent destruction; it is in plain English to tread back the steps you have already taken, & to do some real essential service to your king & country, in assisting to re-establish public tranquillity and lawful government. You know I will not deceive you. Every one who will exert himself for government will be rewarded, & I do assure you firmly upon my Honor that I am empowered to engage particularly with you, that it shall be the case with you, if you will sincerely endeavour to deserve your pardon. It is not desired of you to declare yourself immediately, nor indeed to declare yourself at all, until you can dispose matters so as to bring the province with you, in order to which you should as much as possible, under different pretences, contrive to send every man out of the province from whom you apprehend difficulty, & to keep at home all those who are friendly to government or desirous of peace, in the mean while endeavour to give me all the material intelligence you can collect (& you can get the best) or if you find it more convenient you can convey it to General Burgoyne, & by your using my name he will know whom it comes from without your mentioning your own name, & as soon as you find you can do it with efficacy & success, declare yourself, & you will find assistance you very little expect in restoring the province to lawful government. If you do not chose to undertake this another will, & if you continue obstinate on the ground you are now on, you may depend upon it you will find it suddenly fail, & burst under you like the springing of a mine. What I recommend to you is not only prudent, safe, & necessary, it is right, it is honorable. That you early embarked in the cause of rebellion is true, perhaps you mistook the popular delusion for the cause of your country (as many others did who have returned to their duty) & you engaged in it warmly, but when you found your error, you earnestly returned, you saved the province you had engaged for from devastation and ruin, & you rendered most essential services to your king and country, for which I engage my word to you, you will receive pardon, you will secure your estate, & you will be further amply rewarded. Your past conduct has been unworthy, your return will be praise-worthy. What is

all this expence of human life for? these deluges of human blood? very probably only to set afloat some lawless despotic tyrant in the room of your lawful king. I conceive you must be surrounded with embarrassments; you may perhaps find difficulty in getting a letter to me; possibly the fellow who carries this to you may be fit to be trusted; he thinks indeed he carries you a very different letter from this, & I suppose will be frightened a good deal when he finds the change that has been put upon him, & that I am in possession of the letter he was intended to carry—yet I have understood he has a family here, & will I suppose wish to return, & knows well enough it is in my power to procure him pardon and reward, & I imagine he thinks (as I trust most people do) that I am never forgetful of a man who does any thing to oblige me, you will consider how far you may trust him, how far it is prudent to do it, & you can sound him, & see whether he wishes to return, & whether he is likely to answer the purpose, & if you think proper you may engage to him, that I will protect him, & reward him if he brings me safely a letter from you. I could say a great deal more on this subject, but I must close my letter lest it should be too late. Be sincere and steady, & give me an occasion to show myself.

Your sincere friend,

Montreal, 2d June, 1777.

This letter was taken out of a canteen with a false bottom, by General Schuyler, at Fort Edward, this 16th day of June, in the presence of us the subscribers.

BENJAMIN HICKS, Capt.,
HENRY B. LIVINGSTON, Aide Camp to Major,
GENERAL SCHUYLER,
JOHN W. WENDELL, Capt.,
JOHN LANSING, Jun^r, Sec'y
to Major-General Schuyler.

I certify upon honor that this letter was taken out of a canteen, which I delivered to General Schuyler, which canteen I received from Col. Van Dyck, who separated part of the wire from the false bottom, to see whether it was the canteen I was sent for, & who after taking out this letter & letting out some rum returned it into the canteen without breaking the seals.

June 16, 1777.

BAR. J. V. WALKENBURGH, Lieut.

There is an endorsement on the back of the manuscript from which this is copied, in the handwriting of General Sullivan, "From Mr. Livius to Genl. Sullivan."

THE FEDERAL PARTY IN 1816.

[The following is a copy of a printed Circular, the address alone being in manuscript. The note at the end is in the handwriting of William Plumer, Jr.]

Richard Stockton, Esq., Confidential.

Sir.

Philadelphia, August 21st, 1816.

The Federalists of this city & of the adjoining districts, believing that a more frequent & regular interchange of sentiments with our political bretheren in different parts of the Union, would be likely to induce a unity of design & action, & thereby produce results highly beneficial to our Country, have with a view to these objects delegated us as a Committee of Correspondence, & empowered us to act in their behalf.

We enter upon our duty sensible of its importance, & with a persuasion that if it shall comport with the views of our friends in the other States, & meet with their hearty cooperation, much good will result from it.

Having no knowledge of any delegated body acting on behalf of the Federalists of your State, we have taken the liberty of addressing a few of our friends individually for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about the object of our appointment.

The Presidential election being an object of primary importance, & inclining ourselves to the opinion that it would be proper to support Federal Candidates, we are desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of our brethren upon the subject, & therefore respectfully solicit an answer to the following queries.

Will it be expedient for the Federalists to set up candidates for the Presidency & Vice Presidency at the ensuing election?

In case this should be deemed inexpedient would it be advisable for the Federalists to throw their weight into the adverse scale should an opposition to Monroe & Tompkins arise in the democratic party?

The lateness of the period, & the result of the late elections in New Hampshire & New York, would seem to forbid a hope that we could succeed in any candidates of our own, yet the policy of pursuing a steady course, & always holding up to the view of our fellow-citizens suitable characters for the various elective offices, & supporting them with the whole strength of our party is a question upon which a difference of opinion has existed.

While on the one hand it has been alledged that an unavailing effort to carry our candidates exposes our weakness and induces many to desert to the opposite ranks, it is asserted on the other, that a total listlessness & want of action is a tacit acknowledgement of weakness & is calculated to produce a serious defection among those who will be active on one side or the other.

If we take a view of the conduct [of] our political opponents we shall see that however they may be defeated & discomfited at one election, it only seems to stimulate them to new exertions, & their persevering efforts have too generally been eventually crowned with success.

The objects of our appointment being of a permanent character, it is believed that if the Federalists of each State, or of some considerable districts thereof, would constitute a representation (to be renewed at stated periods) for the purpose of corresponding with similar bodies in the other States it would lead to a simultaneous movement and combined effort which would be productive of the happiest result, & it is principally with this view that the present correspondence is commenced.

If you should concur with our view of the subject we hope you will take immediate measures for the appointment of a representation of the Federalists in your State, who may be authorized to hold a correspondence with us & other similar bodies who may be appointed in other States.

We have the honor to be, Sir, with sentiments of respect,

Your Obt. Serv'ts,

WILLIAM MILNOR, Chairman.

JOHN READ, Sety.

RICHARD STOCKTON, Esq.,
Flemington,
New Jersey.

The preceding letter was copied from a printed circular, addressed to Mr. Stockton, which was sent to me by a gentleman now residing in Virginia into whose hands it accidentally fell. The names of the committee, the direction, & the word "Confidential." was written in the original; the rest was printed. Stockton is a distinguished Federalist, & was a Member of Congress during the war. He received at the last election, the Federal votes of Massachusetts for Vice-President—Milnor was also formerly a Member of Congress, and has been lately reelected to the House—This

document shows an attempt of the Federal party to rally and combine their forces, at a period when they are generally considered as having ceased to act. It does not appear what answers were received to these circulars. But from subsequent events we may conclude that the committees of correspondence, if organized at all, never produced the desired effect. The visit of the President to the Northern States, which took place the next year, aided much in the dissolution of the Federal Party, already crumbling into atoms, from circumstances not all connected with that event.

January 10th, 1821.

W. PLUMER, JR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

REV. JOHN BRANDMILLER, THE MORAVIAN PRINTER.—On the easternmost end of the tract purchased by the Moravians, and called by them the Barony of Nazareth, because of the right "to have and to hold Court Baron thereon," they commenced in 1749, the fourth settlement in point of date of their five on the Barony, and named it Friedensthal, or Vale of Peace. It was situated on Tatamy's Creek (now called the Bushkill), and on the highway to Hunter's Settlement at Martin's Creek on the Delaware, in Northampton County. In April of 1771 it was sold by the Church, and forty-two years ago its demolition was completed, and saving the old well in the barnyard, there is no vestige of it left.

John Brandmiller, born in November of 1704, in Basel, of parents who were members of the Reformed Church, was in his fourteenth year indentured to his uncle, a printer by trade, with whom he served his apprenticeship. In 1739 he united with the Moravians, and in 1741 accompanied their first colony to Pennsylvania, where, after a sojourn of six months, he returned to Germany. With his wife he returned in 1743, and settled in Bethlehem. In 1745 he was ordained a Deacon of the Church, and served successively in the ministry at Swatara (Bethel Township, Lebanon Co.), Allemaengel (Lynn Township, Lehigh Co.), and Donegal (Donegal Township, Lancaster Co.). Occasionally he travelled as an evangelist to the Walloons of New Pfaltz and Esopus on the Hudson, and the Germans settled in western Virginia. His last appointment was at Friedensthal. Thrice, he relates in his autobiography, he narrowly escaped death by drowning in the Rhine—and it is a singular coincidence that his lifeless body was found in the mill-race at Bethlehem on the morning of August 16, 1777.

During Brandmiller's incumbency at Friedensthal, there was printed and published between 1760 and 1763 the manual used by the Moravian Church during the Holy Passion week, entitled "A Harmony of the Gospels," containing the events in the history of the last days of the Son of Man, and also a hymn-book, both translated by the Rev. Bernhard Adam Grubé from the German into the Delaware tongue. Mr. Grubé at this date was the missionary in charge of the Moravian Indian Mission, called Wechquetank, situated on Head's Creek in Polk Township, Monroe County, and for many years served in the Indian missions of his church. In the diary of that mission the following facts are recorded by him:—

1761, Jan'y 18. "Anton (the Delaware assistant) and I worked at the Delaware translation of the 'Harmony of the Gospel.'

1762, *March* 17. "To-day I sent the first sheets of the 'Harmony' to Bro. Brandmiller, at Friedenthal, to print.

April 13. "Bro. Brandmiller sent me proof to-day to read.

August 1. "Translated at the 'Harmony.'

1763, *Feb'y* 13. "Anton and I have translated fifty-six chapters for the 'Harmony.'

April 1 (Good Friday). "Bro. Brandmiller forwarded me the first proof of Essay of a Delaware Hymn Book, &c."

David Zeisburger's translations appeared about a quarter of a century later.

In 1767 Brandmiller also printed for the use of the American congregations the edition of the standard collection of "Scripture Texts," prepared by the heads of the church in Saxony, for all its congregations and missions. The printing was done in Roman characters. This octavo of 60 pages is entitled "Die Stäglichen Loosungen der Brüder Gemeine für das Jahr 1767," and bears the imprint: "Gedruckt bey Bethlehem in der Forks Dellawar by Johann Brandmiller, MDCCCLXVII." The head-piece on the first page is composed of heraldic charges and crests peculiar to the armory of the sovereigns of Great Britain subsequent to the accession of James I., showing, among others, the fleur-de-lys, the crown, the Irish harp, and the rose and the thistle of the Tudors.

The types, and press on which these works were printed, were forwarded from London to Bethlehem in the autumn of 1761, and then sent to Friedenthal. Of its subsequent use I am not advised. JOHN W. JORDAN.

GERMANTOWN ROAD.—DEAR SIR: Some time since I promised to give you my recollections of Germantown Road. Pardon and excuse my neglect in not more promptly attending to it.

The house or tavern known as the "Woodman" was situated as stated by you in your paper published in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. V. p. 7. The grounds appurtenant to the house were well shaded by fine trees and extended through to Sixth Street. The Cohocksink Creek ran through the southwest corner of the grounds and was an interesting feature in the landscape. The *sign* represented a winter scene, with a cottage in the background of the picture. The smoke was ascending from the chimney, in the foreground a woodman was returning from his daily toil, with one hand holding his pipe and his right arm supporting his axe, his dog following his footsteps which were left upon the newly fallen snow. The inscription upon the sign was as follows:—

"In freedom' happy land"
My task of duty done
With merth' light hearted band
Why not the lonely woodman one."

The sign had been evidently copied from some painting, and was much admired.

Mifflin Garden, so called I presume in Varle's map, was popularly known as the "Cottage Garden," and was a favorite resort. The grounds extended to Sixth Street. It was a part of about thirty acres of land belonging to the Mifflin estate (Samuel Mifflin) which was laid off in lots of ground by the owner, the lots generally about 100 feet front, and extending through to the next street, of the same width, as an instance, from Sixth to Seventh Street.

These lots were taken up and bought by many of the residents of the Northern Liberties. I could give the names of a number of the purchasers whom I knew in my boyhood, but deem it unnecessary. The buildings thereon erected took the name and were known as "Cohocksink Village." My impression is, and I feel it to be correct, that a portion of Mifflin's land extended from Germantown Road to Cohocksink Creek.

Nicetown.—The late Benjamin Baker, a highly respected and well-known resident of the Northern Liberties, and a descendant of the Nice family, informed me more than thirty years ago, that he, during the bank inflation of 1835 and 6, together with his brother George Nice Baker (who many years ago represented the County of Philad'a in the State Senate), offered for sale some remaining portions of the Nice estate, but the bids then made were not so high as the land had sold for somewhere about the year 1800—after the yellow fever of '98. About that time Mifflin sold the land referred to above.

By reference to Marshall's Diary, which I have not by me at present, you will find that after the battle of Germantown the properties of other families were destroyed by the British besides Norris's, Nice's, and Mifflin's, regardless of their attachment either to the Crown or Congress, so as to prevent information being communicated to Washington's Army at White Marsh.

The etchings of the old buildings along Germantown Road are correct and highly interesting.

Respectfully yours,

To TOWNSEND WARD, Esq. }

JOHN F. BELSTERLING.

August 21, 1881.

CHRIST CHURCH.—In "North Second Street and its Associations" (Vol. IV., p. 167), a painting of this church, made in 1811 by William Strickland, and now belonging to Mr. Strickland Kneass, is spoken of. It had upon it some points of local interest. The mask or effigy of George III. appeared in its proper place on the front, though it is said to have been removed before that time. The houses along Second Street, to the south and to the north, are given. The first to the north has a sign bearing "Stephen Pike, Bookseller and Stationer," and next to it is "James Lynd, No. 24." Stephen Pike was a Friend, and a sturdy one. His "Pike's Arithmetic" was well known in the first half of the century. Mr. Strickland, afterwards an architect of note, was at that time a scene-painter and a good one, and he therefore made the picture of the church effective. On an upper shelf in Pike's window he depicted among the ordinary wares of a stationer, a backgammon board with its accompanying dice-boxes. On invitation Friend Pike went to view the new picture, and was filled with admiration of it, until he observed those worldly and fleshly implements of a game of chance. Shocked at such an exhibition he expressed himself with so much warmth as to excite more than a corresponding ire in the artist. The offending implements of pleasure were, therefore, not only left upon the window shelf in the picture, but Mr. Strickland, determined to "paint the lily," with his clever brush depicted as standing against a lower pane of glass an enlarged "playing card" exhibiting the grotesque figure of the well-known Jack of Hearts.

TOWNSEND WARD.

AUTHORSHIP OF PENNSYLVANIA PAMPHLET OF 1764.—"On Monday last sailed from the Port the ship Myrtella, Capt. Caton, for London, in which went passenger Mr. Hugh Williamson, late Professor of Mathematics in this city. A gentleman who it is thought lately gave a specimen of his abilities in the political world, under the character of a PLAIN DEALER.—*Pennsylvania Journal*, September 6, 1764.

In May, 1766, Isaac Hunt, who was graduated in 1762, applied to the Trustees of College of Philadelphia for the degree of Master of Arts. He was refused as the author of several scurrilous and scandalous pieces. Two numbers of "Exercises in Scurrility Hall" were produced. "They were proved by Mr. Armbruster, the printer, who also produced 'A Letter from Transylvania.'" Hunt acknowledged himself the author of the latter, but claimed that he only made some corrections in the former. C. R. H.

THE FLAG OF MILES'S BATTALION.—Some time during the Centennial year we saw an old white flag, more or less tattered, on which was painted the figure of a rifleman. At the time we were not aware that such was the designation of any of the regiments or battalions in the war of the Revolution. Recently we came across a scrap of paper which goes to show that this flag was evidently one of the "2 Standards" belonging to Col. Miles's Battalion. The following is a copy of the paper:—

"Colonel Miles,

To Timothy Berrett, Dr.

July 3d, 1776.

To painting 12 Drums with a Rifleman on	12	0	0
To do. 2 Standards with a Rifleman on	6	0	0

£18 0 0

To the Committee of Safety
of Pennsy'a

Sam^l Miles, Col^l
of the Pennsy'a Rifle Reg^t.

Who has possession of the "Standard" referred to, and what is known concerning it?
W. H. E.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF GREEN TOWNSHIP, HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO. 8vo. pp. 33. Messrs. Robert Clark & Co., of Cincinnati, have published an interesting pamphlet under the above title. It is an address delivered by C. Reemelin before the twenty-third annual festival of the Green Township Harvest Home Association. It was delivered on August 31, 1832, and in an appendix giving a list of three hundred and ninety-five of the earlier actual settlers of Green Township.

REMAINS OF A FRENCH OFFICER DISCOVERED AT WARREN, PA.—Under date of September 9th, 1882, Mr. W. H. Copeland writes us that: A few days ago in making excavation under a house in Warren which was built over 60 years ago, the remains of five bodies were found. The bronze plate, of which we inclose a photograph, was found with the bones, a portion of cloth was attached to it. It is supposed, that one of the bodies was that of a French officer, as there was a quantity of plain brass buttons also found. I inclose a mem. giving a few other particulars and suppositions.

Have you any information which would show what this plate was a token of, or by whom it was used?
W. H. COPELAND.

Mr. Copeland will be glad to receive any information on the subject. The photograph can be seen at the Historical Society.

THE PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM PENN, which is prefixed to the article on page 174 of this MAGAZINE, is copied from the engraving by John Hall, published in London in 1773. Hall says that he followed a drawing by Du Simitière, made at Philadelphia October, 1770, from a bust in alto relievo, done by Sylvanus Bevan, "which was said to be a good likeness." It is most probable that Du Simitière copied the bust, once the property of James Logan, and then in the Loganian Library. It was destroyed by fire in 1831. The history of the original bust by Bevan is thus given by Franklin in a letter to Lord Kames (London, 3d January, 1760): "When old Lord Cobham was adorning his gardens at Stow with busts of famous men, he made inquiry of the family for the picture of William Penn, in order to get a bust formed from it, but could find none; that Sylvanus Bevan, an old Quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and

a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted; and cut a little bust of him in ivory, which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my Lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it, immediately cried out, 'Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!' and from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed." It has certainly been the authority for most of the portraits of Penn which have been produced. Sparks, in his note to Franklin's letter, says "it is probable that Bevan himself executed several busts; and others have been carved in imitation of his model. Lord Le Despenser adorned his grounds at High Wycombe, in England, with a statue of Penn, the head of which is a copy of Bevan's bust. After the death of Lord Le Despenser, that statue was purchased by John Penn, and presented to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and it now stands in front of the hospital buildings."

An original portrait of Penn, at the age of 22, is in the Historical Society. The picture in this *MAGAZINE* has been reproduced by the photo-engraving process.

MEDICAL INDENTURE OF B. H. COATES.—[On page 25 of the preceding number of this *MAGAZINE*, in the Memoir of Doctor Coates, allusion is made to the practice which then obtained of apprenticing the Students of Medicine, who served as "internes" of the hospital. The practice, which has long since been abandoned, was so characteristic of that day, and so unlike the present, that the following draft of the indenture of Dr. Coates, probably the only one of its kind in existence, must be regarded as an interesting medical curiosity. It is kindly furnished by Mr. Wm. G. Malin.

J. J. LEVICK.]

This Indenture Witnesseth, that Benjamin Hornor Coates of the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, by and with the advice and consent of his Father Samuel Coates, hath put himself and by these presents doth voluntarily and of his own free will and accord put himself apprentice to Samuel W. Fisher, Zaccheus Collins, and Thomas P. Cope, two of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, after the manner of an apprentice, to serve the said Samuel W. Fisher, Zaccheus Collins, and Thomas P. Cope, their successors and assigns, from the date of these presents to the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month, eighteen hundred and nineteen, which will complete the full time of five years from the day upon which he entered the Hospital on trial, during all which time, the said Apprentice, his said Masters faithfully shall serve, their secrets keep, and their lawfull commands every way obey. He shall do no damage to his said Masters, nor see it done by others, without letting his said Masters have notice thereof. He shall not waste the goods of his said Masters, nor lend them unlawfully to any: He shall not commit furnication, nor contract matrimony during the said term: He shall not play at cards, dice, nor any other unlawful game, whereby his said masters may have damage: With his own goods or the goods of others without licence from his said masters he shall neither buy nor sell: He shall not absent himself day nor night from his Masters' service without their leave, nor haunt Ale houses, taverns, or playhouses, but in all things behave himself as a faithfull Apprentice ought to do during the said term.

And the said Benjamin Hornor Coates doth further covenant with the said Samuel W. Fisher, Zaccheus Collins, and Thomas P. Cope, and their successors as managers of the said Hospital, that if he, the said Benjamin Hornor Coates, shall without leave absent himself from the service of his said Masters at any time previous to the termination of his apprenticeship,

that then and in such case, he, his Executors and Administrators, shall pay to the said Samuel W. Fisher, Zaccheus Collins, and Thomas P. Cope, and their successors the sum of one hundred pounds for every year he shall have absented himself, untill the expiration of five years, to end the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month, eighteen hundred and nineteen, or a proportionate sum for any less time he shall so absent himself.

The said Benjamin Hornor Coates doth further covenant and agree with the said Samuel W. Fisher, Zaccheus Collins, and Thomas P. Cope, That he will provide himself with a feather bed for his own use, which bed he is to leave for the Hospital when he leaves it, and also he covenants to deliver up to the said Samuel W. Fisher, Zaccheus Collins, and Thomas P. Cope, the Books of the Medical Library, and the Articles of the Museum, in the same good order and condition as the same are delivered to him, wear by use and accidents by fire only excepted, under the penalty of paying the full value of every Book, and every article of the said Library and Museum, which at the expiration of his apprenticeship may be missing.

And the said Masters shall use the utmost of their endeavours to teach or cause to be taught or instructed the said apprentice in the Trade or mistery of an apothecary & Physician, and provide and procure for him sufficient meat and drink, room to lodge in, and washing fit for an apprentice, during said term, to be ended the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month, eighteen hundred and nineteen.

And for the due performance of all and singular, the Covenants and agreements aforesaid, the said Parties bind themselves to each other firmly by these presents.

In Witness whereof, they have interchangeably set their hands and seals thereunto. This

Sealed & delivered in the presence of us

Queries.

"THE NEW POWDER MILLS."—Who was Robert Harris who had charge of "The New Powder Mills" in 1776, and where were these located? Could the person have been Dr. Robert Harris, a surgeon in the Revolution, who died of quinsy at the house of John Phillips, innkeeper, sign of the Blue Bell, in Tredyffrin township, Chester County, on the 4th of March, 1785?

W. H. E.

CATHARINE JENNENT.—Information is wanted of Catharine Jennent, widow of Reverend William Jennent, of Freehold, N. J. She is thought to have died at the house of Rev'd William Schenck while he was pastor of the North and Southampton Low Dutch Reformed Church (Rock County) between March 3, 1777, and April, 1780. Mrs. Jennent before marriage was Miss Catharine Van Burgh, of New York. Her first husband was John Noble. Who can furnish information of Mrs. Jennent after her husband's death March 8th, 1777, and especially of her death?

W. W. H. D.

AUTHORS WANTED.—I wish to know the authors of the following pamphlets:—

1. "Reflections of a few Friends of the Country upon several Circumstantial Points, in a Conference between *Sandy, Pady, Simon, and Jona-*

than, and the *Parson*, or a Looking-Glass for the Americans." Philadelphia. Printed for the Author, 1776.

2. "A Sermon to the Bucks and Hinds of America." In imitation of a Pamphlet entitled "Sermons to Asses—and another to Doctors of Divinity." Philadelphia. Printed for the Author, 1788. H. G. J.

PORTRAITS OF QUARTERMASTER-GENERALS OF THE U. S. ARMY.—The Quartermaster-General of the Army would like to learn if portraits can be had of the following Quartermaster-Generals appointed from Pennsylvania.

Lieut. Col. Hodgden in 1791.

Lieut. Col. James O'Hara in 1792.

General John Wilkins in 1796, and 1799.

Information can be sent to the Quartermaster-General's office, Washington, D. C. To the Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa., or to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

LONG BULLETS.—Christopher Marshall, in his Diary for May 15, 1780, writes: "I went nowhere from home this day, although it's a very high holiday in this place [Lancaster, Pa.], and as it was a most pleasant, agreeable, fine day, numbers were diverting themselves abroad, some riding, some walking, others playing long bullets, etc." May 29, 1782, a petition was presented by the citizens of Pittsburgh to General William Irvine, as follows: "That your honor will please take it into consideration, that several of the officers and soldiers of this town have of late made a constant practice in playing at long bullets in the street that goes up by the brew-house, and that a number of children belonging to us, who are dwellers on the same street, are in danger of their lives by the said evil practices, we therefore hope (since we have no civil magistrate to apply to) that your honor will condescend to put a stop to such practices in the street, by your own special orders." George Dallas Albert, in his *History of Westmoreland County, Pa.*, describing Greensburg, says: "The sloping ground south of town was called the 'Bullet Ground,' because it was used, and had been so used long previously, for the manly exercise of 'long bullets.'"

Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE describe the game of "long bullets?"

ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany, Pa., Sept. 19, 1882.

Replies.

CAPT. DANIEL MOORE, OF THE *ALERT* (vol. v. p. 397).—I send you the copy you have requested of the letter from Capt. John Montresor to Capt. Daniel Moore of the schooner *Alert*, ordering him into the service of Sir Wm. Howe, on the Expedition to Philadelphia. Capt. Moore was g. gd. son of John Moore, Collector of Philadelphia from about 1702 to 1732. The latter is mentioned several times in vol. v. page 141 in the article "The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century," particularly on p. 187. Capt. Moore was killed July, 1780, in command of the Privateer *Lord Rodney*, in an engagement off the coast of New Jersey, with the Privateer *Holkar* of Philadelphia.

Germantown, May 26, 1882.

ELIZABETH ELLIOTT COLEMAN.

Sir

Brunswick, 10th June, 1777.

You will be pleased as expeditiously as *possible* on the receipt of this, to set sail with the Alert & bring her as high up here as you can with propriety, on account of the Depth of water, I think she may get to the lower Wharf. You will be so good as to see that's she is in the very best order, as she's to receive Sir W^m. Howe: I cou'd wish my Barge cou'd be tow'd up, with her for *many* Reasons, if so, you'll be pleased to apply to the other Vessels in my Department for the best boats Crew. You will inform the Captains of the different Eng^b vessels, that I beg they wou'd remain where they are until they hear further from me Excepting the Fanny who will get close in to Amboy to receive our Horses. Shou'd n't the tide be favorable to get the Barge or to send for it An Express on Horse Backs from the Ferry to Prince's Bay will soon Effect it. Your utmost Dispatch (which I make not the least doubt of) will give great pleasure.

I am Sir Your most obed^t & most h^{ble} serv^tCapt. Dan^l Moore.JOHN MONTRESOR,
Chief Engineer.

REBECCA ROBINSON BARCLAY (vol. v. p. 97, o. 1).—It is stated on the page mentioned that Rebecca (Robinson) Barclay was the second wife of Alex. Barclay, Esq. It should be Robertson—her first husband was Peter Robertson. She was Rebecca Evans, gd. daughter of John Moore, Collector, before mentioned. Mrs. Barclay was sister to the mother of Mrs. Andrew Hamilton and Rebecca Franks. E. E. C.

ORIGIN OF HUNTINGDON (vol. v., 364 and 489).—It is a great error in the "Life of Dr. William Smith" which ascribes a petition from the "Townships of Huntingdon and Tyrone," dated "October ye 3d day, 1748," to the towns of Huntingdon and Tyrone on the Juniata river. The first record of the locality of Huntingdon is in the Journal of Conrad Weiser, August 18, 1748, where he says he "came within two miles of the Standing Stone." Col. Rec., V., 348. There were then no white people settled in all that region. In 1750 all intruders west of the Kittochtinny or Blue Mountains were driven out, and the lands were only purchased of the Indians July 6, 1754, and only confirmed October 23, 1758. Barree township, which embraced all of the present Huntingdon county west of Sidelong Hill, and parts of Bedford, Blair, and Centre Counties, was erected in October, 1767, and the first assessment was taken in 1768, a copy of which I have in my possession, and there were then only ten residents in all that immense region. It is folly then to speak of a long list of petitioners, and of Dr. Smith baptizing numerous children on the Juniata at the former period. The place visited by Dr. Smith, and from which the petition came, was Huntingdon, now in Adams county where the township is still so named, and not the town of Huntingdon which Dr. Smith first laid out in 1767, and which is always spelled with a "d," and which is derived from Lady Haudingdon's name. A. L. Guss.

DR. CHARLES NISBET (vol. v., p. 202).—In the sketch of Rev. Dr. Charles Nisbet, in vol. v., p. 102 of PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, I see the name is spelled Nesbt. Should it not be Nisbet? In his memoirs, by Dr. Sam'l Miller, published by Robt. Carter in 1840, 12mo., 357, it is spelled Nisbet, and the vol. contains several letters of Dr. Nisbet with the name spelled in the same way, and that is also the spelling given in Allen and Drake's Biographical Dictionaries.

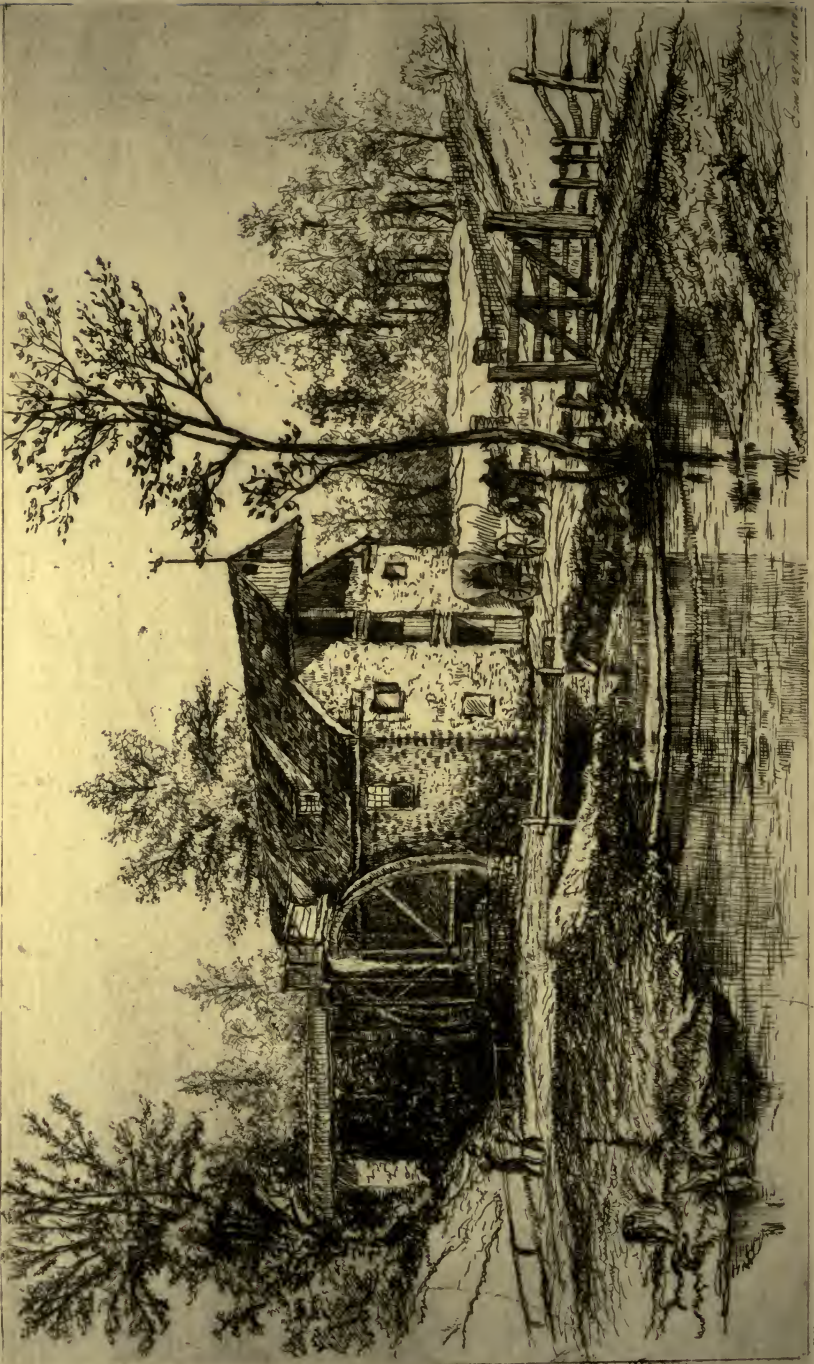
I thought I would call your attention to this, as the Magazine would be authority for the spelling given in it.

I remain very truly yours,

West Chester, Pa.

J. SMITH FUTHEY.

[Our correspondent is correct. The name should have been spelled Nisbet.]



Robert's Mill

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. VI.

1882.

No. 3.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD

(Continued from page 155.)

PART SEVENTH.

WHEN one walks in darkness some Will-o'-the-wisp may mislead him. And it is much the same in writing of the past, for in this reliance must be placed upon the recollection of others, which, perchance, may be only partially accurate. In the Fifth Walk the following sentence, "long ago Mrs. Abigail Johnson Morris, a sister of Justus Johnson, lived in the house," is incorrect. She was his wife, and their residence, further up the street, is to be spoken of in future. Miss Abercrombie was a cousin of the Bayntons. The house referred to in the correction is on the west side of the old road. An omission concerning one on the opposite side may at the same time be supplied. The double house on the east side, No. 4651, next south of the site of Saur's ancient place, belongs to the estate of the late Charles Ashmead. Some thirty years ago it was the residence of the widow of Peter Grayson Washington, who lived there with her two daughters. Mrs. Washington was a daughter of Gen. William McPherson,

of the Revolution, after whom were named the McPherson Blues. Mr. Washington was at one time Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury. Further regarding them may be seen in this MAGAZINE, Vol. V. pp. 88-92.

About fifty years ago, Anthony Gilbert, a village blacksmith, lived in the rugged looking stonehouse, No. 4665, belonging to the estate of the late Charles J. Wister, and next north of "Wister's Big House." Perhaps the most remarkable incident of Gilbert's life, was his striking one Rittenhouse a fatal blow, for if strength prevailed in such affairs, it should have been the other way. In this respect Rittenhouse excelled most men. With five 56 pound weights hanging on his arm, he has been known to write his name with a piece of chalk on a board fence. An antiquated, low building, now demolished, formerly occupied the next lot, the site of the present number, 4667. A family named Frey lived there, and when we reach Cheltenham Avenue, their grandson, William K. Fry, will be spoken of. But first his ancestor is to be buried. Johannes came from Germany and settled here, at an early time, and died in the year 1765. He was buried in the "Lower Burying Ground." Over his remains was erected a rude gravestone, which bears the following singular inscription, singular because it contains a "play" upon his name.

"Hier ruhet in Gott Johannes Frey: Geb. den 20th Apl. 1698:

Gest. den 11 Septem. 1765—Seines Alters 67 jahr 5 monat.

"Ich war der Frey, doch bin

Ich hier erst recht Frey warden.

Lebt Sünder frey so kommst du auch in meinen orden."

Which may be rendered—

I was called Free, but now

Have I become truly Free.

Live free from sin, then will you be as I am, Free indeed.

A long double-house of stone, now bearing the two numbers, 4669 and 4671, was well known, not long ago, as the place of business of the Germantown Bank, and also as the residence of its Cashier, John F. Watson, the noted Annalist of Philadelphia. Of this building, in the era of the Revolu-

tion, Watson says, "The house in which I now reside was once honoured with the presence of Generals Washington, Knox, and Greene, shortly after the battle of Germantown. They slept in it one or two nights." Surely it could have been only one or two, for the British quickly came, and, of course, in their turn became its occupants. "A British Court-Martial was held in the large parlour up-stairs."

The next occupant of the house, of whom I can learn anything, was William Gerhard de Braham. On his first coming to this vicinity, he lived on the "Old York Road," it is said on a farm afterwards that of John Hart, who is spoken of in "South Second Street and its Associations," Vol. IV. p. 57. The place, Fairfield, afterwards belonged to the late Alfred Cope, and now, his son-in-law, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, has it. I have no doubt that this de Braham was "His Majesty's Surveyor General of the District of North America," and author of the "American Military Pocket Atlas," 1776, mentioned in Sabin's American Bibliography, under No. 1147, and also of the "Atlantic Pilot," 1772, No. 7324 of Sabin. The latter years of his life appear to have been passed in Germantown, where he attached himself to the Friends, by sympathy, if not, indeed, by membership in their Society. He dressed in their plain attire and attended their meetings. It is said of him that he was "distinguished as an astronomer," and that while in Germantown he published several small works and diagrams, "too occult to be understood." He was a student of Jacob Boehm's mystical writings, and he greatly admired the works of Robert Barclay of Ury, the famous Quaker "Apologist." Having a great fear of being buried alive, he directed that his grave, which was in the ground of the Friends, should be left open, and watched until his body should be known to be decayed. His wife appears to have remained in South Carolina, of which Watson erroneously, as I believe, says De Braham had been Governor. Perhaps it had been their place of residence, for she died there, and her body was brought thence, in a leaden coffin, and buried beside that of her husband.

When the Yellow Fever of 1793 drove the people and

their governments from Philadelphia, the house was again brought into requisition, Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney General, both of the Federal Government, were its occupants during the scourge. Later than this, about seventy years ago, it was purchased by Richard Bayley for his residence. He was an Englishman who, as a supercargo in the East India trade, had amassed considerable wealth. Upon retiring from his roving life, he came to Germantown and made the experiment of brewing ale for the East India market. This resulted in a signal failure, and in consequence he sold the house, and it was bought by the Bank of Germantown. His brewery was called "Black Rock," and was situated at Danenhower's, now Armstrong's dam. It was from the Germantown Danenhowers that the Lieutenant of that name, the recent Arctic explorer, came. Mr. Bayley was fortunate in possessing a charming voice, and sang with exquisite feeling. After the sale of his house he became a resident of the city, where he died in Dec. 1831, in the sixty-first year of his age. It was while he lived in this house that Watson accomplished most of his work; and he did it under great difficulties, for he was never able to be absent from his home a whole day or a night. Besides this it was not easy in his time to fix or locate the place of which he wrote. The present system of numbering houses, which we owe to the late John McAllister, Jr., had not then been introduced.

A house at the S. E. corner of Shoemaker's Lane, only a little above Watson's house, was the residence of Miss Molly Donaldson and her two nieces, Sally Donaldson and Rosanna Roe. The site now has the number 4677. Miss Donaldson, a daughter of an officer of the Revolution, was of a most hospitable nature, and consequently her parlour was extremely agreeable of an evening,—but this was sixty years ago. Several times a week would her black girl, "Lize," tap at a neighbor's door and deliver the welcome message,—“Missis Donaldson sends her 'spects to Mr. Wister, and wants him to please come in and smoke a cigar with Dr. Bensell.” Invitations were often extended to John Wister, and to Rich-

ard Bayley and William Chancellor, and on such occasions supper formed part of the entertainment, for Miss Donaldson knew the ways of the Englishman, with whom it was, "No song—no supper." She was a church member, yet, when the celebrated Elias Hicks came to preach in Germantown, she needs must swell the crowd to hear him. And, as she entered the well-filled house, the gaudiness of her attire, together with her great size, well set-off by a scarlet shawl, attracted all eyes, and made her a most conspicuous object in the assembly. In the course of his sermons "the great reformer inveighed against the worldliness of the age, and eloquently adjured his hearers to cast off 'their rags of pride,' warning them of the demoralization that goes hand-in-hand with 'fulness of bread and abundance of idleness.'" Miss Donaldson, listening to these denunciations, became very much embarrassed, for she was conscious, no doubt, that her body gave indications of precisely this sort of demoralization; and that it was enveloped, moreover, in just the sort of rags alluded to. She insisted that the preacher's remarks were altogether aimed at her, and that he had never taken his eyes off her during the entire discourse. Leaving the Meeting House in high dudgeon, she protested she would never again set foot in it. Well might the reformer's eye rest, fixed upon such a mountain of flesh, bedecked with bows and ribbons enough to stock a moderate-sized millinery shop. It was, indeed, but little more than every eye in the room had been guilty of.

To make the house, or perhaps herself, more agreeable, Sally Donaldson, the niece, provided herself with a poodle dog, which she not only petted to her heart's content, but pampered with all the delicacies of her culinary art. Poor Rollo! nervous, and permitted no exercise, he dozed away his useless life upon a rug before the parlour fire. This masterly improvement on the nature of a dog's life rendered him subject to frequent and severe attacks of illness. When thus suffering his anxious mistress would send for a kindly-disposed neighbor, who would administer to his relief. On one occasion she actually went so far as to send for him in the

middle of the night to prescribe for her pet, who was unable to sleep. Regularly, on the Fourth of July, this gentleman was called upon to administer an opiate to the dog, that his nerves might not be disturbed by the shooting of guns and the explosion of firecrackers;—an intolerable nuisance which continued until a King ruled over us.

Sarah Schumacher, a widow, with several children, from Kresheim, in the Palatinate, came to Philadelphia on the 20th of March, 1686. It is probable she at once went to Germantown, where there were already others of the name, no doubt relatives. On the 16th of the 9th Mo., 1694, according to one authority, or in 1678, by another, or in 1690, by still another, her son Isaac married Sarah, only child of Gerhard Hendricks. Watson, who had the old family Bible, given by him to Samuel M. Shoemaker, of Baltimore, says that Sarah Hendricks was born on the "2d of the 10th Mo., 1678." Hendricks had drawn lot No. 8, on the east side of the road, and David Sherkger the adjoining lot to the north, which, for some reason, bore the same number. The table of owners, of a later date, 1714, gives both these lots as possessed by Isaac Shoemaker, and also gives their contents,—in the town, 88½ acres; of side-lots, 26½ acres. Possibly the whole lay in one tract, east of Main Street, between Shoemaker and Church Lanes, and eastward to the line of Bristol Township.

The first house built on the place was probably erected by Gerhard Hendricks, and it may be that known as the "Rock House," or "Rock Hall," situated on the north side of Shoemaker's Lane, just to the east of the railroad. A good view of it is had from the cars as they sweep past on their way to Wingohocking station. It was in that ancient house, or, more probably, at it, standing on the rock, around which flowed the then beautiful stream, that William Penn preached to the people gathered about. Another house, very old, formerly stood near it, and was there as late as about 1835. Its walls were of stone, one-story high; and straw, yet well preserved in 1835, had been mixed with the mortar used in their construction. The building had a very high, peaked roof,—so high that it (the roof) contained two stories and a loft. It

was said that Penn was a guest in this house at the time he preached from the "Rock;" and, also, that he preached in it. This house, therefore, may have been the mansion of Gerhard Hendricks. In this century this part of the property was purchased by William Logan Fisher, who called it "Shelbourne." It may have been that Isaac Shoemaker erected the large house which stood until the year 1843, on Main Street, at the N. E. corner of Shoemaker's Lane. This was a long building, of stone, and two stories in height. After the manner of the old country, its main entrance was from the rear, but from the street there was an entrance into the cellar, which gave the appearance of three stories. The whole place long remained a farm, for even but about fifty years ago only a few houses had been built upon it, and these were mainly on the street front.

Isaac Shoemaker died in 1732, and his son Benjamin, and grandson Samuel, were successively Mayors of Philadelphia. A great-granddaughter was the wife of William Rawle. Samuel, the Mayor, married the widow of Francis Rawle, who bequeathed to her a place called Laurel Hill. This was many years before the cemetery of the same name was laid out, a mile or so above it. Samuel Shoemaker had still another country place, up the Germantown Road, long known as Duval's, and now as Mr. Amos R. Little's. Before the Revolution the house at Shoemaker's Lane was for a time the country residence of Samuel Burge, whose daughter married William Rawle. After the battle, the British used it as a hospital, under the charge of Dr. Moore, whose patients filled every room.

Both of the Mayors who have been spoken of flourished in the Colonial era, and when the troubles of the Revolution came the latter one, Samuel, saw no good reason for the great change that was threatened;—in fact he proved zealously loyal, and consequently was attainted of treason, and had his property confiscated by the new power. This, however, did not embitter his generous spirit, for it is known that while in New York, he exerted himself for the relief of Americans held there as prisoners, by the British, and that he secured

the liberation of numbers of them. He went to London, where he kept an interesting diary, extracts from which, printed in the second volume of this MAGAZINE, give an account of his interview with George III. He returned to Philadelphia in 1789, and died in 1800. At the sale of his confiscated property, in the Revolution, his life estate in Laurel Hill was purchased by James Parr. A few days afterward this person leased the place for five years to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who retained it as long as he remained in this country. The Chevalier's cook possessed an inestimable treasure in a truffle dog, which nosed about the grounds and found, it is claimed, truffles, the first, it is said, ever discovered here. But as to this, it is better that Mr. Thomas Meehan, the botanist, should speak: "I have heard that the truffle has been found near Philadelphia, but I could not repeat this as a matter of fact, for in these cases we require the best evidence before circulating the story. I have had two cases of supposed 'truffles' sent to me; but one was *Morchellia esculenta*, the other was an oblong mass about the size and shape of a peccan nut, and certainly not the true truffle. Yet I know no reason why it should not be found."

Benjamin Shoemaker, who died in 1808, was a son of Samuel the Mayor, and in time became the occupant of the house. His only daughter, Anna, married Robert Morris, son of the Financier, and was therefore the mother of the present Dr. Robert Morris. She had two other daughters, Mrs. Malsam, who is remembered as an intimate friend of Miss Ann Ridgway, afterwards the wife of Dr. James Rush, and of Mrs. Wilkins,¹ of Georgia. After her husband's death, Mrs. Morris married Mr. Bloodgood, of Albany. She lived to an advanced age, and was remarkable, even in her later years, for her great beauty. Benjamin Shoemaker had three sons, all of whom died without issue, so that the name, among the descendants of Isaac, is now lost. One of these, Benjamin, was a man of unusual

¹ Mrs. Wilkins, her husband, and whole family were lost at sea on their passage from Savannah. They were on their way to Germantown to take up their residence in the old Shoemaker ancestral mansion. This was but a few years before it was sold to G. H. Thomson.



intelligence, and was brave and generous to a fault. Love of adventure once led him and a companion, Charles J. Wister, to visit Philadelphia, the scene of the yellow fever of 1798. They were lads of sixteen or eighteen, and went a-foot. Upon reaching the city, the boys found the streets of the infected districts barricaded, to which precaution on the part of the authorities they were probably indebted for their escape from the disease. A profound impression was made on their youthful minds by the solemn stillness that reigned around, only broken by the occasional footfall of some solitary pedestrian hurrying to his home, or by the mournful rumbling of the dreaded dead cart bearing its sad burden of victims to a hurried and nameless grave.

The time came when the last of the Shoemakers left the place, but they did not sell it till long afterward. In 1814 a family named de la Roche occupied it, a son-in-law named Croskey was with them. The Misses Lorain had it for a while for their school. It is said that Miss Adele Sigoigne passed a summer there, but as to the time of this my information is vague. She conducted a school for young ladies, one of great note, which her mother established, on Washington Square. Madame Sigoigne, whose sister was the wife of the first Dr. La Roche, escaped with them from the massacre in St. Domingo. The doctor's death was the result of being run against by a hog, and being thrown, his skull striking the scraper at his own door. His son Dr. René La Roche had a high reputation for his musical knowledge, but he is better known as the author of an exhaustive and voluminous history of the Yellow Fever. His daughter Susan married Dr. Wm. V. Keating, descended from an Irish family which adhered to James II. The head of this family in the following generation went to France. The crest he, as well as his family used, is a wild boar, and rather singularly the name of the place he lived at in France, was Cigoigne.

In our day, the remnant of the Shoemaker property, some twenty-five acres, was known as the place of George H. Thomson. The glade on the eastern part, formerly known as Mehl's meadow, was included in it. This was once a beau-

tiful and romantic spot surrounded by woods, and possessing a diversity of hill and dale and brook, rarely to be met with in so small a compass. In the Revolution a part of the British cavalry were hutted there. The glory of the Wingohocking, which almost surrounds Germantown and on which the beaver had built his dams, has now departed, for modern progress, first polluting its waters, has at last banished the stream it fouled to a secret culvert built by mercenary men. After the purchase by Mr. Thomson, the old Shoemaker house was demolished, and on its site and to the north of it, along Main Street, were erected the houses now known as "Cottage Row," standing back somewhat, and numbered 4703 to 4717. The first of these is the residence of Mr. Lloyd P. Smith, who succeeded his father as Librarian of the Philadelphia Library. The last is that of the aged and venerable Mr. Daniel B. Smith, now the oldest member of the Historical Society.

Mr. Thomson built for himself a handsome house, and others soon appeared along the lane. The late John Jay Smith, a descendant of James Logan, and long the Librarian of the Philadelphia Library, had his retreat there. Lloyd Mifflin, who recently died at the advanced age of ninety-three, also lived on the lane. His successor in the house was Miss Betsey Wistar, who died at the age of ninety-two years. It is now occupied by Mr. Marmaduke Cope. Mr. Mifflin was an ingenious man, and invented a machine for weaving carpets, which lacking some little matter, unfortunately proved unsuccessful. He also invented an ingeniously contrived sundial. Among the residents now along the lane, are Mr. Robert P. Morton, a son of Dr. Samuel George Morton, the craniologist, and Mr. William T. Richards, the artist. New houses have recently been erected by Mr. Francis Rawle, who married Miss Aertsen, and by Mr. George Willing, who married Miss Shippen. East of Hancock Street, on the same ground, is Mr. Thomas Mackellar's place, the lower end of his garden, a part of Mehl's meadow, reaching to the railroad. Here are to be seen trees of the primeval forest, fifteen feet in circumference, and rising majestically to a height of more than an hundred feet, topping all others in Germantown. Numerous

and very fine beech trees are also to be seen. To the eastward, up the hill on Shoemaker's Lane, stands the admirable Germantown Hospital, which will preserve the name of Mrs. Pauline Henry better than any bronze that was ever cast. Right across the country are the new Jewish Orphan Asylum, and the large house of the "Little Sisters of the Poor." To the southeast, on Duy's Lane, is to be seen on a prominence the rather striking looking house of Mr. Wm. Rotch Wister.

A house, small and old, which formerly stood on Main Street next north of Shoemaker's, was early in the century owned by Leonard Nutz, whose tannery, alongside, extended northward. About the close of the last century this house was occupied by Count Baldusky, concerning whom we have an anecdote. "Unlike Ben Shoemaker, who feared nothing, Dr. Bensell feared everything," and many were the instances the late Charles J. Wister used to relate of the Doctor's miraculous escapes from what his fears convinced him were positions of imminent peril. The scene of a tragi-comic incident is laid at the house of the Count, who was a French Emigrant of the Reign of Terror, and who, in his exile in Germantown, earned his livelihood by making starch. His style of living corresponded with his fallen fortune, but there was thrown about it something of the grace and elegance so characteristic of the French. The Count being ill one night, Dr. Bensell was called in. He found him in his chamber stretched upon a bed, on which was spread a rich silk counterpane, a relic of better days. The only other article that attracted the Doctor's attention, was a small-sword, which hung rather ominously against the wall, directly over the patient's head. After considering the case, bleeding was recommended as necessary. The Count made no objection to this, but reaching down his sword, he warned Bensell that if in the operation he allowed so much as one drop of blood to fall upon the counterpane he would assuredly run him through. This was not calculated to steady the hand of a nervous man. The bandage, however, was placed ready to be affixed, the bowl was held, and the lancet applied, lighted only by the flicker-

ing flame of a candle, in the hand of a servant. The first jet of blood spurted into the flame, and, extinguishing it, left the trio in Cimmerian darkness. To escape from this the Doctor hobbled down the staircase as rapidly as his rheumatic joints would carry him, the enraged Count sprang from his bed, and followed him sword in hand, with his servant at his heels. The Doctor reached the foot of the stairs in safety, while his pursuer tripped, and fell headlong, with his servant on top of him in the entry. Doctor Bensell escaped, but he lost his patient,—not, however, by death. A later resident of the Nutz house was Dr. Runkle, Captain of the Germantown Blues. He was a son, no doubt, of the pastor of the Market Square Church. Mr. William Wynne Wister remembers having seen him leading his redoubtable band on its way to Camp Dupont, in the "Late War," as that of 1812 is still called by aged persons.

The next house of the olden time, was about where Tarr's store now is, No. 4733, at the S. E. corner of East Coulter Street and the Avenue. It was the residence of John Book, a Friend, who was recognized in the Society as a preacher. In this he was something like those of early days, who earned the name of "Quakers," for before he rose to preach, he quivered all over with excitement; and this continued as long as his sermon lasted. Louisa, his daughter, had a school there for children, and besides this, she could furnish a female Friend with a bonnet of the pattern of her day. This for the greater part is now replaced by one of a shape possessing something of grace. Waterman's house next to it and of the same era, some fifty years ago, has been removed. It stood where East Coulter Street now begins. Granny Bische, a widow woman of some property, lived in her earlier years about here. She was quite a character, well known as selling the apples she gathered from the trees on her own place, which was just about where Tulpehocken Street now is, and to which she subsequently removed. Then came the house of Ulrich Freihoffer, a shoemaker, with whom the aged Handsberry, spoken of on page 20, served his time. This is where James Jones's store now is, Nos. 4737 and 4739. The house, a



The Farm House

double one of stone, Nos. 4747 and 4749, next south of the entrance to St. Luke's, was the property and earlier residence of Dr. Runkle. He was followed in it by Abraham Keyser, who died at a good old age, and he by his cousin, Charles Keyser. Later than this it was known as the "King property," from the name of its owner, who married a sister of Mr. Jabez Gates. It now belongs to St. Luke's.

St. Luke's, which we now meet in our walk, is the parent of the five other Episcopal Churches which are now in Germantown. It stands far back from the old Germantown Road, with ample grounds, but as much of the front on the street is occupied by various houses, an idea of contracted quarters is produced by a first glance. The organization of St. Luke's was in 1811, but long before that time services of the church were held in the village. The Rev. Mr. Neill of the Church of England, a Missionary at Oxford and White-marsh, had the misfortune to lose his glebe-house by fire, in 1760, which led him to seek a temporary residence in Germantown. Some of the "English people" there invited him to preach, which he was enabled to do in the evenings, in the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches, whose ministers and peoples appeared more willing to have an Episcopalian than a minister of any other denomination, except their own. At that time Germantown had but one family of the Church of England, and I am mortified at not being able to ascertain its name. Mr. Neill found that "most of the young people" understood English. When the British Army was in Germantown it is most probable that their chaplains held services in one or more of the church buildings. With regard to the Hessians, it is known that their Chaplains preached in the Lutheran Church.

When the fever of 1793 brought a multitude of strangers to Germantown, the Episcopalians held services in the Market Square Church, for Samuel Breck remembered that Dr. Smith, of the Falls of Schuylkill, went there to preach. On the 9th of June, 1811, services were held in the Market Square Church, by, it is supposed, a Rev. Mr. Scott. James Stokes entered in his carefully kept cash book, a payment to

him of \$5. At that time there were in and about Germantown twelve families connected with the church. This was a foundation on which it was possible to build, and so on the 28th of June, 1811, a meeting was held at the house of Thomas Armat. He was made President, Daniel Lammot Secretary, and James Stokes Treasurer, and the meeting resulted in the organization of the congregation of St. Luke's. For the first year services were chiefly performed by the Rev. Jackson Kemper, afterward Bishop of Wisconsin. In 1812 the Rev. Mr. Warren, of South Carolina, passing the summer in Germantown, was engaged for three months. At that time Philadelphia was to a certain extent a summer resort for South Carolinians, many of whom owned their houses there. The north side of Spruce Street from Tenth eastward, almost to Ninth, was thus occupied, and was known as South Carolina Row. The stylish looking house at the N.W. corner of Ninth and Spruce streets, recently replaced by the offices of the "Saturday Night," was the residence of the Maningaults. The Rev. Mr. Ward succeeded Mr. Warren in 1813, and remained five months, when he went to Lexington, Ky. Then came the Rev. J. C. Clay, who took charge of this church together with that at Norristown, and who served from Dec. 1813 to Feb. 1817. Under him in 1816 it became a parish, and he reported to the Convention sixteen communicants. The first representation in the Convention was in the year 1818, by Thomas Armat and James Stokes.

Previous to Mr. Ward's time the congregation met in the afternoons in the Market Square Church, but when a settled clergyman was secured, the services were held in a house which James Stokes offered for the purpose, on Market Square opposite School House Lane. This soon proved to be too small, on which he supplied another house, that which still stands at the N. E. corner of Market Square and Church Lane. In 1817 the Rev. Charles M. Dupuy became the first Rector, and remained until 1824. In 1818 the sum of \$5300 was subscribed for a building, and in that year, on ground which Thomas Armat presented, the first edifice of St. Luke's was erected. This was enlarged in 1840, and, owing to the

increase of the congregation, it was further enlarged in 1851. In the mean time, Mr. Dupuy was succeeded by the Rev. Edward R. Lippitt, who remained from March, 1824, to Sept. 1825, when the Rev. John Rodney was elected Rector. The ministry of this acceptable and venerable gentleman was continued until 1867, when he became Emeritus Rector, which position he now holds, at the age of eighty-eight years. The Rev. Cyrus F. Knight, now of Lancaster, Pa., was Assistant to the Rector from October, 1854, to May, 1856. The Rev. B. Wistar Morris, now Bishop of Oregon, became the Rector's Assistant in January, 1857, and held the office until November, 1867. He married a niece of Mr. Rodney. Then, having received a call to the Rectorship of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, Mr. Rodney, desirous of retaining him in St. Luke's, tendered his own resignation, conditioned upon the election of Mr. Morris to the Rectorship. This was carried out, and Mr. Morris held the position until January, 1869, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Albra Wadleigh, of Williamsport, Penna. The ministry of Mr. Wadleigh was a short one, for he died in May, 1873, but it was long enough for him to win the warmest love of all his people, as well as the universal respect of the community. In 1865 a piece of ground, seventy-four feet front by four hundred and forty-four feet deep, to the north of the church, was purchased, and a most commodious parish building was erected thereon; the front part of the ground, one hundred and fifty feet in depth, having been sold, as will hereafter appear. This property was known as "The Rookery," or "Pine Place." This latter name was derived from the fact that a number of large pine trees grew upon and in front of it. During Mr. Wadleigh's Rectorship St. Luke's purchased the "King property."

The Rev. Wm. R. Huntingdon, of Worcester, Mass., was elected Rector, in August, 1873, but, declining, there was elected, on the 8th of October following, the Rev. William H. Vibbert, then Professor of Hebrew at the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. During his administration the long cherished hope of the Parish, the erection of a new church edifice, has been realized. On the 2d of May, 1875,

services were held for the last time in the old church. The attendance was large, and it was a subject of remark that a considerable number of persons from other States were present, drawn there by the irresistible power of old associations. The next morning the work of demolition began. On the 26th of June the corner stone was laid, and on Thursday the 8th of June, 1876, the new building was opened for the first time for service, and was consecrated with the usual ceremonies by the Bishop of the Diocese. This building is a remarkably fine one, and all the workmanship is excellent. The windows are filled with stained glass, mostly memorials,—to John S. Littell, to George H. Thomson, the Rev. Mr. Wadleigh, George W. Carpenter, and others. The walls and ceilings are richly and tastefully decorated. The work, a costly one, was, during its progress paid for, so that on its completion, there was not a dollar of debt. It is worthy of remark that for the long term of fifty-eight years this Parish has not once changed its Rector by the voluntary act of either Priest or people. Almost as commendable as the excellent financial condition, is the fact that one of the vestry, Mr. James M. Aertsen, has collected and preserved, in a convenient form, all the material for a full history of the Parish with the exception only of a record of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths. This is now to be added.

The house No. 4755, just north of the entrance to St. Luke's, was formerly the shoemaker shop of George Wilson, who, for a time, was postmaster. His daughter, when she wanted to be fine, would reply to a query about letters: "No, Mr. Smith, the mail has not *came* yet." Samuel Butcher, toll-gate keeper at Chestnut Hill, lived in the house next to the north. Between Wilson's and Butcher's is a court wherein lived two of the three generations of the now extinct name of Gravenstoin, who were the hereditary sextons of St. Luke's. The family of the last one still live there. The first one lived on Church Lane.

A double house of stone, opposite the Quaker Meeting House, stood a little back from the line of the street, and was the "Pine Place," or "The Rookery," purchased by St. Luke's.

The site is that of the present Masonic Hall, which bears the numbers 4761 and 4763. The lower floor of the latter number is the present post-office. Many years ago two ladies named Smart, daughters of a British officer, lived in the old house that stood there. One of them was spoken of in the last Walk, as marrying Thomas Armat. The other married the Rev. James Roocker, of Baltimore, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Germantown, on which he went to the house to live, which led to its being called "The Rookery," a name that had almost faded away. Mr. Roocker died some fifty years ago, on which Mr. A. Bronson Alcott occupied the house, and had a school there. Miss Alcott, authoress of "Little Women," was born there, but soon left, for the family moved away forty-eight years ago, and now live in Concord, Mass. During the last winter Miss Alcott visited Germantown, and desiring to see the house in which she was born, made inquiries as to it, which resulted in ascertaining its site: Miss Sarah Roocker, after her father's death, had a school, at which Mr. Charles J. Wister was one of the pupils. At first it was at Barr's, near John Wister's, but afterwards at Stuckert's, which, at a later time, was Charles Relf's house, a brick one of three stories, next north of "the Rookery." In our early days there was an open stretch of ground, from Relf's house northward, to Mill Street or Church Lane. At the corner of the lane was Freddy Axe's little shop, where everything that boys wanted was to be had. He was a cripple, condemned to crutches, and when a boy would thrust his head in the door, and inquire, "What is the price of an eleven-penny-bit knife," his anger was great indeed, for it was impotent. When Miller preached his delusion, as to the approaching end of the world, Freddy became a Millerite, and gave away the contents of his shop. On the appointed night, arrayed in his robes of white, he repaired to the chosen hill-top, but he did not go up. He therefore soon replenished his supplies, and prospering in his business, lived the remainder of his life a wiser man.

What was known as Robert's Mill in our time, was situated on the northern side of Church Lane, the present

Mill Street, or the "Road to Lucken's Mill," as it was anciently called, just one mile N. E. from Market Square. The mill jutted somewhat into the lane, and this together with its antique appearance, which is still remembered with delight, produced the most picturesque effect known in Germantown. This, the first grist-mill in the vicinity of Germantown, was erected in 1683, by Richard Townsend, an English millwright, who came over in 1682, in the ship *Welcome*, along with William Penn, who aided the enterprise by advances. In an address which he printed some years afterwards, Townsend speaks of this mill and of his early difficulties connected with it, as also of the Providential aids extended to him at the place. He says that it was the only mill for grain in all the parts, and that it was of great use to the inhabitants, who brought their grist on men's backs, save one man, who had a bull so tame as to perform the labour. By reason of his seclusion in the midst of the woods there was but little chance of obtaining supplies of meat, and at times his family was in great straits for so necessary an article. On one such occasion, while mowing in his meadow, a young deer came near him, watching his work in seeming wonder, after their nature, for, like other animals, they have much curiosity. It would follow him as he worked, but on his stopping or attempting to approach it, the agile creature would quickly glide away. At length as one more approach was made, the deer with his eye fixed on Townsend, sprang to escape him. In doing this he struck a tree, and with such force as to fall, whereupon his legs were quickly fettered and he was a captive whose flesh proved a welcome treat to the victor's family. Richard Townsend died about the year 1714, leaving an only child, a daughter, Mrs. Cook. Joseph Townsend, a brother of Richard, was the ancestor of Mr. Joseph B. and Henry C. and J. William Townsend. The mill was taken down about ten years ago, to the great regret of all who appreciated and esteemed the antiquities of Germantown, and, as yet, nothing has replaced it. I have been told that with a view to preserve it, Dr. Owen J. Wister made a liberal offer for the property. About at the crossing of Mill Street and the Town-

ship Line Road is "Robert's School House," a benefaction, in whole or in part, of one of the family of that name. Spencer Robert's farm was in the vicinity, and on it was the grave of Godfrey, whose name is imperishably associated with Germantown.

Thomas Godfrey, inventor of the Quadrant, was born in 1704, on the family farm, which lies somewhat to the east of the site of the old mill. His taste for mathematical science was developed at an early time in his life, from a chance opportunity of reading a book on that study. Finding the subject perplexed with Latin terms, he applied himself to that language with such diligence as to be able to read Newton's *Principia* in the original. Optics and astronomy became his favorite studies, but his trade was that of a painter and glazier. He was engaged in such work at Stenton, when observing a piece of fallen glass, an idea presented itself to his mind, which caused him to go into Logan's Library, where he took down a volume of Newton. James Logan entering at this time, inquired into the motive of his search, and was pleased with Godfrey's ingenuity. The Quadrant was produced. As early as 1730 he lent it to Joshua Fisher, for his trial surveys of the Delaware Bay and River. It is worthy of remark that the position of Cape Henlopen, as ascertained by Fisher with the aid of Godfrey's instrument, differs only ten miles from that determined by the results of the Coast Survey. On the family farm the graves of the Godfreys were marked by headstones, one as early as 1705. About the year 1840 the remains of Godfrey were removed thence to Laurel Hill, where a monument with an appropriate inscription marks the place of their reinterment.

The house on Market Square at the N. E. corner of Mill Street or Church Lane, No. 4781, is a large and solidly built one of brick, two stories in height. A peculiarity about it is that its upper story is extended northward so as to include a portion of the upper part of the adjoining house, and there is or was a communicating door from the entry, so that the two houses have been occupied by one family. During the Yellow Fever of '93, it was occupied by the United States

Bank. Massive vaults had been constructed in the cellar, to which the treasure was conveyed, escorted by a troop of cavalry. This is the house which was used by the congregation of St. Luke's for five years. Then it became the residence of Mr. Billings, who married a sister of Dr. Bensell. Their daughter vied in beauty with Miss Roberdeau. Charles Biddle married a daughter of James Stokes, and had the house, for the summer only at first, for several years. He was a son of Charles Biddle, Vice President of Pennsylvania, while Franklin was President, and brother of Nicholas Biddle, President of the Second Bank of the United States. His son is the present James S. Biddle, formerly a Lieutenant in the Navy. Godfrey Twells married a daughter of James Stokes, and then lived there. Some twenty-five years ago, it became the residence of his son, Mr. John S. Twells, who married a daughter of the late Samuel Grant, and who now lives in Woodbury, N. J. Later it was used for the school of the Misses Stevens and Aertsen, and is now occupied by the Women's Christian Association. The house next to the north, No. 4783, also belonged to James Stokes. It was for a time the place of residence of the pastor of the Market Square Church. Mrs. Leonard, a granddaughter of Mr. Stokes, occupied it for a time.

The church on Market Square, now Presbyterian, and of which Mr. Cowan is the twentieth pastor, occupies the site obtained in 1732 by the "High Dutch Reformed Congregation." They erected their building in 1733, and in 1762 they took out the rear end and built an addition which doubled its former capacity. In its steeple hung a bell which came here at an early time, and which called the people to their prayers for more than seventy years. When the enlarged stone church was taken down, in 1838, to give place to the present structure of brick, the bell was bought by the late Charles J. Wister. In 1874 it was given by his son of the same name, to the church, on the condition that it should be well taken care of, and not suffered to be lost, destroyed, or sold. It was cast in 1725, and bears upon it an inscription in German, "Gott allein die Ehre,"—To God alone the Honour.

Aged people, who had it from their fathers, say that the sound of the bell as it fell upon their ears distinctly syllabellied the words:

“Injun Jake, drove a stake.”

The deep meaning of which is now lost, for in our times there is so much education that ancient lore is somewhat disregarded. Another announcement of the bell was:

“Beggar’s town, is coming down.”

This fortunately is remembered as heralding the tardy coming of those members who lived in the upper part of Germantown, which long had been called by that strange name. The old Dutch organ disappeared when the church did, in 1838, and nothing is left of it but the “Trumpet Angels in their golden glory,” which as the simple-minded children thought, made the music that filled the church. These figures ornamenting the organ had been taken as relics by a member, John Minick, and after a lapse of thirty-four years have been brought back to be preserved as objects of curious interest connected with the first church. In this church Count Zinzendorf preached his first sermon in America, on the 31st of December, 1741, and his last one, before his departure for Europe, on the 17th of June, 1742. The Moravians held a Synod there.

The steeple of the old church had many rifle bullets in it, shot there by the “Paxton Boys,” when they aimed at the vane that surmounted it. This vane, a veritable “Weathercock” made of sheet iron, yet bears the bullet marks of men who knew how to use their rifles. When the old church came down, the vane was secured by Mr. Charles J. Wister, who still preserves it.

In the battle of Germantown, the battalion of *tall* Virginians, under Col. Mathews, having been taken prisoners, were lodged in the church. In the battle, “These Virginians had just before captured a party of British in the fog, and set up a great hurrah, which brought a greater force upon them, and caused their own capture.” The church was where, during the Fever of ’93, “Washington regularly worshipped, as often as there was English preaching, a service performed

occasionally by Dr. Smith, from the Falls of Schuylkill. It seems also to have been the practice of the General to attend the German service."

It is probable the first building had no organ, and that the bell hung on a tree. The enlarged building had a steeple where a bell was hung, and certainly it had the organ and the angels. To these evidences of increasing prosperity of the people, was added "the well-remembered sounding-board of later days," built over the high and narrow pulpit. As the minister spoke from this elevation, the children no doubt thought that one raised so much above his fellows, must speak by an authority which they, at least, had no right to question. The stone church came down in 1838, and in 1839 the present edifice of brick took its place. This was enlarged in 1857. In 1882 a handsome parsonage on the north side was erected, and is now occupied by Mr. Cowan the pastor.

John Bechtel, as a layman, preached from 1728, and regularly in this church, after it was built, until 1744. He prepared a catechism, beautifully printed by Franklin;—one of the gems of the early Pennsylvania press. In 1742 he was ordained by Bishop Niteshman, of the Moravian Church. In 1746 the Rev. Michael Schlatter, of St. Gall, Switzerland, was sent over by the Reformed Synod of Holland, to visit the "Reformed Churches" here. He often preached in this one. His portrait and an engraving of his house at Chestnut Hill, may be seen in the Historical Society's copy of his life, by Harbaugh. In 1753 the Rev. Conrad Steiner took charge of the church, and also of that in Philadelphia. He kept a record, but he only remained three years. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Stoy, who remained only one year. The Rev. John George Alsantz became the pastor in 1758, and remained five years, bringing about the enlargement of the building. In 1763 the Rev. F. C. Faber came, and staid not longer than six years. In 1769 the Rev. Frederick Foering takes charge, and two years afterward his name appears along with those of the trustees, etc., in an Act of incorporation granted by Thomas and Richard Penn. In 1772

the records indicate a change, when the Rev. J. C. Albertus Helfelstein followed in the list of ministers, and remained until 1776. In the following year the Rev. Samuel Dabendorff began to make entries, and continued them until 1779. In this year the Rev. Mr. Helfelstein returns, and remains ten years. In 1790 the Rev. Frederick Hermann took the charge, and continued it until 1801. In the following year the Rev. William Runkle began his entries and continued them until 1806, followed by the Rev. Charles Helfelstein, who appears to have remained until October, 1810. About this time there was a movement to have the preaching in English. This led to the withdrawal of those in favour of the change, and to their formation of the First Presbyterian Church of Germantown. On the 6th of May, 1811, the Rev. Frederick William Van der Sloot makes his entries in the record, and continues them for a year or more, when the Rev. Caspar Wach began his ministry which lasted until 1824. In this latter year the Rev. John H. Smaltz became the pastor. He began to make entries in the record, in English, and as far as is known, he was the first to keep a record of the members. In 1830 the Rev. Albert Helfenstein, Jr., assumed charge of the church, and continued it until 1837, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Truman Osborn, who remained until 1841. It was during the time of the latter that the stone church was taken down. In 1842 the Rev. Jacob Helfenstein commenced his pastorate, which lasted twenty-seven years, until 1869. He was the fourth of his name and family who were pastors of this church. At this time arose doctrinal controversies within the German Reformed Church from a fear that "Romanizing tendencies" were threatened. In 1852 the pastor and people unanimously decided to withdraw from the communion of the Reformed Church, and they were "Independent" for three years, when, in 1856, they were admitted into fellowship with the Presbyterian Church. In Feb. 1870, the Rev. Edward Payson Cowan, of Missouri, and of the latter church, was installed as pastor, being the twentieth in regular succession.

Bechtel's Catechism, an 18mo. of 42 pp., printed by

Franklin in 1742, belongs to the early and glorious era of Pennsylvania bibliography, of which it is a rare and highly prized ornament. The Historical Society has a copy of it. An incident connected with one of the few copies known, is of unusual interest. When the learned Mr. Harbaugh was preparing his "Fathers of the Reformed Church," his interest in the career of Bechtel was so great as to lead Bishop de Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, to present so zealous an author with a copy of the rare catechism. Harbaugh lent it to a friend, who lent it to some one else, and this went on until it became lost. Upon this Mr. Harbaugh instituted a search, after the most approved manner of the detective system, and following clue after clue, he traced the precious volume to its hiding place in that treasure house of the world, the British Museum. There he laid his claim, and proving it, British justice was not at fault, for it was surrendered to him.

The quiet and easy going immigrants were incorporated as the Borough of Germantown in the year 1689. Almost at once there arose among them one, not of their passive nature, but as his name, Wulff, may show, of the fierce energy and restlessness of our day. The burghers were hardly warm in their seats, when, in 1692, one-fourth of the acre reserved out of the front part of the Frankfort Company's lot, was proposed to be exchanged with Paul Wulff for one whole acre; "Whereof half an acre is situated at the east side of the said town, and the other half at the west side of the said town." It will be seen that this Wulff watched his prey for a long time; but first, a few other matters are to be mentioned in their order. On the 25th of January, 1694-5, it was ordered that stocks should be erected for the punishment of evil-doers. A writ of *quo warranto* which I have seen, was dated 28th of Aug. 1699, issued by Edward Shippen and Anthony Morris, in the name of William Penn, against Germantown for refusing to levy a tax for the support of government. On the 28th of June, 1701, a tax was laid for the building of a prison, erection of a market, etc. On the 30th of December of that year, "it was found good to start a school here in Germantown." Pastorius was the first peda-

gogue. Another of the earlier ones was Anthony Benezet, a Huguenot, whom I mention here, as I have not been able to ascertain the site of his residence. Several members of his family lie in the Lower Burying Ground. As to the stocks first put up, they had been so little, or so much used, that in June, 1702, James De la Plaine was ordered to remove the old iron from the rotten frames and take care of it. Their absence proved to be inconvenient, for on the 31st of Dec. 1703, "Peter Schumacher and Isaac Schumacher shall arrange with workmen that a prison house and stocks be put up as soon as possible."

As to the acre spoken of above, proposed to be exchanged with Wulff, one-half thereof, that on the east side of the road, is the present Market Square, or "The Green," as it was formerly called. The exchange, so far as securing the whole acre, fell through, but afterwards, in 1703-4, the Bailiffs, etc., "for the common good and to purchase a place nearer the now midst or centre of the said town, as also for and in consideration of four pounds current silver money of Pennsylvania to them in hand paid," sold the remaining three-quarters of an acre of the first seat of government, to Paul Wulff. And on the same day, "immediately for the £4, was purchased from James De la Plaine one-half acre, to wit,—On Main Street 14 perches and on the cross street 5 perches and $\frac{3}{4}$ broad,—this half acre is to be used as a Market Place and the Prison House, Stocks, Pound, etc., shall be built thereon." At once on the purchase, "An agreement was made with Hermann Van Bon and James De la Plaine to build the prison house and stocks, each of them shall have 3 shillings 6 pence per day and find themselves, and two quarts of rum to boot." The Pound was at the S. E. corner of the Square, and the prison of logs near it. If "Stone walls do not a prison make," how then can logs? In after years Adam Hogeremoed, "for a small offence of intemperance," was placed in it. He was a substantial burgher, for his name appears as owner of several different properties, and, on the night of his incarceration, his indignant friends pried up one corner of his prison, and released him. Adam was not

entirely appeased by this, for afterward, when the charter of Germantown was lost, he bought the prison and "moved it to where it now forms part of Joseph Green's group of houses." Green was a hatter on the east side of Main Street, above Market Square.

Liberty was bestowed upon the people of Germantown by William Penn as a free gift, and so, of course, they did not value it. They were averse to the duties of office to which they might be elected, pleading "conscience," in a quibbling way, and at last, about 1706, for want of a due election, the charter was lost. Pastorius speaks of his concern at not being able to get men to serve in the general court on account of "conscience sake," but he trusted that an expected arrival of immigrants might remedy it. Conscience and tobacco were the stumbling blocks of that day, as they are of this, and now, as then, we promise ourselves that the inpouring of immigrants will solve all our difficult social problems. On the 8th day of the 12th mo. 1703-4 "George Miller, for his drunkenness, was condemned to 5 days' imprisonment. Item, to pay the constable 2 shillings for serving the warrant in the case of his laying a wager to smoke above one hundred pipes in one day." Twenty days afterwards the cause of Matthew Smith against Daniel Faulkner was moved. "The plaintiff, by reason of conscience, viz., that this day was the day wherein Herod slew the innocents," desires a continuance, which was allowed. The government of Germantown began on the 6th of the 8th mo. 1691, and, on a failure to elect officers, terminated the 25th of the 12th mo. 1706-7, thus existing fifteen years.

On the 14th of September, 1740, the Market Square was surveyed by Benjamin Eastburn, Surveyor General of the Province, perhaps in contemplation of the erection of the Market House, which was built in 1741. The year 1762 was a time of trouble and of Indian massacres. The people along the Susquehanna thought the Quakers in Philadelphia fomented disorder by an undue regard for the rights of the Indian, and so they came here, several hundred strong, intending to invade Philadelphia, and to settle the affair

themselves, without regard to the government. They halted at Market Square, and while there, amused themselves as well as they could, shooting at the weathercock on the steeple, as has been described.

Lingering, even to our day, there are yet some Indians in Pennsylvania, but now they are never seen in Philadelphia. Where the Allegheny River enters the territory of our State, on the border of New York, there is an Indian territory of the extent of one square mile, which is the home of a few of the Cornplanter tribe. In my early days I have met troops of a dozen or twenty Indians, of this or of the New York tribes, hunting in the northern part of the State. When, however, Philadelphia was the capital of the Federal Government, Indians occupied a considerable part of Pennsylvania, and often came hither in large numbers. It was their custom to stop in Germantown, and to come to Market Square for their meals. A table, often used for their dinners, is preserved by Dr. William Ashmead. The old Market House remained till our day. An Act of Assembly, 10th of April, 1848, authorized its demolition, but this did not occur till some years afterwards; the same Act authorized the erection of the Town Hall.

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRÉSOR,
JULY 1, 1777, TO JULY 1, 1778,

CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE BRITISH ARMY.¹

INCLUDING ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF LORD AND SIR WM. HOWE
UP THE CHESAPEAKE, THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE, AND FROM THE
OCCUPATION TO THE EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA, WITH THE
REDUCTION OF MUD FORT OR FORT MIFFLIN.

CONTRIBUTED AND EDITED BY G. D. SCULL, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

(Concluded from page 206.)

Sunday, May 10th. This morning at 5 o'clock wind S. W. The Light Infantry 2d Battalion and Galleys returned after having burnt the remains of the Rebel fleet excepting the Galleys that were sunk, the rebels lost by this Excursion 2 Frigates & upwards of 30 Sail of Topsail vessels, had 8 men killed & lost 4 pieces of Cannon & had several houses² and Storehouses burnt at Borden Town filled with military Stores, Provisions, Salt, &c. &c. This morning by order of his Excellency Sir Wm. Howe, I laid out several works in the front of the lines, Picketted and Lock spitted, in order to make appearance only to the Enemy to answer Certain purposes, and acquainted Sir Henry Clinton therewith and also respecting the blowing up of Mud Island, which in my opinion should be erased and that I had proposed the same to Sir William Howe, who had had it in contemplation and had directed me to acquaint Sir Henry Clinton of it.

11th. Wind at W. N. W.

12th. Wind E. S. East fine weather, Markets plentiful. State of our Rebel prisoners here and at New York are just now about 4000 men.

¹ For corrections in sketch of Captain Montrésor which preceded the first part of this journal, see Notes and Queries, p. 000.

² One of the houses destroyed was that of Francis Hopkinson, for an account of which see PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. ii. p. 319.—Ed.

13th. Wind at S. S. E. This morning I detached Lieut. Haldane, Engineer, to New York in the Brune Frigate to act with the Brigade there. The Packet sailed this evening for Falmouth.

14th. Wind W. N. West, weather very fine. Orders this day for the heavy Baggage of this Army to be in readiness to embark at the Shortest notice. The heavy Cannon & shells, embarking on board of Ordnance Transports. 50 Rebel Deserters made their *Escape* from Wilmington to this place.

15th. Wind Westerly, weather very warm.

16th. Weather very hot, summer set in. At 2 this morning the Light Infantry of Guards, a Detachment of Light Infy of the Line & Simcoe's Rangers with a few Dragoons in all about 400 were detached by 3 different roads with an Intent to cover the market people, the party near Jenkins Town were fired on by some Rebels who were pursued by us 3 miles, we killed 2 or 3 rebels and brought in 5 Prisoners. We had 2 Dragoons horses killed and one man wounded. The Detachment at the Jersies had a centry fired on this day near the Bridge, about 15 shots & fled. A few smart Showers of Rain this morning which was much wanted, a Fleet of about thirty sail arrived from New York under Convoy of the Thames Frigate.

Sunday 17th. Wind N. E. fine weather.

18th. Weather overcast, wind Easterly but cleared up after noon, when an Entertainment called the "*Mischisanza*," was given by some officers in the Army as a compliment to Sir Wm. Howe and by way of taking leave of him before his departure for England, consisting of a Regatta, Fete Champetre, Tilts and Tournaments, Carosal, Procession through Triumphal Arches, Dancing, Exhibition of Fire works, musick and Feast.¹

19th. Weather very warm. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 this evening 2 Battalion British Grenadiers of Light Infantry, Simcoe's

¹ The fullest account of this celebration which has appeared was prepared by Miss Anne H. Wharton, and will be found in the Wharton Genealogy.
—Ed.

Rangers with the Cavalry and 1st and 2nd Brigades, hence in order to cut off Le Marquis de Fayette with 4000 men who had just taken Post there and fled on the appearance of our Troops to the opposite side of the Schuylkill by Matson's Ford after leaving killed on the Field, one French officer and 5 more Rebels and 12 Prisoners. *Un coup manqué* in not having cut off the Marquis which 'tis thought might have been done.¹

20th. Winds variable. The Remainder of the Army, or rather the Gros marched out very early this morning, until 9 to support the great Detachment of last night leaving only the Garrison at Philadelphia, consisting of three Brigades and Woelwarth's Hessian Brigade. The whole army returned to Philadelphia this Evening.

21st. Extremely hot, but attended with a light Breeze, wind Southerly.

22d. Wind S. Arrived 2 Turtlers from the Bahama Islands. Weather very warm.

Sunday 24th. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past one this afternoon his Excellency Sir Wm. Howe took his Departure from this city for England, to the great regret of this Army. Wind Southerly, and fresh. I attended him to Billingsport and returned to Philadelphia at night. Some of the Redoubts were dismantled without my knowledge, rather *unmilitary*. Our ship of war arrived in the Delaware from their Station in the Chesapeak Bay, being recalled.

25th. Wind Easterly & rather overcast but very hot. At 9 o'clock this morning received a circular order from Adjutant General's office but dated after orders, 10 at night, 24th May 1778.

"It is the Commander in Chiefs Positive Orders, that the Baggage of the Army be Completely embarked by one o'clock to-morrow afternoon (meaning for this day) the Transports being ordered to fall down the River at that hour.

G. Hutchinson Deputy adjutant General.

¹ An account of La Fayette's movements at Barren Hill will be found in Sparks's Washington, vol. v. p. 545. Carrington's Battles, p. 406.—Ed.

Heavy rains with a Gust of wind most of this night. The Inhabitants upon this sudden order assembled and offered 3000 men if two of our army could be kept to defend the city, as their Goods must be plundered by the Rebels. The order for the Transports falling down would not be complied with.

26th. Early this morning sailed from below Billingsport for England the *Andromeda* Frigate—Brine Commander in whom went General Sir William Howe. Wind fair. Passengers with the General, Captain Mulcaster Engineer, and aid-de-camp, Robert McKenzie Esq. Secretary, and—Strachey Esq. M. P. and Secretary to the Commission for restoring Peace. Markets fallen off very much. Provisions ordered to be carried with the Troops by land, is 20 days and 4 on their backs.

27th. Nothing extraordinary. The number of souls in the city of Philadelphia comprehending the Army, seamen and the Inhabitants consist of 60.000. Captain Smith Secretary to Sir Henry Clinton.

28th. Very hard north wester and very cold, a difference of 40 degrees in the Thermometer from the warmest weather since the summer set in. Lord Howe returned to this city this morning from the *Eagle*. At 2 this morning went out the 2 Battalion of Light Infantry 5th, 42d and 44th Regts. and 140 Dragoons to surprize a body of Rebels supposed to be at Germantown, which got off. The 2 flank Companies of Guards went at the same time to Frankfort Bridge. Sir Henry Clinton went out to Germantown to meet the troops with 20 Dragoons only. Families given in their names to proceed with the army when they quit this city. This day the *Andromeda* cleared the Capes of Delaware.

29th. Arrived in the River the *Perseus* Frigate from New York, arrived also the *Greyhound* Frigate who had taken a French armed Ship of 22 Guns & another Merchant men with lading for the rebels. Transports daily falling down. Wind N. West & the weather cold. Ships of war did not fire this day. The number of Horses belonging to our Army are 7000.

30th. Wind S. E. The 7th and 26th crossed the Delaware to Cooper's Ferry in the Jerseys to join the Corps posted there under the Command of Brig. Genl. Leslie. This night arrived the Packet from England. Transports falling down. Weather cold.

Sunday 31st. Wind at East & Rain this whole day. Transports falling down below the Chevaux de frises. Weather so cold as to make fires. The Calculation (by the returns to the Congress) of the Continental Debt towards supporting the Rebellion in America to this day May 31, 1778 is £23.970.000.10s.7½d, sterling.

June 1st Monday. Wind at E. S. E. & rain all this day. The Consumption of Provisions for this army is now upon the nicest calculation 300 Tons per week.

2d. Wind at N. East. weather variable. Vessels Dropping down. This evening the 15th Regt. embarked for Billingsport to join the Jersey Volunteers at that Post.

3d. Wind N. N. E. Several Ships fell down, amongst the rest the Cadiz Packet. At 3 this morning went out a Corps to Chestnut Hill consisting of the Battalion Light Infantry, all the cavalry and the 17th 27th & 49th Regts. in order to cover the market people and returned taken 1 Rebel Light horse and 3 Rebels. Arrived the Phoenix 40 Gun Ship in the River from New York. Redoubts dismantled of their Field train and some Iron Garrison Tram 12 Pounders and some old ones, sent all without my knowledge. This evening Captain Hovenden about 8 o'clock, with a party of 24 Dragoons and Capt. Thomas with 14 foot left Philadelphia & passed into the county of Bucks & at the fulling mill of Mr. Jenks, surprised & took a guard of Continental troops on their post there, guarding a considerable quantity of cloth belonging to the poor people of the country of which they had been robbed by orders from the rebel head quarters. This was performed with the secrecy the principal design required, which was to take another party, a small distance off without firing a gun, which must have alarmed the other post, they took prisoners the whole guard. Immediately after they proceeded to Newton, surprised & took the first centry without alarm. On approaching near the quarters of

Major Murray they were fired upon by the centry at his door. This alarmed the guard about 40 yards distance who, being 16 in number, & under cover of the guard house, immediately took to their arms and discharged their pieces on the troops surrounding them, but such was their activity & alertness, that, after returning the fire & before the enemy could load a 2nd time, they stormed the house, killed 5, wounded 4 & took the rest of the guard prisoners & with them a considerable quantity of cloth then making up by a number of workmen for the rebel army. All this was done with so much secrecy conduct & bravery, that none of either of the parties received the least injury. About 6 o'clock the next evening they returned, bringing with them the wounded & the following prisoners: Francis Murray Major of their standing army—Henry Marfit, Lieut. of militia—John Cox, Ensign of their standing army—Carnis Grace, Ensign of ditto—Andrew McMian, Ensign of Militia—Charles Charlton, Quarter master of Standing army—Eriel Welburn, Sergeant of ditto—James Moor, ditto of ditto. 24 Privates of ditto except one. Anthony Tate, a Grand Juror.

4th. King's Birth day. Shipping fired, and Royal Salutes from the Artillery Park. 1000 Grenadiers went out this morning to Germantown, consisting of 1st Battalion British the rest Hessians. The Commander in Chief's dispatches closed this Evening, and given to Capt. James Moncrief, Engineer. Ordered with them to St. Augustin in the Perseus Frigate without it being notified to me. Wind north East.

5th. This evening an account of the Commissioners and Lord Cornwallis being arrived in the River. Wind Southerly. Should we suddenly leave this city there will remain 127,000 Bushels of Salt.

6th. This morning at 11 o'clock arrived in this city Lord Cornwallis and in the Evening after dark the 3 Commisisoners vizt. Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and General Johnston.¹ Wind

¹ An elaborate note on this commission will be found in Reed's Reed, vol. i. p. 422. It will be remembered that it was charged that a bribe was offered to Reed by one of the commissioners if he would use his abilities to bring about a reconciliation between England and the Colonies.—Ed.

S. E. and Rain in the night. This morning at 2 o'clock 2 Brigades, 2 Battalions Light Infantry, Simcoe's Rangers and some Cavalry went to Chestnut Hill. We had 3 Light Infantry wounded & 2 horses killed. The Rebels had 3 men killed & 4 prisoners. Our Army now consists of 20,000 Effectives, 17,600 fighting men.

Sunday June 7th. Wind at S. E. The Commissioners arrival in the night was announced by a Salute this morning from the artillery Park. A very heavy rain most of this day.

8th. Wind at W. The market people on their return from this city stopped by the rebels & the whole branded W. H. Some Rebel Cavalry by accident fell in with our Centry in the night on the Jersey Side were fired on & missed. One of the inundating dams gave way. Waggons all this night crossing the Delaware from hence to the Jerseys.

9th. A Flag of Truce from the Rebels, likewise a flag from us. At 2 this morning the 2 Regiments of Anspach, Embarked and got in the tide below the Chevaux de frizes. Wind at W. N. W. This evening the 46th Regiment embarked for Cooper's Ferry in New Jersey opposite this city to join the Troops at that Post.

10th. Wind at S. W. This morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 a Corps was sent towards Chestnut Hill under the Command of Brig. Genl. Matthew consisting of 2 Battalion Light Infantry, the Brigade of Guards and their Light Infantry and Grenadiers and the 4th Regiment accompanied with Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Carlisle. Mr. Ferguson,¹ the Philosopher and Secretary to the Commissioners went with a Flag of Truce across the Schuylkill but was stopped at the Rebels advanced Post by Morgan, who commands the Rifle men, just 6 miles to the Rebel Camp at Valley Forge. A Gust this evening and the wind round to the N. West. The Perseus Frigate sail for St. Augustine.

11th. Wind at S. W. The hottest day felt this year. The Lizard Frigate arrived from New York.

12th. Waggons crossing over to the Jersies from hence all

¹ Dr. Adam Ferguson, Author of History of Rome.—Ed.

night and also the Park of artillery. No waggons now left behind. Two deserters from the Rebel Camp.

13th. Wind at N. N. East, weather delightful. Arrived the Cork Fleet of Victuallers with 500 Recruits. This morning the Patrol of Provincial Cavalry were attacked near the Post in the Jersies, we had 1 killed and 1 wounded. The Rebels left 2 killed. All the Intrenching Tools to be carried with the Army were sent by me to Cooper's Ferry in New Jersey. *Remark.* This army rather discontented since the Departure of Genl. Sir Wm. Howe and the new measures received from the Ministry.

Sunday June 14th. Weather cool & pleasant. Wind at N. E. Seventy of our Prisoners exchanged and arrived this day through the lines and an Exchange of Rebel prisoners for them, sent from the Jails. Army horses sent across the Delaware to the Jersies. The several ships on the Stocks set fire to this day,¹ by which as the weather was dry and came round to the Eastwards, set fire to the Houses about but was quickly extinguished by the Troops.

15th. Wind at N. N. E. All officers horses ordered over to the Jersies. An Express arrived from Rhode Island to Head Quarters with an account of an alert from thence of 500 men under the Command of Lt. Col. John Campbell, 22d Regt. to Bristol and Warren which they burnt together with 130 Flat boats, 1 Galley & one Frigate, blew up two magazines, destroyed 40 Cannon, killed several and brought off 3 Colonels, 2 Captains and 70 men. Our loss 1 officer and 7 wounded, 2 Drummers missing. A Brigade of Hessians embarked in flat Boats and crossed the Delaware into the Jersies as did the 33d in the night. Arrived dispatches from New York by water in three days.

16th. Wind S. W. weather very hot, tho' accompanied with a Breeze. The 2 Regts. of Dragoons 16th and 17th crossed over from hence into the Jersies leaving 2 troops of each. The 3 Commissioners left this for the Trident Sloop of War. This city very offensive, owing to the numbers,

¹ See Memorial of Col. Jehu Eyre. PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. iii. p. 424.—ED.

negligence and heat and the plane it stands on. All the redoubts that form the Line of Defence of this City dismantled of their Field pieces, &c., before daybreak, but without my knowledge. Lt. Genl. Kniphuysen and the Hessians and Hessian Grenadiers and Major Genl. Grant crossed into the Jerseys. The Hessian Grenadiers by mistake, as they were to form part of the Rear Guard.

17th. Lt. Genl. Kniphuysen took post at Haddonfield. Rebel Deserters came in to us. Sent my public papers by Monckton. This afternoon all the Troops were at their alarm Posts and defences at 6 o'clock with orders not to look upon the city any longer as their cantonment.

18th June, 1778, Evacuation of Philadelphia

18th. This morning early the Kings Troops evacuated the city of Philadelphia and the several Redoubts and works that form its Defences and retired by land to Gloucester point 4 miles below it on the Pennsylvania Shore and there embarked in Flat Bottomed Boats and crossed the River Delaware into New Jersey at Gloucester, after which the armed vessels and Flat Boats proceeded down the River to Billingsport with a northerly wind and very fine weather, & at Eleven o'clock this morning the Fleet then weighed. Not being able to proceed with the army across the Jerseys on account of a Rupture, I proceeded down the Delaware in the Cadiz Packet and there embarked.

19th. Wind E. weighed at 7 this morning and anchored at 1 P. M. Rain from this P. M. all night. The 15th Regt. were posted at Billingsport and having sent 150 men to forage too far, they were intercepted by a considerable body of the Rebels with 2 Field pieces and got to Red Bank and were taken off, horses & all by the Vigilant's Boats she having fortunately got around near that place.

20th. Wind at S. E. &c., a rainy day without Intermission.

Sunday June 21st. Wind S. W. The Eagle Lord Howe and the Trident with the Commissioners fell down from New Castle and joined the Fleet below Reedy Island. Still at anchor. Intensely hot.

22d. Wind at N. E. At 7 this morning the whole fleet

weighed and sailed but at 10 A. M. they came to an anchor. Excepting the small craft, with the Division under Convoy of the Richmond. Went on and some time after a 2nd division with the Daphne Frigate. Wind at night veered to the N. E. Rained most of this day and all this night at anchor. Muddy bottom. A Flag of truce from the Pennsylvania Shore just to say that 500 Hessians were arrived at Philadelphia to be Exchanged and mentioned that our army with Sir Henry Clinton were at Mount Holly.

23d. Wind at S. E. All the Fleet remained at anchor. The men of war boats set fire to a discarded Rebel vessel stranded on the West Shore. Two or three Boats came off that shore with stock. This river rather unhealthy for the Fleet, several having fallen sick and many thrown overboard. The Harriet Packet sailed for Falmouth, convoyed by the Porcupine Sloop of War, who is likewise to proceed to England with duplicates.

24th. In General calm, what little wind Southerly. An almost total Eclipse of the Sun from 8 until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 this morning, somewhat after 9, the most obscure. The Maidstone towed down the Fleet. The Daphne's Fleet off of Bombay Hook and just discernable at 10 o'clock P. M., fell down with the tide but scarce any wind. The main fleet still remaining at anchor. This afternoon and evening excessive hot, at 3 weighed and in one hour anchored in 3 Fathoms of water, wind died away, anchors all buried in the mud. Heavy guns heard up the River.

25th. Three country Boats came off of the West shore with Stock. At noon our Fleet weighed, consisting of 120 sail under the Convoy of the Phoenix 40 gun Ship and came to an anchor off of Bombay Hook at 3 P. M. in 7 Fathoms water, for want of wind. The Eagle and Trident follow the Fleet but a small distance and came to. Some few artificers on board my ship sickly, threw one overboard this evening a Blacksmith. Signal Smokes made on the parts of the Jersey Shore, water muddy.

26th. Wind up the river from the Sea, notwithstanding the weather, intensely hot. Artificers sickly on board, sent

a carpenter to one of the Hospital Ships. Heavy guns heard below the River. Remained at anchor all this Day and night very sharp lightning. Thunder and rain this night.

27th. At 5 this morning a light wind at N. West. Our fleet weighed and sailed but anchored again in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after gaining about 3 miles. In the evening the Eagle, Lord Howe, the Trident with the Commisioners, the Isis, Lizard and other Ships fell down the River and joined our Fleet. This is by far the hottest day this summer.

28th. Wind at N. W. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 this morning all the Fleet sailed leaving none behind, and came too off Lewis Town near Whorekill Road, excepting the Eagle Lord Howe and the Trident with the Commissioners which pursued their voyage to New York and were out of sight by the evening. By the Rebels prints 600 Rebels are acknowledged to have fallen in the action of Freehold Court house. *Remark.* 350 Germans deserted from us during the march.

29th. At Break of day this morning the whole Fleet, excepting the Roebuck (which was left on her station in the Delaware) sailed, the wind S. S. E. and as soon as we cleared the Cape May and Henlopen, the wind veered to the S. West, a fine breeze of 5 or 6 knots which the Fleet continued all this day and night.

30th. Wind still continued fair at S. W. & ran nearly our Distance by 6 this morning, being from Cape May to Sandy Hook 40 leagues. Made the Highlands of Neversink about 10 & Steered for the Hook, met the Scorpion cruising. Found my old observation hold good of discovering the land as soon as in 15 Fathoms water. The whole Fleet came to an anchor abreast of the Hook (on acct. of the wind failing & the Tide of Ebb at 3 o'clock P. M. & just before day weighed again & soon after come too within the Hook, found the Eagle & Trident at anchor & Amazon frigate as a Guard Ship & a packet Extra which arrived the day before with accounts of a French Fleet having sailed & chased him, of 11 Sail of the Line & a Frigate & that Admiral Byron with 11 Sail of the line and 2 Frigates were sailed from England after them. *July Wednesday.* My return to New York.

1st. I arrived at New York. Wind Southerly. The weather intensely hot. Thermometer 94°. Found at anchor the Ardent, Admiral Gambies, the Salbans, Experiment, and several Frigates, &c., and Preston, Commodore Hotham. Just learnt of the Battle of Monmouth Court house in Jersey & that my very valuable Friend and ever to be lamented Harry Monekton fell in the action and what adds to the misfortune no Tidings of my papers, both public and private.

Another account of the Battle of Brandywine taken from Captain John Montrésor's Note Book.

"Field of Battle upon Brandywine 12th September, 1777. Memorandum. Our Army under the command of General Sir William Howe landed at Elk Ferry, within 7 miles of the head of Chesapeake Bay on the 25 August, 1777, and one division marched on to the Head of Elk the 28th August & another division on the 30th and 31st August crossed the Elk to Cecil Court House in the East side and joined the 1st division on the 3d of September, 4 miles from the head of Elk by the lower road to Christian Bridge leaving 2 Brigades with Major Genl. Grant at Elktown to secure the landing of our Provisions and to destroy the Rebel Magazines and vessels. On the 3d September our Light Troops had a smart action with about 1200 of their picked men of 120 from their 10 Brigades detached to harass us on the march. They had near them 1000 militia and the Philadelphia Light Horse which soon disappeared, the whole under the Command of General Maxwell which were entirely defeated, leaving dead 2 Captains, one of Artillery and several men; their loss they acknowledge to be very considerable, whereas we lost only 3 men and 17 wounded. Nothing material happened until the 6th when Major General Grant joined us with a supply of Provisions. The 8th September, all the Army marched to Newark and encamped that night on the road which leads from Newport to Lancaster just 4 miles from Newport and where the Quarters of the Rebel army was posted and in the night the Enemy made a move across Chads Ford on the Brandywine & took post upon the heights with great judg-

ment. About sunset on the 9th our Army marched in 2 Divisions, the 1st under Lt. Genl. Kniphuysen rather earlier by the way of New Garden to Kennet Square and the other Division with Lord Cornwallis through a bye Road to Hokesson Meeting House in Mill Creek Hundred and New Castle County and on the 10th the whole joined at Kennet's Square. On the 11th September at daybreak accompanied with a very favourable fog, all the heavy artillery and baggage went with the column under Lt. General Kniphuysen along a straight road to Chads-Ford, Lord Cornwallis leading the other columns a forced march of 17 miles in order to turn the Enemy's right, which was wisely and happily effected at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 in the afternoon, most unexpectedly to the rebels, who were instantly obliged to divide their army (leaving part to oppose our right column) and took a most advantageous position on the heights in the rear of Birmingham meeting house, with the village of Dilworth on their Right and notwithstanding the long fatiguing sultry and dusty days march and strong post of the Enemy had taken the ardour of our most Excellent Troops was such that at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 (only having halted and refreshed one hour) we marched forward in 3 columns into a valley and gradually as it were rose, a regular Glacis to the Enemy, during which we had some skirmishing and fire from the rebels until we had surmounted the summit, when our army coolly received the Enemy's fire and instantly charged them when the whole was put to the Route and in the end compleatly defeated and nothing but night prevented the victory being compleat, as under that cover they principally made their Escape. As soon as our right column heard us engaged they crossed Chads ford forced the Enemies breastworks and strongholds and put them to the flight and we encamped on the field of Battle, the left of the right column making a junction with the right of our left column, with the 40th Regt. and Guards. The Enemy's loss is about 1000 killed and wounded and about 500 prisoners, together with 9 Branfield pieces, one more of a composition and one Brass Howitzer with several ammunition waggons, their numbers from their field returns

under General Washington with 4 Major-Generals, Green, Sullivan, Stephen, and Lord Sterling, were 12.900 men being 43 Battalions of 300 men.

Our left column with the Commander in Chief, which was principally Engaged consisted of 7000 men, composed of the Chasseurs, two Battalions Light Infantry, 2 Battalions of Grenadiers, the Hessian Grenadiers, two Squadrons of 16th Dragoons, the Guards, and 3d and 4th Brigades, the 3d Brigade not in action being our reserve. The Loss we have sustained is trifling when compared to that of the Rebels having about 60 killed and 300 wounded."

*Distribution of the Corps of Engineers, 11th June, 1777,
Brunswick.*

Captain Montrésor		
Lieut Pitts		} Commander-in-chief.
Lieut Haldane		
Lieut Sprule		
Captain Nichol	} Draughts-	} Commander-in-chief.
Ensign Wheeler		
Captain Moncrief		
Lieut Fyer		} Lord Cornwallis.
Lieut Sutherland		
Ensign Vallancy		} Brunswick.
Lieut'ant Parker		
		} Amboy.

Division of the Rebel Army taken from a paper found on the Field of Battle at Birmingham Meeting-House, September 11th, 1777.

<i>Virginia.</i>	<i>Virginia.</i>			
1st Reid's	1st Brigade	General Green.		
5th Hendrick's	General			
9th	Muhlenburgh			
13th				
2d Spotswood's	2d Brigade	General Stephen.		
6th	General			
10th	Weedon			
14th				
5 Marshall	3d Brigade	General Stephen.		
7	General			
11	Woodford			
15				
4 Lawson	4th Brigade	General Stephen.		
8	General			
12	Scott.			
Grayson's } Corps.				
Patton's }				
<i>Maryland.</i>	<i>Maryland.</i>			
1st	1st Brigade	General Sullivan.	General George Washington.	
3d	General			
6th	Smallwood			
1 Lower Counties, Delaware				
2d	2d Brigade	General Sullivan.		
4th	General			
7th	de Borré.			
German Battl.				
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>			
1	1st Brigade	General Lincoln		
2	General			
7	Wayne			
10				
Hartley's Corps.	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	General Lincoln		
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	2d Brigade			
4	General			
5	de Haas			
8				
11				
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	3d Brigade	General Fred. Sterling		
3	General			
6	Conway.			
9				
12				
Spencer's Corps.				
<i>Jersey.</i>	<i>Jersey.</i>			
1	Jersey Brigade			
2	General			
3	Maxwell.			
4				

Recapitulation.

15 Battl.
Virginia.
2 Light
Corps, Vir-
ginia.
6 Battl.
Maryland.
1 German
Battl. Mary-
land.
12 Battl.
Pennsyl-
vania.
2 Light
Corps. Penn-
sylvania.
1 Battalion,
Lower Coun-
ties, Dela-
ware.
4 Battl.
Jersey.

43 Batta-
lions. Total
being about
300 men in
each, makes
Rank and file
12,900 men.

From Note Book. "My Proposals to Sir Wm. Howe for the storming of the Rebel Fortress of Mud Island, and to head and direct it, November, 1777.

John Montrésor, Chief Engineer.

An arrangement for a general attack on the Fort on Mud Island, 6th November, 1777.

The Batteries as follows: Middle Battery, one 8-inch Howitzer, one 8-inch Mortar. Battery adjoining Middle Battery, six 24 Pounds; Right or lower Battery, one 8-inch Howitzer, one 8-inch Mortar; Mortar Batt^y, one 13-inch Mortar for lb. shot and carcasses. } 11
 Pest House Batt^y of 2 Medium 12 Pounds, together with an Iron 18 Pd^r can only serve to protect the passage and annoy the Fort, and 2-32 pounders. } 5

2 Floating Batteries with 2-32 pounders in each 2
 A vessel carrying 24 Pd^r, 3 Vigilant 24 P^r, 9 two Pd^r,
 6 four Pd^r, 19
 and two light 12 Pd^r advanced on the lower wharf at the north point of Schuylkill. 21
 2

The 2 Medium 12^s, and the Rebel 18 Pd^r will occasionally amuse 39
 the shipping to prevent their falling down and firing (th^e at great range) at our Boats or floating Batteries.

Guns the Enemy have mounted to oppose, and whose Direction comprehends the attack from Carpenter's Island.

On West Block house	18 Pounder	No. 2
Upper do do	9 do above	1
Centre do do	9 do below	1
Lower do do Port Holes but no guns visible		0
One very oblique Embrasure in the mud Bank		0

{ Then follows a list of articles necessary, as 20 scaling ladders } 4
 { for the escalade of 15 feet, 10 & 16 feet 10 inches, Fascines, 4 } —
 { Bridges of 22 & 24 feet Span, &c. &c. }

Direction of the Fire from the Batteries for the attack for the 1st day, 9th Nov. 1777.

Batteries on the left above the stream		
at the Upper Block House	8-inch Howitzer	1
at the 2 Gun Battery on the Dam	24 Pounds	3
at the Middle Block House	34 do	2
{ at the Lower do do	24 do	2
{ at the do do do	8-inch Howitzer	1
Into the Body of the Fort	8-inch Mortars	2
For throwing of Carcasses	13-inch do	1
	pieces of ordnance	12

THE REV. ABEL MORGAN,

PASTOR OF THE UNITED BAPTIST CHURCHES OF PENNEPEK AND
PHILADELPHIA.

BY HORATIO GATES JONES.

MANY years before the settlement of Pennsylvania by William Penn, the attention of Welshmen had been attracted to America, where it was supposed that no restraints were placed upon the conscience in regard to religious belief and practice. The captain of the *May Flower*, named Jones, was a native born Welshman, and among the early settlers of Massachusetts Bay and the Plymouth Colony, as well as New York, New Jersey, and Virginia, were natives of the Principality. At that early period religious persecution prevailed throughout the United Kingdom. The spirit which sent John Bunyan to Bedford jail, and other Baptists and Quakers to the pillory or the county jails, was still prevalent, and, although the king was disposed to be more tolerant, the same severe laws were on the statute books, and it only needed some son of Belial to make complaint, and the hand of persecution was raised against most loyal subjects, and men who were really the salt of the earth. As opportunity offered, thousands gladly braved the dangers of the ocean to reach a land where they could at least worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. It is said that Oliver Cromwell himself, also of Welsh descent, had contemplated emigrating to America, and had made preparations for the voyage, but the vessel in which he was to sail was prevented by the government officials from starting. In New England the Welsh element was not so largely represented as it was in Pennsylvania, but to one Welshman who arrived in Boston February 5, 1631, are the people of this country indebted for the first practical establishment of a government on the basis of non-interference by the State in matters per-

taining to religious beliefs. I of course refer to Roger Williams, who, born in Wales in 1599, studied law, which fitted him for his then unknown and unexpected career, as the founder of a commonwealth, was patronized by the great Sir Edward Coke, and finally became a minister of the established church. But in the contest which then convulsed the British nation he soon identified himself with the Puritans, whose principles were liberal, and whose lives were pure and godly, and he advocated the broadest religious liberty. His views were such, that to avoid persecution, he came to America, but alas! he found on arriving here that the magistrates had established a kind of theocracy, and insisted on the presence of every man at public worship, and that a law was passed that "no man should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as were members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." He, however, maintained that "the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt but never violate the freedom of the soul." Those views of Roger Williams were doubtless derived by him from his own honest perusal of the scriptures, and also from the principles which he knew formed the basis of all the Welsh triads, from the days of Dynwal Moelmud, one of the earliest Welsh law-givers, to the time of Howell, Prince of South Wales. The great doctrine of the Druids was "*Y gwir yn erbyn y byd*," the Truth against the World. Upon it they always acted, and it is a remarkable fact that in all Welsh history there is no instance where a Christian was ever persecuted by the Druids for his religious belief. The meaning of this doctrine is apparent, viz., that the human mind should have no coercion in the investigation of truth. All know through what a series of persecutions William Penn passed, and that his own religious sufferings were the moving cause of his founding the Colony of Pennsylvania. The names of his persecutors are forgotten, or, if remembered at all, are execrated; while his name shines with resplendent honor, and is esteemed worthy of the highest renown. Hence, when Pennsylvania was founded, among those who came hither were many Welshmen, Quakers

as well as Baptists, for even among the fiery Welsh, Penn had numerous adherents, prominent among whom was John ap Thomas, whose history has been recently portrayed before the Historical Society.¹ Almost coeval with the founding of the Colony, many Baptists were found in and around Philadelphia, and a church of that faith was organized at Cold Spring, Bucks County, in 1684, but ceased to exist in 1702. Another was formed in 1688 at Pennepek, by Rev. Elias Keach, and among its constituent members were many Welshmen. It is still in existence, and is the oldest Baptist church in the Middle States. Over this church and a branch which was organized at Philadelphia in the year 1698, Abel Morgan, the subject of this sketch, became pastor, in the year 1712.

Abel Morgan was born in the year 1673, at Alltgoch (Red-forest), in the parish of Llanwenog, Cardiganshire, South Wales, but while quite young his parents removed to Abergavenny. His father was Morgan ap Rhydderch ap Dafydd ap Gruffydd. The history of the family of the ap Rhydderchs goes back to the earliest settlement of Wales. Rev. Robert Williams, in his "*Einwogion Cymru*," or history of eminent Welshmen, says that Rhydderch, a king of Britain, succeeded Rhyddion in the second century, B. C., and that another Rhydderch, a king of Dyved, in South Wales, died in 804, and that Rhydderch ap Caradwg ap Iestyn succeeded to the sovereignty of Glamorgan in 1070, on the death of his cousin, Caradwg. Morgan ap Rhydderch had a brother John ap Rhydderch, who was a famous poet, and flourished from 1700 to 1730, who resided at Shrewsbury, and published a number of Welsh books. Iago ap Dewi, the poet and distinguished translator, was an uncle of Morgan and John ap Rhydderch. Their grandfather, Dafydd ap Gruffydd, wrote many books, an account of which is to be found in *Brython*, vol. iv., p. 154. During a period of violent persecution, Morgan ap Rhydderch united with the Baptist church at Rhydwilym, and in 1668 was made a deacon, and next year was

¹ For Dr. Levick's interesting paper, see P. A. MAG., vol. iv. p. 301.

ordained as a minister. He had a number of children, among them three sons, Thomas, Abel, and Enoch Morgan, and a daughter Esther Morgan. At that time the children took as their surname the christian name of the father. Enoch emigrated to America in 1701, and became, in after years, pastor of the Welsh Tract Baptist Church in Delaware. The most prominent son was Abel, who early in life gave evidence of remarkable talents. In 1692, at the age of nineteen, he became a preacher at Llanwenarth, and in 1696 he was called to become the first pastor of the church at Blaenegwent, in Monmouthshire. From the accounts still preserved he seems to have been very popular throughout the Principality. The Baptist churches in Wales, as in all other places, are independent in their polity, and owe no allegiance to any other body. They usually hold what are called associations (called by other denominations convocations, councils, conferences, synods, or presbyteries), which are composed of ministers and laymen, who are designated by the several churches to meet annually for consultation and advice. In Wales these associations are great occasions, and often continue for several days, and are attended by thousands of persons. Mr. Morgan was highly esteemed by the Welsh association, and on several occasions was appointed on committees to answer queries on questions of discipline or doctrines. He was also chosen to preach the introductory sermon before the association, which at that time was considered a high honor. Meanwhile he was in communication with his brother Enoch, and the representations made by him, led Abel to regard America as a field where he might be of great use to his countrymen. Accordingly, Mr. Morgan informed the church at Blaenegwent of his intention to emigrate. They at once called a special meeting to consider the matter, August 23, 1711, as he had been so useful among them, and so much esteemed by them for a long time. It is said that it was one of the most melting, interesting, and affecting meetings that was ever held. In parting, he gave the church a charge to this effect, that they should never grieve their ministers, but cheerfully assist them in things temporal and spiritual; that they should

love one another, and not forsake the assembling of themselves together, but stand fast in one spirit and with one mind for the faith of the Gospel, and that they should encourage all who might have any promising gifts for the ministry. The entire address, according to Joshua Thomas's history of the Welsh Baptists, was placed on record in the church-book for the benefit of the rising generation.

On the 28th of June, 1711, he and his family took ship at Bristol, but the weather was so unfavorable that next day they were compelled to return to Milford Haven, where they were detained three weeks. Starting from this place, they were driven by a storm to Cork, in Ireland, where they were obliged to remain for five weeks, and were subjected to much suffering. On the 19th of November they started on their voyage for the third time, but were soon taken sick. On the 14th of December his little son died, and on the 17th his wife died. The passage was long and severe, for he was on the ship twenty-two weeks. He landed at Philadelphia February 14, 1712. Among the MSS. of Mr. Morgan in my possession is a letter in Welsh to his church at Blaenewgent, which has been carefully translated by my worthy friend, Rev. Richard Edwards, of Pottsville, Pa. It is interesting, not only to Baptists, but to others, describing as it does the condition of this country, as it appeared to a new-comer.

PHILADELPHIA, April 12, 1712.

My dear Christian brothers and sisters, usually meeting at Blaenewgent Salutation! You have expected to hear from me sooner but I could find no way to send from this place. I have more to write than I can conveniently do at present. After leaving King Road Sept. 28, we came to Milford Haven next day, where we remained three weeks and after sailing from there, a tempest drove us to Cork, in Ireland on the 23d of October, where we were delayed by adverse winds for five weeks. We were generally sick at that place and several died. My wife and family were likely to die, but the time had not yet come then. Our sickness began from the impurity of the air and the insalubrity of the land with our bodies. More than all we were injured by the beef and water there, and no spirituous liquors were allowed us, unless we were able to purchase a little for ourselves. We were treated

there like menials. But the time came for us to leave on the 19th of November. On account of the tempests we suffered from colds, and on the 14th of December my little son died and three days after my wife died, which is a severe calamity and loss to me, but the will of God must be done. We were eleven weeks between Ireland and the land of America. We came in sight of land about the 12th of February. We were in that ship twenty-two weeks. We did not suffer from enemies but we were sore in need of provisions. At first we wanted stimulants and afterwards food, but all this ended, and we arrived in the land of bread. We became well as we arrived and continue so at the present. We were compelled to take a house in the city for a year. I can say but little about the country for I have not seen much of its sights and interests. I am surprised to see the extent of the city in so short a time. It is about a mile long and of medium width with wide streets and high and beautiful buildings. The inhabitants are numerous; ships laden lie at the side of the town. There is a Court here, and the wagons continually are going with flour and wheat to the ships. The country is exceedingly level as far as I have seen for about sixty miles; mostly good ground without much stone, so that a man may ride a hundred miles without a shoe under his horse. There is an orchard by every house of various fruits, very productive they say, but generally yielding every alternate year. There are but few who do not sell much wheat in the year, which is the most abundant grain except rye. All other cereals which are raised in England and many more are raised here. I have visited many houses. I have only seen flour and rye bread, various meats and plenty of changes. I am told that pork can be had in the fall for seven farthings per pound, but that is only about five farthings of England's reckoning; dry bacon now for three pence of English money. They have good cheese and good butter. The best cheese for three pence a pound English money; butter high, six pence English money. There are many improvements about this place, a sufficiency of employment for tradesmen, with good wages; also for hired men for farmers. They are paid two shillings a day and board, sometimes more.

Money is scarce here on account of the war. They expect it more plenty when peace is restored. People generally barter their goods. They trade in the country for grain and flour, and money can be had in the city for these by the thousands of bushels. People live well here. It is certain the poorest are doing as well as those who possess twenty pounds

a year in Wales. Malt beer is scarce with us at the present but we cannot expect that we who have newly arrived in the country can obtain all things like others. But we are not in need. We must sow before we reap. The last winter they say was severe with frost and snow. Summer is spoken of as being very warm some days, but I will be able to say more of this when I write to you again.

Concerning religious affairs, as yet I can say but little. It is a joy to my heart to see all things so well, but they are not so well, nor can we expect them as well situated as we saw them in our own country. We have different opinions and denominations as in Wales, but the Quakers are the most numerous. It is likely there will be four churches¹ here this summer and four more the other side of the river in Jersey, and each congregation have ministers conducting all things orderly. They have annual meetings, and many people gather to them. One was held late in March which I attended. I intend going some one hundred and twenty miles to organize a church in West Jersey² where brother Nathaniel Jenkins is called, but they are all English. From there I am likely to go to two annual meetings before I return home. One of these congregations numbers about eighty and the other about one hundred and twenty members. There is but one entire regular church in all respects, but I think they are willing to be instructed how to act in conformity with the usual customs. By the help of God I have been enabled to bring about some reformation and I have a full desire to correct all deficiencies pertaining to their faith as far as lies in my power—and give them directions for discipline and order. But it requires great caution and wisdom, so that I am constrained to say “who is sufficient for the work that here is to be done?” If undertaken in a clumsy manner, no good can be accomplished, for such interference divided a church of about one hundred and twenty members, so that the division existed for three or four years. A man³ who came from Ireland last year did much harm in this town. He hindered their success, but it is hoped that this stumbling block will soon be removed. Although many Welsh are in this country I fear but few are likely to keep up the true Protestant religion or their language. The English is swallowing their language, though assisted by religion. I intend giving a

¹ He means no doubt Baptist churches in Pennsylvania.

² This church was at Salem, N. J., and was organized June 24, 1712.

³ This was a man named Thomas Selby. In 1713 he went to Carolina and died there.

more minute history of religious matters when time permits. The true desire of my heart is that you remain firm in the faith, loving each other as members of Christ's body and continuing the worship of God as you are taught in the Gospel. Give aid to the hands of your leaders by praying for them in their difficulties and not forsaking them and finding fault with their actions. When you find that brother John Harry is qualified for the work, do not delay sending him out, so that brother William Philips may be encouraged and that they may bear the yoke together voluntarily and agreeably. . . . My mother-in-law and my daughter are well. . . . God help you all. Amen. From one you formerly judged faithful and who still continues the same and I hope will be kept through tribulations faithful to the end. Amen. So let it be.

ABEL MORGAN.

In this new country the earnest Welshman then in the prime of life and gifted in a remarkable degree as a preacher as well as a scholar, found a wide field of labor. Emigrants from Wales had already come in large numbers and every year brought more. He went forth as a sort of Evangelist and proclaimed the Gospel in all sections, nor was he without tokens of success. He was the main organizer of the churches at Brandywine in Chester County, and of Montgomery in Montgomery County, of which latter, his half-brother Rev. Benjamin Griffith was the first pastor. He also aided in constituting the church at Hopewell, Hunterdon Co., N. J., of which Rev. Isaac Eaton was pastor, and where in 1756 Mr. Eaton opened an Academy for the Baptists, being the first in the colonies which they had. Its history is very precious to them as it was the germ from which in a few years sprang Rhode Island College, now known as Brown University. Among Mr. Eaton's students was the Rev. James Manning, D.D., who in 1762 graduated at Princeton, with the second honor of his class and became the first President of Rhode Island College. Mr. Morgan early observed that one great want among the Baptists was good theological books—and hence we find in his correspondence with the English Baptist ministers, which he seems to have kept up very regularly, that he called their

attention to this want and besought them to render some aid. The petition met with favor, and Mr. Thomas Hollis and Mr. John Taylor, who were rich London Baptists, sent over a donation of books amounting in all to thirty-six folios and twenty-two octavos—all standard works. Mr. Hollis here referred to was very liberal, and made several donations of books and money to Harvard College, and the Hollis Professorship is named in his honor.

As already stated one of the last acts which Mr. Morgan did as he was about to leave Wales, was to urge his church to encourage all who had ministerial gifts. It is a singular coincidence that at the last meeting of the Philadelphia Association, which he attended in September, 1722, only a few months before his death, a similar proposition was made, no doubt by himself, as the Minutes¹ request the churches to give notice thereof to Mr. Abel Morgan, so that he might recommend them “to the Academy on Mr. Hollis, his account.”

In addition to his pastoral duties Mr. Morgan devoted himself to the translation into Welsh of the Baptist Confession of Faith, which had been adopted in 1689, in London, and to this he added two articles, one on Singing of Psalms, and the other on Laying on of Hands, which latter rite was once very common among the Baptists—and is still continued by a number of churches. The ceremony is sometimes called Confirmation.

But the greatest work of his life and that which will ever cause his memory to be held in great love and veneration especially by his countrymen, was the preparation of his celebrated “*Cyd Gordiad*,” or a Welsh Concordance of the Holy Scriptures. At that time there was no Welsh Concordance in existence and he felt that such a book would greatly aid the student of the Bible. So amid his pressing ministerial labors he began the work. His brother, Rev. Enoch Morgan, who wrote an introduction to it, says: “He set his mind on compiling a Concordance of the Scriptures and laboured with

¹ See Century Minutes, Philadelphia Baptist Association, p. 27.

unwearied diligence till he had produced and completed the following work, to enable those of imperfect memory and unskilled in Scripture knowledge, in obtaining readily the aid thus needed, in comparing Scripture with Scripture and thus acquiring enlarged light and knowledge. . . . The author thus used every effort in his day to urge all to a proper improvement of their time, setting the example in himself of a devoted pious life, not in the pulpit alone, but in a chaste and holy conversation, so that he could declare with Paul—"I am pure from the blood of all men." In his youth he gave himself to the good work and he fainted not." The work was dedicated to "The Honourable David Lloyd, Esquire, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania," himself a native Welshman. In the letter of Dedication, also written by Enoch Morgan, is the following concise statement, "In our tongue—the Welsh—the deficiency and the great need of such a work have been long felt and ardently desired, not only by our countrymen here, but no less so in the land of our birth, and especially since they have heard that the author of a *Welsh* Concordance was engaged in its preparation. This, out of the purest love to his countrymen, he ventured upon and accomplished but a short time before his decease. This event, his death, took place December 16th, 1722, bequeathing this token of his laborious life in the wilderness, in its destitute state, and which now requires the aid of those who are able to carry it through the press, so that it may appear in suitable form for distribution among his beloved countrymen, according to *his* design, and for *their* benefit."

This great work was revised and corrected for the press in March, 1730, by another Welshman, named John Cadwalader, of whom I can learn nothing whatever. It is a folio of 234 pages, and was printed by Samuel Keimer and David Harry, the latter a native of Wales. For the satisfaction of the curious, I append the title of the concordance in Welsh: "*Cyd-Gordiad Egwyddorawl o'r Scrythurau: Neu Daflen Lythyrennol o'r Prif Eiriau Yn y Bibl Sanctaidd. Yn Arwain dan y Cyfryw eiriau, i fuan ganfod pob rhyw ddymunol ran o'r Scrythurau. A Gyfan-soddwyd Drwy Lafurus Boen*

Abel Morgan, Gwenidog yr Efengyl er Ue's y Cymru. Argraphwyd yn Philadelphia, gan Samuel Keimer a Dafydd Harry. MDCCXXX." This, translated, means, "A Concordance of the Sacred Scriptures, or a complete Alphabetical Index to the principal words in the Holy Bible, by which any portion of the Scriptures desired, can be immediately found. Compiled carefully and with much labor. By Abel Morgan, Minister of the Gospel, among the Welsh. Printed at Philadelphia by Samuel Keimer and David Harry. 1730." The author, as above stated, died December 16, 1722, at the early age of forty-nine years, and was buried in the rear of the Baptist meeting-house, in Lagrange Place. His remains now rest in the Baptist Church lot at Mount Moriah Cemetery, and his grave is marked by the same tombstone which was erected in 1722. Mr. Morgan was married three times. His first wife was Priscilla Powell, of Abergavenny, South Wales, who died at sea, leaving a daughter. His second wife was Martha Burrows, by whom he left no issue. His third wife was Judith Griffiths, a daughter of Rev. Thomas Griffiths, of the Welsh Tract Church. Among his descendants are many of the most prominent Baptists of Pennsylvania and New York.

Mr. Edwards says of him, in 1770:¹ "He was a great and good man, and is held in dear remembrance by all who knew him."

¹ Edwards's Materials, vol. i. p. 15.

R E C Û E I L
DE
DIVERSES
P I E C E S,
CONCERNANT
LA
PENSYLVANIE.



A L A H A Y E ,

Chez ABRAHAM TROYEL,
Marchand Libraire, dans la Grand Salle
de la Cour, M.D C.LXXXIV,

COLLECTION OF VARIOUS PIECES CONCERNING
PENNSYLVANIA, PRINTED IN 1684.

TRANSLATED BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

[The volume, of which we give a fac-simile of the title on the preceding page, enjoys the reputation of being excessively rare. A copy was lately sold in London for £15 15s., and the one in the British Museum lacks the title page. Perfect copies are in the library of the late John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., and in that of a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who has kindly allowed us the use of it in preparing this article. Rare as the volume is, it appears to be but a translation of what is a still rarer tract entitled; *Beschreibung der in America new—erfunden Provinz Pensylvanien Derer Inwohner Gesetz Arth Sitten und Gebrauch: auch samlicher reviren des Landes sonderlich der haupt-stadt Philadelphia* 4to. 32 pp. HAMBURG, 1684.

A copy of this is also in the Carter Brown Library, and we believe it was published before the *Recueil de Diverses pieces concernant la Pensylvanie*, as they seem to have been given to the public by Benjamin Furley, Penn's agent at Rotterdam, who would probably have printed it in German before doing so in French. The work from which we print is an 18mo. of 118 pp. Some of the pieces it contains have been published so often as to render their reproduction unnecessary, and in such cases we shall only indicate in what part of the volume they appear and where they will be found entire. The fact that the work was no doubt issued by Furley to encourage the emigration of Germans and Hollanders to Pennsylvania, gives it a special value to those interested in the history of such emigration. We are indebted to the Hon. John Russell Bartlett, of Providence, R. I., for information in preparing this note.—ED. OF MAG.]

The book opens with a paper called a short account of the Province of Pennsylvania. It bears evidence of being an abridgment of "Some Account of Pennsylvania," issued by Penn in 1681, and which is printed in *Hazard's Annals*, p. 505. It may however be the report of a paper called *A Brief Account of Pennsylvania* mentioned in *Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books*, as having been published by Penn in 1682. If it is either the one paper or the other it is so nearly the same as that printed by Hazard that we will omit it.

The declaration of the King informing the inhabitants of Pennsylvania that he had made the grant to Penn comes next in order. (See *Hazard's Annals*, p. 502.) This is followed by a description of the Province, and the terms on which land could be purchased, which we print in full.

Reasons for the Gift of this Province by the King.

The reason and the foundation of the concession that the king has made to Sir William Penn, etc., was in the petition to the king, in which he recounted to him the services of his father, his sufferings, and his losses in proportion to his means, and, in the last place, his long attachment and his unsuccessful expenditures; in right and consideration of which it was the pleasure of the king to make to him the said concession, to which title the said William Penn has added the right he has obtained from the native inhabitants of the Province.

Concerning the Province and what it Produces.

It is situated 600 miles more to the south, than the latitude of England. As it is upon the same line, it is also about the same degree as Montpelier in France and Naples in Italy. The air is generally clear and agreeable. The summer is longer and warmer and the winter shorter and sometimes colder than in England. We are assured that the land is as good as any in these quarters. It produces generally oaks, cedars, mulberries, chestnuts, walnuts, firs, cypress, ashes, *estres*, poplars, sassafras, medlars, prunes, peaches, grapes, strawberries, raspberries, currants, hops, etc. The English fruits do there very well, and they grow in abundance. The woods are supplied with a quantity of wild birds, as turkeys of an extraordinary size, pheasants, grouse, partridges, pigeons, etc. The land is well watered from springs and rivers, and the rivers abound in fish, as sturgeon, sea-lambs (*brebis de mer*), shad, eels, etc., and in wild birds, as swans, gray and white geese, tame and wild ducks, etc. The corn of this province which the Indians use increases four hundred for one. It is good for the health, put in milk or made into bread. A bushel is worth two shillings, etc. There is also good English corn, such as wheat, rye, barley, and oats. A measure (*mine*) of wheat is sold for 28 pence, and that in merchandise in which there is half profit, rye 21 or 22 pence, barley and oats and Indian corn 16 pence.

There are also very good peas and beans of many kinds, without mentioning many plants and their qualities suitable for medicine or good to eat. The beef is very good, but the pork is very delicate. A pound of beef is worth three pence and a pound of pork two and a half. Butter is worth six pence a pound. Peaches for eating and to make a drink are worth eight pence a bushel. A cow with its calf, in the spring, is worth five pounds sterling; a pair of oxen ten pounds sterling; a bearing sow is worth 30 shillings; a good bearing mare while young is worth eight pounds sterling. But it ought to be noted that one has wherewith to pay the half of these prices and specified sums through the profit obtained on things brought from England, so that, if things are balanced, a mare for eight pounds sterling costs only four. The province also abounds in many sorts of wild animals, as elk, stags, deer, beaver, otters, wild-cats, raccoons, *foines*, martins, etc., some of which are good to eat, and cheap, as a fat deer for two shillings in English merchandise. Otters are valuable for their skins and furs. The method of trafficking is to send from the province to the plantations in the south corn, beef, pork, salt fish, cider, *douelles de tonneaux*, and skins and furs to England. The advantages this province has for navigation are double, since, besides the great bays of the Chesapeake and the river de Laware for the entrance of vessels, one finds there the wood required to make them.

Concerning the present Inhabitants.

The part of this country which is along the Chesapeake Bay and to the south upon the shores of the river de Laware is all inhabited by Swedes, Hollanders, and English, who are able to furnish necessaries to new comers until they can provide for themselves.

Capabilities of the Province.

It has been learned through many intelligent persons who have travelled in these parts of America, or who have frequented places in Europe which are under the same parallel,

that silk, the vine, saffron, and, perhaps, oil may be cultivated, and there are also tobacco, flax, hemp, woad, madder, and other kinds of plants suitable for dyes, *reguelisse*, ashes for soap, iron, and, no doubt, all the fruits raised in England and Italy.

Of the Government.

I. The Governor and the land owners have the power to make the laws but they cannot make laws nor raise taxes without the consent of the people.

II. The rights of the people of England are there in force.

III. All necessary laws for the good of the State can be made provided they do not conflict with the oath of fidelity and obedience to the King and are by common consent.

The Conditions.

The Province is on the footing of a rent of a penny for an acre or *arpent* but Mr. Penn excepts many parcels or lots which he calls shares, that is to say portions, and which he sells reserving a rent necessary to assure the title and superiority, assuring on his part full and free possession to the purchasers. That is to say that instead of 5000 acres which make one share amounting at the rate of a penny an acre to 20 pounds sterling, 16 shillings, 8 pence a year he sells and transfers this annual revenue for a hundred pounds sterling in cash. And in deducting 18 pounds sterling, 6 shillings and 8 pence he is content with a rent of 50 shillings annually, the payment of which will commence with the year 1684, and this can still be compounded if it is wished for a very moderate sum, under the reservation of some little thing which only serves to show the title of the vendor. So that the royalties which are proper to seigniories in England, as are both hunting and fishing with all the mines and common minerals, and a proportion of royal mines if any are found in the domain of a private person, are appropriated to him by these general concessions.

And if any one is unable to buy and wishing to go and having wherewith to pay his passage, and his servants, he will be well received, and it is declared that such a person for

himself, his wife, and child, male or female, if sixteen years old will have the right to take for each head fifty acres of land, paying one penny per acre annual rent, of which the payment will commence only at the end of the year 1684, and which they will enjoy for themselves and their heirs forever as if they had bought this quantity of land, and the surveyor of the country will at once put them in possession. And in order to encourage children and male and female servants to serve willingly their fathers and mothers, masters, and mistresses, and to complete diligently and faithfully the time for which they have made engagements, there will be given to each, after the expiration of this time, fifty acres of land, which will belong to them in perpetuity by paying for them two shillings rent annually for the whole, and by this means they will be regarded as free citizens of the Province.

The Most Suitable Persons for this Plantation.

The persons whom Providence seems to have rendered suitable for this plantation are laborers, vinedressers, and industrious hard-working artisans, such as carpenters, joiners, shipbuilders, masons, architects, wheelwrights, rope-makers, farriers, locksmiths, brickmakers, weavers, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, harness-makers, coppersmiths, coopers, millwrights, potters, people who understand raising silkworms and preparing silk, flax, hemp, and wool, tallow chandlers, furriers and, in a word, all kinds of artisans that there are in all the cities of Europe. It appears also that it is a very suitable place for cadets, and for persons who have not much means, for by their labor and that of their servants they can, in two or three years, put themselves very much at their ease. It is also very suitable for persons of taste who delight themselves in gardening and planting and divert themselves purely and pleasantly in examining the works of nature.

This place seems also very suitable for those ingenious spirits who being of low condition in this world and having much trouble to gain their livelihood can very well subsist there, and in gratifying their inclinations make their knowledge of value and aid in peopling the country. There are also

other persons who, not being born for themselves alone, can be very useful in these plantations; there are persons of an enlarged scope who, having in view the good of posterity, and being well informed take pleasure in advancing a good discipline and a just government among a sincere and well-meaning people. Such persons can find a good place in these colonies for their good counsel and their address since they would not be able to render these good services to great nations where good customs are already well established.

But those who wish to transport themselves there should take a proper estimate of the expense it is necessary to incur, for either they must work themselves or they must have the means to make others work. The winter comes before the summer, and it is necessary first to clear up the land before one gathers the fruits of what has been sown. Other things will come by degrees.

What is Suitable for the Voyage and what should be done on the Arrival.

The passage for a man and a woman with provisions costs five pounds sterling per head, for children under ten years fifty shillings, nothing for those at the breast; for the carriage of clothing, and merchandise forty shillings a cask, but the coffee of each passenger is free. Things valuable to take along as well for use as to sell are all the instruments of labor, carpentering, joining, masonry, and household utensils, together with all the things necessary for washing clothing, and covering oneself, as the more common stuffs, woollens, cloth, linen, stockings, shoes, hats, etc., and those who desire further instructions may address Philips Fort at the sign of the (*cœffe* and *escharpe*) Head and Scarf in Bow Lane, London.

Finally when, through God's assistance, there has been a happy arrival if it is in October two men can prepare as much land for corn as will be required to return in the following harvest twenty quarters, which are a hundred and sixty bushels English measure, and this should not cause astonishment when it is considered that a bushel of wheat sown produces 40 bushels in harvest. Meanwhile it is necessary to

buy corn at the price above indicated as well in order to live as to sow, but if beside this they buy two cows and two sows big with young, this, together with the game the Indians will furnish, venison and fish for very little money, will suffice by the help of their industry for their subsistence.

It is estimated that a fund of fifteen pounds sterling for a man who is once well supplied with clothes and instruments necessary for the interval, will conduct him there, with the blessing of God, and will support him there until he secures the costs and the benefits of his own plantation, but everybody should take his measures well. It is true that the land and what it contains are the Lord's and many suppose that these western parts of the world which have been long uncultivated and desert should be cultivated and peopled, and that they will have their turn just as Europe, Asia, and Africa have had theirs, concerning which some prophecies have been printed. I believe, for my part, that those whom God leads into this new world should, with respect, obey the orders of the Providence which calls them there, and separating themselves from their earthly interests, seek the consolations of seclusion after the example of the happy patriarchs, the glory of God, and the instruction of those who are in darkness, rather than ease, fulness, and abundance, in order to secure the blessing of Him who is the salvation of the ends of the earth.

Besides the above conditions Mr. Penn accords to poor French protestants who have wherewith to pay their passage that they will only have to pay a farthing per acre each year, the payment of which will not begin until 1685. He gives notice also that those who have not wherewith to pay will find good masters who, for four years' service, according to the custom of the colonies, will have them taken over, which period being finished they will be free and will have fifty acres of land forever at the same price as other servants. As to those who not being able to pay their passage do not wish to serve they will be transported gratis provided they pay a little more a year per acre.

*Explanations of Mr. Furly upon certain articles concerning
the establishment of Pennsylvania.*

To Purchasers.

The Governor sells 3000 acres or portions of land for a hundred pounds sterling which are worth eleven hundred Dutch pounds or thirteen hundred French pounds, each acre or portion being of about the extent of a Dutch *arpent*, upon the charge that the purchaser will obligate himself as well for himself as for his heirs to pay in perpetuity, and from year to year, a rent of an English shilling, which is worth twelve English pence in each hundred acres, and the land will be measured and delivered to said purchasers at such times and whenever they will request it whether to themselves or to those who will have powers of attorney from them.

The land being delivered in this manner, the purchaser will be bound within the term of three years to establish a family on each portion of a thousand acres in order to avoid the inconvenience which would result if the houses were very distant from each other, and if the purchaser should fail to observe this direction, and if some other newly-arrived person should desire to have this tract of land not yet inhabited, it will in that case be delivered to him upon condition that he first pay to the former purchaser the expense of the measurement previously made, and the withdrawal of the first purchaser as well as the installation of the second purchaser will be placed upon the public registry with the conditions agreed upon. And if afterward the first purchaser wishes to have as much land as he has yielded up it will be allotted to him in some other place whenever he will express a desire to have it.

To purchasers are granted the right of fishing and hunting, and the right of enjoying the mines found on the land they will occupy, with the exception of mines of gold and silver of which they will only have a portion. Formerly there was given for the sum of one hundred pounds sterling more land than at present, to wit 5000 acres instead of the 3000 acres now given. The reason of this diminution will be found

inserted in this recital p. 24. It is because the Governor pays at present as much for 2000 as he paid formerly for 20,000. So it is just that he gives less land than before for this price. A little over a year ago he wrote to me that on his arrival having found things differently arranged from what he had calculated upon I should in the future give only 3000 acres for 100 pounds sterling, and as he did not give me the reasons in detail I wrote to him to urge him to change his design. He answered me, and set forth such excellent reasons for his action that I was compelled to admit that he was entirely right. I have considered it necessary to declare here this circumstance in order that those who read the first instruction be not deceived and disappointed in their calculations.

To Renters.

To those who have enough money to pay the expense of their passage as well for themselves as for their wives, children, and servants, but upon their arrival have no more money with which to buy lands, the Governor gives full liberty for themselves, their wives, children, and servants who are not under the age of sixteen years, whether male or female, each to take fifty acres at an annual rent in perpetuity of an English *denier* for each acre, which is less than a Dutch *sol*. It will be rented to them and their children in perpetuity the same as if they had bought the said land. For the children and servants after the term of their service will have expired, in order to encourage them to serve faithfully their fathers and masters, the Governor gives them full liberty for themselves and their heirs in perpetuity, to take for each 50 acres paying only a little annual rent of two English shillings (*Escalins*) for 50 acres, which is less than a farthing for each acre. And they and their fathers and masters will be regarded as true citizens. They will have the right of suffrage not only for the election of Magistrates of the place where they live but also for that of the members of the Council of the Province and the General Assembly, which two bodies joined with the Governor are the sovereignty, and what is much more they may be chosen to exercise some office, if the community of

the place where they live consider them capable of it, no matter what their nationality or religion. The laws and concessions accorded by the Governor, confirmed and ratified by him, by the Council, and by the General Assembly are as follows:—

I. The members of the two Sovereign Colleges, to wit, the Council of State and the General Assembly every year, on a day fixed beforehand, without the necessity of any special order of the Governor, will be elected by the community, as well the inhabitants of cities as of the country, and this will be done by ballot so that the inhabitants of this colony can have no sovereign magistrates except those chosen by themselves, and in such a manner that the elected and defeated cannot know who has been in their favor or against them, in order to avoid the hatreds or animosities which might otherwise be produced. And if any one behaves badly during the year of his administration, a better can be chosen the following year.

II. There cannot be established any tax, excise, or impost, or any sort of charge in the community except by the consent of two-thirds of these colleges.

III. To prevent lawsuits as much as possible there will be a public register which will contain the goods and means of each, not only of the immovable goods, the mortgages, and contracts of renting which run beyond a year, but also the obligations and notes which exceed the sum of fifty pounds and which run beyond three months by which means an infinity of lawsuits will be prevented.

And to prevent any one gaining any advantage from urging people to sue each other it is forbidden to all advocates, lawyers, and solicitors to demand any money for their services.

IV. To prevent also any sect from raising itself above the others on account of some public place, or of the salary or moneys it may be able to draw from the public funds which come from all the inhabitants without distinction, no cathedral or principal church will be established *au lieu d'Assem-*

ble to which or to its ministers any one will be compelled to make contributions.

V. And in order that each may enjoy that liberty of conscience, which is a natural right belonging to all men and which is so conformable to the genius and character of peaceable people and friends of repose, it is established firmly not only that no one be forced to assist in any public exercise of religion, but also full power is given to each to make freely the public exercise of his own without meeting with any trouble or interference of any kind; provided that he profess to believe in one eternal God all powerful who is the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the world, and that he fulfil all the duties of civil society which he is bound to perform towards his fellow citizens.

VI. To keep away everything likely to entice the inhabitants into vanity, libertinism, impiety, and a scandalous life there are forbidden under certain penalties, which will be rigorously executed against transgressors and violators, all gambling, comedies, games of cards, games of dice, masquerades, injuries and cuttings, swearing and lying, or false witnessing (since it is forbidden to take an oath), all vile and indecent language, incest, sodomy, unchastity, treason, rebellion, murder, duels, larceny, luxury, ostentation in dress, debauches at dinners, and generally the commission of any of those irregularities which are contrary to Christian morality.

I have considered it well to give information of the above in order that honest people who have an inclination to come to this place may have further inducement, and that others may not imagine that they will be able to lead there a scandalous and libertine life.

VII. And in order that business men, who wish to carry on a traffic in this Province, may not be deterred by any fear they may entertain that they will not receive exact justice (since this is generally the complaint made in regard to the colonies) it is firmly established that if any one is found deceiving his principals or those trusting goods to him, and doing any wrong to them he is not only condemned to pay the damage but beside, for punishment for his bad faith, this factor is

obliged to pay beyond the loss he has caused to his principals, one-third more which will be applied to the profit of the principals.

In case of the death of any factor, and among his effects are found goods belonging to his principals, they will be safely and inviolably preserved and the deputies of the bond of trade (*College des negotiations*) will take care of them.

The good government, the laws and the constitutions which are there established encourage not only those who are already there but attract many people from all the other quarters of America, as has already occurred from Barbadoes, Virginia, Maryland, and New England. Since the Governor wrote the letter you will now see, he has sent others to England dated Nov. 10, 1683, new style, in which he gives information of the continued good fortune of this Province, and that in this month there arrived five vessels, among others one which brought many people from Crevelt and neighboring places in the land of Meurs (*le Maryland*). I am &c.

Your very affectionate friend,

BENJAMIN FURLY.

ROTTERDAM, March 6, 1684.

Extracts are here given from Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders, see Proud, vol. i. p. 246. Holme's description of Philadelphia is also given.

Extract from a letter written in Pennsylvania by Thomas Paskel to J. J. Chippenham in England, dated Feb. 10, 1683, new style.

After having affectionately saluted you, your wife, and all your family, hoping that you are in good health as we are, except one of my servants and a carpenter who though young and vigorous died on the vessel, but God be praised my wife and myself have not been sick, on the contrary we are better than when in England and continue in this state through the goodness of God.

I am not concerned about the health of this country for not only ourselves but all the people of another vessel which arrived with ours are all well having lost only one person,

also on the vessel, and all those who have come since we did are well also.

William Penn and those of his Company have arrived in good health and he has been received with great satisfaction, as also in New York where he went and was generously treated. There is a city here called Philadelphia where there is a market, and another at Chester that was formerly called Upland, and William Penn is striving to bring about union between the cities.

I have recently been on the other side of the river de Laware at Burlington in West Jersey at the fair where there was a great concourse of people and great abundance of English merchandize that we could get for a reasonable price, for this country is full of goods; tin and copper are very common. I took there some *cariséés* that I could not sell. There is need here of Spanish cloth, of *frizettes* or ratteens and iron pots but what is most in demand is linen and coarse stuffs.

There are some Swedes and Finns who have lived here forty years and lead an easy life through the abundance of commodities, but their clothes were very mean before the coming of the English from whom they have bought good ones and they begin to show themselves a little proud. They are an industrious people. They employ in their buildings little or no iron. They will build for you a house without any other implement than an axe. With the same implement they will cut down a tree and have it in pieces in less time than two other men would spend in sawing it, and with this implement and some wooden wedges they split it and make boards of it or anything else they please with much skill. The most of them speak English, Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch. They plant a little tobacco and a little Indian corn. The women are good housekeepers. The most of the linen they wear they spin the flax and make themselves.

Now I am going to give you an account simply and without exaggeration of this country as I have found it.

When we arrived the first time, we saw a quantity of little fish which hid themselves under the water and also some great fish which leaped in the water. This river de Laware

is a beautiful and agreeable river and has many kinds of fish in great abundance. The country which is along the river de Laware about 160 miles from the sea is generally cultivated principally on the Pennsylvania side, and also along the little rivers by the Swedes, Finns, and Dutch, among whom the English have also begun to intrude, buying houses from them. Thus some locate on the great rivers, others on the little ones, and others go a little further 7 or 8 miles beyond in the woods so that the land which is along the great and little rivers is all taken.

Thomas Colburn has gone to live in the woods three miles or an hour's journey from here. He is in a good situation and he has already gained 14 acres of wheat, and with his trade 30 or 40 pounds sterling within the little time that he has been here.

I have rented a house for my family during this winter, and I have built a little house on my land for my domestics. I live on the banks of the river Schuylkill, near enough to the city of Philadelphia, and I have already cleared 6 acres. I can truly say that since I left Bristol I have never wished to return there. Some English have gone to settle in the upper country and they have sowed this year 40 to 50 bushels of wheat with which they can plant 14 or 16 acres. They have beside many cattle. For the most part men eat here rye bread not because they have not wheat but because they have more rye. For they have here two kinds of wheat, winter wheat that they sow in the fall, and summer wheat that they sow in March. They harvest them both in the month of June after which they work the land again and sow buckwheat which they gather in September.

I have eaten here as good bread and drunk as good beer as in England. They have also as good butter and as good cheese as in most places in England.

Grain is no longer dear here for although this year there have arrived 24 vessels loaded with people which has caused dearness of provisions in some places it is the fact that I have never paid for a measure (mine) of the best wheat more than 28 pence, and that in merchandize which cost me almost a

half less in England. A measure (mine) of rye may be bought for 21 or 22 pence, barley the same both in winter and in summer, oats and three kinds of Indian corn as good to make beer as barley, each measure sixteen pence or 4 florins, each florin of 4 pence. I have bought here good beef, pork, and mutton for two pence a pound and sometimes less. Turkeys (*Cocqs d'Inde*) and wild geese for two or three pounds of lead shot a piece and ducks for a pound and that in quantity.

There are here very great quantities of birds and one hardly thinks it worth while to shoot at ring pigeons and pheasants. One can get venison from the Indians cheap and formerly they gave it to the Swedes at a half less. I have had three deer for three ells of coarse stuff which cost me less than three florins, and the most part of the time still better bargains can be made. We have also had this fall bear's meat for nothing or for very little. It is pretty good food and tastes a little like beef. They have recently sold many horses for Barbadoes, and from Barbadoes they send us abundance of beef, sugar, and molasses or syrup of sugar.

Our gardens supply us all sorts of herbs and even some which are not in England. Here are roses, currants, gooseberries, turnips, white carrots, and onions better than in England. Peaches of three kinds, and in such quantity that they let them fall on the ground where they rot and the swine eat them. They extract from these peaches a good spirit with stills, as also from grain, cherries, prunes, and grapes, for which purpose almost every one has a copper boiler in his house. There are also pears and apples in great abundance, cherries and apricots, some black and others red, prunes and quinces.

The woods are full of oaks, very high and straight. Many are about two feet in diameter and some even more, and a Swede will cut down for you a dozen of the largest in a day. We have here beautiful poplars, beeches, ash, linden, fir, gooseberry, sassafras, chestnut, hazelnut, mulberry, and walnut trees, but few cedars and pines. There grow in the woods many black currants, strawberries, blackberries, better than in England, and also three kinds of grapes and prunes.

There is here an abundance of marcassite (iron pyrites). Almost everywhere there are numbers of streams which flow over falls in the woods. I have seen recently some very good salt to salt meat, which was brought to me from the woods by an Indian. They say it is easy to find enough of it. As to metals or minerals I have only seen the marcassite, of which is made vitriol and red copper in England.

Here there are beavers, raccoons, wolves, bears, and a kind of lions, wildcats, muskrats, elks, weasels, martins, squirrels, and other little beasts. None of the above animals will hurt you unless you attack them. There are also green and brown snakes in the woods after the month of September.

The Indians are very gentle and peaceable, having good intelligence and many good qualities, but when they are ill treated they revenge themselves. They live more civilly since the English came among them, so that they sell necessities one-half cheaper than before. Many of them even begin to talk English. I heard one of them say: *The Swede is not a good man, the German is not a good man, but the Englishman is a good man.*

For the seasons of the year I can say very little, but since we have been here we have enjoyed very good weather. This country is for the most part a good country, but in some places the land is thin and dry.

There are also some valleys here which the Swedes value very highly, and which many people will have to do without.

I know here three men who have found a piece of land of about 100 acres in extent entirely clear of trees, thickets, stumps, and roots, which can be worked without trouble, and the further one goes into the country the more he finds of such land. There is good land filled with large and small trees and some good land where not a tree grows. The winter is severe, and it is troublesome to take care of cattle. Those who bring them here ought to be people who work and understand agriculture.

I would strongly advise those who come here to provide themselves with good provisions, so as to live more comfortably on the vessel and to have still some left when

they reach land, for though it is very easy by means of the river to get things of which you have need at a reasonable price, it is sometimes necessary to go far to seek them, which is to lose much time. It is true they are trying to bring it about that all places be well furnished.

I have indeed many more things to tell you, but the shortness of the time does not permit it. Adieu.

THOMAS PASKEL.

PENNA., Feb. 10, 1683 (new style).

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 216.)

McCALL—SWIFT—ELLIOT—JAUNCEY—DIGBY.

136. MARGARET McCALL,⁵ daughter of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 6, 1731. She married in this city, February 3, 1759, Joseph Swift, younger brother of John Swift, who had married her sister-in-law, Magdalen Kollock, widow of Jasper McCall (128), and of Mary Swift, first wife of Matthias Keen, son of John and Susannah (Steelman) Keen, of Tacony (66). Mr. Swift was born June 24, 1731, and received a good education, partly in this country and partly in England, where his uncle John White (already mentioned) passed the last years of his life, and from whom he obtained a valuable estate. Settling permanently in Philadelphia, he engaged successfully in mercantile pursuits in partnership with his elder brother. He signed the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765. October 6, 1767, he was elected a Member of the Common Council of our city, and under the Act of March 11, 1789, incorporating "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia," with Reynold Keen (85), and John Nixon, elsewhere spoken of, he was chosen one of the fifteen Aldermen. His interest in the social life of the town is attested by his subscription to the aristocratic Mount Regale Fishing Company in 1763, as well as to many of the early Dancing Assemblies. For a period of forty years he almost constantly held the position of Vestryman or Warden of Christ Church. As Deputy for Christ Church, he signed "The Act of Association of the Clergy and Congregations of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania" in 1785; and annually represented that parish in subsequent Diocesan Conventions till

1802, at the same time always serving upon the Standing Committee of the Diocese. Mr. Swift resided for many years on the west side of Front Street between Market and Chestnut, and afterwards on the north side of Pine Street between Third and Fourth, and had a country-seat near Germantown, in Philadelphia County. He died December 24, 1806, and was buried in Christ Church Ground. The following obituary notice of him appears in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* of the 29th of that month: "Died, on Wednesday last, in his seventy-fourth year (*sic*), Joseph Swift, Esquire, a respectable Merchant of Philadelphia. It is not enough to record of this very worthy gentleman, that he maintained a blameless course through a protracted and trying life. With a constitution delicate in the extreme, he executed his many duties with an energy and steadiness only to have been expected from a stronger frame. In his private dealings, he was exemplarily just. In the city Magistracy, which he filled for some time, he was a firm, though gentle curb to evil doers, and a supporter and protector of those who did well. In various offices of our commercial, charitable, and religious institutions, and particularly in those of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which he was an invaluable member, he honoured himself and served his constituents by faithful and judicious execution of the trusts. As the tender comforter and true friend of numerous relatives, bereaved, by the dispensations of Divine Providence, of precious and beloved connections, Mr. Swift's conduct was eminently meritorious and engaging; and from that cause many a tear bedews his memory. In the domestic scene, as a good Brother, a tender and excellent Father, and the true and best Friend of one of the most worthy and most affectionate of Wives, he merited and enjoyed the perfect esteem of all who knew him in that private walk. But his most distinguishing characteristic was an enlightened and respectful attachment to the principles and truths of Christianity. A sincere devotion to these was ever considered by our departed Friend as the only sure foundation of genuine piety in this world, and of safety and happiness in the world beyond the tomb." Mrs. Swift died

December 19, 1804. The same journal, December 24, thus speaks of that event: "Died, on Wednesday morning last, Mrs. Margaret Swift, the wife of Joseph Swift, Esq., who for many years was a respectable merchant in this city. Her remains were decently interred on Thursday Evening in Christ's Church burial ground, attended to the grave by her numerous relatives. On these occasions the partial pens of friends too frequently delineate virtues and perfections which never belonged to the deceased; but in the present instance we can declare with the utmost truth, that the conduct of Mrs. Swift, during a long life of seventy-five years, has been highly meritorious and exemplary. With great correctness she discharged her relative duties: as a wife she was affectionate—the happiness of her husband was her chief aim in every action; as a mother she was tender and indulgent, and her children will long revere her memory; as the mistress of a family she was uniformly kind to her dependants. Piety, truth, candour, sincerity, and affability strongly marked her character, and she deservedly obtained the love and esteem of all her friends. In an advanced age the Providence of Heaven has translated her from this earth: she was a Christian, and her hopes of future happiness rested on the merits of her Redeemer."* Mr. and Mrs. Swift had fourteen children, born in Philadelphia:

353. ELEANOR, b. January 6, 1760. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, September 19, 1787, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground.
354. JOHN WHITE, b. March 12, 1761. He d. November 19, 1761, and was bur. *ibid.*
355. ANNE, b. July 19, 1762. She d. December 30, 1764, and was bur. *ibid.*
356. MARY McCALL, b. August 7, 1763. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, December 9, 1855, and was bur. *ibid.*
357. GEORGE, b. in 1764. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of the State of Pennsylvania in 1781. He d. unm. in Philadelphia, September 19, 1794, and was bur. *ibid.*
358. JOSEPH, b. December 14, 1765. He engaged in mercantile pursuits in Philadelphia, and resided for some time on a farm in Little Britain Township, Lancaster County, Pa., purchased for him and bequeathed to him by his father. He married and left issue.

* Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Swift are in the possession of, the family of their grandson, the late Mr. Joseph Swift, of Philadelphia.

359. JOHN WHITE, b. March 5, 1767. He engaged in mercantile pursuits in Philadelphia, residing for the greater part of his life in his father's house on Pine Street. He d. unm. May 15, 1852, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground.
360. MARGARET, b. March 20, 1768. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, May 9, 1822, and was bur. *ibid.*
361. MARTHA, b. October 30, 1769. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, July 9, 1793, and was bur. *ibid.*
362. SAMUEL, b. January 12, 1771. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of the State of Pennsylvania in 1786, and studied law with his cousin Judge Jasper Yeates (151), but was not admitted to the bar, passing his life at his country-seat in Philadelphia County. "Educated a Federalist, he nevertheless espoused the Democratic policy, which he occasionally advocated in articles greatly esteemed at the time for their vigour, candour, research, and polish. He possessed much natural poetical talent which he cultivated and exercised, up to his decease, for the amusement and gratification of his family, though he never cared to seek a wider circle."* He was a Vestryman of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Oxford, Philadelphia Co. He m. February 11, 1795, Mary, daughter of Colonel Joseph Shippen, Secretary to the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Lancaster County,† by his wife Jane, daughter of John and Jane Galloway, of Anne Arundel County, Maryland,‡ b. in Philadelphia, May 17, 1773. Mrs. Swift d. June 2, 1809. Mr. Swift d. at Germantown, Philadelphia Co., November 28, 1847. They are bur. in one tomb in Trinity Churchyard, Oxford. They left issue.§
363. ELIZABETH, b. April 1, 1772. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, January 24, 1857, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground.

* *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, pp. xcii.—xciii.

† Brother to Edward Shippen, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and to Sarah Shippen, wife of Colonel James Burd, whose daughter Sarah m. Jasper Yeates (151); and son of Edward Shippen, Mayor of Philadelphia in 1744, and afterwards Prothonotary and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Lancaster County, Pa., son of Joseph and Abigail (Gross) Shippen, already mentioned (PENNA. MAG., vol. v. p. 453). His grandson John Shippen m. his granddaughter Margaret, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Shippen) Swift. For a further account of him see *Letters and Papers*, etc., pp. lxvii. *et seq.*

‡ Cousin to Joseph Galloway, the noted Pennsylvania Loyalist.

§ For whom see *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*. Their son the late Joseph Swift m. Eliza Moore, daughter of George and Rebecca Harrison (Blackwell) Willing, also a descendant of Jöran Kyn.

364. ANNE, b. November, 1773. She was bur. *ibid.* April 5, 1774.

365. ARCHIBALD. He d. December 5, 1779, and was bur. *ibid.*

366. WILLIAM. He d. udm.

137. ELEANOR McCALL,⁵ daughter of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., July 8, 1732. She married in this city, October 31, 1754, Andrew Elliot, third son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Second Baronet, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, bearing the title of Lord Minto,* by his wife Helen, daughter of Sir Robert Stuart, Baronet, of Allankbank, and uncle to Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto. Mr. Elliot was a native of Scotland, and accompanied John Swift, before mentioned (brother of Joseph Swift and Mary Keen, and second husband of Magdalen Kollock, wife of Jasper McCall), from London to Philadelphia, where he became engaged in mercantile pursuits. On a visit of his to England, he is thus referred to in a letter from Mr. Swift to Grosvenor Bedford, October 25, 1749: "If you frequent the Pennsylvania Coffee House [in London], you will probably meet with a tall, thin Scots gentleman, with a pimply face. He answers to the name of Elliot, and is an intimate friend of mine, one for whom I have a particular regard, on account of several valuable qualities I have discovered in him, we having lived together in the same house for nearly two years." And another from the same gentleman to Osgood Gee, Esq., of Beckenham, Kent, commends him as "a very sensible, modest, deserving young fellow, and an agreeable companion."† He was a Subscriber to the First Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in 1748, and a Manager of that of 1754.

* Son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, who was constituted one of the Lords of Session in Scotland, when he assumed the honorary designation of Lord Minto, and was subsequently appointed Lord Justice Clerk, and created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1700, grandson of Gilbert Elliot, Esq., of Stobs, ancestor of "the celebrated General Elliott, created Lord Heathfield for his gallant and ever memorable defence of Gibraltar in 1782." For an account of the distinguished family of Mr. Elliot see Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, particularly under "Elliott" and "Minto," and, for further details, the *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto*, edited by his great-niece the Countess of Minto (London, 1874).

† *Letters and Papers*, etc., pp. lxxxvi. and xciii., notes.

He was elected an Honorary Member of the St. Andrew's Society in 1749, and was an Active Member from 1750 to 1764, and Vice-President of the association in 1754 and 1759. He was chosen a Common-Council-man of Philadelphia, October 7, 1755, and with his brother-in-law George McCall, and Gilbert Barkly, who afterwards married Mrs. Elliot's niece, Anne Inglis, joined Captain Kidd's Independent Company of Foot in 1756. In 1762 he was elected a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia, but retired the same year. He continued to reside in our city until his appointment, January 19, 1764, as Collector of Customs at New York, when he removed thither, taking up his abode in a house in Bowery Lane, and acquiring a country-seat, which he called "Minto," on the Hudson. He was also commissioned Receiver-General of Quit Rents for the Province of New York. At this time, says Judge Thomas Jones in his *History of New York*,* "his acquaintance principally consisted of a little circle of Scottish friends; he was kind, friendly, and hospitable to his countrymen and friends; was generous to the poor; was a gentleman born; and had a good heart." He "performed his official duties," according to Sabine,† "in a manner highly satisfactory." In 1774 "he seized a large quantity of arms possessed by the disaffected in New York, and sent them off to General Gage, regardless of 'some very shocking and threatening letters upon the occasion, behaving with so much spirit that the whole respectable [Tory] people of New York and the country round waited upon him in great bodies to testify their approbation and promise him support, attending him to the place where he was to do his duty and conducting him home in triumph.'"‡ Upon the

* Edited by Edward Floyd de Lancey, New York, 1879, vol. i. pp. 166-7.

† In his *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, 2d ed., vol. i. p. 404. A letter from Mr. Elliot to the Hon. Charles Stewart, Surveyor-General of the Eastern Middle District of America, on the enforcement of the Stamp Act of 1765, appears in the *PENNA. MAG.*, vol. ii. pp. 296-7.

‡ *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot*, vol. i. p. 23, citing "family correspondence." Sabine, speaking of this affair, says, Elliot "was threatened with a coat of tar and feathers."

Declaration of Independence he retired with his family and effects into New Jersey, but on the reduction of New York by the Royal Army he returned, and, May 1, 1777, was proclaimed by Sir William Howe Superintendent of the Court of Police, and, July 17, Superintendent of all Imports and Exports to and from the Islands of New York, Long Island, and Staten Island. "In 1779 he was made Lieutenant-Governor of New York, a Member of his Majesty's Council, and one of the Council to the Commissioners for Restoring Peace to the Colonies. All of which commissions, honours, and places, with the amazing large salaries and emoluments, profits and advantages arising therefrom, he held until the evacuation of New York took place in November, 1783."* In company with Governor Robertson and Chief-Justice Smith, he was sent by Sir Henry Clinton to General Washington, to make a last attempt to save the life of Major André. Mr. Elliot was of the Presbyterian religion, and, during his residence in New York, a prominent member of the Wall Street congregation of the Reverend John Rodgers, uncle of General William Macpherson, who married Margaret Stout, a descendant of Jöran Kyn already mentioned (240). In consequence of his adherence to the cause of his sovereign during the American Revolution, his estates in New York and Pennsylvania were confiscated at the close of the War, and he took up his abode at Mount Teviot, Roxburghshire, Scotland.† Speaking of him at this time, his relative Lady Minto says:‡ "No amount of dutiful attention could ever induce the ex-governor to forgive a nephew§ who had sympathized in the views of Burke and Fox on the American War; no promptings of family pride could induce him to

* Jones's *History of New York*, vol. i. p. 167.

† "His family sailed for England," says Sabine, "in the *Nonesuch*, of 64 guns, June, 1783; and his furniture was sold at auction in September, of that year, at his house in Bowery Lane."

‡ *Op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 23-4. Cf., also, p. 180, note.

§ Sir Gilbert Elliot, Fourth Baronet, afterwards First Earl of Minto. The other uncle of Sir Gilbert, referred to in this citation, is Governor Elliot's brother Admiral John Elliot, R. N., who, as Captain Elliot, had been second in command of the fleet at New York, under Lord Howe, in 1778.

lend an ear, when that nephew's parliamentary distinction formed the subject of conversation: while the younger man in his most brilliant days did not entirely lose his awe of the 'dour' old uncles living in retirement on Teviotside, who were not to be diverted or cajoled from their early prepossessions by the influence of great names and brilliant examples. On the cover of a letter addressed to his wife, which inclosed one from Burke more than commonly hyperbolic in its approbation of a great oratorical effort, we find these words: 'Do not let my uncles see it, as they might find a little ridicule in it.' " Similarly writes the Reverend Dr. Thomas Somerville,* relating conversation of Mr. Burke, while on a visit to Sir Gilbert Elliot at Minto in 1785: "Of Washington he spoke with enthusiasm, and said that his character would be transmitted to the latest ages, among the first of heroes and patriots. As Governor Elliot, Sir Gilbert's uncle, who had been invested with the presidency of New York, and uniformly loyal and zealous in the British interest, made one of our company, I thought Mr. Burke's panegyric on Washington inconsiderate and indelicate; and I could well perceive that both the Governor and his brother Admiral Elliot† were of my opinion. When I alluded to this subject afterwards in a conversation with Governor Elliot, he said that, 'if the most artful caution constituted greatness of character, Washington certainly had a just claim to the precedence Mr. Burke had assigned him; for that he always waited for the opinions of others before he declared his own;' by which I understood Governor Elliot to mean that Washington yielded craftily to the current of popular sentiment, and that he was rather the defender than the instigator of the independence of America. At the same time, Mr. Elliot checked my curiosity for more particular information, by saying that the American affairs

* *My Own Life and Times*, pp. 222 *et seq.* (Edinburgh, 1861.) Americans will form a very different estimate of the well-known trait of character of their immortal *Pater Patriæ*, referred to by Elliot, from that of the Governor and his Scotch interpreter, the author of this work.

† Admiral John Elliot, before alluded to. Governor Elliot's brother Archibald Elliot was likewise an Admiral in the English Navy.

were to him a source of such painful recollection that he wished never to make them the subject of discourse, and even, if it were possible, to expel them from his thoughts." Mrs. Elliot died in Philadelphia, and was buried in Christ Church Ground May 20, 1756.* Mr. Elliot afterwards married Elizabeth, daughter of William Plumsted by his first wife Rebecca Kearney, and step-daughter of Mr. Elliot's sister-in-law Mary (McCall) Plumsted (133). He died in Scotland in May, 1797. In a letter of his nephew Sir Gilbert Elliot to Lady Elliot, written from London, Monday, May 29, the event is spoken of in these terms: "I received this morning your two letters of Wednesday, the last of which brought me the account of Mr. Elliot's death. I do most sincerely pity the Admiral; no man ever sustained a more serious loss, nor one that must be felt by him as more irretrievable."† By his first wife Mr. Elliot had one child:

367. ELEANOR, b. in Philadelphia in 1756. She was m. in New York, November 23, 1773, to James Jauncey, Junior, of that city, second son of Captain James Jauncey,‡ by his wife Maria, daughter of

* A portrait of Mrs. Elliot is in the possession of the family of her great-nephew, the late Mr. Joseph Swift, of Philadelphia.

† *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot*, vol. ii. p. 401. The Admiral referred to is Admiral John Elliot.

‡ A native of Bermuda, who came to New York, in command of a sloop, in July, 1743, and soon afterwards settled permanently in that city, following the pursuit of a merchant, and fitting out and owning several privateers. He was a Warden of the Port of New York from 1758 to 1774. He signed the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765, and was one of the twelve persons who addressed the General Assembly on the state of the country, on behalf of the meeting of twelve hundred freemen and freeholders, held in November of that year. He was a Member of the General Assembly of the Province from 1768 until the final dissolution of that body in 1775. In May, 1774, he was elected a Member of the Committee of Fifty-one, to concert measures of remonstrance against the arbitrary course of the British Parliament, but did not attend any meetings after that of the 23d. In consequence of his adherence to the cause of his sovereign, his estates were forfeited and he was banished by Act of the Legislature of New York passed October 22, 1779; but it is probable that his personal property had already been transferred to England, since, at his death, he was "said to be worth £100,000." On retiring from this country, he took up his residence in London, where he died February 6, 1790, just before the passage of the Act permitting him to return to New

Captain William Smith, of New York, and his first wife Geritje,* daughter of Justus Bosch. Mr. Jauncey was b. about 1747. He was graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1763, and March 9, 1774, was appointed by Governor Tryon, in Council, to the honourable and lucrative office of Master of the Rolls, and January 14, 1775, was chosen a Member of the Council in the place of Sir William Johnson, deceased, taking the oaths and his seat the 2d of the following month. His name appears in a list of suspected persons furnished to the Provincial Congress of New York, June 5, 1776, and in a list of June 15 he was designated for arrest; whereupon he wrote to his friend Gouverneur Morris, Member of the New York Convention, requesting information as to the charges against him, but was answered that the Convention was too busy to give attention to his case. In accordance with a demand made by General Washington, July 19, on the New York Committee of Safety, to remove him from the city, he was arrested in August, with his father and elder brother William Jauncey, and sent to Middletown, Connecticut, from whence the father, by permission of the Connecticut Committee of Safety, soon returned to Westchester, New York, and took his wife and family and the wife of his son James to Middletown. On the 29th of November Mr. Jauncey wrote to members of the New York Committee of Safety, complaining that he had never been informed of the nature of the charges against him, and desiring that he, with his father and brother, might be permitted to return to their homes, his father-in-law also requesting this privilege for his daughter and her husband. The Committee refused, however, for the reason that the younger Jauncey still claimed to hold office under the "late government;" that he was apprehended not only on that account, but also because he

York. Like Governor Elliot he was a prominent member of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, and he is spoken of in an obituary notice in *The Gentleman's Magazine* as "well known for his constant practice of relieving the poor at chapel doors and in the street." (For further account of him and his family, see *The Jaunceys of New York* (N. Y., 1876), from which these facts are taken, *The Bermuda Branch of the Jauncey Family* (N. Y., 1873), and a Note in *The New York Gen. and Biog. Record*, vol. x. p. 181, all written by Joseph O. Brown, Esq., of New York City, a descendant of Captain James Jauncey's brother Captain John Jauncey.)

* Called in her father's will "Charity." Captain Smith's second wife, Sarah Het, was the sister-in-law of Judge William Smith, and aunt of William Smith, Chief-Justice of Canada, the historian of New York. Two of his grandchildren by his first wife, Colonel William Stevens Smith and Mary Smith, married children of John Adams, President of the United States.

was connected by marriage with Sir Gilbert Elliot, Member of Parliament, active against the liberties of America, and one of the Cabinet as well as of the Privy Council of the King of Great Britain; and, also, that a granting of the request would imply the consent on the part of the Convention to his exercise of the offices he claimed to hold; while, "in respect to the elder Jauncey, no application being personally made by him, it would be a depreciation of the honour of the Convention to take any notice of the application of his son in his behalf." Nevertheless, the Connecticut Committee, December 20, giving the family permission to return home on their parole, they availed themselves of the privilege, arriving in New York the 29th. Mr. Jauncey d. in that city August 11, 1777, and was bur. in Trinity Churchyard, his body afterwards being removed to Greenwood Cemetery.* Mrs. Jauncey survived her husband, and m., 2dly, August 19, 1784, Admiral Robert Digby, R. N., third son of Edward Digby, by his wife Charlotte, daughter of Sir Stephen Fox, grandson of William, Fifth Baron Digby, by his wife Lady Jane Noel, daughter of Edward Noel, First Earl of Gainsborough,† and brother of Henry, Seventh Baron and First Earl Digby. Mr. Digby entered the English Navy "in 1744, and attained the rank of post-captain in 1755. It was with him that the Duke of Clarence commenced his professional career. He commanded the *Ramilies*, one of the leading ships in the indecisive action between Admiral Keppel and Orvilliers in 1778, and in 1780 was second in command to Admiral Rodney in the glorious engagement with Don Juan de Langara, off Cape St. Vincent."‡ In 1781 Digby, now Rear-Admiral of the Red, received a commission for commanding in North America, where he arrived September 24, with the *Prince George* of 98, *Canada* of 74, and *Lion* of 64 guns, accompanied by Prince William Henry, afterwards King William IV. of England, then a Midshipman in the Royal

* For this account of Mr. Jauncey I am indebted to Mr. Brown's *Jaunceys of New York*, with some kind additional personal communications from the author.

† By his first wife Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, Fourth Earl of Southampton. For the distinguished ancestry and family of Admiral Digby see Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, under "Digby," "Gainsborough," and so forth. Lady Leonora Caroline Digby, daughter of Edward St. Vincent, Ninth Lord Digby, and great-great-niece of Admiral Digby, married Alexander Hugh Baring, Fourth Lord Ashburton, great-great-grandson of Thomas Willing and his wife Anne McCall, cousin-german to Mrs. Digby, a descendant of Jöran Kyn already mentioned (317).

‡ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxiv. pt. i. p. 412.

Navy, and was about to attack the fleet of the Count de Grasse, acting under Admiral Graves (whom he was unwilling immediately to relieve), when news was brought them, near Cape Charles, of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis some days before. Graves soon afterwards sailing, agreeably to his instructions, to the West Indies, Admiral Digby, in obedience to his orders, took command on our coast.* According to Lady Minto, the alliance of Mrs. Jauncey with Admiral Digby, gave great satisfaction to her family; and William Eden, subsequently First Lord Auckland,† who m. Mr. Elliot's niece Eleanor, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Third Baronet, wrote thus on this occasion: "The Admiral is a good man, and as rich as Pactolus; he does not consider a set of features or the tincture of a complexion as essential ingredients in matrimony. Mr. Andrew Elliot has had luck in the marriages of Lady Cathcart, Lady Carnegie, and Mrs. Digby. I am glad of it, for he has great merits."‡ Hereafter Mrs. Digby resided in England, although she "maintained for many years a constant and affectionate correspondence" with her intimate friend and cousin-german Mary Swift, daughter of Joseph and Margaret (McCall) Swift, of Philadelphia.§ Robert Digby d. at his residence, Minterne Magna, county Dorset,

* See *The Political Magazine for* MDCCLXXXIV., vol. vi. pp. 20 *et seq.*, an extract from which, relating to Admiral Digby, is given in *Letters and Papers*, etc., p. xciv., note.

† One of the Royal Commissioners for restoring peace in America, appointed in 1778.

‡ *A Memoir of the Right Honourable Hugh Elliot*, by the Countess of Minto, p. 296 (Edinburgh, 1868). Governor Elliot's daughter by his second wife, Elizabeth Plumsted, Elizabeth Elliot married William Schaw, Tenth Baron Cathcart, afterwards Lieutenant-General in the English Army, and First Earl Cathcart; and his daughter Agnes Murray, also by his second wife, married Sir David Carnegie, Fourth Baronet, described by Lady Isabella Elliot, niece of Governor Elliot, as "a Scotch gentleman of a very good character and large fortune," whose grandson Sir James Carnegie, Sixth Baronet, was restored to the peerage in 1855 as Earl of Southesk. Lord Cathcart was an officer in the army of Sir William Howe, and chief of the "Knights of the Blended Rose" in the famous "Meschianza," given in honour of him and Admiral Lord Howe at Philadelphia in May, 1778.

§ *Letters and Papers*, etc., p. xci. A portrait of Mrs. Digby, taken whilst a child, by West, is owned by the family of her cousin the late Mr. Joseph Swift; and a miniature of her, taken after she went to England to reside, is in the possession of her kinsman, Mr. Edward Shippen Buckley, of Philadelphia. Pictures representing different views of her husband's residence, painted by Robert Sherburne in 1790, are in the possession of the family of the late Mr. Swift.

England, February 25, 1814, "at a very advanced age, and senior Admiral of the Royal Navy." Mrs. Digby d. s. p.* at Minterne House, July 28, 1830.

* Mr. Brown, in *The Jaunceys of New York*, p. 19, and Mr. de Lancey, in his edition of Jones's *History of New York*, vol. i. p. 665, err in making the notorious Lady Ellenborough the daughter of Admiral Robert Digby. She was the daughter of his nephew, Sir Henry Digby, G. C. B., also an Admiral in the English Navy. (See Burke's *Peerage*, under "Digby.")

(To be continued.)

GRIFFITH EVANS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

On Indian Queen Lane, to the west of the Township Line Road, is a structure of stone, which, long ago, was used as a blacksmith's shop. It is said of it that when the British were at Germantown, in the Revolution, their farriers used it as a smithery for their cavalry. In recent years the building has been enlarged, and is now a tenant's dwelling house. It is on a place of some forty odd acres, in what in Colonial times was called "Liberty Lands." The property lies about half a mile north of Devon, Blight's place. In 1792 it was owned by Henry Hill, a Philadelphian long engaged in business in the Island of Madeira. Returning here, he built, for a residence, that fine old house on the east side of Fourth Street north of Union. He died of yellow fever in 1798. In 1802 Archibald McCall acquired the place, and made efforts there to improve the breed of sheep. He had imported Merinos, and dogs to protect them; but it is remembered that some of the dogs played the part of their cousin, the wolf. In 1818 the place passed from McCall to Griffith Evans, whose son, Dr. Horace Evans, now has it for his country residence. By these successive owners the mansion house has been several times enlarged, but its identity is established by the preservation in the building of one of the original stones of the house. This bears upon it the chiselled mark "1732," the date of erection of the oldest portion of the house.

When the American Army was at the Yellow Springs, Chester County, the youthful Griffith Evans, born the third of September, 1760, in Warwick, Chester County, went into the service, and became attached to the medical department. In his long after years of peace, a campaigning story he used to tell to his compatriots, was of one McKaraher; who also was in the medical department. A number of the young

men connected therewith, were riding out one day, during the war, when, on coming near a field where hemp was growing, their Hibernian friend, McKaraher, hurriedly rode away. Of course he was questioned as to the cause of this sudden movement, and his humourous answer was, pointing to the field of hemp: "Do you see yon? Irishman do not like yon!"

In 1787 Griffith Evans was Secretary of the Commissioners to settle the difficulties in Wyoming, and accompanied Timothy Pickering to the troubled region. Afterwards he was appointed Secretary to the Board of Commissioners to whom was entrusted the adjustment of claims of British subjects, under Article Sixth of what is known as Jay's Treaty of 1794. The Commissioners' office was in a building belonging to Kearney Wharton, No. 3 South Sixth Street. No practical result seems to have been reached by the Commissioners, whose labours in the course of a year or two ceased. Griffith Evans died in 1845, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

Near to Dr. Evans's place, only one lot intervening, was that of the handsome Irishman, Washington's favourite, Col. Walter Stewart. He called his place Mount Stewart, and there he lived with his beautiful wife, Blair McClanachan's daughter. The Colonel's house, in the city, was in Market Street, below Sixth, the next house east of Washington's place of residence.

PITTSBURGH IN 1761.

A RETURN OF THE NUMBERS OF HOUSES, OF THE NAMES OF THE OWNERS,
AND NUMBER OF MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN IN EACH
HOUSE AT FORT PITT, APRIL 14TH, 1761.

[In the second volume of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, p. 303, we printed a list of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh in 1760. We now give a similar list for the following year, which has been kindly furnished by Mr. G. D. SCULL, of Oxford, England. It is extracted from a MS. work prepared by Mr. Scull entitled "The Correspondence of Brigadier General Henry Bouquet, 1757-1765." The manuscripts used by Mr. Scull are, we understand, in the British Museum.—ED. OF MAG.]

In Lower Town.

Number.	Houses.	The owner's name.	Men.	Women.	Children.
1	1	John Hudess, soldier of army	1	1	
2	1	Ellena Clark		1	
3	1	Richard Rodgery, soldier	1	1	2
4	1	William Marshall, do	1	1	
5	1	Joseph Woods, do	1	1	1
6	1	Battoe men, do	3		
7	1	John Hadley, artificer	1		
8	1	William Davis, soldier	1	1	
9	1	Frederick Dart, do	1	1	1
10	1	James Rodgers do	1	1	
11	1	John Carter	1	1	1
12	1	Thomas Camp, soldier	1	1	1
13	1	Ship Carpenters	3		
14	1	John Laugdale	3		
15	2	John Campbell	5		
16	1	Christopher Groves, soldier	1	1	1
17	1	John Welch	2		
18	1	Thomas Kalhonn	1		
19	1	Thomas Mitchell	4		
20	1	Ephraim Blane	2		
21	1	John Owens	2	1	
22	2	Hugh Crawford	8	2	
23	1	Wm. Thompson	2		
24	1	Dennis Drogharty	4		
25	1	Hugh McSwine	1	1	1
26	1	John Finley	2		
27	2	Richard McManhan	4		
28	1	John Hart	4		
29	1	John Craven	1	1	1
30	1	James Crampton	1		
31	1	William Armstrong	1		
32	1	Artificers	4		
33	1	James Meligan	1		
34	3	William Trent	6		

In Lower Town.

Number.	Houses.	The owner's name.	Men.	Women.	Children.
35	1	George Croghan	4		
36	3	John Doncastle	4		
37	1	Philip Boyle 1, also artificers	2		
38	1	Arthur Hamilton	2		
39	1	Edward Graham	2		
40	1	William McCallaster	2		
41	1	John Ormsby	2		
42	1	Thomas Camey (artificer)	1		
43	1	Leonard Young (baker) soldier	2		
44	1	David Nigley, do	1	1	
45	1	Abraham Miller do	1	1	
46	1	Ralph Phillips, lieutenant	1		
47	1	Philip Phillips	1		
48	1	John Boys, soldier	1	1	1
49	1	Thomas Sheppard, artificer	1		
50	2	Empty houses			
	58		103	19	10

Upper Town.

Number.	Houses.	The owner's name.	Men.	Women.	Children.
1 }	2	Hospitals for soldiers	7		
2 }					
3	1	John Leach	1	1	
4	1	John Cusick, soldier	1	1	
5	1	Nancy Thommas		1	1
6	1	Francis Cline, soldier	1	1	
7	1	Peter Rotter of y ^e Train	1	1	1
8	1	Humphrey Kies	1		
9	1	Empty houses			
10	1	Michael Longsold	1	2	
11	1	Charles Boyle	1	1	2
12	2	Patrick McQuaid	1		
13	2	Thomas Small	2		
14	1	John Meatecalfe	2		
15	1	Robert Parris	2	2	
16	1	Hugh Read	2	2	
17	1	Thomas Brighton	1		
18	1	Conrad House	1		
19	2	William Splane	3		
20	1	Robert Read	1	1	1
21	1	Neil McCollom	1	1	1
22	1	John Work	2		
23	1	Dennis McGlaulin	1	1	2
24	3	George Snigh	1	1	2
25	1	John Neal	1	1	
26	1	Empty house			
27	1	Arthur Curvent	1	1	
28	1	Dennis Hall	1	1	1
29	1	Coopers and soldiers	5		
30	1	Patrick McCarty	1	1	2
31	1	Christopher Miller	1	1	1
32	1	John McCantash	1	1	

<i>Upper Town.</i>					
Number.	Houses.	The owner's name.	Men.	Women.	Children.
33	2	William Hath	1		
34	2	William Vinston	1	1	
35	2	Woodrow Ramsay & Co.	2	1	
36	1	George White	2		
37	1	Christopher Negty	1	1	
38	1	Martain Smith	2		
39	1	Eleanor Crawford		2	
40	1	James Gilbey	1	1	1
41	1	Empty house			
42	1	John Field	1	1	1
43	1	William Guttery	1	1	
44	1	William Brown	2	1	1
45	1	John Dayley	1	1	1
46	2	John Doncastle	3		
47	1	Captain Mathers and servant	2		
48	1	Empty house			
49	2	Daniel Saller	1	1	
50	1	Jacob Nyers	1		
51	1	Empty house			
52	1	Philip Byerley	2		
53	1	Frederick Sligh	1		
54	2	John Hayton	2		
55	1	Christopher Limes	1		
56	1	John Armstrong, soldier	1	1	
57	1	Empty house			
58	1	Frederick Klinge	1	1	
59	1	Samuel Shunner	1	1	1
60	1	Henry Harshaw, soldier	1	1	
61	1	Vendot Cramer	1	1	
62	1	Joseph Budwick	1		
63	1	John Hillman	1	1	1
64	1	Henry Fregstaff	3		
65	1	Joseph McMurray	1	1	1
66	1	Thomas Walker	2		
67	1	Empty house			
68	1	John Craver	1		
69	1	Jacob Sennet	2		
70	1	Michael McMurray	1		
71	1	John Mains, soldier	1		
72	1	Empty house			
73	1	Matthew Fulneck	1	1	1
74	1	Hugh Henry	1	1	1
75	1	John Linsey, soldier	1	1	
76	1	Captain Bassett (Thomas Basset, Engineer's corps)	2		
(Artillery.)					
1	1	Isaac Conn	1	1	2
2	1	Serjeant Pierce	1	1	
3	1	Rowland Pemberton	1	1	1
4	1	John Sutton	1	1	
5	1	William Venible	1	1	2
6	1	William Cassaday	1	1	

<i>Upper Town.</i>					
Number.	Houses.	The owner's name.	Men.	Women.	Children.
7	1	Ambrose Newton	1		
8	1	Thomas Box	2		
		*Will. Clapham, Ass't in the works			
	1	Capt. Wm. Clapham and servants	4	0	0
	2	Captain Barnsley and servants	4	2	
	2	The Mess house and the General's house			
	2	Lieut. Rosetidge and servants	2	2	
	1	Serjeant Morton (soldier)	2		
	1	John Bamer (soldier)	1	1	
Total number of inhabitants			178	50	25
The number outlying soldiers			43	23	13
<u>162 Houses</u>			<u>221</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>38</u>

* *Note.*—Captain Wm. Clapham was a partner with George Croghan in some land speculations, and was killed by the Indians. He had bought an Indian for a servant, and being out travelling with him in the woods, they met two more Indians. Clapham stopped them and gave each a drink. At a signal from his slave Indian, they all three fell upon him and killed him.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 244.)

Sept. 14, 1759.	Price,	John, son of William.
Nov. 26, 1738.	Prichards,	John.
Sept. 8, 1710.	Pricket,	Catharine, dau. of William and Elizabeth.
July 4, 1717.	Pride.	Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph and Sarah.
Nov. 9, 1718.	"	Sarah, wife of Joseph.
Feb. 22, 1718-9.	"	Joseph.
Aug. 3, 1739.	Priest,	Susannah. Widow.
Oct. 13, 1745.	Prig,	Sarah, wife of William.
Jan. 9, 1714-5.	Prigg,	William.
July 26, 1744.	"	Richard, son of William.
April 26, 1748.	"	William.
Oct. 8, 1736.	Primmer,	Anne, wife of Richard.
April 14, 1730.	Prise,	Elizabeth.
Nov. 27, 1740.	Pritchard,	Hannah, dau. of Hannah.
Feb. 14, 1747-8.	"	John, natural son Joseph.
July 3, 1752.	"	Hannah.
May 30, 1753.	"	John, son of William.
Dec. 18, 1753.	"	Margaret McCarvel, alias.
Dec. 17, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Jan. 8, 1730-1.	Prichet,	William.
Dec. 20, 1740.	Prosser,	Hannah, dau. of Thomas.
June 26, 1743.	"	Thomas.
Dec. 12, 1748.	Proverbs,	Grace. [Hannah.
Sept. 24, 1721.	Pugh,	Hannah, dau. of John and
April 4, 1731.	"	Margaret, dau. of Hannah.
Jan. 9, 1736-7.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
April 7, 1741.	"	Ann.
Sept. 14, 1741.	Pulinger,	John, son of George.
April 15, 1737.	Pullinger,	William, son of George.
Mar. 3, 1740-1.	"	Rose, wife of George.
July 6, 1738.	Purdue,	William, son of William.
May 14, 1722.	Purvis,	Alice.
April 14, 1759.	Pustle,	Hugh, son of Hugh.

Sept. 20, 1721.	Putt,	John, son of Nicholas and Rachel.
Sept. 20, 1730.	"	Nicholas, son of Nicholas.
Oct. 10, 1730.	"	George, son of Nicholas.
Nov. 26, 1732.	"	Nicholas. [Deborah.
Oct. 24, 1726.	Pyewell,	John, son of William and Deborah, wife of William.
Oct. 1, 1733.	"	Deborah, wife of William.
Aug. 29, 1741.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Dec. 17, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
May 16, 1731.	Pywell,	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Aug. 23, 1736.	Quantrell,	Anne, dau. of John.
Nov. 27, 1717.	Quarry,	Mrs. Sarah.
Aug. 1, 1758.	Quay,	Thomas.
Aug. 19, 1741.	Quin,	Catharine.
May 7, 1733.	Quiniard,	Isabella, dau. of Philip.
May 12, 1718.	Quirke,	Jane.
July 21, 1740.	Quory,	Barbara, wife of John.
Nov. 27, 1741.	Radelif,	Sarah, dau. of John.
Nov. 1, 1729.	Radley,	Sarah.
July 27, 1727.	Ragg,	Thomas.
Sept. 30, 1744.	"	Haunah, dau. of James.
July 10, 1734.	Ramber,	Oliver, son of Oliver.
Jan. 8, 1729-30.	Ramsey,	John.
Dec. 14, 1733.	"	William.
Aug. 6, 1746.	"	Charles, son of Philip.
Aug. 8, 1746.	"	Philip, son of Philip.
Jan. 26, 1752.	"	Margaret, wife of Charles.
Sept. 3, 1753.	"	Charles.
Feb. 10, 1729-30.	Ranburry,	William.
June 5, 1752.	Randal,	Daniel, son of Daniel.
Nov. 30, 1709.	Randalls,	William.
Mar. 21, 1731-2.	Randolph,	Henry.
Dec. 8, 1727.	Ranes,	Rachel.
July 1, 1756.	Rankin,	—— dau. of George.
Aug. 23, 1741.	Ratelif,	Joseph, son of John.
April 12, 1738.	Ratelif,	Grace, wife of Joshua.
April 3, 1731.	Ratlif,	Sarah, dau. of John.
Feb. 16, 1732-3.	Raw,	William.
April 14, 1735.	Rawlinson,	Isaac, son of Robert.
July 10, 1751.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Robert.
Jan. 27, 1757.	"	Robert.
Oct. 24, 1739.	Rawlison,	—— dau. of Robert.
Mar. 5, 1730-1.	Ray,	Sarah. [Sarah.
July 24, 1717.	Read,	Elizabeth, dau. of John and

Dec. 2, 1721.	Read,	Mary, dau. of Charles and Ann.
Oct. 14, 1725.	"	Thomas, son of Charles and Ann.
Aug. 17, 1727.	"	Israel, son of Mr. Charles.
May 4, 1728.	"	Robert, son of Charles, Esq.
Jan. 24, 1728-9.	"	Thomas, son of Charles, Esq.
Feb. 18, 1730-1.	"	Anne, wife of Charles, Esq.
Jan. 8, 1736-7.	"	Charles, Esq.
Nov. 20, 1744.	"	Samuel.
Dec. 9, 1746.	"	William, son of Samuel.
Mar. 21, 1753.	"	Theodosia, wife of Andrew.
Dec. 23, 1754.	"	Samuel.
Jan. 20, 1756.	"	—— son of James.
Feb. 19, 1759.	"	Sarah.
Aug. 1, 1746.	Reade,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Aug. 15, 1746.	"	Deborah, dau. of John.
Oct. 21, 1747.	"	Mary, dau. of James.
Dec. 6, 1743.	Redcliffe,	Joshua.
July 25, 1744.	"	John.
Nov. 1, 1734.	Reddiford,	Michael.
Sept. 8, 1738.	Redding,	John.
Mar. 5, 1742-3.	Reddington,	Margaret, dau. of John.
Aug. 9, 1731.	Redman,	Neil.
Aug. 16, 1731.	"	Robert, son of John.
July 2, 1735.	"	Jane, dau. of Joseph.
May 3, 1745.	"	Mary, dau. of Samuel.
July 11, 1745.	"	Richard, son of Joseph.
Nov. 13, 1747.	"	Charles, son of William.
Oct. 23, 1749.	"	John, son of William.
Oct. 28, 1750.	"	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
Nov. 7, 1753.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph.
Dec. 27, 1736.	Reece,	Stephen Shute, son of John.
June 17, 1737.	"	Daniel.
Jan. 26, 1739-40.	"	Aries, from Samuel Halls.
July 26, 1711.	Reed,	Mary, dau. of John and Sarah.
Sept. 17, 1714.	"	Sarah, dau. of John and Sarah.
May 7, 1759.	"	Lucy, wife of Andrew.
June 20, 1759.	"	Margaret.
Dec. 8, 1736.	Rees,	Mary, wife of ——
Sept. 17, 1745.	"	David, son of Daniel.
Oct. 20, 1748.	"	Elinor, dau. of Daniel.
Aug. 5, 1755.	"	Jane.
Dec. 5, 1759.	Reid,	William, son of John.
June 18, 1759.	Reily,	Jane, dau. of John.
Jan. 11, 1753.	Renoudot,	James.

April 9, 1735.	Renshaw,	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Dec. 1, 1733.	Renudet, t,	John, son of James.
Nov. 16, 1749.	Revel,	Hannah, dau. of the widow.
Dec. 1, 1714.	Reverdy,	Elisheba.
Oct. 12, 1752.	Reworth,	Sarah, dau. of William.
June 26, 1751.	Reyley,	Robert, son of John.
Dec. 11, 1752.	"	Hannah, wife of Edward.
Sept. 15, 1728.	Reynolds,	Mr. Robert.
Sept. 9, 1737.	"	Laurence.
July 6, 1747.	"	William.
July 26, 1754.	"	John.
Aug. 25, 1754.	"	James, son of the widow.
Mar. 24, 1749-50.	Rhodes,	Arthur.
Dec. 15, 1726.	Rial,	John.
Sept. 23, 1739.	Riall,	John.
Nov. 7, 1742.	Ricaly,	John. [Mary.
Sept. 18, 1720.	Rice,	William, son of John and
Sept. 26, 1726.	"	John, son of John and Mary.
July 28, 1727.	"	Emlen, son of John and Mary.
April 23, 1733.	"	Emelin, dau. of John.
May 8, 1735.	"	Ellinor, dau. of John.
Sept. 29, 1735.	"	John, son of Lawrence.
Mar. 11, 1735-6.	"	Mary, wife of John.
June 30, 1738.	"	Rowland.
May 25, 1739.	"	Joseph, son of Lawrence.
Oct. 10, 1739.	"	Benjamin.
May 29, 1755.	"	Joseph.
Nov. 27, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Sept. 5, 1718.	Richard,	William, son of William.
Sept. 2, 1720.	Richards,	Sarah, dau. of William and
Aug. 27, 1741.	"	Robert. [Catharine.
Nov. 3, 1741.	"	Catharine.
Aug. 31, 1757.	"	John.
Dec. 24, 1728.	Richardson,	Anne.
July 5, 1732.	"	Rebecca, dau. of David.
Dec. 13, 1734.	"	Joseph, son of Thomas.
June 13, 1746.	"	John, son of Joshua.
Dec. 26, 1758.	"	Nathaniel.
Oct. 27, 1738.	Richee,	David.
Oct. 28, 1752.	Richinson,	Mary, dau. of Nathaniel.
Nov. 19, 1733.	Ricketts,	Mary, dau. of Mary.
July 25, 1735.	"	William.
July 10, 1746.	Ricks,	Frances.
Sept. 26, 1722.	Ridge,	Martha.
Oct. 23, 1726.	"	Daniel.
Mar. 28, 1728-9.	"	Martha.

April 21, 1742.	Ridge,	Martha. Widow.
July 28, 1747.	"	Martha, dau. of John.
Jan. 12, 1748-9.	Ridge, alias	Briant, Thomas.
Nov. 30, 1750.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
April 27, 1755.	"	John.
Jan. 12, 1736-7.	Ridington,	John, son of John.
Jan. 20, 1726-7.	Rigby,	Margaret.
Aug. 4, 1743.	"	Ann, dau. of Henry.
Aug. 28, 1746.	"	William, son of Henry.
April 20, 1738.	Rigeway,	Gwenlian, wife of Samuel.
Sept. 17, 1759.	Right,	Mary, dau. of Richard.
Nov. 24, 1718.	Riler,	John.
Feb. 17, 1730-1.	Risden,	Elizabeth, dau. of George
Mar. 8, 1730-1.	"	Anne, dau. of George.
Oct. 8, 1740.	Risley,	Margaret.
Sept. 8, 1732.	Risly,	Samuel.
July 26, 1758.	Ritchie,	William, son of William.
Dec. 25, 1746.	Rivers,	Sarah, dau. of Joseph.
Sept. 11, 1747.	"	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
April 8, 1750.	"	Martha, dau. of Joseph.
Nov. 22, 1711.	Rives,	John.
Feb. 26, 1714-5.	Roach,	Penelope, wife of Capt. George.
Jan. 4, 1726-7.	Robbinson,	Hadduck. Strangers' Ground.
Dec. 8, 1736.	Roberdau,	Mary, dau. of Mrs. alias
Jan. 5, 1759.	Robert,	John. [Keilgh.
Aug. 26, 1716.	Roberts,	Ellis.
Jan. 14, 1730-1.	"	John.
Mar. 15, 1730-1.	"	John, boatswain of Capt. Wal-
June 8, 1736.	"	Henry. [lace.
June 15, 1741.	"	Ann. Widow.
Oct. 31, 1741.	"	Adam.
Aug. 13, 1748.	"	Elizabeth.
Feb. 16, 1752.	"	Evan.
Aug. 7, 1753.	"	Elizabeth.
Sept. 30, 1743.	Robertson,	Sarah, wife of Alexander.
Feb. 14, 1747-8.	"	Christian, wife of Alexander.
April 30, 1731.	Robeson,	Mary, dau. of Andrew.
Mar. 4, 1739-40.	"	Andrew.
Sept. 3, 1740.	"	Elizabeth, from Robert Toms.
Sept. 18, 1758.	"	James.
June 4, 1744.	Robins,	Thomas.
April 1, 1731.	Robinson,	William.
July 6, 1733.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Oct. 28, 1733.	"	Humphrey, son of John.
Sept. 14, 1736.	"	William, son of Andrew.
Feb. 19, 1736-7.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Mr. John.

May 15, 1737.	Robinson,	Catharine, dau. of Andrew.
Nov. 1, 1737.	"	Hannah, wife of Septimus.
July 8, 1740.	"	Mary, dau. of Budd.
Aug. 26, 1741.	"	George, son of Budd.
Sept. 5, 1741.	"	Margaret, wife of Samuel.
July 9, 1742.	"	Edward, son of Budd.
Jan. 11, 1742-3.	"	John.
May 7, 1746.	"	Thomas.
July 18, 1747.	"	Andrew.
Mar. 7, 1747-8.	"	Samuel.
April 25, 1751.	"	Alexander.
Mar. 29, 1752.	"	Rebecca, wife of Budd.
Nov. 7, 1752.	"	Susannah.
July 4, 1757.	"	Thomas, son of Francis.
Jan. 31, 1758.	"	John.
Oct. 14, 1758.	"	Joseph.
Dec. 23, 1731.	Robison,	Rachel, wife of Septimus.
Jan. 8, 1735-6.	Rodney,	William.
Aug. 10, 1750.	"	George, son of Cæsar.
Oct. 10, 1721.	Rogers,	Christopher.
Oct. 11, 1727.	"	Edward.
Nov. 11, 1727.	"	Charles, son of Mr. Charles.
Nov. 12, 1727.	"	Judith.
Sept. 3, 1728.	"	Mr. Charles.
June 27, 1738.	"	James.
Aug. 6, 1745.	"	Nicholas, son of Benjamin.
Jan. 15, 1730-1.	Rolfe,	Joseph.
Sept. 29, 1741.	Rome,	Samuel.
Jan. 6, 1741-2.	"	Susannah. Widow.
June 19, 1711.	Rook,	James, son of Robert and
May 10, 1734.	"	Robert. [Sarah.
June 30, 1743.	Rose,	Thomas. [phreys.
Oct. 16, 1712.	Ross,	John. Servant of Mr. Hum-
Sept. 13, 1734.	"	Mary, wife of George.
Aug. 17, 1738.	"	George.
Aug. 10, 1739.	"	James, son of Hugh.
Aug. 15, 1741.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Jan. 6, 1750-1.	"	Sarah, wife of Hugh.
July 7, 1753.	"	William.
Jan. 14, 1745-6.	Rossum,	Grace, wife of James.
Dec. 7, 1726.	Roswell,	John.
July 19, 1735.	Rounsford,	George.
Nov. 19, 1757.	Rouse,	Dowthy.
Jan. 16, 1759.	"	Thomas.
April 28, 1738.	Routh,	Christopher.
Dec. 24, 1759.	Roweth,	William, son of William.

Aug. 9, 1746.	Rowland,	Samuel.
April 13, 1727.	Rowse,	Thomas.
Mar. 11, 1727-8.	"	John.
Feb. 7, 1730-1.	"	Anne. Widow.
June 30, 1746.	"	Thomas.
Aug. 1, 1749.	"	John, son of Thomas.
June 10, 1752.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
July 12, 1741.	Roy,	Alexander.
Dec. 20, 1749.	Royal,	Elizabeth, wife of Samul.
Feb. 14, 1730-1.	Ruff,	John.
July 26, 1748.	Rumley,	Mary.
Feb. 14, 1709-10.	Rumsey,	William, son of Robert and
June 27, 1741.	Rush,	David. [Elizabeth.
Oct. 8, 1743.	"	Susannah, wife of James.
July 15, 1750.	"	Stephen, son of John.
Jan. 8, 1750-1.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
July 26, 1751.	"	John.
Aug. 19, 1751.	"	John, son of John, deceased.
June 10, 1745.	Russel,	Clement, son of Clement.
Dec. 21, 1746.	"	Sarah, wife of William.
Oct. 17, 1747.	"	Clement, son of Clement.
Oct. 26, 1747.	"	Clement.
Nov. 26, 1747.	"	Anne, dau. of William.
May 14, 1748.	"	William.
Sept. 30, 1748.	"	John, son of James.
Oct. 19, 1753.	"	Mary, wife of James.
Aug. 1, 1754.	"	James.
Aug. 6, 1754.	"	Margaret, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 5, 1754.	"	James.
Oct. 21, 1754.	"	Catharine, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 25, 1754.	"	Elizabeth.
Nov. 25, 1712.	Russell,	George. [Mary.
Aug. 7, 1722.	"	John, son of Thomas and

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

LETTERS OF HENRY CLAY TO WILLIAM PLUMER, JR.

Washington, 24th Jan. 1828.

My dear Sir,

I have received and perused with particular satisfaction your obliging letter of the 8th inst. I thank you most cordially for the interest you take in my affair. My late Address is doing much good, unless my correspondents are deceived as to its effects.

Since its publication I have rec'd important additional evidence on several of the points which it states, and I shall be determined by future events as to the use to be made of it.

That which your Journal and your memory enable you to supply is very striking.

I have a general recollection of having conversed with you on the subject of the Presidential election, altho' I cannot, from my own memory, recall the particulars of the conversation, but the fact of your having recorded them in the summer of 1824, shortly after your return from Congress, places out of all doubt, and beyond the possibility of cavil, the genuineness of the conversation, and that fact communicates a high additional interest to the testimony, which the conversation bears.

If you could feel at liberty to address a note to some reputable Editor of a Newspaper, communicating the two extracts from your Journal, respecting our conversation, which you have transmitted to me, that voluntary & spontaneous exhibition of the proof would render it, I think, more impressive than if it were brought out in the first instance by me. I should be obliged if you could think it proper so to present it to the public; but if you have the smallest doubt of the propriety of that course, I beg of you not to adopt it.

It is not I think material to state what your Journal records respecting Mr. Cook, although I believe it to be perfectly true.

The Jackson party had almost gained Mr. Cook to their cause by erroneously representing the delegations of certain Western States to be favorable to the General, when they were decidedly hostile to his election. I thank you for the privilege which you kindly give to use the extracts which you have sent me. I will avail myself of it hereafter, if necessary.

I congratulate you on the late decided improvement in the prospects of Mr. Adams' re-election. Everywhere there is a better tone, & greater confidence. I shall be much disappointed if the West do not give him a larger vote than both he & I together had in that quarter, at the last election.

I seize with pleasure the opportunity to assure you of the friendly recollections which I retain of our intercourse during our mutual service in the public Councils. And I pray you to convey my friendly regards to your father, with whom also I had the honor to serve in Congress.

I am truly your ob. servant,

WM. PLUMER, Jr., Esq.

H. CLAY.

Washington, 18th Feb. 1828.

Dear Sir,

I have received your favor of the 18th inst. with its enclosure, which I have deliberately examined & considered. No improvement of it

suggests itself to me, and I therefore return it without any proposed alteration, under the hope that you may have it published.

Mr. Robertson, near Chillicothe in Ohio, has recently presented voluntarily to the public his testimony of my avowed preference of Mr. Adams over Gen'l Jackson; and I think its effect will be better than if it had been offered even by myself in the first instance. Of the several conversations between us, to which you testify, I have no recollection but that which occurred on the occasion of LaFayette's reception. Still I have not a doubt of the substantial correctness of your report of them.

On the side of Mr. Adams, yours will be the first testimony offered in my exculpation; and on that, as well as on other accounts, it will command particular attention.

The late event at Albany is highly important in every aspect of it. Of Mr. Clinton it may be justly said that he has associated his name forever with the history of his Country; and so much can be said of but few.

I hope & believe that even his death (since that was inevitable) may conduce to the benefit of his country.

My best respects to your father; and I pray also your acceptance of my cordial assurances.

WM. PLUMER, Jr., Esq.

H. CLAY.

Washington, 7th April, 1828.

Dear Sir,

I received your obliging letter of the 26th ulto. with the newspaper containing the statement which you had previously apprised me of your intention to publish. I am greatly indebted to you for spontaneously presenting this valuable testimony to the public. It cannot fail to have good effect. You will have seen a contemporary evidence in the note of the Chief Justice of the U. States, which will associate very well with yours, in point of time.

I have a mass of unpublished testimony which I consider highly important. If I should publish it, I will send you a copy of it, in conformity with your request.

The H. of R. is now on the Tariff. A gleam of hope has recently broken out that something useful may be yet done. Perhaps this day's proceedings in the House may be decisive of the fate of the measure there.

I congratulate you on the result of the elections, including your own, in New Hampshire. It will have an encouraging influence out of the State.

I have thought that our New England friends have not been sufficiently alive to the beneficial effect in other parts of the Union of favorable demonstrations among them. The system, on the other side, is one of manœuvres & demonstrations, & I regret to believe in the necessity of counteracting it, by a like system on our part.

I thank you for your kind offer of service, of which I shall not hesitate to avail myself if necessary.

Be pleased to remember me kindly to your father, and believe me

Truly your friend,

WM. PLUMER, Jr., Esq.

H. CLAY.

Washington, 23 Feb. 1829.

My dear Sir,

Your favor of the 26th July last was received by me in Kentucky, amidst popular movements which left me no leisure, and which, I believe, prevented my acknowledgment of it. I received at the same time, and perused with much satisfaction, the address which accompanied it. I had also received the newspaper containing your answer to an attempt to prove by your declarations the corruption imputed to Mr. Adams & me.

For all these instances of kind attention I pray your acceptance of my sincere thanks.

Since the date of your letter events have gone very adversely to our hopes, and to the cause of human freedom.

Speculation upon their sources is useless, except in so far as it may enlighten the future. I have been unable to view the election of Gen'l Jackson, under any aspect whatever, without awful apprehensions. Still, we have yet our liberty, and it should be our aim, by the exertion of all our energies, to preserve it, and to destroy the pernicious influence of the example which a majority of our Countrymen have passionately and thoughtlessly established. For myself I desire life no longer than I possess liberty.

We are beginning already here to witness some of the consequences of this fatal election in the motley host of greedy expectants by whom the Gen'l is environed—in the vulgar, audacious and proscribing tone of the official paper of the new administration; and in the composition of the new Cabinet, which may be considered as almost officially announced—Van Buren, Ingham, Eaton, and Branch the four Secretaries, in the order in which the Departments are usually ranked.

I do not think that the present state of things can last long. Our friends, as far as I can learn, are firm in their resolutions & steadfast in their principles. If they remain so, a change must be effected.

Much depends on New England. And we are accordingly looking with deep interest to the approaching Election in your State, which is considered as the most doubtful of that Section.

I shall return to my farm in Kentucky shortly after the 4th of March.

I reserve for tranquil consideration there the question whether I shall offer for a seat in the House of Representatives.

I pray you to communicate my best regards to your venerable Father and to be assured that they are constantly entertained for yourself by

Your faithful obt. servant,
H. CLAY.

WM. PLUMER, Jr., Esq.

[*Extracts from the Journal of Wm. Plumer, Jr., referred to in the preceding letters.*]

1822.

He (Mr. Adams) said that an elaborate system had long been in full operation having for its sole object to degrade & villify him, & by every artifice to divert the public attention from him to other men—that he had done nothing in his own defence against this combination of his rivals & enemies, but trusted wholly to his public acts for the explanation of his views & character, that he preferred going at once into private life to making any bargain, or coming under any obligation to a single individual, even though he were certain that that individual could make him President of the United States—that he must come into office free and untrammelled, or not at all, that he had given pledges to no party, or set of men.

1824.

In a conversation which I had with Mr. Adams last week he informed me that he lately received a letter from a leading politician in South Carolina, who stated that the people in that quarter were about to form an Electoral ticket of persons friendly to his election, but they wished first to be informed what his opinions were on the subject of the Tariff; that they hoped he was against it altogether, but would be satisfied if he declared himself friendly to a revision with a view to revenue alone.

He said he thought himself called upon in honor to give them an explicit answer to this inquiry, that he accordingly told his correspondent that he

was in favor of the revision not upon the principle of revenue merely, but with a view to the encouragement of American manufactures—that such encouragement was required by the state of the country, & should be extended as far as was consistent with the due encouragement and protection of the other two great interests of the community, agriculture & commerce.

This explicit declaration in favor of a certain degree of protection to manufactures will operate against Mr. Adams in the South where a very strong feeling exists on this subject.

It is another proof of the manly & independent spirit by which he is so uniformly governed.

The President (Munroe) this year justly acquired much reputation both at home & abroad by that part of his message which related to the foreign concerns of the country. It was conceived & expressed in a higher tone & bolder language than any of his former messages. I have strong reason to believe that this part of the message bears the direct impress of Mr. Adams' genius. The ground assumed, & the doctrines inculcated are certainly his, &, if he did not write that part of the message (as the minister writes the King's speeches in England), I have little doubt he submitted to the President in writing his views of what the message ought to contain so far as his Department was concerned & that the President, in preparing his message, followed very closely not only the views, but the language of the Secretary. Adams told me that the President had doubts about that part of it which related to the interference of the Holy Alliance with Spanish America—said he believed it had better be omitted, & asked him if he did not think so too?

Adams replied—You have my sentiments on the subject already, & I see no reason to alter them. "Well," said the President, "it is written, & I will not change it now." This was a day or two only before Congress met.

The Munroe doctrine, so much talked of since & now.

In the long, frequent, & confidential conversations I had with him, Adams, principally on the subject of the Presidency, I had constant occasion to admire the sagacity, the manly & honorable feeling, the public spirit & generous ambition which he uniformly displayed.

WM. PLUMER, Jr.

1824.

In the several conversations which I had with him on the Presidency, he seemed to avoid rather than seek any connection or league with the other candidates otherwise than in reply to their overtures. He told me more than once that he must rise or fall according to his own strength or weakness—& that those who came to him must come unbought or not come at all. As far as he may be said to have taken any step towards advancing himself it has uniformly been directed to the public, & not to individuals.—*Journal*.

1825.

The office of Secretary of State was at the same time offered to Mr. Clay. This was anticipated by every body as a matter of course. The Western States, nine in number, with a population of between two & three millions, have never had a President, Secretary of State, or other high commanding station in the Government. Campbell of Tenn. was indeed for a short time Sec. of the Treasury; but he was a man of no weight or influence, and his appointment was no gratification to the Western States. Upon every principle therefore they were entitled to notice. When we add that five of these States, by voting for Mr. Adams, pledged themselves to support his administration, & that this was the act of Mr. Clay's friends, it is hardly necessary to suppose, as his enemies are ready to do, any corrupt bargain or intrigue between Adams & Clay to account for the promotion under such circumstances, of a man who had been already twice offered a seat in the Cabinet by former Presidents.

After a review of the situation & prospects of rival candidates, Mr. Plumer in his Journal goes on to say—He had therefore only to choose between Adams & Jackson. With respect to Jackson, Clay could not but feel himself degraded by serving under a man whose qualifications for the office were so much inferior to his own. Their characters, views, & interests made it impossible for them to act in harmony together.

Of all men in the Nation, Jackson was the one who had done Clay the most essential injury by depriving him of what he had always considered certain, the undivided support of the Western States. They were not personal enemies merely, but from local circumstances so situated that the success of the one must be the overthrow of the other. Jackson had been started in the race, less with an expectation of his being elected than with an intention, openly avowed by many of his friends, of defeating at all events, Clay's election. This was effected, & it was asking a little too much to require him now to step in & complete the triumph of the man to whom his own defeat was mainly to be imputed. When to these personal considerations, always powerful with the best of men, was added the comparative merits of the two candidates, as they must have appeared to the mind of a statesman like Clay, there was really no ground to believe that he would give his support to this fortunate, but incompetent rival.

After Clay found that he could not stand any chance to be Pres. himself, he could have no hesitation as to whom to choose—Adams the statesman, or Jackson the mere military chieftain.

[*From the Penn Papers.*]

JAMES TILGHMAN'S LETTERS TO MR. WILMOT.

Dr Sir,

The affairs of America are now in such a Situation, and seem to be big with such important Consequences, that I cannot avoid troubling you with a few Thoughts upon a subject of the highest Concern. My Liberty, my Fortune, and perhaps my Life, may be involved in the matters now in Agitation on this and your Side the Water.

I wrote you heretofore, that the Cause of Boston was taken up as the Cause of All America. It has brought on a Meeting of Deputies from South Carolina to New Hampshire, inclusive, and the Congress hath been Sitting at this place for about a month. They profess to Aim at a Security of their Liberties, and in that way to restore the wished for harmony between the Mother Country and the Colonies. And I hope they are in General Sincere. Their Deliberations do not perspire but in a small degree. One of my Brothers, the Speaker of the Maryland Assembly, is of this Congress, and Lodges with me, and yet I know nothing of what's going. He can neither Divulge, nor I enquire, consistent with the principles of honour. You'll give me Liberty in this private way to say, he is a Man of Steadiness and Moderation and of the Strictest virtue. He is utterly averse from all violent measures, and of opinion that all things will be brought to Rights, if the people can be kept quiet. And yet I can find that he is not without apprehensions of Consequences fatal to the repose of both the Mother Country and the Colonies, shou'd the Parliamint or the Ministry which is the same thing, persist in their present System. The Congress have already published a Request to the Merchants, to import no more British or indeed European Goods. And I believe it is resolved on, that no Importation shall be allowed, but of Goods shipped on or before the first of November. And I am told that a Non-exportation of Lumber to the West Indies immediately and of every thing else to Great Britain to take place at a future Day, is in Contemplation.

I am firmly persuaded that the people of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and Connecticut are ripe for Action. Because upon reports of Violences at Boston, propagated probably by one Side or the other to feel pulses, great Bodies of Armed Men have immediately been in motion. And it is beyond a Doubt, that the people to the Eastward have a high Opinion of their own powers. Indeed such a Notion seems to prevail in most parts of the Continent. General Gage is fortifying the only pass to the Town of Boston, and it is a matter of some doubt, whether the General or the Town is besieged. The New Constitution of the Massachusetts Colony cannot take place, as there can neither be Jurymen nor Officers found to carry the Plan into Execution. Such is the Aversion to Innovation tho' for the better. The Truth is, that tho' this were allowed for the better, another may be made for the worse.

There certainly never was a National Concern of such magnitude upon the hands of any British ministry, as the present. And if they can extricate themselves, they will evince their Dexterity to all the World. I mean if they can Extricate themselves and yet maintain their system, for it will be easy for them to effect it by just and rational Measures. I fear they will ruin everything by an unreasonable Expedient Stretch of power. The people of America only want to be freed from the apprehensions of being Taxed by those who do not represent them; which they say is against reason and the Spirit of the British Constitution. Is it not so? They say that the Regulation of their Trade, the restraints of their Commerce, the appointment of their Governors in most instances, the negative upon their Laws, and the Final Decision of all matters of property by the King & Council, constitute a Sufficient Subordination. And that in matters of Aid they should not be found Ungrateful or backward if they were Allowed to give their assistance in their own way and according to their abilities, of which none but themselves can be Competent Judges.

It is my Opinion that nothing but a Repeal of what are called the Revenue Acts, or some of them, and the Boston Bills, will satisfy the people and bring them back to a good temper. And if the Ministry shou'd persist in their Resolution to force the Boston Bills I am not in the least doubt but they will be opposed, and that the Flame will be caught throughout America. And I really think the moderate people have even now enough to do to keep things from Extremities. Thus much I Collect from a variety of Intelligence, in which I cannot be much Deceived. America is very populous, and a large proportion of the people are furnished with fire Arms, and if a blow should be struck on either side, I don't know when the matter wou'd end.

I am not sufficiently versed in Mercantile Subjects, to Judge of the Effects of a Total Stoppage of all Commercial Intercourse, or which Side will be most distressed. But I can plainly see that it must be very prejudicial if not pernicious to both. And why cannot the Ministry retract since they find their plans so very offensive that they will not Go down. Is it not frequently so at home? Was it not the Case of the Jew Act and the Cyder Act? And why must every thing be risked for the Sake of a trifling Revenue, chiefly spent in the Support of Officers, and very little of which goes into the Exchequer or Accrues to the Benefit of the Nation? Administration finds by this time, they were Strangers to American Affairs; and why are they ashamed to take the Honour of Acknowledging their Error?

I am no Politician, but my plan shou'd be, to do away the present Causes of Discontent and to give a Continental Assembly to transact the General Affairs of America or at least of the Continent. This wou'd make a Constitutional Union, better in my Opinion than these kind of Occasional Ones, which however offensive they may be at home, cannot be prevented. I have

at present done with this Important disagreeable Subject and sincerely wishing for better prospects

Philad^a Oct^r 2^d 1774
HENRY WILMOT, Esq^r

I am
with great regard
y^r most obed^t &
most humble serv^t

JAMES TILGHMAN.

P. S.—I have kept my Letter by me till now in Expectation that I might have something material to Inform you, of the Deliberations of the Congress. But there is no Intelligence to be Depended on. I can collect that there is a moderate and an intemperate party among them, but which is like to prevail does not transpire. My Brother (as I collect from General Conversation) seems exceedingly tired of the business, and I believe upon the whole, he thinks there is too much heat amongst them. His plan is to keep off all violent proceedings and to make a firm and respectful Remonstrance, containing the Reasons for Non-importation and other modes of opposition. He is a firm Stickler for the Liberties of America under a proper Subordination to and Connection with the Mother Country.

Surely the Ministry will have more prudence and humanity than to drive this Glorious Country which may be turned to the perpetual Support of England, to Extremities destructive of the Interests of both. In a few words, the people of America in general have a Sense of Liberty. They understand the Subject well. They cannot think of being taxed at the will of any Man or Sett of Men they have no hand in Choosing, which They Esteem the Badge of Slavery, and to which I am persuaded they never can be brought to Submit. At the same time, they will most Cheerfully acquiesce in a proper Subordination to the Mother Country, such as consists with the Principles of Liberty. And it is a great pity, if in a matter of such Vast Concern, the Ministry shou'd not turn their thoughts rather upon Conciliating measures than upon resenting the indiscretions of a part of the people and of forcing Laws Subversive of Antient Establishments, inadequate to the Occasion of making them, and altogether inconsistent with the principles of Freedom in the Essential point of Taxation.

Sir,

I am just now favored with your Letter of the 27th of Aug^r in Answer to mine of the 22d of June, part of which you say you communicated to Lord Dartmouth, which I make myself assured you would not have done but from an Absolute certainty that no use would be made of it Injurious to me. I hope his Lordship will consider my Letter as the private Sentiments of a Man who has little more to Do with the disagreeable Situation of the Colonies with respect to the Mother Country, than to Lament the melancholy prospect which that Situation affords. For the times make it almost unsafe even to think with moderation. I wish I could flatter you with the hope that the Resolutions of Congress would give Room for the retreat you mention to the ministry. Their proceedings are now made public and you will soon have them over the Water. Let them Speak for themselves. I shall not Comment upon them. If they shou'd be thought to exceed the Line of Moderation or Respect, I hope They will be considered at home, as the Doings of Men heated with a Sense of Oppression and the apprehensions of Designs upon their Liberties. Perhaps their prejudices may give false appearances to things and malevolent Designs may be attributed to Measures which were not intended to have harmful Effects. I hope and wish that every Expedient may be tried to preserve our Connexion with the Mother Country, and that it may be considered that England by making War upon us, in Some Sort will be making War upon itself. We have a

great many rash & imprudent People, but there are Many also really Sollicitous for Peace and Quietness upon any reasonable Terms.

The things particularly Alarming and offensive are the Tea Duty, which seems to be kept in purely an Exercise of that unlimited power Claimed over the Colonies; the Board of Commissioners, and what I may call the additional Courts of Admiralty, which I am persuaded are of no real Benefit to the Nation. Their places may perhaps Assist in Diffusing a Parliamentary Influence, but I do not see what other purposes they Serve. The Customs can be as well Collected without the Board. The Provincial Courts of Admiralty are under the Direction of Gentlemen of Ability and Probity and who I am Satisfied do Justice to the Crown; and if they should mistake or Designedly misjudge, the Crown is Secured by an Appeal.

If Matters cou'd once be put on the Footing of a compromise, no doubt both Sides would depart from the height of their pretensions, as is usual almost in every kind of Negociation. But how is a Compromise to be brought about? The pride of the Ministry will be too much piqued to make Concessions, and the Americans under a Strong Sense of Oppression and their own consequence, I fear will not be apt to make Advance. In short it seems to me as if the Ministry had gone Almost too far to look back. Under the Influence of Resentment neither Side will keep to the Right Line. There wou'd be a better chance of an Accommodation by a New Parliament & Ministry. The People here have a Degree of Resentment (perhaps an unreasonable one) against the present Ministry, and might not Acquiesce in what They might think reasonable Terms proposed by those of whom They have a better Opinion. Lord Chatham might do more in that matter than any Man Living. He is looked upon as our Deliverer from the Stamp Act, and is held in a Degree of Esteem next to Veneration throughout the Continent. It is not to be Supposed he would propose or Consent to Terms injurious to the true interest of his Country, and his Character would give vast weight to his Measures. But I have Done. When I consider the Magnitude & Extent of the Subject, and my own Insufficiency, I am lost & ashamed almost that I shou'd presume to give my Sentiments,

I am

Philadelphía, Octob^r 29th, 1774.
HENRY WILMOT, Esq.

Your most hble &
most obedt. servant,
JAMES TILGHMAN.

[*Contributed by D. McNeely Stauffer.*]

CHARLES GOOKIN, GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE REV. NATHANIEL GOOKIN.

Philad^{ia} 9^{br} 28th 1709.

Deare S^r

When I assure y^a y^e Acc^t y^a gave me of that * * * * of Our ffamilly, settled in America was extreemly satisfactory, I must confess no Common excuse will serve, for not answering y^r sooner, I shall only say that when I received it I was obliged to hasten to New-Castle 40 miles from here to meet y^e Assembly of y^e three Lower Counties, as they are called, and have been not a little pplexed between that and this of y^e Province, y^e former and I parted good friends, and they have given me two hundred pounds, a greater sum to them than two thousand would be to y^e other, these are Governed by three p'sons professed Enimies to y^e Propriet^r so no good to be expected from them. The Secretary of y^e Province is going for England to lay y^e Condition of this Country before y^e Propriet^r and tis beleived he will be p'suaded to give up y^e Govern^t to y^e Crown, he was well inclined when I left him, if he makes Conditions for me (as he promised) that I

should be y^e Queen's Gov^r it may be worth to me 7 or 800 p^r Annum, but as it is, it's not worth four, however I am Contented since I have an Opportunity of improving that little I brought with me, and y^e people and I agree very well.

The Spring I suppose will be a time of some leasure with me, I mean from y^e beginning of March to y^e last of Aprill I purpose, God willing to pass some part of that time wth y^a and others our Relations, at Boston, if y^r and their business will allow them to be there. Pray give them my most hearty and beleive I am with great Sincerity

D^o S^r

Y^r most Affec^o kinsman

and humble Serv^t

CHA: GOOKIN.

To

The Rever^d M^r

Nathan^l Gookin att

New-Castle, New Hampshire

To be left wth M^r Blount In

Boston.

GOVERNOR JOHN BLACKWELL OF PENNSYLVANIA TO WILLIAM PENN.

Most Hon^d S^r

I wrote unto you at large the 30th of the 3^d mo: inclosing therein the Journall of Proceedings in Councill to the 23^d of the same mo: we have had no Councils for the reasons therein suggested, but been in dayly Expectation of hearing from you; which to this day we are disappointed of, further than by an advisem^t given us by James Thomas, that Bonds vessell (wch he sayes would be ready in a few days after him to sett sayle and brings M^r Blackfan your Receiver.) will answer our Expectations therein, God Grant! In my last I made some mention of severall Examinations taken by the Justices here about a Ryott committed in the Rescuing of John White. They were not then finished, and I was willing to attend the issues thereof in your County Court, before I troubled you with them. They are now perfected as they were deliver^d in to the Grand Jury. who found all the 3 bills Ignoramus. such is the virtue of the attestations that passed here, for Oaths; Especially when the parties concerned or any of them are Friends. Not that David is one, but he's related to Thomas, who thrusts his Oare into Every boat; and will condecend to be a Solicitor in any faction rather than give out. Such truly is your Constitution & the Executor of it, that no charge must be Exhibited against such a One, but in a Consistory; from which I pray God deliver you: for, they threaten you. The papers S^r I have here inclosed for your satisfaction touching these Rioters, & doubt not but you'l thereby find they are such, though the Jury returned the Bills Ignoramus. I now only wayt for the hour of my deliverance for, I see ti's impossible to serve you in this place, and under your Condesentions to this people. I was in hopes to have had better successe in the affayr of your Revenue, but ti's a noli me tangere in the hand that manages it. I hope you'l send instructions by Mr. Blackfan, who if qualified with suitable life & principles to act as a Servant ought to do in such an employm^t as he is designed unto, he shall not want my assistance. S^r I am very ill dealt with by those that are at present impower^d in that affayre: ffor after having borrowed one hundred pounds, & spent that & more for my preparations & journey hither, I am put to sell the goods I brought, for bread: For since Griffith Jones, who intertayned me (on trust) for about 4 months, is removed with his family to his plantation, I have been left his housekeeper, and to make my owne dayly provisions; which are very Costly in this place. I could live better at halfe the charge in London; I know this will be more grievous to you, than 'tis to me, tho I can not be insensible too of my hard

Lott, in this Strange Land. I shall not repeat my former Advertisem^{ts}. I have not been wanting to send you large acco^{ts} of all my actions in Council & Sentim^{ts}, together with the Counterworkings of the Adversary. A serpent of y^r owne Cherishing; but must tell you, It has been your great unhappinesse to be overtaken wth mere glosing pretences of friendship, into an im-measurable credulity; Pardon the expression; and my playnesse of Speech, which aymes at nothing but your service; and my owne discharge unto the meaneest condition of a freeman, that an Englishman and a good Christian may reasonably be Exposed unto by his fellow-Creatures, which will be more Eligible than I to governe a people who have not the principles of govern^t amongst them, nor will be informed. Besides S^r the Climate is over-hott for my Constitution & Age; and the hosts of musqueetos are worse than of armed men. yet the men without Armes worse than they. I must notwithstanding abide by all for the Remaynder of this Summer. but I hope by the first travelling Season, you^l Come & dismissee me. and thereby put an end to the perplexities whereby I am overburthened by your friends. my professed enemies. without cause.

I remayne, never the less

S^r

Philad^a the 24th June
1689.

Your very much obliged humble Serv^t
JOHN BLACKWELL—

S^r

Finding Thos: Lloyd amongst other his officious intermeddlings has busied himselfe in advertising by writing and scattering his Advertisem^{ts} upon the Declaration past in Councill the 23rd of last month for the peoples Satisfaction till we heare from you. I spent some of my spare minutes to remark thereupon for my owne information, A copy whereof I presume to trouble you with all: hoping you^l observe some thing therein not unreasonable —

Address.

“For the Hon^{ble} William Penn”
Lord Proprietor & *Chief* Governor
of the Province of Pennsylvania
and Counties annexed, In America
at Whitehall
These—

Endorsed by Wm. Penn.

“Pennsylvania”
Cp. Blackwall.
24—4^{mo} '89.

21. 2. 13.

EDWARD PENINGTON TO THOMAS WHARTON, JR., PRESIDENT OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[The following interesting letter is not given in Gilpin's Exiles in Virginia. The circumstances which called it forth will be found narrated in the second part of the Memoir of Thomas Wharton, Jr., by Anne H. Wharton. P.A. Mag., Vol. IV. p. 91.—Ed. of Mag.]

Hopewell, Virginia, March 25, 1778.

I could not have supposed that thou would have refused answering my letter, *nearly* on account of its wanting a little form. That this may not be neglected for the same reason; I now address thee under the Title of (being only Intended as matter of form)
Friend Wharton.—

Thee may remember that in the winter of 1776, I and my son Isaac were dragged before the President and Council of Safety, upon no other authority than the Will and Pleasure of a Drunken Sergeant and His Guard. On my return Home I was very much affected with the thought That a Person with whom I was formerly agreeably connected, should be in a Situation, the most degrading of any I could conceive—It being evident Thou wast under the Influence of this Military Guard. The next day I wrote thee a letter on the Occasion—whatever then Influenced thee not to return an answer, I dare say thou art now convinced, it would have been right to have done it. Hadst thou thought it worth while to have heard what I could have said on the occasion; It is probable I might have been useful to thee.

With regard to our case, who have been Condemned and Banished without Tryal, Those in Authority have either not Judg^d at all, leaving it to Congress to Judge for them; or they have Judg^d most unrighteously.

Notwithstanding the account thee gives of thy time being taken up with thy Father Fishbourne & Co, Thou signed orders for our Removal under Escort of two of the Troop, dated Sept 10th and orders to Col. Morgan of the same date, to look out for a proper person to Convey us from Reading to Staunton. Also a letter to John Hancock respecting an Application made to Council, for our Detention at Winchester, dated 12th Sept.

From the above-mentioned Authentic papers, it is Evident thou hast been our Enemy, and well might I say in my former letter, that (with regard to any thing Friendly) "I am at a Loss in what manner to address thee."

But to take thee on the Ground of Inactivity, on which thou pretended to Stand, but on which thou in reality did not, what would it amount to? but that thou would not commit the Evil thyself, but keep out of the way & let others do it: A base Desertion of the Cause of the Innocent & Oppressed. But I have already Shown thy Crime is of a deeper die, Thou signed orders for our Removal under Escort of two of the Troop. Now what Evidence hadst thou against us, whereby thou couldst Justify thyself in Signing this Decree. Did the General charge of the Congress, published in all the newspapers against the People called Quakers, Convince thee of our Guilt. A most senseless performance, and which we could have fully answered in a Short time, had we been allowed our undoubted right, of being heard in our Own Defence—And now I put it to thy Conscience—What could Induce thee to consent to our being Banished for Life? Thou couldst not believe we had been Guilty of any Crime, that Could deserve such Punishment. To complete this Scene of Iniquity, orders were Issued from the War Office, to our Conductors, not to Suffer us to distribute our remonstrances.—at the same time those charges against us, Published by order of Congress; were dispersed about with the greatest Assiduity.—a memorable Instance of Injustice.

A few words more and I have done. Before thou signed this unjust decree, did it not occur to thee That thou wast well acquainted with a great number of us, and that thou knew us to be a Quiet, Peaceable People That were by no means likely to be concerned in Plots, or in giving Intelligence to the Enemy. But if any such thoughts took place in thy mind, It is Evident they were not long Cherished Therein.

Thou signed the unjust, the Cruel Decree, without giving us an Opportunity of being heard, on our own Defence. As it is impossible this Conduct could proceed from the Love of Justice, so I think it is not possible thou canst Enjoy Peace, in thy own mind, until thou Sincerely repents, for the great Injury thou hast done us, and makes us all the Reperation in thy power. That thou mayst through the Assistance of Divine Providence, be

enabled to witness a Sincere repentance and Amendment of Life, is the disere of one, who when that event takes place may with propriety subscribe himself

Thy real Friend

EDW'D PENINGTON.

Addressed

Thos. Wharton Junr Esq—
President of the Executive
Council of
Pennsylvania—

(Contributed by G. D. Scull.)

THOMAS WILLING TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND.

Extract from a letter to General Frederick Haldimand from Thomas Willing. Philadelphia, September 20th, 1774.

* * * * "My brother James intends soon for the Mississippi, but will I dare say do himself the pleasure to see you before his departure. I wish the situation of Public affairs had permitted you to have visited us here this time. If you are to be delayed untill our distractions are settled, I fear from present appearances, it will be much too long; repeated injuries on the one side, and retorted Insults on the other, will probably keep alive the Coal which must consume the vitals of both countrys. I am no great Politician but as an American I both See and feel the chains which are prepared for me. I honor & glory in the reputation of the mother country and I love my own whose liberties and interest are most cruelly and unjustly attack'd. Some humiliation on their part and Some concessions on Ours seems to me the only proper and probable way, of settling the unhappy dispute; they are contending for shadows, we for substantial, which I hope to God will never be risted from us, by the Iron hand of Power; You'll excuse a friend, who having all at stake speaks in the sincerity of his heart and wishes well to both countries." * * * * *

(Contributed by G. D. Scull.)

REVOLUTIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

(From the MS. collection, now in the Royal Institute of London, made by Maurice Morgan, Sec. to Sir Guy Carleton.)

Sir

Whitehall—12th December 1777.

Since the mail was dispatched, the inclosed Paper of Intelligence has been received from France and as it is thought to be of Importance and well-founded, I am directed by Lord George Germaine to send it to you; for which purpose I forward it by Express to Falmouth in hopes of overtaking the Packet.

I am Sir, your most obed^t humble serv^t

To Sir Wm Howe—

WM KNOX.

——Intelligence——

As soon as it was known that General Howe would proceed to Philadelphia, the chief supporters of the Rebellion withdrew and called in their Agents who had been employed in different Provinces, who are to remain in Philadelphia pretending to be excellent Friends to Government: they are to give Intelligence, as a Coup de Main is to be attempted in *Philadelphia and New-York* as soon as the Frost sets in, if Burgoyne's army Could be

beat back, which they had no doubt of accomplishing. *Alas! it is worse than that.* Willing and Morris of Philadelphia who have been the Chief agents for establishing correspondencies and in the Dutch and French Islands have called to Philadelphia Sam Inglis and —— Marshall from Virginia, who have been considerable buyers of Tobacco for the Congress under Willing and Morris: these with several others are to remain in the City, the first at Philadelphian, the last a Scotchman. The pay given those People is high beyond Conception. I here find they have a number of Americans, English, Scotch and Irish, as well as two or three Foreigners: my friend says they dont mind destroying the two Cities, but would be glad to burn them.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

DOROTHEA SCOTT, otherwise Gotherson and Hogben.—Under this title Mr. G. D. Scull, of Oxford, England, has published an interesting brochure containing a number of original documents relating to the subject of the sketch, gathered from the Pepys Manuscripts. Dorothea Scott, an early Quaker preacher, and her husband, Major Gotherson, fell into the hands of one John Scott, a designing rascal, who palmed himself off as a member of the same family as Mrs. Gotherson, and sold the Major a tract of land on Long Island to which he had no title. This all happened in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and besides being an episode in which the name of Pepys became entangled, it possesses interest, especially to the American reader, as illustrating the condition of affairs here. In the papers it contains we find the name of "Colonell Morris, ye great Quaker at ye Barbadoes, now living at New York." A genealogical chart accompanies the pamphlet.

JETHRO WOOD, INVENTOR OF THE MODERN PLOW. By Frank Gilbert. Rhodes and McClure. Chicago, 1882. 12mo. 72 pp. There is no reason to doubt the claim made in this book as to whom the credit of inventing the modern plow is due. That a machine of such great utility should not have proved a source of profit to the man who conceived it is, to say the least, lamentable. The cast-iron plow cost its inventor not only years of work and thought, but a fortune was wrecked in perfecting and protecting it against infringements. Just as tedious litigations were ended, and Wood seemed about to reap the benefit of his genius, death ended his career. The patent expired soon afterwards, and his descendants were left but the fragment of a once large estate. The story is pathetically told, with the ardent intention of gaining for Jethro Wood all that can now be accorded to him: the fame of one who has contributed largely to the welfare of mankind.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES, Chiefly Relating to the Early Settlement of Friends at Falls, in Bucks County, Pa. By G. W. B. Phika., 1882. 16mo. 152 pp. This volume will possess an interest to many outside of the Society of Friends. It is a contribution to our local historical literature that will be welcome to the descendants of many Bucks County settlers. It is from the press of John P. Murphy, 227 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

MEMOIR OF JOHN M. CLAYTON. By Joseph P. Comegys. 8vo. 307 pp. This volume, which forms the fourth of a series entitled, "Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware," is composed of the substance of two addresses read before that society, with additions subsequently made by the author. It is an appreciative and truthful sketch of the life of John M. Clayton. Thrice United States Senator from Delaware, Secretary of State under General Taylor, and negotiator of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Clayton's career is too well known to require even a brief recapitulation here. Chief Justice Comegys has not only treated his subject skilfully, but has made a valuable addition to the political history of the last generation.

REPORTS OF THE UNITED GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA. Pilger Book Store, Reading, Pa. Vol. I. 8vo. The first volume of the translation of the Halle Reports, issued under the editorship of Doctors Mann, Schmucker, Germann, and Schaeffer, has been received, and fully justifies all the high expectations that have been formed concerning it. In our announcement of this work in the PENNA. MAG., vol. IV., p. 388, we gave a full account of what it was proposed to be, and the design has been fully carried out. When complete, it will contain, besides the reports printed in the *Hallische Nachrichten*, 1787, the communications from the superiors in Halle to the missionaries in this country.

WILLIAM PENN'S LETTERS RELATING TO THE SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.—No collection of Penn's writings contains all of his letters regarding the settlement of Pennsylvania. More will be found in Janney's *Life of Penn* than in any other single volume, but they are not all there. The following list of those written between the time he received his grant and his return to England in 1684 is probably far from complete, and we will be obliged to any of our readers who will add to it.

- 1681, March 5. To Robert Turner. Mem. H. S. P., Vol. I. p. 201 (2d ed.) p. 208.
 1681. Some account of Pennsylvania. Published in London, in 1681. Hazard's *Annals of Pa.*, p. 507.
 1681, April 8. London. To the Inhabitants of Penna. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. III. Part II. p. 205.
 1681, April 10. Westminster. To Lord Baltimore. State Paper Office, Maryland. B. T. Vol. 5, Fol. 60.¹
 1681, April 10. Westminster. Commission and Instructions to Markham as Deputy Governor, Hazard's *Annals of Pa.*, p. 503.
 1681, April 12. To Robert Turner, Ant. Sharp, and R. Roberts. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. I. p. 202 (2d ed.) p. 210.
 1681, July 11. Certain conditions or concessions. Votes of Assembly, Vol. I. p. xxiv. Colonial Records (2d ed.) Vol. I. p. 26.
 1681, August 25. To Robert Turner. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. I. p. 204 (2d ed.) p. 212.
 1681, August 25. To James Harrison. Janney's *Penn.* p. 175.
 1681, Sept. 16. London. To James Frisby and others in Penna. Penna. Archives, Vol. I. p. 38.
 1681, Sept. 30. To his Commissioners. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. II. Part I. p. 213.
 1681, Oct. 13. To Henry Sidney. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. III. Part I. p. 285. (It is there given as to Algernon Sidney; see further Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. IV. Part I.
 1681, October 18. London. To the Indians of Penna. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. VI. p. 251.

- 1681, October 18. London. To Wm. Markham. Westcott's Phila., Chap. XXII.¹
1681. To Interesting extract from two letters written in 1681 will be found in Proud, Vol. I. 169.
- 1682, Jan. 19. To James Harrison. An extract from this is printed in Hazard's Annals of Pa., p. 538.
- 1682, April 18. Commission to Captain Thomas Holme as Surveyor-General of Pa. Hazard's Annals of Pa., p. 555.
- 1682, April 20. The Frame of Government. Hazard's Annals of Pa., 561.
- 1682, April 21. To the Indians. Mem. H. S. P., Vol. VI. p. 252.
- 1682, June 21. To "the Emperor of Canada." Janney, p. 196. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. VI. p. 253.
- 1682, August 4. To his wife and children. Janney's Penn., p. 197.
- 1682, August. On board the Welcome. To Stephen Crisp. Janney's Penn., p. 204.
- 1682, Oct. 29. Upland. To Ephraim Harman. This letter and those it inclosed of the same date are the first evidences we have of Penn's being within the present limits of the State of Pennsylvania. Copies of two of the letters inclosed have been preserved. One is printed in the Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 51. The other is recorded in Sussex County Record. They give notice of a "General Court for the Settlement of the Jurisdiction" at New Castle, on Nov. 2d. The letter to Harman is printed in Hazard's Annals of Pa., p. 599.
- 1682, Nov. 1 and Dec. 16. Chester and West River, Md. To Philip Ford. Extracts given in paper printed in Pa. Mag., Vol. VI. p. 180.
- 1682, Nov. 28. Upland. To William Markham. Westcott's Phila., Chap. XXII.¹
- 1682, Dec. 29. Chester. To ———. Very interesting extracts from a letter of this date will be found in Proud, Vol. I. p. 209.
- 1682, Feb. 5. Chester. To Lord Hyde. Mem. H. S. P., Vol. IV. Part I. p. 173.
- 1682, Feb. 5. Chester. To an Old Friend. Janney's Penn., p. 224.
- 1682, Feb. 5. Chester. To Wm. Markham. (In possession of F. J. Dreer, Esq.)¹
- 1682, Feb. 5. Chester. To Lord Culpepper. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. IV. Part I. p. 171.
- 1682-3. To ———. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. IV. p. 1, p. 177.
- 1683, June 11. Philada. To Commissioners to treat with N. Jersey. Archives, Vol. I. p. 58.
- 1683, June 11. Philada. Instructions to West Jersey Commissioners. Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 58.
- 1683, June 11. Philada. To the Governor and Council of West Jersey. Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 69.
- 1683, June 20. Philada. To Gov. and Council of West N. Jersey. Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 61.
- 1683, July 2. To Gov. Hinckley. Massa. Hist. Col., 2d Series, Vol. VII. p. 185.
- 1683, July 24. Philada. To Lord Keeper North. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. I. p. 411 (2d ed.) p. 439.
- 1683, July 24. Philada. To Henry Sidney. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. IV. Part I. p. 174.
- 1683, July 28. Philada. To Earl of Sunderland. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. II. Part I. p. 243.
- 1683, July 29. Philada. To John Tucker. Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 72.
- 1683, July 30. Philada. To Henry Savell. Pa. Archives, I. p. 68.
- 1683, July 31. Philada. To Thomas Taylor. Pa. Archives, I. p. 70.

- 1683, July 31. Philada. To Col. Philemon Lloyd. Pa. Archives, I. p. 74.
 1683, August 1. Philada. To Mr. Bridgeman, State Paper Office. America and West Indies, V. 388.¹
 1683, August 5. Phila. To Robert Boyle. Boyle's Works, ed. 1772, p. 658.¹
 1683, Aug. 13. Philada. To Charles II. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. II. p. 241.
 1683, Aug. 14. Philada. To the Lords of Plantation and Trade. Proud, Vol. I. p. 267.
 1683, Aug. 16. To the Free Society of Traders. Proud, Vol. I. p. 246.
 1683, Oct. 4. Philada. To Lord Baltimore. Proud, Vol. I. p. 276.
 1683, Feb. 2. To Earl of Rochester. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. I. p. 414 (2d ed.) p. 442.
 1683, Feb. 9. Philada. To Marquis of Hallifax. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. I. p. 418 (2d ed.) 446.
 1684, April 6. Pennsberry. Commission to William Welch, John Simecock, and James Harrison. (On Maryland affairs) Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 85.
 1684, June 8. Philada. To the Duke of York. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. IV. Part I. p. 178.
 1684, Aug. 8. Philada. To Earl of Sunderland. Mem. of H. S. P., Vol. IV. Part I. p. 183.
 1684, Aug. A valedictory from on board the Endeavour. To Thomas Lloyd, J. Claypoole, and others. Proud, Vol. I. p. 288.

FIRST GERMAN ALMANAC IN AMERICA.—Mr. Jacob Fatzinger, Jr., of Weaversville, Northampton Co., Pa., has sent us the title of a German Almanac issued before that published by Christopher Sauer in 1738, mentioned by Mr. Cassel in his interesting article on page 38 of this volume. Copies of Bradford's Almanac for the years 1731, 1732, and 1733 were once in the possession of Mr. Fatzinger.

Der Teutsche Pilgrim, metbringende linen sitten Calender Auf das yahr Nach der gnaden reichen geburt unsers Herrn und Heylandes Jusu Christi MDCCXXXI. (welches ein gemein yahr von 365 Sagen ist) Auf den Pennsylvanischen Meridianum gerichtet yedoch in denen beyliegenden Orten ya von Newfoundland an biss Carolina ohne mercklichen Unterschied gar wohl zu gebrauchen *zum ersten mahl herans gegeben* zu Philadelphia, Gedruckt bei Andreas Bradford.

WHERE THE FIRST PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY IN AMERICA WAS SIGNED. [We extract from "The Friend," of September 16th, 1682, the following interesting note by William Kite, regarding the locality of the DUBLIN MEETING-HOUSE.—ED. OF MAG.]

The endorsement at the foot of that interesting paper, "Germantown Friends' Protest against Slavery," is dated "At our Monthly Meeting at Dublin, 30th, 2nd mo. 1688," and signed on behalf of the Monthly Meeting by Jo. Hart. The question was naturally raised, Where was Dublin Meeting-house? Some research in the matter, I think, has enabled me to answer the question.

In 1857, Ed. Y. Buchanan delivered an "Historical Sketch of the Parish of Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia." A few extracts from this address, which was printed in pamphlet form, will, I think, give us the information needed.

Before, however, turning to the pamphlet, I will take a few lines from

¹ Will be printed in the next number of the PA. MAG.

Comly's Miscellany relative to the settlement of Byberry Meeting, which throws light on the subject; it says, the Monthly Meeting in 4th mo. 1685, "Ordered that the meeting which of late hath been held at Giles Knight's, be removed to the house of John Hart." In the 6th mo. following it is stated—"Friends did freely accept of ten acres of land given by Walter Forrest for a burying-ground for the service of Friends, near Poetquesink creek, and it is left to the trust and care of Joseph Fisher, John Hart, Samuel Ellis, and Giles Knight, to get the ground surveyed and a deed of conveyance to be made from Walter Forrest to themselves for the only use and behoof of Friends forever."

When George Keith disturbed the harmony of the Society with his schism, John Hart went off with him, and after a few changes became a preacher among the Baptists. "Some disorders and disturbances are reported to have taken place in the meeting at Poetquesink, so that Friends were induced quietly to abandon the meeting-house and meetings, and afterwards held their religious assemblies at the house of Henry English."—*Comly*. Henry English emigrated to America in 1683.

To return to Buchanan's pamphlet.

"Evan Evans, Episcopal Minister of Christ Church in Philadelphia, in a letter dated 1707, says: 'Trinity Church, in Oxford Township, lies in the county of Philadelphia, nine miles from the city, where for the first four years after my arrival in Philadelphia I frequently preached and administered both sacraments, and had, when I last preached in it, about one hundred and forty people—most of the people brought over to the Church of England from Quakers, Anabaptists and other persuasions.' " Page 8.

"The church to which Mr. Evans refers, was a building, probably of logs, which, according to Keith, had been put up, or at least used, for a Quaker meeting-house, but had been given by its proprietors to the parish—the most of them having become converts to the church." Page 9.

"It probably stood near the present church-building, and may have been the one afterwards spoken of in the records of the parish as the 'School-house belonging to Oxford Church.' Previous to the donation of it to the church it may have been used, and probably was, by the Dutch Anabaptists and Swedish Lutherans of the neighborhood, as well as by the English Quakers from whom it came." Page 9.

"The passage in which Keith speaks of the source whence it was received by the church I have transcribed. It reads thus: 'The place at Franckfort in Pennsylvania,'—or Franckfort alias Oxford—as he had before written—'where the congregation assembles on the Lord's day, is called Trinity Chapel. It was formerly a Quaker meeting-house, built or fitted by Quakers, but some time ago had been given to the church by such who had the right to it.' " Pages 9, 10, quoted from Keith's Journal, P. E. Hist. Society's edition, page 51.

Though some doubt may be felt, there would be good grounds from the above to believe that the meeting-house where Dublin Monthly Meeting was held stood on the grounds now occupied by Oxford Trinity Meeting-house, Philadelphia.

WILLIAM KITE.

WASHINGTON-IRVINE CORRESPONDENCE.—By C. W. Butterfield, 8vo. 430 pp. David Atwood, Madison, Wis., 1882. This is the most important work in connection with the early history of Western Pennsylvania, that has been published for years. In an introductory chapter the author takes up the history of border warfare where it is left by Parkman, in his History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, and continues it down to the close of the Revolution. The basis of this work is the correspondence of Gen. William Irvine, who commanded at Fort Pitt from June, 1781, until the close of the war, and the letters which passed between Washington and him give the name to the

volume. This portion of the correspondence, however, although possessing a particular interest, as everything connected with Washington does, is but a fragment of the whole, covering but eighty-two pages, profusely annotated, out of the four hundred and thirty which are in the book, nor is it the most valuable in connection with our State history. The letters which passed between Irvine and the Board and the Secretary at War, the Superintendent of Finance, the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the Lieutenants of Washington and Westmoreland Co., Pa., and other officials are replete with interest. The correspondence shows how fitting Irvine was for the position assigned him. How his perseverance made Fort Pitt so formidable as to cause the enemy to twice abandon expeditions against it from Detroit, and how his prudence and sagacity gave confidence to the distracted border. The work is indeed a history of the Revolution in the western portion of our State, and shows how the great West was secured to the nation. No one is better qualified than Mr. Butterfield for editing such manuscripts. His notes are instructive and add greatly to the work.

CORRECTIONS TO MONTRÉSOR'S JOURNAL.—In the introductory note to Montrésor's Journal (vol. v. p. 393) we made a statement which has been questioned, namely, that his first wife was a daughter of General De Brahame. Our attention was first called to this by a gentleman residing in New York, whose letter we have unfortunately mislaid, and from whom we shall be glad to hear again on the subject. Our impression is that while our correspondent doubted such a marriage, he spoke of some connection existing between the families. Mr. Scull informs us that such a marriage is unknown to the family of Captain Montrésor, and refers us to a notice of that officer in the 2d ed. of the *Evelyns in America*. Our statement that Montrésor married the daughter of De Brahame was made on the authority of a gentleman whose studies and experience entitle him to every respect, and who is still of the opinion that he has seen the record of such a marriage. The lady he married in 1764, was a step-daughter of Dr. Auchmuly. Her father was Thomas Tucker, Esq., of Bermuda. Captain Montrésor died on June 26, 1779. From Mr. Scull's sketch of Montrésor, and from the documents accompanying it, printed in *The Evelyns in America*, we learn that he was the son of James Gabriel Montrésor of Thurland Hall. He was born April 6, 1736, at Gibraltar, where his father was engineer. We cannot agree with Mr. Scull that he was chief engineer as early as Oct. 28, 1754, as he was then but little over eighteen years of age. It is more probable that it was his father who held that position, as Captain Montrésor in one of his papers writes that his father "was Chief Engineer in America during the late war." Captain Montrésor states that he was Ensign in the 48th Regiment March, 1755; appointed Engineer by Braddock at 10s. per day June 10, 1755; Lieutenant in 48th Regiment July 4, 1755; Engineer by commission from General Shirley May 14, 1756; Engineer and Practitioner of Engineering, though notified and acted long before, May 19, 1758; Lieutenant and Sub-Engineer March 17, 1759; Jan. 14, 1761; Engineer Extraordinary and Captain Lieutenant Dec. 20, 1765; special commission from the king as Chief Engineer in America Dec. 18, 1775. In 1761 he conducted a secret expedition through the wilderness of Maine by way of the Kennebeck River, and his journal kept during that march was used by Arnold in 1775. He was the officer who relieved Detroit when besieged during the Pontiac war. Among his papers is an interesting memorandum written while erecting the fortifications on the Delaware, subsequently known as Mud Fort or Fort Mifflin. From his papers it does not appear that he left the army in 1766, as he says he was under Gage from 1763 until 1774. The statement that he received a grant of land in Willsboro', Essex Co., N. Y., is made in a note in *Documents relating to the State of*

New York, vol. vii. p. 533. Mr. Isaac R. Pennypacker thinks we are in error in appending a note to the name of Col. Rumsey, on page 409 of Vol. V., stating that the person mentioned was Col. Nathaniel Ramsay, and points out the fact that Rumsey is a Maryland name. We have never heard of a Col. Rumsey, and Col. Ramsay certainly commanded the advance of the American army previous to the Battle of Brandywine. On page 204 of Vol. VI., in attempting to correct Montrésor we made a misstatement. It was Simeon Deane who brought the news of the alliance with France in May, 1778. Simon arrived with the French Minister in July.

PENN'S TREATY.—By Charles S. Keyser, 8vo., pp. 99. Philadelphia, 1882. While we cannot agree with the opening sentence in this book, that "this memorable treaty was made in the latter part of the month of November, in the year 1682," we have no disposition to quarrel with it. Our reasons for dissenting from the opinions quoted are fully stated in the last number of this Magazine, and to reiterate them now, or to pass the assertion in silence, would be the work of supererogation, or a tacit assent to a view which we consider false. Apart from this statement we find much in the work that is valuable and convincing. The spirit in which it is written seems to have been actuated more by a desire to prove that a treaty was held, and to refute the doubts which have been expressed concerning it, than to fix the exact time of its happening. It contains extracts from various documents, showing that it was the intention of Penn to establish friendly relations with the Indians as soon as he should come to America; the headings of the various titles for land purchased of the Indians from 1682 to 1785; passages from the minutes of Indian Conferences, in which mention is made of the first treaty Penn held with the natives; the traditions among the Indians concerning it; the statement of various writers on the subject, with biographical notes and other interesting matter, all of which will leave on the mind of the impartial reader the conviction that such an amount of testimony could not have sprung from mere tradition, but must have been based upon a substantial fact.

SPOTSWOOD LETTERS, Vol. I.—This work is the first of a *New Series* of Collections of the Virginia Historical Society. Its full title reads: The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710–1722, now first printed from the Manuscript in the Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, with an Introduction and Notes by R. A. Brock, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society. The volume before us contains 179 pages, and brings the correspondence down to 1712. The work is of historical importance, and gives an interesting view of Virginia affairs during the time of which it treats. The attention which Colonial Governors of that period were obliged to give to business of minor importance is here exemplified, and takes from the official character of the letters. Spotswood was one of the first to build iron furnaces in America, and the development of this industry is touched upon. It is also shown how the low price realized by the cultivation of tobacco in some parts of the country compelled the planters to turn their attention to domestic manufacturing in order to supply themselves with clothing. The troubles in North Carolina, between Governor Hyde and Thomas Cary, form the burden of several valuable letters. Spotswood's endeavors to educate the Indians must attract the attention of those interested in this most important subject. His experience with his Quaker citizens seems to have been on a par with that of other Colonial Governors to whom their tenets were inexplicable. "I have been mightily Embarrassed," he writes, "by a sett of Quakers who broach Doctrines so monstrous as their Brethren in England have never owned nor, indeed, can be suffered in any Government. They have not only refused to

work themselves, or suffer any of their Servants to be employed in the Fortifications, but affirm that their consciences will not permit them to contribute in any manner of way to the defence of the Country," etc. etc.

The letters are preceded by an interesting sketch of Governor Spotswood by Mr. Brock, whose annotations evince learning and research. The work is published for the members of the Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, with the address of William Wirt Henry on the Early Settlement of Virginia.—This pamphlet contains the Report of the Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society, presented to the society at its annual meeting, February 24, 1882. The condition of the institution is shown to be in a flourishing state, and the additions to its collections of an interesting and valuable character. The most important single acquisition of the year was the generous gift of the Hon. W. W. Corchran (a vice-president of the society) of the original MS. "Records or Entry Books of the Colony of Virginia for the five years (1752-1757) of the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie," purchased at the Stevens' sale in London.

The address of Mr. Henry is an able and interesting defence of the statements of Captain John Smith against the charges brought by Charles Deane, Rev. Edward D. Neill, Henry Adams, and other late writers.

CORRECTION.—On page 312, ninth line from foot of page, read *reprint* in place of *report*.

Queries.

PORTRAITS OF QUARTERMASTER GENERALS OF THE U. S. ARMY.—In addition to the list of portraits of Quartermaster Generals, of which the Department desired copies, we are requested to add the name of Stephen Maylan, of Pennsylvania, Quartermaster General in 1776. The name of Lieut.-Col. Hodgden should have read Hodgdon.

CATHARINE TENNENT.—Information is wanted of Catharine Tennent, widow of Reverend William Tennent, of Freehold, N. J. She is thought to have died at the house of Rev'd William Schenck, while he was pastor of the North and Southampton Low Dutch Reformed Church (Bucks County) between March 3, 1777, and April, 1780. Mrs. Tennent before marriage was Miss Catharine Van Burgh, of New York. Her first husband was John Noble. Who can furnish information of Mrs. Tennent after her husband's death, March 8th, 1777, and especially of her death?

W. W. H. D.

SAMUEL ROBINSON, Merchant, Philadelphia, *ob cœlebs* Nov. 1774. Will dat. Nov. 14, 1764, prob. Nov. 28, 1774, Will Bk. L. 167. This Samuel, family tradition says, was killed by being knocked down a pair of steps on Dock St., Phila., by a person, whether accidentally or designedly I know not. Can you give me any information on the subject?

H. E. H.

DISTURBANCE IN CHRIST CHURCH.—There was published in the early part of 1745 a "Paper concerning the differences lately arisen in the Church." The subject of the paper was a disturbance in Christ Church about the al-

terations of the building and the changing of the sittings of certain members of the congregation. Where can a copy of the above be seen?

C. R. HILDEBURN.

ELLIS LEWIS.—On page 143, Vol. VI. of PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, reference is made to Owen Lewis. In 1708 Ellis Lewis came to Pennsylvania from Wales. In 1713 he was married to Elizabeth, dau. of Nathaniel and Mary (Mendenhall) Newlin. His mother's name was Mary, her second husband was Owen Roberts. Can any of your readers give the name of Ellis's father or maiden name of his mother?

J. A. M. P.

EDITOR OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY.—Dear Sir: Can any of your correspondents give me the author of the following Latin poem?

Sibyllæ Americanæ genethliacum Ludovico xvii. regni Gallici Delphine prognosticum. Philadelphiae, apud Benjaminum Towne, MDCCLXXXII. 4to. pp. 16. Could it be Mrs. Ferguson?

Yours very truly,

LLOYD P. SMITH.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS IN REGIMENTAL BANDS.—It appears from the following letter that stringed instruments were used in the band attached to Proctor's Artillery. Were they ordinarily used in military bands during the Revolution, or was this an exceptional case?

ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany, Nov. 8, 1882.

Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1776.

Mr. President:

Sir: As the times of sundry of the Artillery men for which they enlisted, will expire the 27th of next month, in which matter beg to have your advice especially as my band of musicians are in the number, who from private encouragement offered to them are intending to join some other corps, at said expiration; I cannot find out who the persons are, as they keep it secret, but I am convinced the persons thus acting use me very ungenerously, as I have been at a considerable expense having bought all their musick and instruments, and paid each person who played on the viol, 5s. per month for their strings. I hope you will take premises in consideration and order it as in your wisdom you may think meet.

I am most respectfully yours,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

Directed.

To the Hon'ble Council of Safety,
Philadelphia.

Replies.

MATTHIAS ALEXIS ROCHE DE FERMOY (Vol. VI. p. 206).—In the last number of the MAGAZINE, the first line of page 206 gives the names apparently of two officers of the American Army in the Revolutionary War—"Matthew Alexis, France, De Roche Fernoy, France." A foot-note states that the identity of the first officer cannot be ascertained.

On the 5th of November, 1776, the Continental Congress issued a commission as a Brigadier-General in the Army to Matthias Alexis Roche De Fermoy, who had been for many years an officer of Engineers in the Army of France. He crossed the Delaware River in the early morning of December 26, 1776, in the same boat with General Washington, and commanded a

brigade that day in the battle of Trenton, which prevented the escape of the Hessians toward Princeton. He was sent out from Trenton by the Commander-in-Chief on the night of January 1, 1777, to command the advance guard near Maidenhead, and Colonel Hand, of Pennsylvania, discovered, at ten o'clock the next morning, that he had left his command at the front in a very questionable manner. To save public disgrace he resigned, January 31, 1777.

Yours truly,

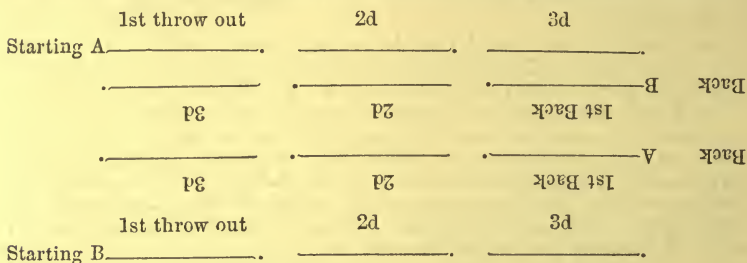
WILLIAM S. STRYKER,

Adjutant-General of New Jersey.

LONG BULLETS (Vol. VI. p. 255).—You ask for instruction in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE as to the game of Long Bullets. I was born at Measontown, Fayette Co., Pa., 14th Sept. 1810. From my first recollection, which is of more than 60 years ago, I saw the game played there until I left, which was in March, 1828. I am not much of a gamester, and therefore cannot use the terms of the game as well as others might.

A long bullet is a round wrought-iron ball weighing from 16 to 20 ounces; to play they use two; two persons usually play, but four may.

They have a starting point on a smooth road or street; each one throws or jerks his ball as far as he can; they make three throws starting where the bullet lay after being thrown. At the end of the three throws they change balls and throw back three times; the one having thrown the farthest at the outcome wins the game. See diagram; the grade out has a descent.



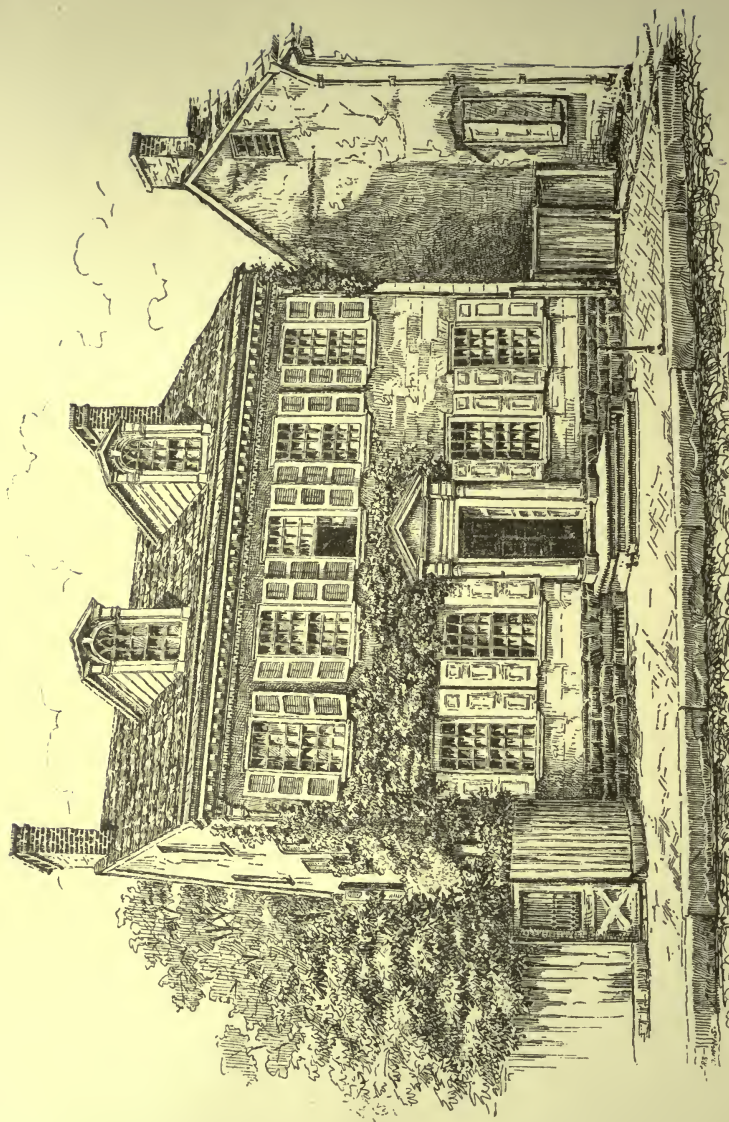
I hope you can comprehend it.

Yours, respectfully,
M. A. Ross.

ADHERENTS TO KEITH (Vol. III. p. 472, and IV. p. 131).—See Smith's History of the Province of Pennsylvania, Chap. X. 6 Hazard's Register, 306.

Soon after the yearly meeting of London, a letter was sent from Friends there, dated the 21st of the Fourth month [1693], signed by George Whitehead, James Parks, John Bowater, James Waldenfield, Gilbert Iateg, Richard Needham, Benjamin Antrobus, William Robinson, William Penn, and Theodore Eccleston, directed to *George Hutchinson, Robert Turner, Francis Rawle, John Hart, and Charles Reed*, in which they gave them *and the others who had gone out in the separation*, much brotherly advice, calculated to reconcile the widening difference, blaming the separating from and printing against Friends, and proposing to them to condemn the breach they had made and then to have an appointed meeting for a reconciliation with their brethren. The quarterly meeting of Friends of Philadelphia also made such overtures on this account as they thought consistent with the integrity of their religious testimony, but without much effect.

R. S.



—THE MORRIS HOUSE.—

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No. 4.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

(Continued from page 283.)

PART EIGHTH.

The father of Abraham Keyser, mentioned in the last Walk, page 269, was a Dunker. Abraham also owned a property on Main Street opposite the Quaker Meeting House Grounds, and at the times of the Quarterly Meetings he would have the house opened for the reception of Friends from a distance as his guests. He provided the refreshments, and his niece Susan Douglas, was the hostess on such occasions. On p. 133 of this volume, John Stadleman, Captain of the Germantown Blues, is spoken of in apparent connection with Camp Dupont and the War of 1812. At that time Dr. Runkle was the captain. John Stadleman attained that rank afterwards. George Wilson, the shoemaker, spoken of on p. 272, produced a sensation once by suing the Portuguese Minister for an unpaid bill for shoes. As foreign ministers are exempt from legal process, the result was that George was heavily fined for the offence. Something may be added to the account of persons spoken of in the Sixth Walk. There is an ancient

family in Spain, named Ashmede, as I believe the name is spelled there, which is thought by some to be of Moorish origin. Some one had said the names, possibly, came from Achmet. However this may be, certain it is that a wanderer of the Germantown race of Ashmeads, it may be with this Moorish blood in his veins, found in England a bride in the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

As we are about to leave what, in the last century, and in the earlier part of this, was the busiest part of the town, a few words may be given to the olden time. Before doing so, however, as this seems an appropriate place, representations are given of the ancient seal of the borough, and of that of the Germantown Library of 1745.

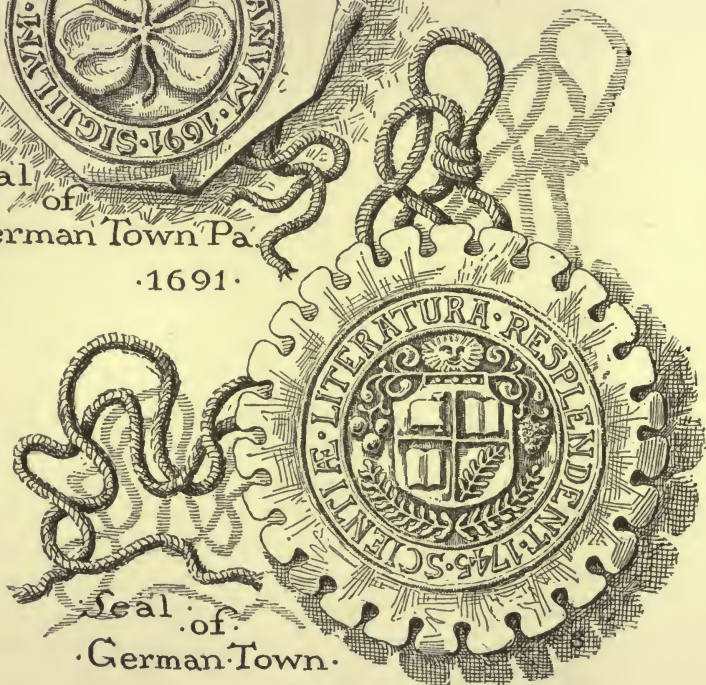
In the days of poor roads, less than eighty years ago, when for long intervals of time little intercourse could be had with the city, there were "Great Stores" in Germantown, in Frankford, and along the road to Lancaster. Farmers could dispose of their whole loads of produce to Stoneburner, Fry, or Miller, in Germantown, and, in return, could obtain their supplies of salt, fish, plaster of Paris, and clover and other seeds, as well as of all kinds of groceries and dry goods. The extensive storehouses were, practically, granaries for all kinds of grain, and added to this, they received and cured pork and beef. It has been observed that all who were engaged in this business were successful. When, however, turnpikes came to be constructed, the consequent easy passage to the city led to a rapid decline of such commerce.

James Stokes related that before the year 1812, he had counted in one day, passing along the road, more than five hundred waggons, very many of them the vast structures styled "Conestoga," drawn by six or sometimes eight horses, as was common in that day. This seems almost incredible, but it must be remembered that Germantown was once, in 1793, so great a place as to be the seat of government of the United States and of Pennsylvania.

Not less of the past is this, than is the manner in which in its earlier days the people of Germantown were bidden to funerals. Every door was what was called a half-door, and



Seal of
German Town Pa.
1691.



Seal of
German Town.

Library 1745.

usually the upper part was open. Along the road, up one side of it and down the other, would stalk the self-important herald, who, standing at the threshold of each in its turn, and whether any one appeared in sight or not, would proclaim in a loud voice, "Thyself and family are bidden to the funeral of Dirck Hogeremoed at three o'clock to-morrow." And so he went from house to house. At the appointed time the denizens would gather at the house and each as he entered would take from the table that stood by the door, a glass of spirits, which it was considered an affront not to do. After a time of solemn communing they would mount their horses, the wife on a pillion behind her husband, and thus would they ride to the Burying Ground to see their ancient comrades,

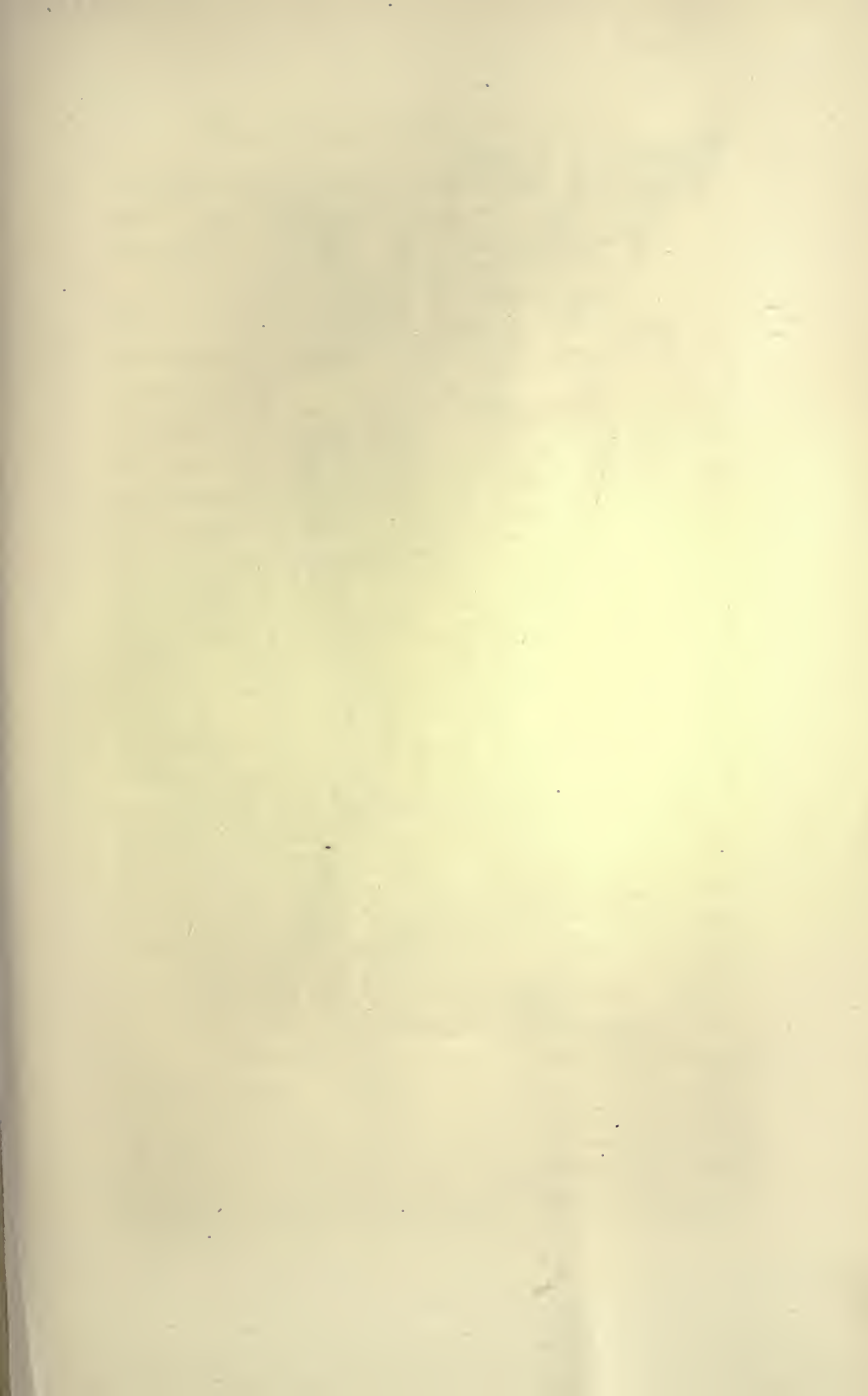
"Each in his narrow cell forever laid."

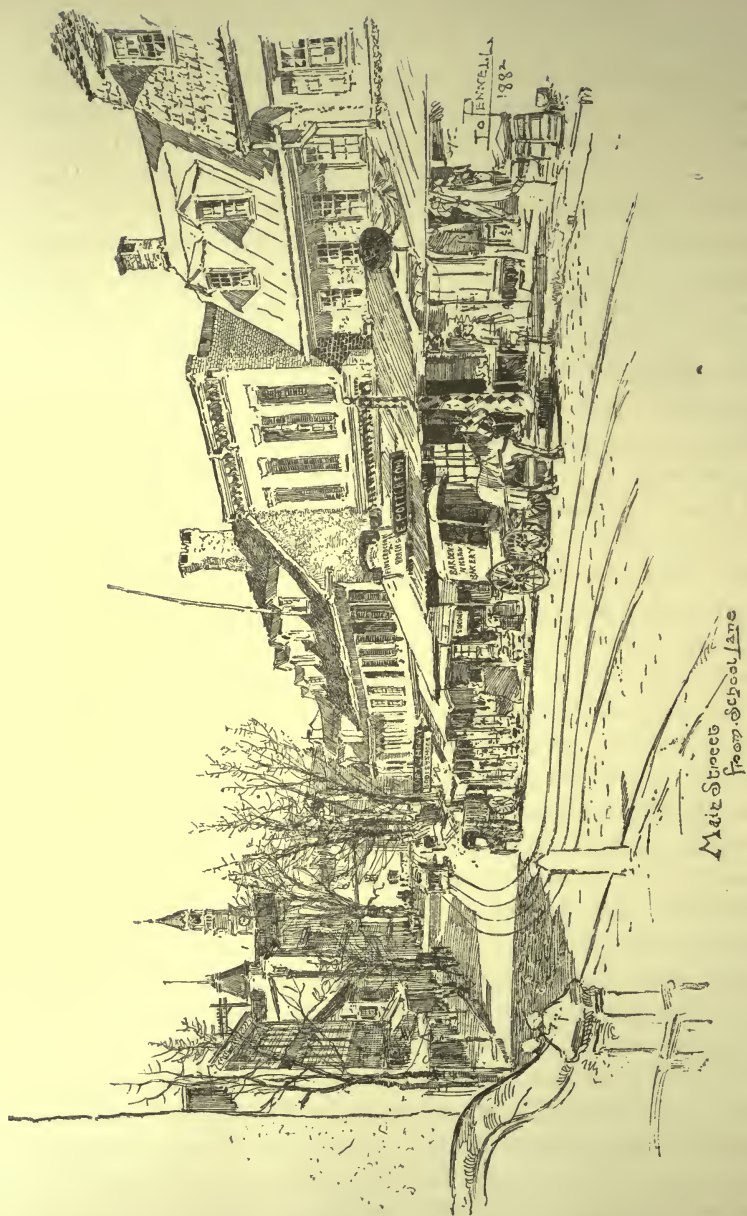
I have seen a reference to early funerals in Mrs. Deborah Logan's Note Books, to the effect that at Dr. Franklin's burial the old custom of the body being carried to the grave by the "Watchmen" of the city was not observed. On account of his illustrious career it was borne by prominent citizens. I have been told of an instance in Germantown of girls carrying the body of a companion to the grave, as was the custom in the city. Miss Eve speaks of it as a "foolish custom for girls to prance it through the streets without hats or bonnets," see Vol. V. pp. 195, 364.

That ancient and well-remembered half-door has been spoken of. Quaint it was, but how appropriate for a single minded, hearty people, among whom no depredator was ever known, until there came upon them the evil days of single doors and locks and bolts. No depredator? Ah! there was one who laughed before Germantown's day of locksmiths, even before the day of the elder Fleckenstein. When evening closed and night had come, some pretty Gretchen with her neat cap and short sleeves, leaned over the door at her accustomed place, and listened to the honey-vows of her lover Herman, who stole her heart as he sat upon the doorstep, his life divided between his love for her and for his pipe, a puff for the one, and a sigh for the other.

While the lower half of the door was closed no quadruped could enter the dwelling house, but the refreshing air of heaven could; while the rest it afforded to a leisure loving people was most agreeable. Surely the designer of it was inspired, for of all things the ancient Germantowner most dearly loved, was to stand, or rather, to recline at his half opened door, resting his elbows thereon while he held converse with an opposite neighbor, or with one who might chance to be passing. "I go to see Jacob Ueberfeld's pigs," the passenger perhaps might say. And then his friend would join him, and with others they would gather around the pigpen, where feeling at home, for here too, they could rest their elbows upon its edges, with Teutonic gravity and long deliberation, each for himself would settle in his own mind, the probable weight of the pig. In declaring what he thought the weight might be, he would say, perhaps, "I lay the pig weighs three hundred and forty pounds," and then would place his five-penny bit in the hat, and the others would do the same, and all that was put into it fell to the lot of him who came nearest the true weight. It is said that in early days this was arrived at by placing the pig in one scale, and in the other stone after stone until a balance was effected, and then the weight of the stone was guessed at. This pursuit was called "Laying pigs," and the constant practice of a sport so absorbing, albeit the little excitement connected with it, suited the passive German nature, together with their habit of hanging over their half-doors when not engaged in this favorite amusement, gave to the men of ancient Germantown a stoop in the back that marked them for her own.

Within a quarter of a century beef, in this country, has become a common article of diet in villages as well as in towns, so that now almost every village has its butcher. It was not so previously, for then the flesh of swine was more commonly used, a steer being only occasionally slaughtered. Consequently, in those days, the hog-killing season was a time of great and general interest. I have heard ladies describe the exciting scenes they witnessed as children on large plantations in the South, and once an opportunity to behold such





a scene was afforded me. I then fully realized the truthfulness of their descriptions. Such scenes, on a smaller scale, however, annually occur on almost every farm in the North.

The two original lots, numbers 9 and 10, were at first owned by Direk Kolck and Wygert Levering. Very soon James De la Plaine appeared as the owner; together they contained sixty-six and a quarter acres. Market Square was taken from the western end of one of them. The house at the N. E. corner of the Germantown Road and School House Lane, now No. 4801, has in late years been altered to fit it for business purposes. Many remember the strikingly antique and picturesque appearance it presented before these beauties were so sadly marred. It is of stone, of two stories in height, but very low ones, and with a far-projecting belt-course or pent-house, dividing them,—the roof is hipped. It was erected at a very early time, but the year is uncertain, by, it can hardly be doubted, James De la Plaine. Mrs. William H. Fisher, of New York, owns a portrait of Nicholas De la Plaine, painted in his advanced age. It is said he reached the term of one hundred and five years. A majestic face and vast, full-flowing beard reminds one of an ideal creation of Gustave Doré. Nicholas, however, was a real man, a Huguenot. His son Nicholas, according to an authority, married Susanna Cresson, a Huguenot, of Ryswyck, in the New Netherlands. It seems certain that they were the parents of James, who left New York for Germantown, and who built, as is tolerably certain, the house in which we are now interested. How long he and his descendants occupied it, I know not. Whitefield, when he visited here, preached from the gallery of the house to the people assembled in Market Square. The De la Plaines continued to reside in Germantown or Philadelphia, until about our time. One of them, Joseph, together with John F. Watson, published some books, one of which, in 1812, was *Epitome Historiæ Sacræ*. Its preface contains a recommendation by J. Thomas Carré, of Clermont College, which place afterwards became Jacob Ridgway's country seat, halfway between Germantown and Frankford. Another recommendation is by F. H. Brosius,

of the college at Mount Airy. Professor John Sanderson, author of that charming book, "The American in Paris," married a daughter of Mons. Carré, who came here from one of the West India Islands.

Joseph De la Plaine was the author of the "Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans." He married Jane, a granddaughter of William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey. One of the family, Mr. John F. De la Plaine, has been many years Secretary of the American Legation at Vienna. Another is the present Mr. George Patten De la Plaine, of Madison, Wisconsin. The name is known in Wheeling. A branch of the family was in Delaware; for Nehemiah, a son of James, went there, and lived at Newport. His grandson, James, was Collector of the Port at New Castle, and built a house in Wilmington, which he afterwards sold to James A. Bayard. There was a Sophia De la Plaine, who happened to be in Cuba at the time of its invasion by Lopez. She was suspected of complicity in his plot, and was imprisoned, as she says, in a remote part of the island with the view that her imprisonment and sufferings might not be known in the States. She published an account of her troubles, in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1852.

At the time of the Revolution the house was occupied and owned by "Squire Ferree," a wealthy infidel of Bethelhausen, near Lancaster, Penna., who married a De la Plaine. He was, no doubt, a kinsman of Mrs. David Deshler, spoken of in the Sixth Walk. That he was trustworthy, and a man of position, may be inferred from the following: By order of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety of the 21st of May, 1776, the salt that was available was removed to Germantown and stored there. On the 8th of June, James Biddle and Owen Biddle, of the Council, were authorized to attend to its storage. It is probable that they appointed Squire Ferree to take charge of it, for on the 31st of July the Council "desired Joseph Ferree to deliver to John Mitchell, Commissary for victualling the Navy, twenty-five bushels of salt out of the stores at Germantown." On the first of August is an order on him for more salt, and "to deliver to Henry Huber

one ton of salpetre." On the 8th of July, it was "Resolved that Dr. Charles Bensel, Joseph Ferree, and Leonard Stoneburner, be appointed to collect all the leaden window-weights, clock-weights, and other lead in Germantown and its neighbourhood, for which the liberal price of six pence per pound will be allowed, and they are authorized to draw on this Board for the same." I have been able to gather only the following about Squire Ferree:—

At the time of the Battle of Germantown, John Ashmead, a boy, was, with the other children, placed by their father in the cellar of their house, with a view to safety. Desiring to see what was going on, John induced the others to push him out through an opening. He then went to the Main Street where he was seen by Squire Ferree who took him to the cellar of his house, where he was retained until the battle was over. The boy was possessed of a spirit of enterprise, and once went to the meeting of the Dunkers. Squire Ferree inquired of him, who preached, and what was the subject of the sermon, etc.? "Oh!" said the boy, "Mr. Langstroth preached, and in his sermon he expressed a hope that there would be a good run of shad in the season just at hand." "Yes," said Squire Ferree, "that is because he owns the Shad-fishery at the Falls." After Squire Ferree's time the house was owned by a Fromberger. With him there really happened the affair so often related. Tea, which he purchased, was handed to the cook to be prepared, and she sent it to the table as boiled greens. James Stokes purchased the property for his residence. The entry in his account book is as follows: "Buildings and about three acres of ground, upper end of the Market Square in Germantown; purchased of John Fromberger, on 22d of January, 1799, 94 feet on the Main Street and 95 feet on Market Square, \$6000." In 1807 further purchases were made of other adjoining lands. An entry in the book shows the price at which Lorain's house, mentioned in Vol. V. p. 253, was sold. "January 1st, 1803, John Lorain, Sr.: I sold him my house and lot of ground at the lower end of Germantown, this day, for four thousand dollars." James Stokes was born at Bexley, Kent, in England, on Michael-

mas Day, 1754. He came to America in 1776, and to Philadelphia in 1780. On the 20th of September, 1796, he purchased the "Old London Coffee House," which still stands at the S. W. corner of Front and Market Streets. The sum he paid was £8216.13.4, no doubt Pennsylvania currency. In that place he conducted a business which resulted in his amassing what, for those days, was the large fortune of several hundred thousands of dollars. He retired from business, and passed his last years in the Germantown house, dying in the year 1831.

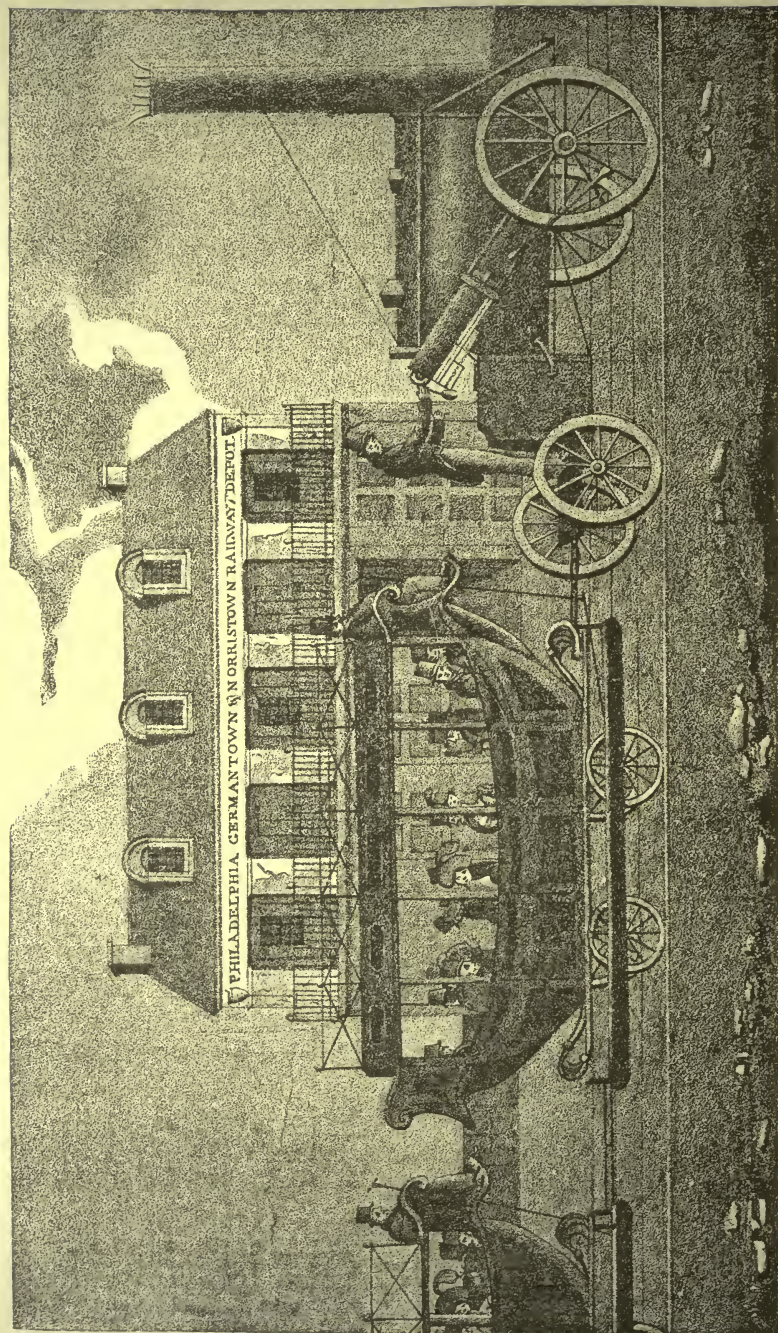
Just north of the Stokes mansion stood, a dozen years ago, a small house of stone, far back from the street. Three hemlocks were on the ground in front of it. It was unpretending but charmingly attractive in its cottage-like appearance. Thomas Megargee, long in the service of the Bank of Germantown, lived in it for many years, and later, some ladies of the Stokes family, who owned it, resided there. Joseph and Jacob Green, hatters, bought the property next to the north from Jacob Roset. The last of the Greens left about twenty years ago. William Meredith, a baker, succeeded his father in the house next north, and then, adjoining it, came Robert Thomas, a shoemaker. Here, in front of the present Cherry's, No. 4813, stood the old six-mile stone, planted in the year 1801, which, by reason of the city growing toward Germantown, was changed somewhere about the year 1840, to five miles. James McIlvaine, a well-digger, and who met his death in one, lived in the next house, and it was followed by that of David Harmer, a shoemaker. Then came the old jail in which Adam Hogermoe had been imprisoned, and which he bought and moved to this lot, and held as a trophy. The jail stood until about 1850. Adjoining it on the north, was Armat's, afterwards Bensell's meadow, extending to Laurel Street. This was formerly called Crout's Lane. On its north side was the coach-trimmer, Clement Bringham. And then came Mrs. Dungan, a widow, followed by George T. Stuckert, who was followed by Jacob Fry, a storekeeper and farmer. His property extended northward almost to the present north side of Cheltenham Avenue,

and adjoined Bowman's lot. From this to the railroad is but a short distance.

The old station of the Germantown Railroad, still used to some extent, is at the S. E. corner of Germantown Avenue and Price Street. The building of this road, by reason of its bringing the ancient village and the city of Philadelphia into close and easy intercommunication, soon had a very strongly marked effect upon Germantown. In the month of May, 1874, the late Edward H. Bonsall, father of Mr. Spencer Bonsall, so long in the service of the Society, gave the Society his account of the early times of the railroad, and also his reminiscences of the Germantown of that day. He was well qualified to do this, for he was its second President, and, at the time he wrote, he was the last survivor of those engaged in the enterprise, by about ten years. He first spoke of Germantown and of the facilities by public conveyance for personal intercourse, between its residents and those of Philadelphia. Besides having lived there more recently, he had previously been a resident of Germantown, from the year 1819 to 1835, and was therefore familiarly acquainted with the place and its people, as well as with their characteristics. The old town was then almost exclusively confined to the Main Street, and he thought it probable that three-fourths of the inhabitants were descendants of the original German settlers. The majority of the elder members of the families conversed as fluently in the German language, or what was incorrectly called "Pennsylvania Dutch," as in the English. He said, if a circle of six miles in circumference had been run, taking the Main Street, in front of Chew's House, as the centre, it would not have embraced, outside of this street, five houses of a grade superior to an ordinary farm house. And, as he continued, in the whole town there were, probably, not ten houses of genteel style less than thirty years old. Upon the whole, it was a quiet, unprogressive place, knowing but little of the outside world, and the outside world knowing but little of it. The means by public conveyance, for carrying those who wished to pass to and fro between the town and city, was by two-

horse stages in each direction twice a day, excepting when an opposition line was put on for a time. On special occasions, a four-horse stage was run. The Philadelphia Stage office was the "Old Rotterdam Inn," on the west side of Third Street, a few doors above Race. The times named for starting were 9 A. M. and 3 P. M., but these hours were not rigidly adhered to. Four miles an hour, when they were going, was considered a good speed, but they made up for this haste by stopping, often half an hour, at that agreeable watering place, the Rising Sun Inn.

While this was the condition of things in the old village, Edward H. Bonsall, with his friend Joseph Leibert, a Moravian of Bethlehem, together with some others, visited, in the autumn of 1827, Mauch-Chunk, and there they saw that modern marvel, the Gravity Railroad, just then constructed, and the first railroad properly so called, constructed and operated in the United States. On their return home, the Germantown party, speaking of what they had beheld, soon became lions. Before long the interest in their account of the railroad became so great as to lead to a public meeting being called, in Germantown, to consider the project of a railroad to it. The interest in the subject grew. John Edgar Thomson was selected as the Engineer for a railroad to Philadelphia, and a charter for such a road was obtained from the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1830-31. The preliminary organization of the company was effected in May, 1831, whereupon John G. Watmough was elected President, and Edward H. Bonsall, Treasurer; and immediately after this, David B. Douglass, of West Point, was appointed Chief Engineer. A subscription for the stock was made, and the amount was so much in excess of what could be issued, that each of the five-share subscriptions had to be reduced to three shares. The Engineer with his assistants at once located the line of the road. It is remembered that it was the intention not to cross the turnpike at the present Wayne Station, but to keep the road on the west side of the town. Crossing it, and making the road on the east side, is said to have been owing to Thomas R. Fisher, of Wakefield.



On the first of August ensuing, a contract was entered into for the grading for five miles northwestward from Poplar Street, and the first pick was put into the ground on the tenth of the same month. At the annual election in November, Edward H. Bonsall was elected President, and he remained in office until his resignation nearly two years afterward. Of course difficulties occurred in the novel undertaking, but they were gradually overcome, and, on the 6th of June, 1832, the road was joyously opened, and with much ceremony. Among the guests present were the Councils of New York, for the interest in the enterprise was exceedingly great. The cars used were procured from Baltimore, and were of an entirely different model from those we now ride in. They were drawn by horses, and made six trips a day between the city and the then terminus, which was just south of Shoemaker's Lane.

On the 23d of November, following, the first locomotive manufactured in the United States, "Old Ironsides," made by Mathias W. Baldwin, was placed on the road. It is still in existence, for its Semi-centennial has just been celebrated. Mr. E. H. Kite, now a ticket agent, was a brakeman on the first train. While the road and the cars were a novelty which excited curiosity, the locomotive was a prodigy and wonder, so much so that the President of the company, in his anxiety, lest some fatal accident might occur, usually passed up and down with the train, and in this connection he said that on approaching the city, and looking forward, Ninth Street from Poplar to Green, appeared to be black from side to side with the dense mass of people gathered there to witness the action of the novel motive power. For some time the curiosity of the people was such that farmers and others, for miles around Germantown, came there to witness the arrival of the wonderful train. There can be but little doubt that the Railroad Company at once made some improvement in the matter of adherence to the times appointed for the starting. Yet there was at least one remarkable exception to this which is remembered by some yet living. The venerable Mr. Daniel Smith, Jr., now ninety-two years of age, tells me that he went

to the station at Ninth and Green Streets intending to make the trip. He was early, but the train had already started some time before. The ticket seller told him that the Directors were to dine in Germantown that day, and, no doubt, with a view to have a warm dinner, they had started half an hour earlier than the appointed time. The vicissitudes of the company have been great. Its stock, which once sold for thirty-seven and a half cents a share, now sells for considerably more than one hundred dollars. The northern side of Railroad Station is bounded by Price Street, named after the aged Mr. Eli K. Price. Long ago, on a part of the ground now occupied by the Railway Station, was a house in which Dr. Samuel Betton lived. We now retrace our steps to School House Lane, and walk along the western side of the avenue.

The N. W. corner of School House Lane and the old Germantown Road is now occupied by the Bank of Germantown. Formerly there stood upon the lot a substantial house of stone, hipped-roofed, with pent-houses and low ceilings quaintly ornamented. It was erected early in the last century by Carl Benzelius, or, as he was called here, Charles Bensell. He was a man of education and of substance, and came of a good stock, for his father was a Bishop, at Upsal, of the Church of Sweden. A tombstone in the Lower Burying Ground marks a grave that I suppose is his. It is of Dr. Charles Bensell, born 11th of April, 1725. Died 17th March, 1795. But first of the house. About the year 1806, "The Germantown Library," of that day, was conducted in it, and was continued there until about forty years ago. Boisbrun, a French emigrant, is remembered as the librarian, as is also his daughter, who succeeded him; and with whom this library, whatever it may have been, seems to have ended. It is remembered that cakes and candies were to be had on one side of the place, and medicines—a primitive apothecary shop—on the other side. Between the bane and the antidote, so generously supplied, were to be found the books of the library, among which some good ones are still remembered. The old house was taken down about the year 1867, when the bank erected the present building.

As well as I have been able to make out, Carl Benzeliuss had a son, or perhaps a nephew, George, who died in 1765, leaving a widow, Anna Barbara. A son, Dr. Charles Bensell, built and lived in the large three-storied house of stone, No. 4804. It was, perhaps, he, or it may have been his father, who, on the entry of the British, left with his family for Horsham. His house was well furnished, and he had a good supply of medicines; as he was known to be a Whig, all was destroyed, or carried off. In 1776, Lieutenant George Ball, of the Roebuck, British man-of-war, was captured in a pilot-boat, off Cape Henlopen. He was brought to the city, and paroled, and sent to Germantown. By direction of the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, a "letter was sent at the same time to Dr. Bensell desiring him to provide proper lodgings for the Lieutenant." On p. 259, at the top, I quoted from Watson, and supposed Nos. 4669-71 was the house he referred to. It appears he formerly lived at No. 4804, and that the Bank was there. The statement he made must therefore be credited to this house. At a much later time it was used for his dwelling by Paschall Coulter. After this Miss H. K. Lehman came to be the owner of the house. The whole of the third floor was, at one time, a single room, and in it the Odd Fellows used to hold their meetings. After this the Workingmen's Club occupied the building for a number of years, and have only recently left it. The wainscoting and ornamental woodwork were of unusual beauty and attracted much attention. Unhappily recent alterations have swept all that beauty remorselessly away. Another grave in the Lower Burying-Ground is no doubt that of a person spoken of above. It bears the following record: Dr. Charles Bensell, b. 14th August, 1752, d. 15th July, 1796.

Besides Dr. Charles Bensell, who was born in 1752, there was Dr. George Bensell, born in 1757. He was, no doubt, a son of Carl, and is to be spoken of later. When the British were in occupation of the city, a farmer on his way there to sell his butter, was met by Dr. Charles Bensell, who took his produce from him and carried it to the Market Square. He then sent word among the villagers that he had

butter for sale, and soon they gathered around him and quickly purchased the desirable article. The farmer, who might have had a better price from the red-coats, was, however, not ill-pleased on receiving the proceeds of the sale, as also at having been saved some miles of weary travel. On another occasion, during the war, Doctor Bensell happened, one evening, to obtain early news of some American success; and it occurred to him to communicate it to the quiet villagers in a manner calculated to produce a proper impression. With this view he went into the old church at Market Square, and seating himself at the organ, he pealed forth therefrom a most triumphant air. The wondering neighbors quickly gathered at the place, and soon heard his welcome news.

Dr. George Bensell, who was known in our days, had been bred to mercantile life, but on the death of his brother, he studied medicine, and assumed the practice of it. His success was so decided that he became able to build the large double house, No. 4794, now occupied by the Workingmen's Club. It is written of him: that "He possessed qualities of both head and heart of the highest order; he was the most genial of companions; the most faithful of friends; and one of the most agreeable of men; added to which he possessed great personal beauty." He married a woman noted for her horsemanship, Mary Robeson, daughter of Peter, of the Robeson Mills, at the mouth of the Wissahickon. The Doctor, who could not tell one horse from another, on one occasion bought back a horse which he had sold but a few hours before. He proudly paraded him before his wife, as a superior animal, bought at a very moderate cost. Throwing open the window, Mrs. Bensell inquired, "Why on earth had he brought the old pony back again; and what did he mean to do with him?" Mr. John Jordan, Jr.'s father-in-law, Mr. Bell, of Bell's Mill, near Chestnut Hill, used to tell of often having seen this lady riding across the country, following her father's pack of hounds. The First City Troop was entertained by her family on their return from the campaign of 1794, in what was called the Whiskey Insurrection. For this the Troop presented her with a silver cup. "This remarkable woman was accustomed,

in her youth, to break her father's colts, raised on his farm at the Wissahickon, where she was born. After her husband's death, she returned there to end her days. Seized with the inspiration of her youth, she, in her ninetieth year, one day mounted the horse of a friend, fastened at the door, and rode up and down the Ridge Road on a man's saddle." She died about the year 1856, at the advanced age of ninety-six years.

Dr. Bensell had for many years in his service a Mulatto boy, Isaac, known throughout the town as "Copper Ike," from the hue of his complexion. On professional tours, at night, Copper Ike always preceded his master, with a lantern. The inequality of the footways, the many obstructions, and the pitchy darkness of the town, made this precaution indispensable, but it was not always sufficient. One dark and stormy night Ike carefully guided his master along what he supposed was the middle of the side-walk. Down the street they trudged, the Doctor in blind confidence following his erring guide, through the muddy water, which rushed and foamed in its course like a rivulet. The Doctor at last concluded to heave to, and take soundings. This resulted in the discovery that Ike had mistaken the gutter for the footway. The Doctor had much talent for drawing, but it was altogether uncultivated. He also greatly indulged in verse, as the numerous poetical invitations to dinner, and the like acceptances thereof, which passed between him and his friend, Charles J. Wister, abundantly show. He died in December, 1827, in the seventy-first year of his age. Two grandsons inherited the artistic talent spoken of, one of whom, George, is dead. The other, Edmund Birkhead Bensell, is a well-known artist, living at Mount Airy.

The double house of stone, now No. 4806, was used, during the yellow fever of 1793, as the capitol of Pennsylvania, and consequently Governor Mifflin and Alexander J. Dallas, Secretary of the Commonwealth, were to be seen there every day. Early in this century, Benjamin Davis, a Friend, resided in the house, and had a school there. He added to this occupation, the sale of books, of which he had a fair supply. His

school, which was for girls, is remembered as an excellent one, for he was a good classical scholar, and all the girls there studied the Latin language. Ladies, who are now far beyond the age at which they can be called young, still speak of it with pride, and say that the master was much and deservedly loved by his pupils. Two daughters with himself, composed the household, and the survivor of them bore a sufficient testimony to the integrity of their profession. She bequeathed her little property, of several thousands of dollars, to the "Germantown Infant School," which is now situated in Haines Street, and has recently passed its fiftieth anniversary. This lady had a great aversion to the men engaged in taking a census of the population. They could never make out from her replies, whether or not, the house they found her in, was her place of residence. The property is now owned by Mr. James R. Gates. It was just about here, but perhaps further to the north, that Jedediah Strong, a justice of the peace, once lived.

The old "King of Prussia Inn" extends its ample front along the avenue, and bears upon successive parts the numbers 4812, 4814, and 4816. Had Carlyle visited this country he would have been greatly pleased to see in the region around Philadelphia, so many ample and substantial houses of stone, with their tavern signs bearing the portrait of his ideal hero. This house, no doubt, like all the others, dates from the time of Frederick the Great. The first stage coach with an awning was run from the King of Prussia Inn to the George Inn, Second and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, and was started, three times a week, by one Coleman. Long before his time, however, it was not impossible to make the trip, for I find the following: "In 1726, the four wheeled chaise formerly kept by David Evans, was kept by Thomas Skelton, living on Chestnut Street, near the Three Tuns Tavern. Mr. Skelton offered advantageous terms to those who were disposed to make adventurous excursions six miles from the city. Where four persons went together, they were allowed the privilege of going to Germantown for twelve shillings and six pence."

Gilbert Stuart, it may be remembered, once lived in Germantown. In one of his eccentric moments, he painted for this inn, an equestrian figure of Frederick the Great, with an understanding, however, that he was to be unknown in the matter. His effort was no doubt admired for a time, but we Americans prefer novelty, however inferior, to, even the greatest excellence. In the course of a few years, therefore, another "eminent artist" was engaged to improve the sign. This he did by painting over it the words, "The King of Prussia Inn." The sign is still preserved. Michael Riter left his Indian Queen, down at the lane of that name, and, for a while, kept the King of Prussia. At this time the Free and Accepted Ancient York Masons met in it. After Riter, there were others who kept it, among them Tripler, in 1823, but finally, about the year 1834, it ceased to be used as an inn. Formerly, there was a large and very long barn in the rear of the inn, which, when the British were here, was used by them as a slaughter house.

On the north side of the King of Prussia Inn, but standing somewhat back from the road, is a small, yet an attractive looking old house, built of stone, No. 4818. At some time in the last century, one Jones, a Friend, lived in it; but, afterwards, it was occupied by Christian Lehman, a man of considerable note in the affairs of Germantown. He was a son of Godfryd, grandson of George, and great-grandson of Henry Lehman. This latter was born about the year 1535, and became "Steward of the Revenues" of the Manor of the Borough of Trebgen, eight English miles from Dresden. Christian Lehman was born in Germany in 1714, and in 1731, with his father, came here with a passport on parchment, elegantly engrossed with golden ink. In Germantown he became a Notary Public and Surveyor. As he was a scholar, he could "cast nativities," and did so for all of his own nine children, and for others, but never for hire, for he was a gentleman! In the year 1766 he copied in an excellent style the early plans of Germantown, which Matthias Zimmermann had made in 1746. By this work Lehman has earned the gratitude of all who may desire to explore the

earlier times of the ancient village. A son, Benjamin Lehman, succeeded him, whose descendants now live in the house next to the north. An advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of the 12th of April, 1768, shows that Germantown had, at that time, the advantage of good trees and plants. It also shows that its inhabitants were not ignorant of its great advantages as a place of residence for those who suffered in countries where fevers prevailed. The advertisement is as follows:—

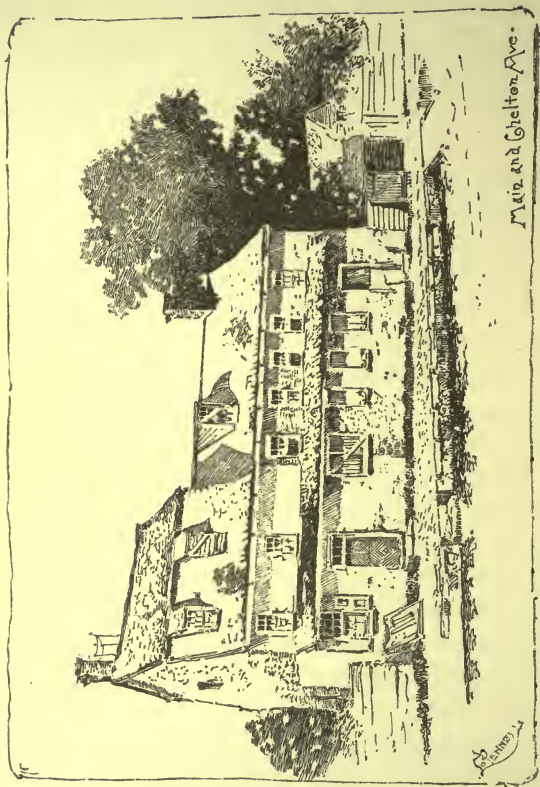
“To be sold”

“A choice parcel of well-grown young English Walnut trees as well as Pear and Apricot and a curious variety of the best and largest sorts from England of grafted Plumb trees fit for transplanting this spring or next fall as well as a great variety of beautiful double Hyacinth roots and Tulip roots, next summer season, and most other things in the flower or fruit tree nursery way by CHRISTIAN LEHMAN.

* * He also intends to sell his house and place in said Germantown so well known for its elegant situation either for a country seat, shop, or tavern and would exceedingly well suit any West India or other gentleman for a pleasant, healthy, and commodious Country Seat.

N. B. He likewise (on request and if bespoke in time) maketh up parcels of curious plants, shrubs, and seeds of the growth of this climate in such a manner as best secures them according to what country or climate they are designed to be transported.”

Mr. Robert K. Wright lived in Christian Lehman's old house for a time. John Moyer lived north of Benjamin Lehman, and owned much ground, which he sold to Wyndham Stokes whose family built upon this land a large double house, far back from the Main Street. On the north is a property of the Langstroths, relatives of Benjamin Lehman. This, years ago, was George Riter's, who owned stages. Afterwards Alexander Armor, a carpenter, owned it. At the N. E. corner of the Germantown Road and Cheltenham Avenue was William K. Fry's tinsmith shop. From it all the people of the village obtained their supplies in this line, and



no complaint was ever heard. It is said that never since his death have they been able to purchase such excellent tinware as he sold.

The plan for the laying out of Cheltenham Avenue, under the name of "Market Street," extending from Roxborough Township line (Wissahickon Avenue) to Bristol Township line (Stenton Avenue), of the width of eighty feet, was approved at a meeting of the Burgesses and Town Council of the Borough of Germantown, held on the 11th of May, 1852. The report of the jury to assess the damages for the opening was confirmed by the court for a portion of the distance, on the 2d of November, 1853, and for the remaining portion on the 11th of June, 1857. In preparing the city plans of that section, after consideration, the street was named Cheltenham Avenue, and under that name was confirmed by the court. The western part of the avenue passed through Jesse Barr's farm.

About the beginning of this century, there was one large piece of ground with a front on the Main Street, extending from about where Langstroth's property is, northwardly to that of the Wister's at Vernon, opposite the railroad station. Cheltenham Avenue now divides that old front about equally. Some eighty years ago, one Kurtz, a German, owned it, and as the property extended westward to the township line, he had something of a farm. It is remembered that an orchard was there, and that the apples were excellent. Kurtz was particularly noticed for his indifference to dress, but of course he was usually attired in small clothes, and wore a cocked hat. This gave him something of a military bearing. In his occasional walks he was attended by his six dogs. The notion that he had been a military man was strengthened by the fact that he possessed quite a large collection of books on the art military. These he bequeathed to a church in Germantown, but their whereabouts is not now known. His house, situated on the Main Street, was long, low, and with pent-house and porch. Back of it there stood one of the ancient houses of Germantown. No stone appeared in the structure. It was two stories in height, and

was built of staves and clay. . Another building, perhaps a tool-house, was where, at one time, Miss Rooker had her school. These buildings were removed when Cheltenham Avenue was opened. The plate opposite was made from a sketch by Mr. Charles J. Wister, who has done very much to rescue from oblivion the picturesque views of the olden time of Germantown.

Owning a considerable property, which supported him handsomely, Kurtz was left free to indulge his strong natural taste for horticulture and botany. His garden, by no means a large one, contained every rare tree, plant, and shrub of the hardy kind that could be obtained. But not a trace of them, as a writer in 1864 says, was then left, except a huge English horsechestnut, standing on the sidewalk of the avenue, and which was perhaps the largest of the kind in the country. Kurtz set his very numerous plants in his garden without regard to order, and consequently it was with the greatest difficulty that he, the owner, who passed the whole day working among them, could be found. This remarkable man was profoundly indifferent to what is called public opinion. He scorned the gabble of men who knew him not, but he greatly respected the views of his scores of friends. These, admiring his upright character, and greatly enjoying the riches of his well-stored mind, soon learned to forget the rugged exterior of a generous man. He never sold a plant, but gave freely of his riches to all. He died in the year 1816. He had among his friends a singular character, always his cherished guest when in Germantown, but who after the death of Kurtz, never again, as it is believed, appeared there. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas Meehan for a notice of him, which appeared in the *Gardener's Monthly* of September, 1864.

The name of this friend was Matthias Kin or Keen, and he was employed by some German horticulturists to collect seeds for them. Judging from the trees collected by him, which in 1864 were passing into decay, Mr. Meehan thought he must have been contemporary with William Bartram and Marshall, possibly even with John Bartram. All around and through Germantown were many trees collected by him.

In one place was a very large *Virgilia lutea*, probably seven feet in circumference. In another place was a large *Magnolia acuminata*, nine feet in circumference, and perhaps eighty feet high, and, as was thought, as fine a specimen as its better known comrade in Marshall or the Bartram Gardens. In another part of Germantown, from the same source, was a *Pecan nut*, probably eighty feet high and six feet in circumference. But what was regarded as about the choicest thing of all was a *Magnolia macrophylla*, a noble specimen, which Kin, as it was said, brought in his saddle-bag, wrapped in damp moss, from North Carolina. With the exception of a few trees in some open lots near Raleigh, N. C., Mr. Meehan had never heard of trees in their native places finer than this one was. In another part of the town was a magnificent specimen of the *American yew*, also believed to have been introduced by Kin. It was held to be, probably, the finest specimen of the kind in the world. This species, as is well known, never grows high, but rather spreads horizontally. In the centre this specimen was about five feet high, and formed a circle about thirty feet across. When covered with its beautiful coral berries set off by its sap-green leaves, no prettier object could be desired in the vegetable kingdom. But we must leave these plants to describe the man who introduced them.

Kin was a most remarkable specimen of humanity. Full six feet high, and broad shouldered, with enormous bones, but with no flesh on them, he was literally the "picture of death." He dressed like an Indian, and he always went by the cognomen of "The Wild Man." His habits were altogether wild—no doubt the result of his many years of exploration in the great wilds of North America—and whenever in Germantown, it was evident he did not feel at home, nor was he happy till he went back again to the trackless forest. He appeared to have no regular home in Philadelphia, coming there only to send off his seeds and plants to Europe, and then off again to the back countries. When it is remembered that there were in Germantown, the plants of Kentucky, North Carolina, and other distant points, collected

by his hands, some idea may be formed of the vast labours of this devoted son of Science. He died in 1825, and his will is No. 32 of that year in Philadelphia. He directs that moneys due to him at the Farmers and Mechanic's and Girard's Banks shall be collected, and his plants in the gardens of Peter Reyer, in 6th St., Mr. Lambert, in 5th St., and Mr. Wilkinson, on the new Second Street Road, be sold. His debts and funeral expenses were to be paid, and the remainder of his estate was to be paid over to the Almshouse. Bearing a Christian name common among the descendants of Jöran Kyn, it is remarkable that he was not one of them.

Mr. Meehan finds among his notes the following references he once made regarding Kin. Darlington's *Reliquiæ Baldwiniana*, p. 151, MSS. letters of Collins and other botanists, in the library of the Academy of Natural Sciences, pp. 8, 29, 39, 43, 45, 47. An extract from page 45 reads, "his place is one mile from the city, where the Germantown Road joins." It may be inferred from this that he owned that spot. Another extract, apparently from a letter of the 15th Sept. 1814, is: "He is a man of great information, and has an excellent herbarium." And still another says: "He is an original and honest, good man, but suspicious with a stranger." It may be probable that letters relating to him can be found in the voluminous Bartram manuscripts, in the Library of the Historical Society.

Adjoining Kurtz's place on the north, was the property of John Christopher Meng. Born in Mannheim, Germany, in the year 1697, he married Anna Dorothea Baumannin von Elsten, on the 29th of June, 1723. They left their native place with excellent credentials which I have seen, and came to this country in 1728, in the ship Mortonhouse, Captain John Coultas. He took the oath of allegiance on the 28th of August of that year, and at once settled in Germantown. The house he lived in is still standing, but is now converted into the tin-shop No. 4912. There was formerly a building north of, and connected with it, but back from the street. It was removed to make what is now the carriage-way to

Vernon. The meadow, or a part of it, and the old spring-house of Meng, are, however, still to be seen, for they have been preserved by the late John Wister and his family. The property was of some extent, reaching westward beyond Green Street, and apple trees formerly of it are still standing on that part now owned by Mr. Reed A. Williams. The Mengs, the father and his son John Melchior Meng, were members and trustees of the church in Market Square, and both were trustees of the old Academy. Melchior Meng's children, sons and daughters, were educated there. Some poet of the day was deeply impressed by this, for his song was—

“Melchior Meng! The bell doth ring.
Melchior Meng! The school is in.”

Notwithstanding the fact that imperishable verse has thus preserved his name, there came to be in these late days those who went so far as even to deny that he had ever existed. A descendant once addressed a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Harvey. Upon his telling her of his relationship, she at once said, “There had been no such person, he was a myth.” Poetry and wise saws disturb some minds, and it may have been, therefore, that the young lady had heard the old saying that “whenever Melchior Meng mowed his meadow it rained.” It may be that she could not reconcile this earlier mode of regulating the weather with the modern system of “Old Probabilities.”

Before continuing with Melchior a few words should be given to another son of Christopher, whose early death robbed Germantown of an artist of more than ordinary promise. John Meng a limner, as a portrait painter then was called, was born in Germantown on the 6th of February, 1734. He left but little of his work, for he died at the age of only twenty years, in one of the West India Islands. A portrait of his father, and one of himself, a kit-cat, nicely painted, are in the possession of his kinsman Mr. Charles S. Ogden.

To return to Melchior Meng. He was loyal to George III., but as was often the case in the Revolution, his family was

divided in opinion. The poet attended to him in this case also, and this was his lay:—

“Melchior Meng and old Huck,
We set down in our book,
As Continental Tories.”

His eldest son Christopher was in the Continental Army, and was in the Battle of Brandywine, but his second son Jacob was said to have piloted the British to Germantown. This belief is supposed to have originated from the fact that he brought some British officers from the city to the house at Germantown on a visit. At the time of the battle the father had fled to Chestnut Hill, and his daughters were left alone in the house. They witnessed “the skirmishing down the street.” The house was taken possession of and used as a hospital by the British, on account, it is said, of a number of barrels of cider stored there. This was already turned into vinegar, which was used to dress the wounds of the soldiers. Meng’s daughters were told by the British officers that if they would remain upstairs, they would protect them, which they did, and most kindly. One of the girls, Dorothea, afterwards married Hugh Ogden, father of the late John Melchoir Ogden of this city. She died on the 6th of August, 1844, in the ninety-first year of her age. She often related her reminiscences of the Revolution to her granddaughter, Miss Hannah Ann Zell, who wrote them down. Speaking of the battle, she remembered seeing the body of the English Colonel Bird brought to their house and laid upon the porch.

After the British left Philadelphia Jacob Meng was arrested as a spy, and confined in the prison at the S. W. corner of Third and Market Streets, along with Roberts and Carlisle. He had only entered manhood, having been born on the first of April, 1756, and there was something of the romantic connected with his imprisonment. He was at the time engaged to be married to a daughter of Roberts, who, however, before this, had been in love with Richard Tunis, but against her father’s wishes. Miss Meng and Miss Roberts often went together to the prison, to visit the father, brother, and lover, and to take for them what they could of better



W. H. W. 1851

Wister House
Main Street

provisions. Roberts and Carlisle were executed, but Jacob Meng escaped this fate, the evidence against him being held to be insufficient. After all this Miss Roberts again changed her mind and married Richard Tunis.

Melchior Meng had "a very fine garden," and shared with Kurtz his friendship for Kin and his seeds. The immense Linden tree that stood in front of his place, was certainly planted by him, as possibly were many others of the large trees which stood there. "Meng's garden was much larger than Kurtz's, and while the latter paid the most attention to shrubs and plants, the former boasted of his very fine lot of trees, which at that time, was inferior to very few collections in the country." Melchior Meng died on the 13th of October, 1812, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

"There is one thing about Meng's garden that is particularly gratifying. While Kurtz's has entirely disappeared, and most of the specimens of rare trees in most other old arboretums in the country are fast being lost, with no friendly hand to replace them with younger ones, or to add new ones, this property has fallen into hands which know how to care for them." That part of Meng's property lying north of his house, which was nearly the whole of it, was purchased by the late John Wister, who added to, and resided in the ample building there, and who called the place Vernon. A son, of the same name, has recently died there.

JAMES LOGAN ON DEFENSIVE WAR, OR PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS IN 1741.

It must be evident to any one familiar with the history of Pennsylvania, that William Penn could not have exercised all the authority given him by the Royal charter without violating the principles of the Society of Friends. He was empowered to raise a militia for the protection of the province, and to act as "a captain general of the Army." The granting of these powers is evidence that it was expected that he would be obliged to use them. There can be no doubt that Penn hoped to govern in such a way as to avoid having recourse to extreme measures. The generous terms, however, which he offered to settlers drew many to his province who were not from principle opposed to war. The Quaker element was at first greater than any other, and directed the policy of the government, but, under Fletcher, who represented the crown, the influence of Churchmen and others began to be noticed. Before the beginning of the 18th Century, the importance of the Colony had so increased as to necessitate the appointment of Crown officers. The number of inhabitants outside of the Society of Friends were soon in a majority, but the Quakers continued to exercise considerable influence until it was thought necessary to put the Colony into a condition of defence. They were then obliged either to retire from active participation in public affairs, or to sanction, by their presence, measures which they could not approve. It was while the Friends formed a majority of the Assembly, and refused to pass the defensive laws, for which the people were clamoring, that James Logan wrote the following letter to the Yearly Meeting. Approving of defensive war himself, he argued that opposition to the measures which were popularly demanded could not long continue successful, and advised all Friends who could not vote for warlike measures to decline election to the Assembly. Coming from so prominent a person as James Logan, these views have a special significance. He was not an influential member of the Society of Friends in religious affairs, but his long connection with the Society, and his prominence with the provincial government, gave his opinion weight with the members generally and throughout the community. The supposition that his views regarding defensive war were entertained by many connected with the meetings, is contrary to the entire subsequent history of the Friends in Pennsylvania. That Logan as a Quaker was alone in these views, seems hardly possible, and the letter must be regarded as a chapter in the secret history of the Colony. It is no doubt the address which Franklin says Logan sent to the Meeting in favor of defensive war, but, from the context of Franklin's Autobiography, the reader would suppose the address was written in 1748.

An amusing account of the reception of the letter by the yearly meeting

will be found in the following extract from the correspondence between Richard Peters and John Penn, and the printed copy of Logan's letter which we have used is probably the very one which Peters sent to Penn.

Extract of a Letter from Richard Peters to John Penn,
20 Octo. 1741.

The Yearly Meeting being held the week before the general Election, M^r Logan by his son Will^m sent them a Lre wherein he is said to enlarge on the defenceless State of the Province & of the ill Consequences that may ensue on Men of their Principles procuring themselves to be return'd to Assembly, but his good Design was eluded by the following Expedient, Some Members moved that a Committee might be appoint^d to peruse the Lre & to report whether it contain'd matters proper to be communicated to the Meeting at large, accordingly Rob^t Jordan Jno. Bringhouse Ebenezer Large John Dillwin, & Rob^t Strethill were appointed to inspect the Epistle & report whether it contain'd Matters wch were fit for the Meeting to take into Consideration; On Examination they reported that the Lre containing Matters of a Military & Geographical Nature it was by no means proper to be read to the general Meeting, but some Persons who understood those Matters might be desir'd to consider and answer it. Rob^t Strethill singly declared that considering y^t Lre came from one who was known to have had abundance of Experience was an old Member, and had a sincere affection for the Welfare of the Society, he was apprehensive should this Lre be refus'd a reading in the Meeting, such a procedure would not only disgust him but the Body of Friends in England especially as it might be supposed to contain several Things that were intended for the Good of the Society at these fickle & precarious Times. But Jn^o Bringhouse pluck'd him by the Coat and told him with a sharp Tone of Voce, Sit Thee down Robert, thou art single in that opinion. M^r Logan in Resentment as I suppose of such Treatment caused Thirty copies to be Printed off, to save the Trouble of Copying with a design to send them to his Friends in England, but whether he will or no it is now doubtful tho' I will persuade him if possible to send one to the Propriet^{rs}. It is said, but I advance this without knowing anything from him of the matter, that either by the persuasion of M^{rs} Logan or in a Conference that was had at his house with some of the principal Members of the Meeting, he has alter'd his mind, keeps the Contents a Secret and is dispos'd to suppress the whole, however he has p'mis'd the Gov^r Mr. Allen & myself the reading of it but, under Secrecy at this time which I can't acc^t for.

To ROBERT JORDAN, and others the Friends of the Yearly Meeting for Business, now conven'd in PHILADELPHIA.

My FRIENDS,

It is with no small Uneasiness that I find myself concerned to apply thus to this Meeting: But as I have been longer and more deeply engaged in Affairs of Government, and I believe I may safely say, have considered the Nature of it more closely than any Man besides in this Province; as I have also from my Infancy been educated in the Way that I

have ever since walked in, and I hope without Blemish to the Profession ; I conceive and hope you will think I have a Right to lay before you, the heavy Pressure of Mind that some late Transactions in this small Government of ours have given me, through an Apprehension, that not only the Reputation of Friends, as a People, but our Liberties and Privileges in general may be deeply affected by them.

But on this Head I think fit to mention, in the first Place, That when, above *Forty-two* Years since, our late Proprietor proposed to me at *Bristol*, to come over with him as his Secretary ; after I had, agreeably to his Advice, taken Time to consider of it, which I did very closely before I engaged, I had no Scruple to accept of that, or of any other Post I have since held : Being sensible, that as Government is absolutely necessary amongst Mankind, so, tho' all Government, as I had clearly seen long before, is founded on Force, there must be some proper Persons to administer it ; I was therefore the more surprised, when I found my Master, on a particular Occasion in our Voyage hither, tho' coming over to exercise the Powers of it here in his own Person, shew'd his Sentiments were otherwise.¹ But as I have ever endeavoured to think and act consistently myself, observing Friends had laid it down as their Principle, That Bearing of Arms, even for Self-Defence, is unlawful ; being of a different Opinion in this Respect, tho' I ever condemned offensive War, I therefore, in a great Measure, declined that due Attendance on their Meetings of Business, which I might otherwise have given. I must here nevertheless add further, that I propose not, in offering this, to advance Arguments in Support of the Lawfulness of Self-Defence ; which, amongst those, who, for Conscience Sake, continue in a Condition to put strictly in

¹ Logan no doubt here alludes to the anecdote related in Franklin's autobiography, that when the vessel on which Penn came to America in 1699, was supposed to be in danger of an attack from one belonging to a hostile nation, Penn and his companions retired to the cabin, but that Logan remained on deck prepared to resist the enemy. For this conduct Logan was subsequently taken to task by Penn, and feeling piqued reminded the latter that his remonstrance did not come until all danger was passed.—Ed.

Practice the Precepts of our Saviour, would be altogether needless; but wherever there is private Property, and Measures taken to increase it, by amassing Wealth, according to our Practice, to a Degree that may tempt others to invade it, it has always appeared to me, to be full as justifiable to use Means to defend it when got, as to acquire it. Notwithstanding which, I am sensible our Friends have so openly and repeatedly professed their Principles on that Head to the Government, and they have thereupon been so much distinguished by its Favours, as a peaceable People, from whom no Plots or Machinations of any Kind are to be fear'd, that I shall consider this, as I have said, to be their standing and avowed Principle, and only offer to your Consideration, what I conceive to be a clear Demonstration, that all Civil Government, as well as Military, is founded on Force; and therefore, that Friends, as such, in the Strictness of their Principles, ought in no manner to engage in it: As also that as we are a subordinate Government, and therefore accountable to a superiour One for our Conduct, it is expected by that Superiour, that this Province, as well as all the other *British Colonies*, shall make the best Defence, against a foreign Enemy, in its Power, as it was strictly required to do by the late Queen, in the last *French War*, upon which the then Governor raised a Militia of three Companies of Volunteers but for Want of a Law for its Support, it dropt in about two Years after; and the like Orders may undoubtedly be expected again, when another War with *France* breaks out, which is said now to appear unavoidable: That it is of the greater Importance to *Britain*, as it is, for other Reasons, most assuredly to ourselves, that the Country should be defended, as it lies in the Heart of the other *British Colonies* on the Main: And that it is well known in *Europe*, that from the vast Conflux of People yearly into it, from *Germany* and *Ireland*, Numbers, who can bear Arms, are not wanting for a Defence, were there a Law for it, as there is in all the other *British Colonies*, I think, without Exception.

That all Government is founded on Force, and ours as well as others, will be indisputably evident from this: King

Charles II. in his Grant of this Province to our Proprietor, directed, that the Laws of *England*, for the Descent of Lands, and for the Preservation of the Peace, should continue the same till alter'd by the Legislative Authority; and our Government continues still on the same Plan, with Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Coroners, Clerks, Juries, &c. all of whom, who act by Commissions, have them from the Governor in the *English* Form; the *English* Law is pleaded in all our Courts, and our Practitioners copy, as near as they can, after the Practice of *Westminster-Hall*. By that Law, when the Peace is commanded, even by a Constable, all Obedience to that Command manifestly arises from a Sense in the Person or Persons commanded, that his Resistance would be punished, and therefore they chuse to avoid it: But in Civil Cases of more Importance, the Sheriff, who is the principal executive Officer, executes the Judgments of the Courts upon those they were given against, which they are obliged to comply with, how much soever against their Will; for here also they know Resistance would be in vain, or if they attempt any, the Sheriff is obliged by the Law, without any Manner of Excuse, to find a sufficient Force, if to be had in his County, to compel to a Compliance. And in the Pleas of the Crown, besides that he is obliged to put to Death such Criminals as by the Law have been condemned to it, he, as general Conservator of the Peace, is likewise invested, by the same Law, with proper Powers for suppressing all Tumults, Riots, Insurrections and Rebellions, on whatsoever Occasion they may arise, as far as the whole Posse or Force of his County will enable him; and for this End he receives, together with his Commission, the King's Writ of Assistance, requiring all Persons within his District to be aiding to him, in these and all other Cases; by which, if Need be, they may freely use Fire-Arms, and all Manner of destructive Weapons; and are not at all accountable, by the Law, for any Lives they may take of those in the Opposition, any more than a Man is, on the High-Road, for killing another who attempts to rob him; and such as refuse to assist the Sheriff, are by the same Law, liable to Fine and Imprisonment: From whence it is evident,

there is no Difference, in the last Resort, between Civil and Military Government; and that the Distinction that some affect to make, between the Lawfulness of the one and of the other, is altogether groundless. As no Man is kill'd in the Field, so none are punished, with their Good-will; a superiour Force is employed in the one Case as well as in the other; and the only Difference that I have been ever able to discover in their Essentials, is, that the Sheriff being but one Person in his County, cannot possibly assemble any very great Number together, in any regular Method or Order, as in Case of any Insurrection in the City of *Philadelphia* would soon appear; but on the contrary, in a regular Militia, every Person knows his Commanding Officer, and whither to repair on a proper Call. And from these Premises it certainly follows, that whoever can find Freedom in himself, to join in Assembly in making Laws, as particularly for holding of Courts, is so far concerned in Self-Defence; and makes himself essentially as obnoxious to Censure, as those who directly vote for it.

But further it is alledged, that King *Charles II.* very well knew our Proprietor's Principles when he granted him these Powers of Government, contained in the Charter: To which 'tis answer'd, that amongst the other Powers granted to the Proprietor and his Deputies, He is created by the Charter a Captain General, with Power to levy War on any People not in Amity with the Crown of *England*; which in case he was not free to do by himself, he might by his Deputies; and if he were invested with Powers to make an invasive War, much more it was to be expected that he should defend his Country against all Invaders. And I am a Witness, that in those two Years, or somewhat less, that the Proprietor took the Administration on himself, when last here, He found himself so embarrassed between the indispensable Duties of Government on the one Hand, and his Profession on the other, that he was determined, if he had staid, to act by a Deputy. It is further alledged, by our Friends, that no other was expected than that this should be a Colony of *Quakers*, and it is so reputed to this Day; that they are willing them-

selves to rely on the sole Protection of divine Providence, and others who would not do the same should have kept out of it, for no-body called or invited them. But it is answered to this, That the King's Charter gives free Leave to all his Subjects, without Distinction, to repair to the Country and settle in it, and more particularly, the Proprietor's own Invitation was general and without Exception; and by the Laws he had pass'd himself, no Country, no Profession whatever, provided they own'd a God, were to be excluded. That 'tis true our Friends at first made a large Majority in the Province; yet they are said now to make, on a moderate Computation, not above one Third of the Inhabitants. That altho' they alledge they cannot for Conscience-sake bear Arms, as being contrary to the peaceable Doctrine of JESUS (whose own Disciples nevertheless are known to have carried Weapons) yet, without Regard to others of CHRIST's Precepts, full as express, against laying up Treasure in this World, and not caring for to-morrow, they are as intent as any others whatever in amassing Riches, the great Bait and Temptation to our Enemies to come and plunder the Place; in which Friends would be far from being the only Sufferers, for their Neighbours must equally partake with them who therefore, by all means desire a Law for a Militia, in a regular Manner to defend themselves and the Country, as they have in the other Colonies. That in the last *French War*, *Pensilvania* was but an inconsiderable Colony; but now, by its extended Commerce, it has acquired a very great Reputation; and particularly that *Philadelphia* has the Name of a rich City, is known to have no manner of Fortification, and is, as has been said, a tempting Bait by Water from the Sea; and by Land, the whole Country lies exposed to the *French*, with whom a War is daily expected: That in their last War with *England*, the *French* in *Europe* were so greatly distress'd, by a Current of yearly Losses, that they were glad to sit quiet where they might; but now 'tis much otherwise, as they appear rather in a Condition to give Laws to all their Neighbours: That our own *Indians* unhappily retiring Westward, have open'd a ready Road and Communication between this Province and

Canada, by their settling at *Allegheny*, a Branch of that great River *Mississippi* ; which Branch extending a thousand Miles from its Mouth, where it enters the said River, reaches even into this Province, and between its Waters and the western Branches of *Sasquehannah* there is but a small Land-Carriage: That the *French* exceedingly want such a Country as this to supply their Islands with Provisions, and our Rivers for an easier Inlet to that vast Country of *Louisiana*, which they possess on *Mississippi*, than they now have by the barr'd Mouth of it, which empties itself a great Way within the Shoal-Bay of *Mexico* ; and they have many large Nations of *Indians* in Alliance with them to facilitate their Conquests. For all which Reasons, our numerous back Inhabitants, as well as others, ought to be obliged to furnish themselves with Arms, and to be disciplined as in other Colonies for their own proper Defence, which would be no manner of Charge to the Publick, and but little to Particulars.

These, I think, are the principal Arguments adduced by those who plead for a Law for Self-Defence: To which I shall add these other weighty Considerations, that may more particularly affect Friends as a People ; The Government at Home, and particularly the Parliament, appear to have this present War very much at Heart, in which they spare no Charge in fitting out large Fleets, with Land-Forces, and expect that all their Colonies will in the same Manner exert themselves, as the Assemblies of all the others have in some Measure done, ours excepted, not only in their Contributions, but they have also generally a regular Militia for their Defence.

Our Friends have recommended themselves to the Government in *Britain*, not only by their peaceable Deportment, as has been already observed, but by complying with its Demands, in chearfully contributing by the Payment of their Taxes towards every War ; yet they are admitted into no Offices of the Government above those of the respective Parishes where they live, except that some have undertaken to receive the Publick Money ; and tho' tolerated in their Opinions, as they interfere not with the Administration, yet these Opinions are

so far from being approved by the Government, that when they shall be urged as a Negative to putting so valuable a Country as this, and scituate, as has been mentioned, in a proper Posture of Defence, those who plead their Privileges for such a Negative, may undoubtedly expect to be divested of them, either by Act of Parliament, or a *Quo Warranto* from the King against their Charters; for it will be accounted equal to betraying it. And this, besides the irreparable Loss to ourselves, must prove a Reproach, and vast Disadvantage to the Profession every where.

'Tis alledged, the Governor made a false Step last Year in Encouraging or Suffering our Servants to inlist; for which he has been abridged by the Assembly of the Salary, for a Year and a half, that has for many Years before been allowed to our Governors. But as this is interpreted by the Ministry in *Britain*, as a Proof of an extraordinary Zeal for the King's Service, his Conduct herein, as also his Letter to the Board of Trade, however displeasing to us, will undoubtedly recommend him the more to the Regard of our Superiors, in whose Power we are; and accordingly we may expect to hear of it.

Our Province is now rent into Parties, and in a most unchristian Manner divided: Love and Charity, the great Characteristicks of the Christian Religion, are in a great Measure banished from amongst the People, and Contention too generally prevails. But, for the weighty Reasons that have been mentioned in this Paper, it is not to be doubted but that those who are for a Law for Defence, if the War continues, and the Country be not ruin'd by an Enemy before, must in Time obtain it: It is therefore proposed to the serious and most weighty Consideration of this Meeting, Whether it may not, at this Time, be advisable, that all such who for Conscience-sake cannot join in any Law for Self-Defence, should not only decline standing Candidates at the ensuing Election for Representatives themselves, but also advise all others who are equally scrupulous, to do the same; and as Animosities and Faction have greatly prevailed amongst us of late, and at all Times there prevails with too many an ill-judged, parsimonious Disposition, who for no other Reason

than to save their Money, but probably on some other Pretence, may vote for such as they may think, by their Opposition to the Governor, may most effectually answer that End ; that such Friends should give out publicly before hand, when they find they are named, that they will by no means serve tho' chosen, and accordingly that the Meeting recommend this to the Deputies from the several Monthly or Quarterly Meetings in this Province. All which, from the sincerest Zeal for the Public Good, Peace of the Country, and not only the Reputation, but the most solid Interest of Friends as a People, is (I say again) most seriously recommended to your Consideration, by

Your true Friend and Well-wisher,
J. L.

Stenton, Sept. 22. 1741.

PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND BOUNDARIES.

The dispute between the proprietors of Pennsylvania and Maryland regarding the boundary lines of their respective provinces as they existed in 1682, that is, when the present State of Delaware was considered as a part of Pennsylvania, has more than once been the subject of investigation. The most important papers which have been published relating to the early stages of this controversy are the charters of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and Penn's letter to the Lords of Plantation and Trade, dated August, 1683. These, with some papers printed in the *Breviat* of the case between the Penns and Lord Baltimore, together with well-known law reports and some useful notes in Chalmers's *Political Annals*, the author of which had access to the archives of the State Paper Office, have been the chief guides of historians.

We now give to our readers Lord Baltimore's account of what took place between him and Markham previous to Penn's arrival, and of his, Baltimore's, first interview with Penn, together with Markham's answer to Baltimore. To these we shall add in the form of notes several hitherto unpublished papers relating to the subject. In printing these documents we have been obliged to spell out some of the words which are abbreviated in the originals, as the contractions used could not be expressed in type. The original manuscripts of the papers here given are in the State Paper Office, London. Lord Baltimore's detailed account of his meeting with Penn at Col. Taylor's is too long to permit of its being printed in the present number of the *Magazine*.

For the benefit of those who are unacquainted with the origin of this dispute we will briefly relate the facts as we understand them.

The royal patent issued to Cecilius Lord Baltimore in 1632 gave to him all of the Delaware peninsula north of a line drawn east from Watkins Point on the Chesapeake to the Atlantic Ocean, and south of the fortieth degree of latitude. He was also to have that portion of land west of the Chesapeake which lay south of the fortieth degree, bounded on the south and west by the Potomac River. The eastern portion of his grant was spoken of in the charter as bordering on the bay of Delaware, and the whole is described as being not "yet cultivated or planted" by a Christian people. It afterwards appeared that the Dutch as early as 1631 had made a settlement on the Delaware on land purchased of the natives in 1629. This settlement was destroyed by the Indians. The Swedes settled there in 1638, and remained unmolested until 1655, when they were conquered by the Dutch of New Amsterdam who claimed the territory under the purchase of 1629. In 1664, the New Netherlands became the property of James Duke of York, under a grant from his brother Charles II., and the Delaware

settlements were a portion of this gift. The Dutch repossessed themselves of New Netherlands in 1673, but in fifteen months were again compelled to yield possession to the Duke of York. It is doubtful if the phraseology of the Maryland charter would have served to secure the Swedes possession of the west bank of Delaware Bay had Baltimore made any vigorous attempt to expel them, or had he been a favorite at court. Such, however, was not the case, and when the territory came to be governed by the Duke of York, Baltimore seems to have abandoned his claim.

Penn's charter for a territory west of the Delaware was issued in 1681. His southern boundary was the fortieth degree of latitude, with the exception of that portion which would fall within a circle of twelve miles radius around New Castle. This exception was made to protect the Duke of York's colony. Great ignorance existed when both patents were issued as to where the fortieth degree would fall. When Baltimore's grant was made it was supposed that the fortieth degree would cross the Delaware Bay, and on a map he issued in 1635 it is given much more to the south than its true location. When Penn's grant was made the advisers of the Lords of Trade thought the line would intersect a circle of twelve miles around New Castle, whereas it will be remembered it crosses the present city of Philadelphia. Indeed from the papers we now print it is tolerably clear that Charles Calvert, the son of Cecilus, was not aware, until 1682, that Upland, the present Chester, was south of the fortieth degree.

Having obtained from the Duke of York grants for his Delaware colonies, Penn sailed for America in 1682. Whatever politic reasons may have prevented Cecilus Lord Baltimore from advancing his claims in opposition to those of the Duke of York, they had no influence with his son Charles when he found the Duke had parted with his Delaware colonies. The following papers will show the condition of affairs when Penn landed, and what immediately followed. Penn's anxiety to obtain control of the Delaware River and Bay will be fully understood when it is remembered how all-important in those days water communications were to the success of colonial enterprises. That he fully appreciated this is evident from the fact that when he first sketched the bounds of his province he asked for five degrees that he might have an outlet on the lakes, and enjoy a trade with Canada, and when Sir John Werden proposed that the circle around New Castle should be of twenty or thirty miles radius, Penn said he would then have "so very little river left" as to interfere with the improvement of his province. He also endeavored to obtain from Baltimore a port on the Chesapeake, arguing that the trade he would draw to it would benefit both their colonies.

In 1685 the right the Duke of York had to the western shore of Delaware Bay was confirmed by the Lords of Trade, and only the western half of the peninsula was given to Lord Baltimore. The southern boundary of Pennsylvania, not being of immediate importance, was left undefined. When finally settled it seems to have been adjusted on the principle that, when the well-known geographical points mentioned in the patents conflicted

with imaginary lines, the former should take precedence. Lord Baltimore's charter bounded his province on the east by the Delaware Bay, and it was decided that it could not extend so far north as to border on the river. Penn's charter limited his province by a line which would intersect a circle of twelve miles radius around New Castle, and there it was allowed to rest. After tedious litigations the final settlement of this question was by compromise. In 1763-7 the lines between the provinces were run by Mason and Dixon. The illustration we give is a view of one of the original stones erected by them at intervals of five miles to mark the boundaries. It has been presented, by a friend of the Society, as a suitable illustration for the magazine during this anniversary season. The stone stands four miles south of Oxford, Chester County, Pa. The arms of Lord Baltimore are on the side opposite to that given in the picture, and face towards Maryland. The stone is of granite. It is 6 inches thick, 12 inches broad, and projects about 18 or 24 inches above the surface of the ground. It is the silent witness of the peaceful settlement of a vexed question, and a memorial of one which was ended only by civil strife.

A Narrative of the whole proceedings betwixt the Lord Baltimore and Capt. Wm. Markham Deputy Governor under Wm. Penn Esqr. as also betwixt the Lord Baltimore and the Said Penn.

His Majesty haveing been Gratiously pleased to give to Mr. Wm. Penn a tract of land in America to the Norward of Maryland the Said Penn in Aprill 1681 sends one Capt. Wm. Markham his kinsman to be his Deputy: And towards the latter End of August following Capt. Wm. Markham came to Maryland with a Letter from Mr. Penn to the Lord Baltimore;¹ And at the same time brought another from his most Sacred Majesty beareing date the 2d day of Aprill in the three and thirtith of his Majesty's Reigne.² The Lord Bal-

¹ See p. 463.

² *Letter to the Ld. Baltimore abt Mr Penn.*

Right Trusty & Welbeloved Wee greet you well Whereas by Our Letters Patents bearing date the 4th day of March last past Wee have been graciously pleased out of Our Royall Bounty, & the singular regard Wee have to the merits and Services of Sr William Penn deceased to give & grant to Our Trusty & Wellbeloved Subject William Pen Esqr son & heir to the said Sr William Penn a certain Tract of Land in America by the name of Pensilvania, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River from twelve miles distance Northward of New Castle Towne unto ye 43d Degree of Northern Latitude, if the said River doth extend so farr



W. S. Smedley

temore haveing perused the Kings Letter as also that from Mr. Penn, the said Markham was assured by the Lord Baltimore that the Kings Commands should be readily and very Speedily obeyed and by that means Mr. Penn's desires and request would be likewise complied with, the Said Pen haveing by his letter requested that the Lord Baltimore would give all ye dispatch possible in the buissnes of the Bounds. But by reason of the great heats then in August Capt. Markham happen'd to fall Dangerously ill, and because the Lord Baltimore was willing to embrace all opportunitys of expressing his great friendship respect and kindnesse to Mr. Penn, he invited Capt. Markham to his house where he

Northward and if the said River shall not extend so farr Northward, then by the said River so farr as it doth extend; And from the Head of the said River the Eastern Bounds to be determined by a Meridian Line to be drawn from the head of ye said River unto the said 43d Degree; the said Province to extend Westward five degrees in longitude to be computed from ye said Eastern Bounds, & to be bounded on the North by the beginning of the 43 degree of Northern Latitude, And on the South by a Circle drawn at twelve Miles distance from New Castle Northward & Westward unto the beginning of ye 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, & then by a straight Line Westward to the limit of longitude above mentioned, as bye Our said Letters Patents doth particularly appear; And to ye end yt all due encouragement be given to the said Wm Penn in the settlement of a Plantation within the said County, Wee do hereby recommend him his Deputies & Officers employed by him to your friendly Aid & assistance, willing & requiring you to doe him all the Offices of good neighbourhood and amicable correspondence which may tend to ye mutuall benefitt of Our Subjects within Our Provinces under your respective Proprieties. And more especially wee do think fitt yt in order hereunto you do appoint wth all convenient speed some person or persons who may in conjunction with the Agent or Agents, of ye said William Penn make a true division & separation of ye said Provinces of Maryland & Pensilvania according to the bounds & degree of Northern Latitude expressed in Our said Letters Patents, by settling & fixing certain Land Marks where they shall appear to border upon each other for ye preventing and avoiding all doubts and controversies that may otherwise happen concerning the same and Wee &c Whitehall Apll 2d in ye 33d year of Our Reign

By His Majesty's Command

CONWAY.

To Our Rt &c Charles Ld Baltimore Proprietary of Our Province of Maryland.

Continued very Dangerously ill for the Space of three weekes & better; Sometime in September the Said Markham grew So well that he resolved to returne, to Delaware, and before he parted with the Lord Baltimore they both agreed to meet the 16th of Octbr. next following in ordr to take observatione for the Ascertainig the 40th degree of Northerne Latitude, the Said Markham haveing promis'd and assur'd the Lord Baltimore that he would send to New Yorke to borrow of one Coll Lewis Morris there a Sextile of Six or Seaven foote Radies, being the only fitt Instrument yt could be heard of. Capt. Markham meeting with a long passage up Chesepeack Bay writes to the Lord Baltimore that he could not possibly attend the 16th as had been agreed on, but desired it might be on the 26th of October; But soone after that came another Letter from Capt. Markham, wherein he gave the Lord Baltimore advice that he was relaps'd and so ill that he should not be able to attend the buissnes of the Bounds till the Spring—Whilst the Said Markham was Said to be thus ill, many reports were given out by the friends (Vulgarly called quakers) both of Maryland as well as those of Pensyllvania that the Degree of forty Northerly Latitude would be as lowe as Pooles Island in the Bay of Cheseapeack, And it Seemes, that Mr. Penn had beene so farr Possest therewith, that he Made bold to write a letter dated the 16th of September 1681 and directed the Same to James Frisby, Edward Jones, Aug. Herman, George Oulfield, Henry Ward and Henry Johnson Att their Plantations in Pensilvania, for so was the letter Superscribed.¹ The contents of which being that, as he was confident and ready to beleeeve theirwerewithin his bounds, they should not pay any more taxes or Sessments by any order or law of Maryland &c. This letterso Alarumn'd the Inhabitants of Baltimore and Cœcill Countys that they Immediately refused paying their Levys which had been assessed by a Law past but two months afore this happen'd. Notice hereof being given to the Lord Baltimore and his Councill, Orders were immediatly issued out to the Millitary Officers of the Said Countys to assist the respective Sheriffs

¹ See Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 38.

in the due executione of their Office, and with great difficulty it was that some of the Inhabitants were made to comply with the then Publique Levy, though the partys to whom that letter was particularly directed gave little Creditt to it; being confident that Mr. Penn had been misinform'd as twill Sufficently appeare both he and many others have bin in relation to the fortith Degree of Northerne Latitude: The trouble, and indeed Sedition that the said letter had occasion'd for some little time made the Lord Baltemore judge it Absolutely necessary to have the bounds Speedily fixt. But Capt. Markham was said to have a tertian or quartan Ague so that the Lord Baltimore could not procure the settlement of the Bounds as he then desir'd. Sometime after this reports came downe to the Lord Baltemore that one Wm. Hague¹ a quaker and much employ'd by Mr. Penn, had taken observations att the Head of the Bay which very much dissatisfied ye Said Hague and other friends; for upon those observations it was then given out by the Quakers that if the Degree of forty did not afford Wm. Penn a harbour he would be for'et to buy one of Baltemore or otherwise that their Shippes must Enter and Cleer in Maryland. The Said Hague in a short time after this came to the Lord Baltemore's house on Patuxent River where amongst other discourse the Lord Baltemore askt the Said Hague whether he had not taken Some observations att Elk River for his private satisfaction, which Haigue own'd, but with all pretended that the Instrument was So Small that there could be no Certainty. The Lord Baltemore prest no further but told the Said Haigue he should be glad that Markham were well, for that he had Severall reasons to presse for a dispatch of the buisnesse of the Bounds, that the quiett and peace of Maryland very much requir'd it. The 14th of May (82) the Lord Baltemore writt a Letter to Capt. Markham who he understood to be well to signifie that he appointed the 10th of June to meet him with persons to Settle the Bounds; to which letter the Said Mark-

¹ William Haigue, one of Penn's Commissioners. His commission, empowering him to act with Crispin, Bezer, and Allen, is printed in Hazard's Annals, p. 637.

ham gave answer and with assurance that he would not faile to meet ye Lord Baltemore att Mr. Augustine Herman's Plantation on Bohœmia river which was the place the Lord Baltemore appointed to meet him. But some disturbance about that time happening in Virginia the Lord Baltemore did not think it prudent nor indeed Safe for his Province to be att any distance from Patomeek River, over which the Mutineers in Virginia threatened to Come to Cutt up the Tabaccoes in Maryland as they had done in Some Countys of Virginia. The Lord Baltemore therefore Sent away Commissioners who were precisely on the 10th June att Augustine Herman's Plantation, but neither finding Capt. Wm. Markham nor any person else there from him, they Immediatly writt to him and sent their letter by an expresse.¹ But to that no answer was given nor to a second they writt, though both (as can be proved) came Speedily to ye said Markham, who to be out of ye way att that time pretended buissnese att New Yorke.

When the Commissioners had expected Some dayes and finding no hopes of seeing Markham, they for the Lord Baltremores Satisfaction made three Several observations, in which they differ'd not above a Minute or two.²

¹ A letter from James Sanderlands and Robert Wade to Markham, who was at Upland, dated June 12, 1682, is printed in Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 46. It shows that Markham had sent word to Baltimore that he could not meet the Commissioners, but his message, according to Markham's statement here printed, was not received by Baltimore until after the Commissioners had started.

² *Extract of a Letter to the Ld Baltemore from the Commissioners appointed by his Lordship to settle the bounds between Maryland & Pennsylvania.* June 17. 1682

Wee have taken three severall observations & in all of them have not differed two minutes & wee find Mr Augustin Hermans house to lye in the latitude of 39d. & 45m: so that your Lordship has 15m. yet from hence due North which will go not farr short of Upland & this differs very little from their own observation lately taken as wee are credibly informed wee have used our endeavors in letting all here know of your Lordship's Desire to have the bounds determined & all seem much satisfied with your Lordship's proceedings much blaming Mr. Markham that after so many flourishes he should bee thus backward; Wee question but ye Lines will fall to answer yor Lordship's expectacons & our true endeavors shall not be wanting to give your Lordship satisfaction.

After this, they being neer New Castle, they had a Curiosity to see yt Towne, and being there they were told there was a Sloop newly arrived from New Yorke that had brought the Instrument which Capt. Markham had sent to Coll Lewis Morris for. With some difficulty and many entreaties they persuaded the Master of the Sloop to permitt them the use of it, and with it in a very Cleer day being on the 27th of June 1682 they found the Latitude of the place of observation which was in the Towne, to be thirty nine degrees forty odd Minutes.

After the taking of this observation the Comissrs. return'd and then Markham sent Letters excusing his being absent, and signified that he would be ready when ever the Lord Baltimore would appoint a second time. Upon this the Lord Baltimore by letters signified to Capt. Markham that he would not faile to be up att Augustine Hermans some time September following, but a day Certaine could not be fixt by the Lord Baltimore in regard as he signified by his Letter to the said Markham, that two of his Artists, were then ill. But on the 12th of Septembr. the Lord Baltimore sett saile from Patuxent up the Bay And on the 14th the Lord Baltimore mett att Major Peeter Sawyers a Letter from Capt. Markham Dated the 8th of the same Month, wherein he possitively promised and assur'd the Lord Baltimore that he would attend his Comeing. This Letter put the Lord Baltimore out of all Doubts assuring himselfe that Markham would not be guilty of such Incivilities and Indecencies as he had offer'd the Commissioners. On the 19th of September the Lord Baltimore being arriv'd att Elk River he sent a Letter to Markham to give him notice of his being there.

On the 20th his Lordpp writt to the said Markam againe; after writeing that letter the Lord Baltimore being Certainly Adviz'd that Markham was gone up Delaware, and finding little roome and want of severall Conveniency's att Mr. Hermans the Lord Baltimore with about twelve Gentlemen in Company with him in all not above twenty persons went the 21st to New Castle where staying till the 23rd and heareing no News of Markham's Comeing though it was proved he

had recd. both the Lord Baltimore's Letters, his Lordpp the said 23rd in the Evening procur'd boates and that night reacht Upland and tooke his quarters in Capt Markhams Lodgings who, his Lordpp was told, was Newly gon up to Burlington in East New Jersy, being gon after his receipt of his Lordpps first Letter of the 19th September.

Sunday morning being the 24th very early Markham came into the Creeke att Upland, and was not a little Amazed to understand that the Lord Baltimore was there. About tenn of the Clock that Morning Capt Markham Came to see the Lord Baltimore but with such a disorder'd Countenance and odd behaviour as was Easily perceiv'd by all the Company. The Lord Baltimore not seemeing to take any notice of the confusion he saw him in, desir'd of Capt Markham that he might see the New Instrument for Observatione which he heard Mr. Penn had sent him the which he readily yielded to; but for want of some small glasses, which the said Markham said Wm. Haigue had taken away the Instrument could not be made use of, so then the Lord Baltimore requested he might see the Instrument Coll Lewis Morris had Lent, which was Likewise brought forth by one Richard Noble a Quaker who sett the same up and it being a very Cleer day observatione was taken therewith by the said Noble as Likewise by those Artists the Lord Baltimore had with him, and they all agreed that ye Latitude of Upland was by that Sextile of Coll Morris in 39 degrees 47 Minutes and five Seconds. After the takeing of this observation the Lord Baltimore told Capt Markham that Since the degree of North Latitude would be about 12 miles more due North from Upland it would be necessary to goe up Delaware river to see where forty did Cutt the said river. But the said Markham by the advice of Haigue (who seem'd to Governe more then Markham) declin'd that proposition giving very Slight reasons for his refuseall, but told the Lord Baltimore that he was ready to goe to the heads of any of the rivers in the Bay to take the fortith Degree of North Latitude, and to assure the Lord Baltimore of that, he Immediattly gave it under his hand which

the Lord Baltimore has ready to produce.¹ The 25th of September being munday the Lord Baltimore resolv'd to take his leave att Upland, and in the Afternoone the Lord Baltimore. Capt Markham and above forty more being att the landing in order to take Boate the Lord Baltimore spoke to the said Markham thus. You are sensible, Capt. Markham, that by an Observatiōe taken yesterday that this Plantation is in 39°—47°—and Some Seconds, and must therefore be sensible that I am here about twelve Miles to the Southward of the Degree of forty, which is my North Bounds as the Same is Mr. Penns South Bounds. Therefore Afore you and all the rest here present I lay Claime to this place and as farr futher as the degree of forty will reach, to this Capt. Markham replied nothing, but immediatly conducted the Lord Baltimore to the boat, assuring the Lord Baltimore that he would not faile the next day being ye 26th to be att New Castle with Coll Lewis Instrument which the Lord Baltimore desired and the said Markham likewise promised faithfully to bring with him to the end the degree of forty might be taken att the head of the Bay. The 26th and 27th the Lord Baltimore waited at New Castle for Markham, but finding that there was no hopes of seeing him the Lord Baltimore return'd to Mr. Augustine Hermans, and thither came a Letter from Markham, signifying that the persons most Concern'd for the Government would nowise Consent that he should meet as he had given under his hand, by Giveing this reason that the Quakers were very much disordr'd by the Lord Baltimores laying Claime to a place called Chichester about three or four Miles below Upland.² This beeng all yt was done in relation to ye buisnesse of the Bounds Notwithstanding his Majesty's Letter of the 2d Aprill 1681 procur'd by the said Wm. Penn, the said Letter ordering the Lord Baltimore to appoint with all convenient Speed some person or persons who might in Conjunctione with the Agent or Agents of the said

See p. 432.

² A letter without date, evidently the one here mentioned, will be found in Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 39. See also Markham's answer to Baltimore, *infra*, p. 433.

Wm. Penn make a true Divisione and Separation of the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania according to the Bounds and Degree of Northerne Latitude Expressed in our Letters, Pattents by Settling, and Affixing Certaine Land markes where they shall appeare to border upon each other which are the words of his Majesty's said Letter.

This Letter of the Kings was little regarded, though Mr. Penn's Letter of the 10th Aprill (81) to ye Lord Baltemore gave Notable hints for the Speedy Complying with his Majesty's Commands in that Letter of the Second Aprill, the which the Lord Baltemore was forward enough to have obey'd had others had that due regard to his Majesty's Grace and favour therein. But it not Serveing the turne was wholly laid aside by Penn's Agent—About the 24th October following Mr. Wm. Penn comes into Delaware River and came to an Anchor afore New Castle and there demanded and tooke the Keys of that Towne and men tooke possessione of what else his Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke pretends to, tho' the same hath beene justly Claim'd by the present Lord Baltemore as also by his Father. This being done without takeing the least notice of his Highnesse his Governr. at New Yorke. And altho' the said Wm. Penn sent a Letter by his Secretary to the Lord Baltemore beareing date the 2d of November (82) writt at New Castle yett Mr. Penn made no mentione of such his proceedings, nor did he order his Secretary to take any notice thereof, which seem'd a Little Strange to the Lord Baltemore, who had beene told by Mr. Pen formerly that his Royall Highness the Duke of Yorke had made him offers of his pretentions on Delaware and that he had refus'd the Duke in regard (as he signified) he knew it to be the Lord Baltemores. And of this the Lord Baltemore tooke notice to Mr. Penn at their Conference. On the 13th of December last the Lord Baltemore and Mr. Wm. Pen had a Conference at the House of Coll Thomas Taylors att the Ridge in Ann Arrundell County to which place the said Wm. Pen was so kind as to come. But afore the Conference (which Mr. Penn desir'd should have beene private) there was some what spoke by the said Penn which in short

was as followeth—Mr. Penn Signified that as the King had given him a considerable Tract of land to the backward of the Lord Baltemore, he was sensible that without the Lord Baltemores good neighbour'd and kindnese to him a great part of that Countrey so given him would prove but a dead Lumpe of earth, for without an Inlett the same would be ever Uselesse, and therefore he requested the Lord Baltemore to be so good and kind a Neighbour as to afford him but a back Dore for the Improvement of that which otherwise (without such a conveniency) would signifie nothing to him.

Adding this that what was but the hundredth part of the Lord Baltemores interest would be Ninety nine parts of the hundred of Wm. Penns—As this request of Mr. Pens did not att all seeme unreasonable to the Lord Baltemore so was it not the Lord Baltemores intentions to deny the said Pen any Neighbourly and friendly kindnesse, And all that the Lord Baltemore then replyed was that he supposed Mr. Penn did not expect a speedy answer to his request, which Mr. Penn answer'd againe he did not, then the Lord Baltemore proposed to Mr. Penn that the Conference, he had desir'd might be afore his friends and such of the Lord Baltemores Councill as were then there, that it would be best and safest to have it Publique; for that an affair of that Concerne to them both, being Publiquely Dabated would give most satisfaction to the Inhabitants of both Provinces. Mr. Pen then Demanded how many persons the Lord Baltemore would have present. The Lord Baltemore Desir'd that all the friends he had brought with him might be present if he so pleas'd and that only six Gentlemen of the Lord Baltemores Councill should be thereat. Mr. Penn did att last declare that what the Lord Baltemore desir'd was reasonable, faire, and Honorable—Then all persons were Called in, and the Said Penn begann his discourse which he continued for some time after which he pulls out a Letter and gives it the Lord Baltemore as the ground and foundation of their further discourse: The Lord Baltemore perceiving it to be a Letter from his Majesty, reads the same privately afterwards againe to the whole board saying he found by that Letter that his

Majesty had beene misinform'd, and to make that out the Lord Baltimore reads the Bounds mention'd in his Pattent.¹ After this the Conference held For some houres, the which was taken in short hand by the Clarke of the Assembly in Maryland and the next morning the Clark brought it faire writt out and the same was read approv'd and sign'd by the Gentlemen of the Lord Baltmores Councill And had not the

¹ *Letter to ye Ld Baltimore abt adjusting ye bounds between their Provinces of Maryland & Pensilvania.*

Right Trusty & Welbeloved Wee greet you well. Whereas by Our Letters Patents bearing date ye 4 day of March 168⁹ Wee have been graciously pleased out of Our Royall Bounty & ye singular regards Wee have to ye meritts & Services of Sr William Penn, deceased, to give & grant To Our Trusty and Welbeloved Subject William Penn Esqr. son & heir to the said Sr William Penn a certain Tract of Land in America by ye name of Pensilvania; And in as much as ye same according to the Bounds thereof expressed in Our said Letters Patents borders on Maryland, Wee think itt will very much conduce as well to Our Service & the improvement & melioration of ye said Colonies, as to ye benefitt of the particular Planters in both, that the boundaries between them be set forth & ascertained, which cannot by any method be so certainly effected, as by an admeasurement of ye two degrees North from Watkins Point the expresse South Bounds in your Patent & already so settled by Commissioners between Virginia & Maryland; & being willing to give the said William Penn all fitting encouragement in planting ye said Province, for preventing all disputes which may disturb an amicable & neighbourly correspondence between you two, & Our Subjects under your respective commands We have thought fitt hereby to recommend ye same in a most particular manner to you, willing and requiring, you that with all possible speed, upon the receipt hereof, to proceed to determin ye Northern Bounds of your Province, as ye same borders on Pensilvania, by an admeasurement of the two degrees granted in your Patent, according to ye usuall computation of Sixty English Miles to a Degree, beginning from the South bounds of Maryland as ye same are already settled by Commissioners, as is above mentioned, that so Our Subjects transporting themselves into Pensilvania may receive no discouragement by loss of time to ye prejudice of Our Service & their concerns. And so Wee bid you very heartily farewell. Given &c Windsor Augst 19 1682 in ye 34th year of Our Reign

By His Majesty's Command

CONWAY.

To Our Tr &c Charls Ld Baltimore Proprietary of Our Province of Maryland.

said Penn bin hasten'd and hurried away by, many quakers that are Inhabitants of Maryland to a meeting that day, Mr. Penn had had a Coppy of the said Conference with him; but loath he was to stay so long and therefore requested the Lord Baltimore to send him one, which accordingly has bin Done. The Lord Baltimore with the Gentlemen of his Councill waited on Mr. Penn to the place where the friends meeting was to be that day and there tooke his leave and parted with the said Penn who the next day went to a Generall Meeting at Choptanch River in Talbott County where the Lord Baltimore had order'd Coll Philamon Lloyd and his Major with some horsemen to wait on the said Pen in his returne: This is whatt past betweene the Lord Baltimore and Wm. Penn who by Agreement are to meet some time in March next for the finding out the Degree of forty Northerly Latitude. The King's Letter which Mr. Penn deliver'd at the Conference to the Lord Baltimore beareing Date the 19th Day of August 1682 in the foure and thirtieth yeare of his Majesties Reigne makes mentione of an Admeasurement of two Degrees According to the usuall Computacion of Sixty miles to a degree to be the best and Certaine Method of Setting forth and Ascertaining the Boundaries betweene Maryland and Pensylvania, But the Lord Baltimore humbly conceiving that his Majesty had received some misinformation touching the Bounds of his Province, Did att this Conference produce his Pattent, and the Bounds of the same were read to Mr. Penn, and the Gentlemen then att the Board. After which Mr. Penn propos'd as a more equall way for him and the Lord Baltimore to take their Commencement from the Capes which (as the said Penn affirm'd) lay in thirty Seven Degees and five Minutes, and yet haveing bin received for a long time to be the true Latitude of the Capes, and by which Masters of Shippes have governed themselves would be as well for the Lord Baltimore as the said Wm. Penn. Urgeing that an uncertainty of so long standing would be better then to runn into a new Error, which discourse of Mr. Penn's Seemed to Show a jealousie in him, and Not to Carry much reason with it, or which many of the Gentlemen then

present imagin'd rather Proceeded from an Unwillingnesse to have the Bounds ascertain'd the surest, and most Certaine way, which as the Lord Baltemore had often urged might be by a Sextant of Six, eight or tenn foot Diameter, which being large and fixt in a frame And the frame Standing sure upon firme ground, must, by all Artists, be held a more Certaine way of taking an observation then by a Small Sea Quadrant, and that held up by the hand which is alwayes in Motione and the Persons perhaps aboard a Shipp who tooke the Latitude of the Capes ; where there was the Shakeing of the hand, and Error in the Instrument besides the unskillfullnesse and Ignorance of those observators against which Mr. Penn spoake so much. But in a fixt Instrument of the Diameter afore said, and that sett in a frame on firm Land, a Certaine observatione may be taken and that without the helpe of an Horison, and this, Mr. Penn it's believ'd knew well enough to be the Surest way ; But he haveing bin misinform'd as to the degree of forty Northerly Latitude (which he was assur'd would fall Lower then Saxafras River in the Bay of Cheaseapeack as by their false Mapps appeares, and haveing assured his friends, and particularly those of his late Societie for Trade,¹ that all the Head of the said Bay would fall within Pensylvania is now unwilling to have the truth discover'd. For whilst Mr. Penn and his friends were kept in their said Error about the degree of forty then the Lord Baltemore was prest to have an observation taken, and his Majesty's Comands in the first Letter of the 2d Aprill 1681, Complied with ; But that first Letter not serveing the Turne another was procur'd, upon as great a misinformation to his Majesty as could be given.

And it will also appeare that upon such Blind observations as are usually taken by Masters off Shippes (who often times are no more Artists then just to Saile their Shippes to ports by guesse) these great mistakes have risen. For Mr. Penn did owne to the Lord Baltemore that both his Majesty and the Lords of the Councill were assur'd that New Castle lay

¹ The Free Society of Traders.—ED.

Seaven Eight or tenn Miles to the Norward of the fortith degree Northerly Latitude whereas Mr. Penn his Deputy Wm. Markham and the Cheife of the friends (Called Quakers) have since own'd that New Castle lyes some Miles to the Southward of that Degree. Now whereas the said Penn desires to have an Admeasurement from the Capes to the Degree of forty, offering that, as the most equall way ; This well knowne that, that can never be Effected by reason, the Wayes from the Capes to Watkins point are not passable, there being not only Waters to pass over, but likewise such rotten grownes as no person can gett through and from Watkins point (the Lord Baltimore's South bounds) there are Severall large Rivers to Crosse over, besides, that a due North Line will Cross Cheseapeack Bay towards the upper part thereof ; And for these reasons (were there no other) these offers and Proposealls of Mr. Pen's to the Lord Baltimore can never be complied with, and so consequently the Degree of forty must be taken as the Lord Baltimore att the Conference did Propose.

C. Baltimore.

To Answer my Lord Baltemors letter to me of the 11 July 1682, will be Sufficent to Cleare my selfe of what he hath Charged me wth untill that day, it being a repetition of ye Journall he kept, but cannot begin my answer, with ye begining of his letter, he haveing began, with ye End of The Story.

The Lettr I sent my lord from the Head of The Bay, bore date ye 25 of 7ber. 81, Occasioned by my long passage up thether haveing spent most of the Time I intended for my jorny to New York, or to have sent thether, to borrow Coll Morris's Instrument, by which I Desired tenn dayes longer, after I gott home (being very ill) sent a second letter to My lord, which he mentions ye Receipt off, but before it came to him hand I had one from him ; of ye 10th 8ber. 81 (which he cunningly would evade mentioning) wherein he tells me, he could not come upp that year for fear of ye ffrost ; but would wholly lay the not Meeting that year to me—To mine of the 17th March 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ I might reasonably Expected an answer

before ye 22d of May, which was the day I Reed his of ye 14th Ibid, in which he Tells me he had Ended his Sessions of Assembly, and setting his business in ordr to meet me ye beginning of ye Next Month, with out regard to any affaires of Mine, ye which at that time was very Urgent; for haveing ingaged to pay ye Indians for the land I had bought of them before ye Middle of June, in Expectation of which They defer'd their hunting till it was allmost too late for that year: and if they had gon before I had pay'd them wee could not have had any land that yeare to seat the people on that daly came there; it being our custome not to use any land unbought of ye Natives, a Thing My Lord Baltemore's a Stranger to haveing taken all his by fforce, Never purchased any of ye poor Natives nor did he ever mention his haveing an Instrument, as I Desired by mine, altho' he knew I had none, but that had sent to New York to borrow one, which was not yett come, nor had it, had not I gon myself and Ingaged for its security, on ye 26 of May seing a necessity for my goeing to New York: as afore said sent an Express to my Lord Baltemore, supposeing it might be with him before his setting out, with orders at home, that if they heard of my Lords coming, to send an express to me to New York, My Lord here takes notice of the receipt of mine of ye 26th May, and that in it I mention ye 10th June, but not ye occasion, which was to desire it might be put off till I came ffrom New York, but 'tis his lordshipps way of showing his polliticks and now Sr I begg leave, that I might not ffollow his lordshipps Immethodicall Method, to leave his letter of ye 11 of July a while, and come to some others of his and agents, that I might ye more easily Keep the path I began in. here ought to be read his letter of the 1 June 82, by which he Excuses his not coming him selfe as he had promised, but that he had sent his Com^{rs}, and hop'd they would meet with persons the alike quallified this very letter was brought by ye Com^{rs} themselves and ye ffirst time I ever heard he had an intent to send Com^{rs} and therefore no wonder they were disappoyntd of meeting any the like quallyf'd with this letter I received one from his Com^{rs} Dated from

Augustine Harmans, ye 10th June 82, they were both brought me to New York by George Goforth, in this letter they Desired I would dispatch persons with Instruments to Joyne with them; in order to this I shipp off an Instrument at New York on board of Cregers Sloop, and took my Jorny by land to meet them, when the Sloop arrived ot New Castle, my lord Balt^{rs} Com^{rs} were there, and understanding the Instrument I had borrowed was on board, Did by ye means of the Dutch Inhabitants of ye Towne, procure the Master (he being a dutch man) to bring it on shoare, and there they used it as you may see by my Lords letter of 11 July: (a Confidence I never mett the like to dare to touch an Instrument that was to be used by the Contrary partie and so privately that no ffriend of ours was by) now how honest this will appeare before all sober men, as his lordshipp is pleased to say of my actions, I know not; but in my opinion they that dont Take it for Knavery will be mistaken; I begg pardon for this digression. The day after they had used the Instrument. I came downe to New Castle, beleeving the Com^{rs} had been there, but they were gon the night before. The next Morning I sent Mr. Haig to Augustine Harmans, in hopes to a found them there, but they were gon before he came there, but on the same day what reason these Gentlemen had to goe back, when they saw the Instrument, and was told I was near home, I Can't Imagine. July ye 7th 82. I sent to my lord to give him an accot, that I made all possible Speed to meet his Com^{rs} strangely I mist them, & how ready I was now to Joyne with them, now I had secured pay for ye Indians—by a lettr ffrom my Lord of ye 14th Augt. 82. he tells that some time ye Next Month he intendes to send his Comrs up againe, and perhapps come himselfe, the which accordingly he did, a particular jornall of it I have writt by it selfe.

Wm. Markham Gent maketh Oath that this is a true answer to all the Allegations (yet knowne) alleged by the Lord Baltimore.

Wm. Markham.

Haveing had advice as I was up the River of My Lord Baltmores being at New Castle made what possible Speed

I could Downe to wayt on him & on ye 23d of 7ber, about tenn at night, gott into Upland Creick where being told my Lord Baltemore was at my lodging at Robt Waides, lay that night at Upland. The next Morning wayted on my Lord, but his lordshipp haveing a great reteineu with him, and every one something to say to me, I Desired Mr. Haig he would take notice what passed between us and write it downe, for I feared they would hardly give me soe much time as to doe it; about Three dayes after his Lordshp was gon I Desired Mr. Haig to give me in writeing, what he had noted passed at ye time afore said, the which he did as ffolloweth

Saterdag 7ber: 23d 1682 The Lord Baltemore accompanied wth Coll: Corsie, Majr Seawell, Majr Sawyer, and 4 of his owne Commisrs and forty men Armed with Carbines pistols, and Swords, came from New Castle to Upland and lay all night at Robt. Wayds: sunday 24th being not a day of Business Baltemore desired that he might see his owne Instrument, and that of Coll Morrisises sett up, that he might know how they did agree, in order to proceed the next day for laying out ye line of Dewision betwixt the two provinces, but after the Instruments were sett up and none appoynted to mind them but the lord Baltemores one men by his order, they told the lord that They found Upland to ly in ye Lattd 39d. 45'.

Munday, 25th 7ber This Morning his Lordshp desired that he might be admitted to goe further up the river, that he might run as farr up as the line of 40 where ever it was to be found. but Gor Markham told him that he conceived that from Twelve miles above New Castle and soe upward upon Delaware river his lordshp had no reason of Claime, because he had no Interest therein being appropriated to his Mastr Wm Penn, by lettrs Pattents granted to him by the King begining Twelve miles distance northward of New Castle Towne: Unto ye 43d 00' of Northern lattitude, unto which the lord Baltemore replied, that he was not To consult what was granted to Mr. Penn, but what his Majty had granted to himselfe many years before; he granted Mr. P. his pat-

tent, and that he found he had Included all the land on ye Westward most side of Delaware river unto ye Lattitude of ye fortyeth degree within his lordshipps said pattent; unto which Gor Markham replyed, That as his Lordshipp was pleased to Consult his one pattent, and give what Construc-tions upon the said pattent his lordship thought most proper for his purpose, he as his Mastrs ffaithfull Servant & not at all being made knowne to ye Contents of his lordships pat-tent had read and perused ye Kings Majts lettrs pattents granted unto Willm Penn, which he at that Time produced to his lordship under the great seale of England, and there found as is here Expressed that his Majty has been gra-tiously pleased by letters pattents, bareing date ye 4th of March last past doe give and grant unto W P. Esqr & call that Tract of land in America Called by ye name of Pennsilvania, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware river, from 12 Miles distance Northwards of New Castle Towne, unto ye 43 degree of Northern lattde, and Dayted ye 2d day of Aprill 1682 for these reasons Gor Markham tould his lord-ship, That he Could not allow him to Take further observa-tions, because Mr Penns Pattent took its begining 12 miles from New Castle and for the reasons his Majty had to doe soe (which was often questioned by ye Lord Baltemore and Alleadged on his lordshipps part that his Majesty had been misinform'd) he dares not be soe presumtive to inquire into his Majtys reason, he being allwayes the Master and In-terpriter of his owne reasons unto whom he refer'd his lord-shipp for answer, his lordship was pleased to Say Mr. Penn might goe there for answer if he pleased, for his owne part he had no reason nor would goe before his Majesty nor Coun-cill Table for any such Matter. but would take his owne where he found it; The lord Baltemor by owne of his artists or Comm^{rs} was pleased to object that if wee began 12 miles above New Castle, and respected the Towne as our Contre, how could wee fetch our Sweep to touch the Meridian line of 40, it being a Matter in his lordshipps Esteem impractica-ble unto which Gor Markham replyed, that in that they were as farr at a loss as in ye foregoing argument, for that as he

would show them; and at that time produced the letters pattents granted by his Majesty to Wm. Penn, his Majesty had not Concluded the Towne of New Castle to be ye Contre, but That ye 40th degree was the Contre and ye Circle of The 12 miles to ye Northward of New Castle was only to respect ye 40th degree, as its Centre, unto which They said his Majesty must have long Compasses; The Go^{vr} made answer he hoped they would not limmett his Majesty's Compasses These and such like arguments being often disputed and repeated on both sides, his lordshipp desired of Go^{vr} Markham his reasons under his hand, why he would not allow or Concurr with his lordshipp to lay out the line on delaware river,¹ unto which Go^{vr} Markham agreed—after his lordshipp had perused Go^{vr} Markhams reasons, and ready to take boat to goe towards New Castle where he and Go^{vr} Markham had appoynted to meet in order to lay out the line of Devision betwixt the Two provinces uppon Chessapeake Bay and the Rivers respecting that Bay, his lordship was pleased to call his

¹ *To his Exelley My Lord Baltimore.*

Where as your lordship hath been pleased to Desire a reason of me under my Hand why I Concurr not with your Lordshipp in laying out the bounds of this province Pennsilvania upon Delaware river; My Lord This is my reason that as I received all yt part of The river Delaware beginning 12 Miles above New Castle Towne and so Upwards, ffrom The Government of New York which is according to The Express words of his Majesty's Letters Patents To our Proprietary Wm Penn Esqr I most humbly Conceive That I am not to be accounttable to any other person Then his Majesty or Royall Highness ffor any part of This Province laying upon Delaware River & soe bounded but if your Lordshipp be willing to lay out ye bounds betwixt This Province and your Lordshipps Laying towards Chessapeake Bay and The rivers on That side I am ready and willing to wayte upon your Lordship for yt End & purpose.

Upland in Pennsylvania 7ber : 29th 1682.

I am my lord your Ldshipps
most Humble Servt
Wm. Markham.

Wm. Markham maketh oath that the above mentioned is a true Copy deliver'd by me to ye Lord Baltimore.

Wm. Markham.

people together and there declare, he was then in Maryland; unto which Go^r Markham answered, he was under a Mistake, for he was in Pennsylvania no saies My lord Baltemore, I am in Maryland, and will settle some of These people about me here, upon which Go^r Markham Tould him, that if his lordshipp was in Earnest and if they were not words of Course, that then seeing the debate between his Master Penn and his lordshipp could not be other wise desided, their pretences being both by lettrs Pattents from the King, that he perceived his Majesty was the most proper person to end that Differance, but his lordship reply'd no he would not goe before his Majesty, the land was his, and as soon as they had ffound where the line of 40 would ffall upon Chessapeak Bay, he would come with his Eastern line and take possession of this part of The river and above it Tenn Miles, but Go^r Markham replied, that he had received this river and Every part Thereof 12 Miles above New Castle by Vertue of lettrs pattents from the King, in favour of his Master Penn, ffrom the goverment of New York, but had no order to deliver it up to any man, nor suffer any person to keep possession of it, and unless he received such or the like orders ffrom Mr. Penn, he would keep it untill his Master Penns arrivall, which he did not doubt but would be very shortly; and desired his lordshipp would referr all to his Coming but his lordship would not consent then the lord Baltemore took boat and went to Markiss hook at Chichester and there went ffrom house to house prohibiting the inhabitants to pay any more quitt rents to Mr. Penn, telling them, that ye land was his, and that he would suddenly returne and take possession of it. and that they were cheated and Deceived by Will: Penns Depty Governr: which Caused such a Consternation in the Inhabitants of Those parts, and in the Inhabitants of Upland, that ye next day when Gor Markham was ready with his boat, his Instruments on board, his horses provided to goe by land, and all other materialls ready to wayte upon his lordshipp at New Castle, according to appoyntment from thence to goe to finde the line of 40 upon the rivers towards Maryland; the Inhabitants afore said being Terrified by ye reason afore said came to ye

Go^{vr} and desired to be removed from their habitations as Conseiveing themselves not safe nor secure, by reason of his lordshipps un-Expected clame, which obliged Gor Markham to Consult the persons of his Councill most Concerned in the province ; who was not willing he should at this time goe out of the province, but remaine to quiett the disturb'd people and therefore advised him to write to ye lord Baltemore.¹

Wm. Markham Gente maketh Oath that all the contents within mentionend are true to the best of his knowledge. Wm. Markham.

¹ See Pa. Archives, Vol. I. p. 39.

BI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING
OF WILLIAM PENN.

DINNER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The two hundredth anniversary of the arrival of William Penn was celebrated by the Historical Society, on the evening of November 8, 1882. A dinner was given in the Foyer of the Academy of Music. The members of the Society and their friends present numbered one hundred and forty-one. The President, Mr. John William Wallace, and Vice Presidents, Horatio Gates Jones, Craig Biddle, and George de B. Keim, presided at the several tables.

The following Divine blessing was invoked by the Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, Bishop of the Moravian Church :

Lord, Lord, God, Thou Father of lights with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning, we give Thee hearty thanks for all the mercies which Thou hast shown to us as individuals, as a Society, and especially as citizens of this commonwealth. We praise Thee that Thou didst constrain its founder to establish it upon the broad and solid basis of truth, of justice, and of liberty. We magnify Thy Holy Name that its progress, in the past two centuries, has been so wonderful, and that Thou hast enabled it to do so much in furthering the grand development which is going on in this Western World.

And now O God, we beseech Thee, continue to bless this our State with Thy favor and to crown it with Thy loving kindness. Yea, prosper our whole land ; give to it prosperity, and to all its people salvation. Let its industries increase, let its institutions of learning be sanctified, let righteousness abound. Make us, who are gathered here, faithful in laboring for our country and for the holy cause of Christ our Saviour. Let His glorious Gospel spread, until every nation

and every kingdom will be His own. And to Thee, the Triune One, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shall be glory forever and ever, Amen.

After the various courses had been served, the President said:—

Our Bi-Centennial celebration has been accomplished. And I think, that if we turn our eyes from the external aspect of that remarkable exhibition to consider by what causes it was brought about, our Society will have great reason for self-gratulation at the success of the enterprise. I think it is certain that, with our sober-minded people, such a celebration could not have taken place from mere love of a pageant, nor from the rivalry of competing trades, nor from the fancy for military or masonic show. Nor could the love, even for music,—though that has increased immensely within thirty years—have summoned at a call for its own gratification such a legion of choristers as delighted us with their harmonies on those days. No one of these causes, nor all together, could have produced a celebration so vast, so various, so imposing, so costly, and so continuous. The causes to a large extent, I think, are in the nature of moral causes. They are, I submit to you:—

First.—A high degree of civic spirit, a sort of civic virtue among our people. I mean a devoted love to whatever concerns the honor and fame of our state and city, and a determination that no celebration that is supposed to concern that honor and that fame should be partial, insignificant, or cheap.

Second.—To a wide-spread knowledge and lively interest in the personal history of William Penn; a history singularly picturesque and affecting, and which touches every one who reads it: and to a reverence, even to this day, abiding among this people for those principles, political, moral, and religious, on which William Penn founded his government two hundred years ago.

If these facts lie in any degree at the basis of this great celebration, then I say, this Historical Society has cause for

satisfaction. For what, as regards our state and city, has this Society been doing in the fifty-seven years since it was founded, so much as collecting, preserving, arranging, and giving to the people the evidences that both, by their men, their conduct, and achievements, have an honorable history, and deserve an honorable fame; a history which they should all know, a fame they should all love and cherish!

And as for William Penn, have we not equally, for fifty-seven years, been describing his life, enforcing his principles, and disproving the calumnies that British authors have heaped on his name?

Where in our hall stand his arms, his image and superscription? In the chief and central place assuredly, while those of all our generals, our statesmen, and all our governors stand in side and secondary position. And what society, or who, has given so liberally from their scanty funds, for even a fragmentary portion of his papers? What society, or who has given, these late times, to the world such a body of his writings as we did a short time since, in that delightful collection of his letters to his secretary Logan? Hundreds visit our Hall, and see every relic of him treasured as if it were a jewel, every page of his writing as though it were a leaf of the Sibyl. In short, what society outside of that religious body of which he was a member, but whose tenets have prevented their proclaiming his statesmanship, and indeed, everything except his theological views and Christian virtues, I say what society, with this limited exception, has done so much to secure his fame? Our teachings on all these subjects have been quiet, but they have been constant, and for fifty-seven years. Such teachings may well affect even a community. They have affected this community; and in the size, enthusiasm, and the success which broke so suddenly upon us, in the late celebration, we discovered that a city and a state have learned, before we were aware of it, the lesson which we sought to teach.

The effect produced by our Society as a body has, of course, been mediate only. But the action of our *members* has been direct, personal, and immediate. I see a score of

gentlemen, at the tables before me, who, on the late celebration, have exerted themselves with actual personal devotion—laboring, I may say, with their own hands—giving, too, their thoughts, their time, and their money to make this vast organization practicable, and its success complete. I will not shock their modesty by naming them all. But I cannot but refer to the honored gentleman who sits at my right hand—you know, of course, that I allude to Mr. E. C. KNIGHT—who, while the great project, though approved by so many, was yet laboring for shape and strength, and despondency hung over its friends, and discouragements to accomplishing it seemed to come from every quarter—suffered himself to be called to its Presidency, and by his ample fortune and credit, his well-known energy, and his equally well-known discretion, changed the face of everything, and at once gave certainty of success to the undertaking.

With regard to our celebration to-day, of Penn's landing, we do but revive an ancient custom. The day on which Penn took possession of the region that we now call Pennsylvania was ever, with this Society, a great day. We celebrated it by a public dinner years ago, at Chester; subsequently by one at Reading, subsequently by one at Bethlehem, and since in the same way, at different times, in this city. The practice fell into desuetude with the outbreak of our civil war. With peace and harmony returned, we revive it to-day. A dinner, gentlemen—by which I mean the bland and exhilarating intercourse which is generated among our members, as we sit around the festive board enjoying the bounteous provisions which a benignant Providence puts before us—has always proved a valuable support to Societies in the nature of ours. To our charitable societies, such as St. Andrew's, St. George's, St. David's, and St. Patrick's, I should think it was indispensable to their existence; the strongest ligament which binds the brethren together. I have been a member of St. Andrew's since the year 1837, that is to say, I believe for forty-five years, and I declare to you that, except on the occasion when the Society removed

the remains of Gen. Hugh Mercer, a Scotchman, from old Christ churchyard, in Second Street, where he had been buried after the battle of Princeton, in which he was mortally wounded, to Laurel Hill, I never saw the brethren assembled in any considerable force but at the annual dinner of the Society, where they assembled in large numbers: after which charitable contributions filled the treasury! So, even with our societies of business it is found that an annual dinner has this beneficial result; it strengthens the springs of action; and operates as a lubricant, wherever a lubricant is needed!

I hope, therefore, the excellent executive council of this Society, while it continues to have lectures delivered frequently, and to issue annually as it does printed volumes of history, and continues to purchase, even at prices which seem enormous, works relating to Pennsylvania, so rare that they may exist only in a single copy, and continues to bring from British archives public or private transcripts or originals of ancient manuscripts that concern us, I say I hope, while it continues to do all this, and even more, if you like, in the same lines, it will not omit to summon us occasionally for the agreeable occupation in which we are now engaged. Such enjoyment will not impair to any one the real value of anything that we do or possess; while to some, it will give new interest to them all.

I propose to you, gentlemen, the first toast of the evening:

THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM PENN.

This toast was responded to by the Hon. Wayne Mac Veagh.

After some humorous remarks, of which no notes were preserved, Mr. Mac Veagh reiterated in eloquent terms the train of thought embodied in an eulogy on William Penn delivered by him before the Penn Club in 1877.¹

¹ See PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. I. p. 361. .

The second toast was—

THE THREE LOWER COUNTIES.

This was responded to by Dr. L. P. Bush of Wilmington, who read the following address of William Penn to the Justices of New Castle, 21st of December, 1682. The first few words of the original manuscript being illegible, those printed in brackets are supplied from a similar address delivered to the Justices of the county of Sussex on the 25th of the same month.

[Since it hath pleased God to put the government of the] West side of Delaware River & Bay into my hands I cannot but in good confidence endeavour to promote Justice & Righteousness among y^e Inhabitants thereof, knowing y^t He who is y^e Judge of Quick & Dead, will remember us for good, if we forget not Him, & y^t a Govern^t lay'd & begun by y^e Line of Equity & true Judgment will not fail of Prosperity. I therefore most earnestly recomend to you, who are y^e Ministers of Justice for y^e County you live in, Vigilancy & Fidelity, y^t you may neither neglect nor pervert Justice & in order thereunto y^t you keep your Courts wth Constancy & Gravity; & if you have your Ears open to hear all as well y^e Poor as y^e Rich, & in all cases to judge according to y^e Truth if y^e Evidence wthout Fear, Favour, Afection or Reward, y^t God may bless you & y^e People bless you, w^{ch} seldom fail to be y^e Reward of Wise, Just & Virtuous Magistrates.

So I bid you all heartily Farewell. Given under my hand at New Castle, this 21st of 10ber 1682 being y^e second year of my Government.

I do also think fitt y^t an exact Catalogue be returned to me of y^e names of all y^e people of your County, Masters, Mistresses & Servants, Parents, Children, also of y^e number of Acres each Freeholder hath; & by whom & when granted all in distinct columns, wth a mark on nonresidents y^t have Clames.

The third toast of the evening,

THE LAWS MADE BY WILLIAM PENN,

was responded to by Mr. Hampton L. Carson, as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT:

We are told by Plutarch that Lycurgus, charmed with the beauty and greatness of his political establishment, exacted an oath from the Spartan people never to alter it until his return from Delphi, and thus secured the inviolability of his laws. Though William Penn demanded no such pledge, and doubtless had no such expectations of devotion, though since his death the world has been shaken by successive revolutions, yet the great principles upon which he founded his free and happy Commonwealth are still living forces, unchanged in efficiency and usefulness, while the mode of their administration only has been shaped from time to time to meet the wants of a growing people. In the judgment of competent critics, Penn ranks among those founders of States who by the wisdom, liberality, and beneficence of their laws are justly entitled to the admiration and gratitude of mankind.

His preparation for his crowning work had been ample and peculiar. He had met Locke at Oxford, and had studied law at Lincoln's Inn; he had read with attention Lord Coke and Magna Charta, and made each word of gold his own; he had kindled at the protest of the Barons at Runnymede, and breathed a similar spirit of defiance; he had scanned the whole fabric of social freedom, and, pen in hand, had traced to their fountains the liberties of Englishmen; he had felt the fierce grasp of arbitrary power and suffered the horrors of the dock and the gaol; "the inner light" had dispersed the darkness of his cell, and his soul had expanded beneath the ministry of Fox; he had divined the truth that about the person and the mind of man there is something too sacred for even the anointed fingers of a King to touch; he had defended with spirit and address the rights of jurymen; his ears had been pierced by the wail of those persecuted

“for conscience’ sake;” he had seen the flames curl about Elizabeth Gaunt, and had gazed on the mutilated limbs of Cornish at Cheapside; he had debated the loftiest propositions of government with Sidney; he had talked with Milton of Pym and Hampden, and dreamed with More and Harrington of the ideal State. He had seen at White Hall the pleasure barks of Charles launched upon the tears of his subjects; he had witnessed with disgust the exaltation of vice and the despair of virtue, and marked the coarse and cruel contrast between the features of royalty and his own unrealized democracy. His mind was a battle-ground; the superstition of the past and the iron tyranny of the present met the hopes of the future, and convulsed his soul by the shock of arms. The result was a paradox. A friend of the People, he was the favorite of Kings, a man of peace, yet the apostle of progress, an advocate of toleration, yet the champion of aggressive reform, an angel of mercy, yet a bolt of destruction, the herald of the things to be, the executioner of the things that are.

With such singular characteristics, trained in such schools, and not without experience in the work of colonization, endowed by nature with an intellect bold and commanding and a heart gentle and benevolent, sustained by an unfaltering trust in God, holding the charter of a matchless province, he resolved, in the prime of vigorous manhood, to follow the Pilgrims across the sea, and build a great government of the People, founded upon Mercy and Justice, walled in by Truth, Peace, Love, and Plenty, crowned by Virtue, Liberty, and Independence, the refuge and abiding place of persecuted man. Relying not upon any particular model of government, but upon the goodness of men, he concisely declared that “any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws.” With the assent and approbation of the freemen of the Province he established a system destined to endure, and proclaimed his aims to be “to support power in reverence with the people and to save the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free from their just obedience, and

the magistrates honourable from their just administration, for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

He severed church from state, guarded the rights of conscience, wedded religious liberty to civil security, encouraged immigration, armed the citizen with the ballot, provided for the freedom and purity of elections, forbade taxation without representation, threw open the courts, simplified pleadings and processes, gave the right to counsel in cases of felony, declared the right to trial by jury, converted prisons into work-houses, abolished the infamy of gaoler's fees, subjected lands to the payment of debts, punished bribery and extortion, discouraged frauds by the registration of deeds and wills, destroyed multiplicity of suits, overturned the inequalities of primogeniture, suppressed piracy, assailed vice, stripped the criminal law of ferocious punishments, established schools, encouraged literature, rewarded science, and thus strove to secure the peace, purity, and happiness of his people.

In all these provisions we recognize the great features of our State jurisprudence, and on critically comparing them with the condition of the law that then prevailed in England and with all that has been since accomplished by Howard, Romilly, Brougham, Peel, and Gladstone, we are astounded at the extent and boldness of his innovations.

It was Penn's good fortune to be practical and successful. Locke failed, but he triumphed; Harrington dreamed, but he acted; Sidney died upon the scaffold for his unpublished opinions, but he lived to see his plans in peaceful operation.

To the enraptured gaze of Scipio there was revealed a place in Heaven assigned to all those who have preserved their country or increased her glory, where an eternity of happiness is theirs. "For there is nothing more acceptable to God, who rules this world and directs the affairs of men, than those councils and assemblies, bound together by laws, which are termed States; the founders and preservers of these come from Heaven, and thither do they return."

The fourth toast :

THE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ESTABLISHED BY WILLIAM PENN.

The Rev. Thomas F. Davies, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, said:—

I rise with the greater pleasure, Mr. President, in answer to your call, because I think it not altogether inappropriate that a member of the religious body to which I belong should respond to this Toast and acknowledge the great obligation which, in common with Christians of other names, we owe to the broad and generous statesmanship of William Penn.

To a student of history few things are more surprising than the struggle which many of those principles of truth and justice that are now everywhere current, passed through before they gained a lodgement in the hearts and minds of men. One hundred and twenty-eight years before the birth of William Penn, in the year 1516, Sir Thomas More, in his description of "The Best State of a Commonwealth," gives it as one of the most ancient laws of his ideal state, "that no man ought to be punished for his religion." And he adds a later enactment, "that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavor to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion."

I suppose, sir, that these are principles which would command the unanimous approval of the citizens of this country, and find acknowledgment through a greater part of the civilized world,—but they utterly failed to influence the generation which heard them. Even in the minds of the most advanced thinkers, and of the greatest statesmen, they were held to be but pretty theories, Utopian ideas,—theories and ideas that could never be realized in a real world. Why, sir, so late as the first year of the seventeenth century, in 1601, no less a man than Lord Bacon, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil, relating to Ireland, and "inciting him to embrace the case of reducing that kingdom to civility," speaks of religious toleration not as a duty, not as something which

the strong owe to the weak, those in authority to those under authority, but as that which while it might be of absolute necessity in policy was also in his judgment "a matter warrantable by religion."

I conceive it to be the great glory of William Penn that he was the apostle and champion, not of religious toleration, but of something higher and grander—of religious freedom; of liberty of conscience! It was the recognition of this that won for him the reluctant praise of the brilliant historian: "the statesman who in an age of persecution made religious liberty the corner-stone of a polity." He was brought to the maintenance of this great principle not by considerations of policy, not by a sudden conversion under stress of persecution, but by the deliberate convictions of his intellect and conscience. He asserted it in his youth, maintained it in his maturer life, and as soon as the opportunity offered itself, carried it out in practice.

In 1671, when a young man of twenty-seven, he published a tract upon Liberty of Conscience, and defended it by the authority of reason, Scripture, and antiquity. In the name of his people he demanded it as their undoubted right by the law of God, of nature, and of their own country. Five years later, in another work he contends that all that human laws may rightly require of any man, all that is needed to entitle any citizen to the protection of the laws of England might be summed up in the sentence, "*honeste vivere attenum non lædere jus suum cuique tribuere.*"

The time soon came when these principles could be put into operation. In 1676 the affairs of the province of West Jersey came into the hands of Penn. He was charged with the work of preparing their fundamental laws. And among them we find this: "No man is to be interrupted or molested on account of the exercise of his religion." Upon what he did here for us in 1682, in his own great province of Pennsylvania, in the way of establishing religious freedom, it is surely unnecessary for me to enlarge this evening.

In estimating the benefits conferred by William Penn upon the world, and upon civilization, it should be remembered that the liberality of the man did not spring from latitudi-

narianism ; he was not one of those who think it matters not how much or what a man believes. On the other hand, he was a person of the strongest, deepest religious convictions and beliefs ; no man more so. He was no lover of the Roman Catholic Church ; he employed his pen in controverting its peculiar tenets, while at the same time he was warmly attached to many of its members, especially to his own and his father's friend, King James II.

It was this fidelity in his friendship that caused him to be charged with being a concealed Roman Catholic, a Jesuit in disguise. He was no lover of the Church of England. He liked not its ceremonies and surplices, its "hireling ministry," and its prescript prayers. And yet to each of these bodies, to the Roman Catholic and the Churchmen alike, he accorded in his province perfect liberty in the exercise of their religion and perfect equality before the law. Great as may have been his dislike of their respective systems of religion, greater far was his love of Christian charity, of even-handed justice, of liberty, and of law. Therefore it is that we are met to do honor to his memory this evening, and honor will be done to it through all time.

The fifth toast,

THE EIGHTH OF NOVEMBER,

was responded to by Mr. Henry Flanders.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN :

The event we commemorate on this occasion, no doubt, is more interesting and important than the day of its occurrence. Nevertheless, sir, the day that has been set apart by the Historical Society to celebrate the landing of William Penn on these shores, has abundant historical justification. According to the reformed calendar, there was a difference, from the year 1582 up to the year 1699, of ten days between the old and the new style. The letters of Penn and contemporary documents, show that on the 24th of October, 1682, the "Welcome" arrived in the waters of Delaware Bay ; that on the 27th of October he anchored off New Castle, and

on the same day, he invited the commissioners of that town aboard the vessel; that on the following day he took possession of the town under the authority of his grants.

On the 29th day of October we have the evidence of Penn's letters, that he was at Upland; the evidence of his arrival within the limits of that commonwealth, forever thereafter to be indissolubly associated with his name and fame.

Observing, then, the difference in the calculation of time between the 17th and 19th centuries, that difference being ten days, we find Penn at Upland on the 29th October, which, according to the present computation of time, would be the 8th of November.

And it is well on this day and occasion, to recall the fact that two hundred years ago, William Penn established on these shores a civil polity which, in its development, has raised Pennsylvania to the highest rank in our galaxy of states. From feeble beginnings, she now numbers over four millions of prosperous people; her material resources, when expressed in figures, startle and confound the imagination; her institutions of learning, piety, and charity have kept pace with her growth in wealth, and it only remains for her sons to emulate the virtues of her founder, to hand down to the coming generations and to the last syllable of recorded time, their noble, their priceless heritage.

The sixth toast was then announced:

THE INTERIOR OF THE PROVINCE.

This was responded to by Mr. George R. Kaercher, of Pottsville, who said:—

MR. PRESIDENT:

The two centuries which separate the interior of to-day from the interior of the days of William Penn, have witnessed indeed a most wonderful change. The interior of the province was then an almost unbroken wilderness; the home of the Indian; while here and there, an adventurous hunter had penetrated a little way beyond the borders of the settlements along the banks of the Schuylkill and the Delaware.

William Penn sent forth his invitation to all the oppressed of the earth to come and settle this land. The interior of the province became the home of men from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Germany. They came seeking freedom and liberty to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. As I listened to-night to the eloquent tribute to the "Memory of Penn,"—"that fix't light of a dark and graceless age;" to the grandeur of "Penn's Laws," and the sublimity of the "Religious Freedom" which he established, I thought, great and glorious as were all these topics, there was one still as great—and that was, the people, who coming to these shores from many climes, and passing thence into the interior of the province, proved themselves, on all occasions, worthy to follow in the footsteps of Penn; and who were the steadfast supporters of his laws, and the unflinching guardians of the religious freedom which he had established. It is of these men, whose commingled blood now flows in the veins of as great a people as exists upon the globe, that I will venture to speak a few words. Who can measure the toil that was necessary to transform the interior of that day to that of to-day! When we consider the hardships to be endured, the dangers to be encountered, the forests to be felled, the fields to be cleared, the towns and cities to be built, it does not seem credible that this great empire of nearly five millions of people, with its immense enterprises of all kinds, could be the result of two centuries of labor. Yet so it is, and to-day, that once uninhabited portion of the province is the prosperous and populous heart of the commonwealth.

The men, who from one generation to another inhabited the interior, have a noble record. In every war to sustain the colony, to establish the independence of the States, and to maintain the integrity of the Union, they have borne their full share of the toil and won their due meed of honor. What manner of men they were, who lived in the interior of the province, in the early days, is made manifest by the deeds of their sons, who have come after them. You all recall the dark day when the first shot at Sumter gave notice that the battle for the life of the Republic had begun. The

voice of Abraham Lincoln was heard calling the men of the Union to the defence of the Capitol. Hardly had the summons been made, before the men of the interior of Pennsylvania were on the march; and when President Lincoln beheld "THE FIRST DEFENDERS,"—the first five companies from the interior of Pennsylvania—enter the nation's capitol, in advance of the soldiers of all other States, he knew the republic would endure, for it gave token, that the heart of this great commonwealth beat with steady fidelity to the Union, and that as Pennsylvania went so would all her sister commonwealths of the north.

The two centuries past have been largely devoted, in the interior, to the development of the great natural resources of the State. The foundations for an enduring prosperity have been laid wide and deep. As you look westward from your city, it is across fields as fertile and well tilled as are to be found in the world. Everywhere is to be heard the busy hum of the manufactory, while the products of her mines daily find their way to every part of the land. The power and high place of the State are forever assured.

The men of the interior, who thus built up, from a beginning so small, the industries of the State, have not been unmindful of the cause of education. In every generation they labored to spread wider its benign influence. It was her sturdy and resolute son, Governor George Wolf, who laid the foundation of our present system of public schools, which our constitution now guards and sustains as essential to the maintenance of free institutions. Yearly the interior makes further advances, as was evidenced, when on the hill above Bethlehem, Asa Packer, and at the forks of the Delaware, at Easton, Ario Pardee, made munificent endowments in behalf of the cause of education. Thus you will find throughout that interior, that the cause of knowledge and science, sustained by the increasing prosperity of the people, has not been neglected.

By the appliances of science the far-off interior of the province of the early day, is to-day brought close to hand; the ancient feuds between city and country are ended; the

iron arteries that spread throughout every part of the State, daily pour the life blood of the commonwealth into your city to sustain and enhance your prosperity. United and bound together by a common history and a common destiny, I may safely predict that, in every emergency that may arise, the interior will be found standing beside the city, and that on no occasion will the interior be found to falter in her duty to the commonwealth.

To the seventh and last toast,

PENNSYLVANIA'S POSITION IN THE FEDERAL UNION,

Mr. George M. Dallas was called upon to reply. He spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT:

There is a time to be grave and a time to be merry. "Ask for me *to-morrow*, and you shall find me a grave man." Not, I trust, in Mercutio's sense, for I hope to survive even that which my experience warns me to expect as the consequence of this evening's festivities. But though, like the crier of court who could not cry because his wife had just died, I cannot undertake to be grave to-night, I may promise that which will be more acceptable; for "since brevity is the soul of wit, and tediousness the outward limbs and flourishes, I will be brief;" and, as an earnest of my earnestness in this, since manifestly nothing can more conduce to brevity than repetition, I repeat in all soberness (I trust the word is not unparliamentary under present circumstances) there is a time to be grave and a time to be merry. Now, I put it to you, Mr. President, in your private capacity, not officially you know: Is *this* a time to be grave? If it be, "why then I'll say a man may weep upon his wedding day." And yet, sir, your committee, to whom we are all so much indebted for an otherwise most delightful evening, have made your enjoyment of it conditional upon your patiently submitting to hear me solemnly trifle with so grave a subject as "the position of Pennsylvania in the American Union."

I have a little boy at home who studies his lessons by my side, and as he has a habit, not unusual, I believe, with the juvenile student, of muttering when he reads, I have sometimes found that his pursuit of knowledge does not tend to advance my own efforts in the same direction; but to-day I thought my recompense for long endurance had come at last, for being really in a quandary as to how the position of Pennsylvania in the Union should be described, I confidently appealed to his fresher information upon the subject for assistance. His reply was prompt and unquestionably correct. He told me its position is "easterly." But somehow I cannot feel quite sure that he entirely exhausted the subject, or fully met the question involved in your toast, and that it may be expected I should say something of the relation of our glorious old commonwealth to her sisters, in a sense not exclusively geographical.

Pennsylvania! Rich in all that nature in her most bounteous mood bestows upon the objects of her utmost favor! Dear mother State, whose smiling face is wreathed with plentiful harvests, and whose teeming womb of earth, by quickening labor wooed, presents to toil a wondrous progeny of wealth; what, O land of Penn! should be your position in this mighty union of great States? Your motto is "Virtue, Liberty, and Independence," and your sons are virtuous, independent, and free! Christianity is inwoven with your common law, and your statutes provide for the education of your youth. Where these are joined, virtue is assured. The teachings of your elder sons, who staked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in their country's cause, are still gratefully and reverently remembered, and in this memory liberty and independence are secure.

What, Mr. President, should be the position of such a State, so peopled, in a union such as ours? I ask what *should* it be, for what it should be I believe it always *will* be, and I answer that it should be foremost amongst the foremost in all things of which her citizens may justly and worthily feel proud; and this position Pennsylvania will hold as long as she remains steadfast in her devotion to that Federal Constitution which

made and maintains our most perfect union. Jealous of her rights, faithful to her obligations, may she ever, in the future as in the past, to herself be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, she cannot then be false in anything!

Mr. Francis H. Williams, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, read the following letter from the poet laureate of England, addressed to the Committee:—

85 EATON SQUARE, S. W., March 3, 1882.

MY FRIENDS: I would have written ere this to thank you for the honor you have done me by asking me to write a few verses on the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Pennsylvania, but I have had the gout in my right hand, and writing was impossible, and just now it seems to me that a verse upon anything is beyond my power; but does that matter much while you have your noble old Longfellow still among you, and other poets who might be more likely than myself to give you a strain which would not fall below the subject?

I do not say that I may not make the attempt, but I cannot promise you anything except that I will be with you in spirit on the 8th of November, and rejoice with your rejoicing; for since I have been unwell I have read Hepworth Dixon's life of your countryman and mine William Penn, and I find him, as there portrayed, no comet of a season, but the fixed light of a dark and graceless age, shining on into the present—good man and true *καλοζαγός*, as an old Athenian would have called him.

Believe me, yours very heartily,

A. TENNYSON.

During the evening, Mr. Henry May Keim presented to the Society an original deed, dated March 28, 1682, signed by William Penn, selling to Robert Greenway, mariner, of London [Captain of the Ship *Welcome*], 1500 acres of land in Pennsylvania.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 341.)

CARPENTER.

142. JOSHUA CARPENTER,⁵ son of Samuel and Mary (Yeates) Carpenter, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., February 2, 1720-1. On the death of his father and remarriage of his mother, he put himself under the guardianship of Joseph Richards and John Inglis, who had recently married his cousin-german Catharine McCall (127). At the division of his father's estate, in 1746, he received, with other property, Mr. Samuel Carpenter's mansion on the north side of Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh streets, which, since 1738, had been rented to, and occupied by, the Honorable George Thomas, Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. This was afterwards sold by Mr. Carpenter.* Land was purchased by him in the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware. Mr. Carpenter married, in Philadelphia, Decem-

* It was, at one time, the residence of Doctor Græme, son-in-law of Lieutenant-Governor Sir William Keith. In 1761, says Watson, it belonged to John Ross, Esq., attorney-at-law, who then offered to sell it for £3000 to John Smith, Esq., who afterwards occupied it. Subsequently it became the property of the celebrated John Dickinson, who added a new front to it in 1774; and from him it passed into the hands of his brother General Philemon Dickinson, whose granddaughter, Mary Dickinson, married William Coleman McCall, M.D., a descendant of Jöran Kyn before mentioned. During the War of Independence the building was used as a soldiers' hospital for the sick infantry of the Virginia and Pennsylvania lines. After this it became the splendid mansion of the French Ambassadors, the Chevalier de la Luzerne and Monsieur Gerard. The last inhabitant of the house was Chief-Justice William Tilghman, who removed from it in 1826, when it was demolished to make room for the Arcade.

ber 10, 1743, Armgott,* daughter of John Johnson, of Philadelphia County, by his wife Christina, daughter of John and Armgott Skute,† of Nitapkung, on the Schuylkill River, and granddaughter of Captain Sven Schute, of Sweden, a prominent officer and colonist of New Sweden.‡ In his will Mr.

* This peculiarly Teutonic name appears in Christ Church Register (where the marriage is recorded) as "Orange," and in Mr. Carpenter's will is metamorphosed into "Olivia."

† John Skute was born in New Sweden, September 4, 1654. He was a member and Vestryman of the Swedish Lutheran Congregation at Wicacoa, and, doubtless, was buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard. Armgott Skute survived him, dying at the Schuylkill, March 22, 1755, aged ninety-one years, and was buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard. Their daughter Christina was born September 4, 1687.

‡ Sven Schute probably came to America in one of the five earliest Swedish expeditions to the Delaware, and is first mentioned in the second Report of Governor Printz to the West India Company of Sweden, dated June 20, 1644, as Lieutenant in command of Fort Elfsborg, erected by that Governor the previous year near Varkens Kil, now Salem Creek, New Jersey. In November, 1648, he successfully opposed the settlement of the Dutch at Mastinaker's Hook on the Schuylkill River. In August, 1650, immediately on the receipt of the intelligence—brought to New Amsterdam by Augustine Herman, grandfather of Ephraim Augustine Herman, Fourth Lord of Bohemia Manor, who married Isabella Trent, great-granddaughter of Jöran Kyn (47)—that the eighth Swedish expedition to the Delaware, under Commander Hans Amundson, had suffered shipwreck in the West Indies the year before, Lieutenant Schute was sent on a Dutch vessel to Sweden, with a letter to Peter Brahe, President of the Royal Council, from Governor Printz, and instructions to make "a good and satisfactory report" of the Colony. This duty was performed by him, and at a meeting of the Council, March 16, 1652, to which he was specially summoned, his account of the settlement aided in determining Queen Christina to order the fitting out of the ninth Swedish expedition to our river. In a document describing him in official language as "the honorable and brave Lientenant Sven Schute," signed by his sovereign, August 20, 1653, he received the grant for himself, his wife, and heirs, of "a tract of country in New Sweden, embracing Mockorhuthigs Kyl, Alkarokungh, Kinsessing, and Aronametz Kyl, as far as the River, with the small Islands which lie adjacent, namely, Kåringe and Kinsessing, together with Passuming, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging" (identified in Mr. Benjamin H. Smith's *Atlas of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, pp.viii. and ix. (Philada., 1880)). On the 25th of the same month he was ordered by the College of Commerce, which then had charge of the Colony in America, to enlist fifty soldiers as emigrants,

Carpenter describes himself as "gentleman." He died in

sending them to Stockholm, and afterwards to visit the Province of Värmland and Dal, and procure two hundred and fifty inhabitants of the forests willing to engage in the enterprise. This task was promptly accomplished, and December 13 he was commissioned Captain for New Sweden, with special command over the people he had secured for the settlement. February 2, 1654, he sailed from Gottenburg on *Örnen*, with Commissary Johan Rising, Engineer Peter Lindström, and three hundred and fifty colonists; and, after a somewhat adventurous voyage, during which the vessel stopped at France and England, the Canary Islands, and St. Christopher's, he arrived in Delaware Bay the 18th of the following May. The ship reached Sandhoeck three days later, when Captain Schute landed with four files of musketeers, and demanded the surrender of the Dutch Fort Casimir, then held by a small force under the command of Gerrit Bicker. Not receiving a definite answer, he took possession of the stronghold, which was named from the day of its capture (Trinity Sunday) "Trefaldighets Fort." On the 5th of June the territory granted him by Queen Christina was inspected by Rising and Lindström, and Passayung was found to be the place of residence of the most distinguished of the Indian sachems, who were not inclined to abandon their home. Other portions of the tract being claimed by Swedish freemen, the Commissary, now Governor, declined to put Schute in possession until the receipt of further instructions from Sweden. Still, as late as 1658 the legal title of the Captain to his land was recognized by Jacob Alrichs, Vice-Director of the Colony of the City of Amsterdam on the Delaware, although it was intimated by the latter to the Dutch Commissioners, that the proprietor would willingly dispose of his "ground-brief for a trifle, according to its value and worth." The following allusions to Schute occur in Rising's first Report to his superiors in Sweden, dated at Fort Christina, July 13, 1654: "As regards the government of the country, in accordance with the most gracious orders of Her Majesty the Queen, and the concessions of the College [of Commerce], when I found that the Governor [Printz] had departed hence, I associated with me as aids these excellent men, whom I conceived to be the most competent in the Colony, viz., Captain Sven Scuthe and Lieutenant Johan Pappegoija, with whose counsel and coöperation hitherto everything has been performed. . . . Our state of war and defence is, in general, conducted like the rest; however, Captain Skuthe has to render an account of the ammunition, shot, and arms, and he is particularly busy, at present, strengthening Fort Trinity, which is like a key to the river. Further, if any position of Commander of Militia should be conferred, I desire, under favour, to state, he is considered a much more suitable person than Hans Amundson, and the majority of the officers here have said they will resign the service, if such a man assume command." Rather curiously, this judgment had been anticipated by Queen Christina, for in the document, dated at Upsala, February 28, 1654 (when Governor

August, 1764. Mrs. Carpenter survived him many years. They had at least three children:

368. MARY, b. September 23, 1751.

369. SAMUEL, b. August, 1752. He m. Mary —, and had issue. He d. in Philadelphia, and was bur. in Gloria Dei Churchyard, November 17, 1810. The Rev. Dr. Nicholas Collin notes in the records of that parish, "he had been ailing many years," and adds, he was the nephew of "Joseph Johnson, who was a Vestryman, and owned

Printz's return to Europe had been learned by Her Majesty), constituting Commissary Rising Provisional Governor of New Sweden, Schute was commissioned to replace Amundson over "the defence of the country and the forts," and the latter was forbidden "to have anything to do with that charge." The salary apportioned to the Captain in a budget for the following year is 432 *daler* silver, which was next to that of the Governor. At the second invasion of the Delaware by Director-General Peter Stuyvesant, in 1655, Schute was yet in command of Fort Trinity, which he was compelled to surrender, September 1, to the greatly superior force of the Dutch. The act subjected him to trial by court-martial before the Swedish Governor at Timber Island, September 24, when he denied the accusations brought against him, for which there is no evidence that he ever suffered punishment. Among the losses he sustained by the ravages of the Hollanders were damages to a plantation near the fort estimated at 100 florins. Unlike his fellow-officers Rising and Lindström, he was content to remain in America. He was complained of, the following year, by Vice-Director Jean Paul Jacquet, for turbulence and secret intercourse with the savages, and was summoned to New Amsterdam. Under Dutch rule on the Delaware he still bore the title of Captain, and in that capacity met Director-General Stuyvesant at Tinicum, on a visit of the latter to our river in May, 1658. It is doubtful whether he was alive at the conquest of New Netherland by the English, in 1664, since no mention is made of him at that period. We know neither the name of his wife nor the number of his children. Besides his son John, however, he had a son Sven, born in 1653, and a daughter Magdalen, born in 1660, who married Peter Rambo, Jr., son of Peter Gunnarson Rambo, and uncle of Peter Rambo, who married, as already stated (*PENNA. MAG.*, iii. p. 94, note), Christina Keen. Watson errs, of course, in confounding his family with that of Sven Gunnarson, the ancestor of the Swansons, who obtained a patent from the Dutch Vice-Director Alexander d'Hinojossa for land in the vicinity of Wicacoa, Philadelphia, afterwards conveyed to William Penn. (For further references to Schute and other early Swedish settlers on the Delaware mentioned in this genealogy, see a chapter on New Sweden contributed by the writer to volume iv. of the forthcoming *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Mr. Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University, and Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.)

the plantation near the Falls of Schuylkill." Mrs. Carpenter survived her husband and most of her children.

370. MERCY, living at the date of her father's will, July 31, 1764.

148. JASPER CARPENTER,⁵ son of Samuel and Mary (Yeates) Carpenter, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1735. In 1766 he leased the Potter's Field in this city, held formerly by his grandfather Joshua Carpenter, for a period of seven years, renewing the agreement in 1773*. He married, August 11, 1759, Mary Clifton, and had issue:

371. MARY.

* *Minutes of the Common Council*, April 14, 1766, and Nov. 27, 1773.

(To be continued.)

LETTER OF PETER MINUIT PROPOSING THE
FOUNDING OF THE COLONY OF
NEW SWEDEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL DUTCH BY PROFESSOR G. B. KEEN.

[Although the honor of projecting the first Swedish settlement in America belongs to the distinguished founder of the Dutch West India Company, Willem Usselinx, the credit of devising the details of the scheme, and of successfully executing it, is due to the former Director of New Netherland and first Governor of New Sweden, Peter Minuit. The following letter derives its interest from the fact that it comprises the formal offer by the latter of his services for the founding of the Colony of New Sweden (now first so called), as well as a specific statement of what was regarded as necessary for the equipment of the first Swedish expedition to the Delaware. It was addressed to Peter Spiring (a*clever Dutchman who had won the esteem of Chancellor Axel Oxenstjerna), on the eve of his departure from Holland for Sweden, and appears to have been laid before the Royal Council September 27, 1636. (See PENNA. MAG., Vol. III., p. 275.) It has never before been printed, so far as known, the present translation being made from a photographic copy of the original (which is still preserved in the Royal Archives at Stockholm), procured by the late Mr. Joseph J. Mickley for the Historical Society.—TRANS.]

WHEREAS, many kingdoms and countries prosper by means of navigation, and parts of the West Indies have gradually been occupied by the English, French, and Dutch, it seems to me that the Crown of Sweden ought not to forbear to make also its name known in foreign lands; and therefore I, the undersigned, desire to tender my services to the same, to undertake, on a small scale, what, by God's grace, should in a short time result in something great.

In the first place, I have proposed to Mr. Peter Spiring to make a voyage to the Virginias, New Netherland, and other regions adjacent, certain places well known to me, with a very good climate, which might be named *Nova Swedia*.

For this expedition there would be required a ship of 60,

70, or 100 *läster*,¹ armed with twelve guns and sufficient ammunition.

For the cargo 10,000 or 12,000 *gulden* would be needed, to be expended in hatchets, axes, kettles, blankets, and other merchandise.

A crew of twenty or twenty-five men would be wanted, with provisions for twelve months, which would cost about 3400 *gulden*.

In case the Crown of Sweden would provide the ship with ammunition, with twelve soldiers to garrison and hold the places, and likewise furnish a bark or yacht for facilitating trade, the whole [additional] expense might come to about 1600 *gulden*, one-half of which I myself will guarantee, Mr. Spiring assuming the other half, either on his own account or for the Crown, the same to be paid at once in cash.

As to the time of sailing, the sooner we start the better; for, although trade does not begin till spring, by being on the spot in season we can get on friendly terms with the savages, and induce them to collect as many furs as possible during the winter, and may hope to buy 4500 or 6000 beaver skins, thus acquiring a large capital from so small a commencement, and the ability to undertake more hereafter.

The Crown of Sweden might favour the beginners of this new enterprise with a charter, prohibiting all other persons from sailing from Sweden within the limits of *Terra Nova*² and Florida for the space of twenty years, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo. And, as it often happens that French or Portuguese vessels are met with on the ocean, authority should likewise be granted to capture such ships, and bring them as lawful prizes to Sweden. Also, it should be conceded that all goods of the company for the first ten years be free of duty both coming in and going out.

And, as the said land is suited for growing tobacco and various kinds of grain, it would be well to take along proper persons to cultivate these, who might at the same time be employed as garrison.

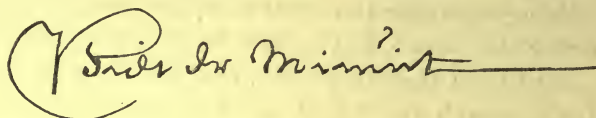
¹ From about 150 to 225 tons.—TRANS.

² Newfoundland.—TRANS.

In addition, the advantages to be derived from the enterprise in course of time by the Crown of Sweden could be indicated orally by me, if I were called to Sweden to give a more detailed account of everything. However, that shall be as the gentlemen of the Government see fit.

This is designed briefly to serve your Excellency as a memorandum. I trust your Excellency will write an early answer from Sweden to my known friend¹ whether the work will be undertaken, so that no time be lost, and others anticipate an enterprise which should bring so great profit to the Crown of Sweden.

Herewith wishing your Excellency *bon voyage*, I remain
Your Excellency's faithful servant,



AMSTERDAM, June 15, 1636.

¹ Without doubt, Samuel Blommaert, with regard to whose association with Spiring and Minuit see Professor C. T. Odhner's *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning*, translated in this MAGAZINE, Vol. III., pp. 274 *et seq.* He was a merchant of Amsterdam, who distinguished himself in 1607-9 in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and was now a partner in the Dutch West India Company. In 1630 he became a partner in the colony of Rensselaerswyck, and in a patroonship which established a settlement called Swaanendael, near the site of the present town of Lewes, Delaware, the following year. He was appointed Commissioner for the Swedish enterprise at Amsterdam in 1637, and held that office until the beginning of 1640. In 1647 he was a Commissioner in the Board of Accounts of the Dutch West India Company, and was Accountant-General at the time of his death, which occurred about 1652.—TRANS.

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED SOUTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. NOT LEEDS'S TEMPLE OF WISDOM, BUT WILLIAM PENN'S EXCELLENT PRIVILEGE OF LIBERTY AND PROPERTY.

A LOST WORK BY THE FOUNDER OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

The claim made eight years ago in the Menzies Catalogue (lot 1219), that Daniel Leeds's Temple of Wisdom had the honor of being the first *book* printed south of Massachusetts, has never, so far as I know, been disputed. I presume Mr. Menzies meant it, as I do in the title of this note, to be understood that his claim referred only to the British Colonies, as the printing press was in operation as early as 1536 in the city of Mexico. I noticed some time since, at the foot of Daniel Leeds's sheet Almanac for the year 1687, the following advertisement: "There is now in Press The Excellent Privilege of Liberty and Property, To which is added A Guide for the Grand and Pettit Jury." More recently, in reading "A Defence of the Legislative Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania," printed by Andrew Bradford in July, 1728, for the eight anti-proprietary members of the Assembly, I found on page 2 this paragraph, following a quotation from Penn's works: "From these noble Principles, the Proprietor settled the Rights and Priviledges of this Colony on the true Basis of English Liberty and Property. And not only granted his Charters, whereby he confirmed the same to the Inhabitants; but likewise published a small *Treatise* [giving the title in foot-note], *The Excell. Priviledges of Liberty and Property*, exhorting them to maintain with Firmness and Resolution their inestimable Priviledges."

In quoting, immediately afterwards, from page 40 of the "Treatise," the author of the "Defence" cites it as Penn's own words. The "Defence" is without doubt from the pen of

David Lloyd, the question at issue being one of the rights of the Speaker of the Assembly,¹ which office he then held, and no objection is raised, in any of the several replies which it called forth, to the assertion that Penn was the author of "Liberty and Property." As Lloyd was Attorney-General of the Province, and on friendly terms with the Proprietor in 1687, his unchallenged statement is conclusive on such a point.

The last-mentioned quotation is followed by an extract from the "Preface to Liberty and Property," which declares, "That the end of Publishing the Book, was to inform and instruct the People, what was their *Native Right* and *Inheritance*."

The first source of information in regard to "Liberty and Property" is Leeds's Almanac for the year 1687, which, in pursuance of the custom of almanac makers then as now, was issued towards the close of 1686; consequently the book then advertised must have been worked off early in 1687, and is therefore one year earlier than the "Temple of Wisdom."

Thus the first *book* (for so its author designates it) issued from Bradford's Press, is no longer the compilation of a fanatical almanac maker, but a work of the great founder of the colony himself, written for the instruction of the people he had gathered in what was their *Native Right* and *Inheritance*.

What could be more prophetic? The printer gives the people the "time,"² returns thanks to and prays the further guidance of the Almighty,³ and then the first words of the Press in Pennsylvania are "THE EXCELLENT PRIVILEGE OF LIBERTY."

¹ Sir William Keith, after his removal from the position of Governor, was elected a member of the Assembly from Philadelphia. Early in 1728 he went to England, without resigning his seat or obtaining leave of absence, and Lloyd attempted to issue a writ for a new election. It was claimed by a majority of the House that he could not do so except by order of the Assembly. Eight members, however, supported him, and as the majority persisted in refusing to recognize the authority claimed by the Speaker, these eight members withdrew from the Assembly, and, there thus being nine absentees, left it without a quorum.

² *Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense* for 1686.

³ Burnyat's Epistle and Penn and Taylor's Letter.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM PENN.

[In the list of William Penn's letters relating to the settlement of Pennsylvania, written between 1681 and 1684, and printed in the last number of our Magazine (p. 368), several are mentioned which have never been published, and others which have appeared only in such form as to make reference to them difficult. That everything of Penn's, relating to the settlement of our State, may be accessible, we print those referred to, and will be pleased to receive for publication any not mentioned in our list.—Ed.]

*To Lord Baltimore.*¹

WESTMINSTER, 10th; 2mo: April 1681.

It haveing graciously pleas'd the King upon diuers good Considerations to make me a Neighbor to Maryland. I thought it necessary to make some offer of friendship, and give a fitt rise for a future good Correspondence I omitt the particulars of my pretentions. They are so kindly and Amply Exprest in the Kings Letter, and to a man of good Sense tis enough to be once told of the Matter.

The Bearer is a Gentleman and my Kinsman to whom I have left the Manage of my affaires as his Integrity will insist upon my right, his prudence and Experience will allways guid him from an Indecent thing I onely begg one thing, 'tis short but the text of all that can be said do to me as thou wouldst be don to I am a stranger in the affaires of the Countrey he can have little light from me I doe Soe much depend upon the Influence and Preualence the Kings Goodnes will have upon thee, that I omitt to be any further sollicituos, beleeuering that a great and prudent man will always act with Caution and obedience to the mind of his Prince so that this Letter was rather to be Civil then to pass so ill a Complement upon the Lord Baltemore or the Kings letter as to think it Could give any aide to the one or

¹ From the copy in the State Paper Office, London.

Light to the other. I shall Conclude with this Request that it would please thee to give my Cosen and Deputy all the dispatch possible in the business of the bounds that obserueing our Just Limitts in that and all other things we May begin and Maintaine a Just and friendly intercourse which I doe here promise to Endeavor and obserue on my part with all the truth and Care Imaginable and what ever favors he receiues I shall place to my account and perhapps there are many wayes by which I may discharge them which may give the Lord Baltimore reason to beleuee I do not under-serue the usage and quality of his

Very True friend

WM. PENN.

My Respects to thy Lady. My Kinsmans Name is Wm. Markham.

[Superscription.]

For my honored friend the Lord Baltimore Gouvernor and Proprietor of Maryland.

*To Governor William Markham.*¹

LOND: 18th 8mo. 1681.

Cosen Markham

My sincere love salutes thee, wishing thy prosperity in every way. Wth this comes Instructions, & Concessions, wth some Company. I hope thou hast made Convenient provision for them. I have sent my Cosen William Crispin to be thy Assistant, as by Commission will appear. his Skill, experience Industry & Integrity are well Known to me, & particu-

¹ From the original in the possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, Philadelphia.

The final figure, one, in the date of this letter, is a double curved line resembling to some extent a figure five without a top. For this reason it has been printed as having been written in 1685. Besides the fact that the internal evidence of the letter shows that it was written in 1681, the indorsement leaves no doubt on the matter, as it is clearly 1681. It is also addressed to Deputy-Governor William Markham, who did not hold that position in 1685.

larly in Court Keeping &c.: so y^t it is my will & pleasure, that he be as cheif Justice to keep y^e Seal, y^e Courts & Sessions; & he shall be accountable to me for it. the proffitts redounding are to his proper behoof. he will show thee my Instructions w^{ch} will guide you all in y^e business. y^e rest is Left to your discretion; y^t is, to thee, thy two Assistants & y^e Councel.

Now I shall tell thee, that if thy Inclinations rather run to a sea life, I shall putt thee in Commander of a vessel to carry People & goods betwixt this Country and that, w^{ch} if thou chusest it come wth all y^e Speed thou canst y^t thou mayst be here before I goe & command a vessel backwards. the profit is more, & I think the creditt not less. but this is left to y^{ee} to come, or stay till I come theither. pray be very respectfull to my Cosen Crispin. he is a man my father had great confidence in & Vallue for. also Strive to give Content to y^e Planters, & wth meekness & sweetness, mixt wth Authority, carry it so as thou mayst honour me as well as thy selfe; & I do hereby promess thee I will effectually answeare it thee and thyn. give the Inclosed in Sweed, to y^e Sweeds Preist to read to y^e Sweeds; it comes from the Sweeds ambassador in England y^e D Liembergh, whos lady is lately dead, also myn to y^e Natives & the Inhabitants & be tender of my Creditt wth all, watching to prevent all fals storys, & inculcate all the honest and advantageous things on my behalfe y^t may be, in w^{ch} be diligent. I can say no more, but wish you all prosperity, in y^e fear of y^e lord, to whom I committ you all & rest

Thy true Frd

& Affect. Kinsman

WM. PENN.

I mention y^e Ship because it was thy motion to me.

[Endorsed.]

For William Markham Dept. Gover. of Pennsylvania.
The Proprietary Letter Dated 18th, Oebr. 1681 to Gov^r
Markam.

*To Governor William Markham.¹*UPLAND, y^e 28th 9br, 1682.

Cousin Markham,

Upon receipt hereof dispatch y^e Messenger to y^e Counties of St. Jones & Worekills, alias New Deal wth a Letter to y^e Deputies, in w^{ch} inclose y^e inclosed severally; be sure it is a trusty Person y^t can compass y^e Business w^{ch} done, dispatch hither to me immediately, leaving Jno. Moll, or Peter Aldricks Deputy in y^e room. If Rober Greenaway be not past that Port, I would willingly speak wth him having received Letter out of Maryland it concerns Freight of a Ship. Pray let all Ships clear ab New Castle, y^e River now being mine, in w^{ch} be civil to y^e Commanders & for this year y^t nothing be taken of y^m. The Horse y^t brings y^e Bearer is to go wth Tho. Hudson to Barbadoes if he be there remember my Love to him.

Thy Lov frd & kinsman,

WM. PENN.

Lett Tho: Hudson have y^e lett^r for B[ar]badoes, I cannot find my Patent. pray bring it.

[Endorsed]

William Markham.

y^e proprietary Lett^r 9ber 28: 1682 ord^{er} for ships to Enter to Gov^r Markam.

*To Governor William Markham.²*5th 12^{mo}, 1682.

Cosen Markham,

The inclosed is an Answear to y^e Justices below, but remember y^t the twelve must be chosen for the Provincial Council in pursuance of y^t writt, & after y^t, a petition to me y^t 3, A. B. C. should be for y^e Council, & y^e other 9 for the Assembly, for 4 & 8 will not allow of a yearly rotation of $\frac{1}{3}$. as 3 & 9 will. then the Council will be 18, a good number

¹ From the original in the possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, Philadelphia.

² From the original in the possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, Philadelphia.

at present, & 54 for the Assembly ¹⁸/₆₄ ⁷² the exact numbers. also y^e Petition must declare which is chosen for one two & three years is y^e 3^d Article informes thee in y^e charter lett all y^t is done, be y^e Act of y^e people & so it will be safe. remember in any business, w^t you settle there communicate to y^e lower Countys & send up to me to informe those here. my love to y^e Justices. help a poor Scotch man to sell his time a servant maid or two. vale

Thy Lov^s Kinsman

WM. PENN.¹

remember y^e invoices & my instructions to send y^m \wp first.

[Endorsed.]

For Capt. Wm. Markham, Deputy Governor of New Castle, Sussex, & Kent, New Castle.

Extracts from Letters to Jasper Yeates.²

That the entailment of the Government of this Province may be to David's Stock, the Tribe of Judah; I close with thee with all my Heart. But tell me how it shall be?

¹ The frame of government which Penn proposed for his colony, and which was agreed upon in England, provided that the Council should consist of seventy-two members. The Assembly for the first year was composed of all the freemen of the Province, and after that of two hundred representatives, who should be yearly chosen. It became evident before the first Assembly provided for under the frame met, that the numbers mentioned were greater than the scanty population could furnish, and that a reduction was necessary. The minutes of the Provincial Council show that when the first meeting of that body was held, the people had chosen but twelve members from each county, and petitioned the Governor to accept that number as their representatives in both Council and Assembly. The above letter is proof, that, if this change was not proposed by Penn himself, he was active in bringing it about, and, in fact, that the whole programme was arranged before the Council met.

² From a copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, furnished by the late Joshua Francis Fisher.

This letter is printed in the Works of Penn (*London*, 1726), but so altered and abridged as to greatly impair its value. It is there given as to an Old Friend who had unduly reflected on the writer, and has been so copied into most of the biographies of Penn, and into Proud's History of Pennsyl-

It hath been the earnest Desire of my Soul, that it might ever anchor there. Show us the way, & thou shalt be the man.

The Power I have by Patent runs thus: That I and my Heirs, with the Assent of the Freemen or their Deputies from time to time may make Laws, so as they be not repugnant to the Allegiance we owe to the King as Sovereign.

I have given to the Freemen all but a kind of Tribute rather than Pawn[?] three voyces (which three servants (mark !) that are out of their time, will equal that have but 50 acres apiece, whilst I have three millions perhaps).

vania. An account of Jasper Yeates, to whom it was written, will be found in this *MAGAZINE*, Vol. III. p. 206. The character of Yeates's letter can only be surmised from Penn's reply. It must have contained a criticism of the Frame of Government, and charged Penn with being more solicitous about his own affairs and those of his heirs than of the happiness of the people. A few remarks will assist the general reader to understand Penn's reply. A note to the preceding letter explains the formation of the Provincial Council and Assembly under the first Frame of Government. In this instrument Penn reserved for himself and heirs a triple vote in the Council, and this seems to have excited the animosity of Yeates. Penn gave to bound servants who served their time 50 acres of land, and thus they became freeholders. He points out to Yeates that if three of this class should be chosen members of the Council their united opinions could nullify his own. It would certainly be captious to charge a person with grasping authority who had given up the veto power for three votes in a Council of seventy-two members, and this Penn had done. Nevertheless, his own state of the case is not a just one. The opinions of members of council should not have been estimated by their own interests, but rather by the constituency they represented. The ideas which now prevail regarding representative government were not very fully developed when Penn wrote, and he may have formed his opinion of what would likely take place from experience rather than theory.

We have in this letter the clearest possible evidence, if any were needed, of Penn's wish to found his government on a basis that would be perfectly equitable to all concerned. Even the Quakers, his own religious associates, were not secured in power until their numbers were strong for fear it should be charged that they were afraid to allow others to participate in government. That the assembly which met at Chester, in December, 1682, came within one vote of passing from under the control of the Friends is, we believe, a fact that has heretofore been unknown in the history of our State. That some of the Friends were unable to rise to the position Penn occupied, and desired to keep the power in their own hands until it was firmly established is also clear, and it is probable that it was through their solicitations that the veto power was restored to him in 1683.

Now if these Freemen and their Heirs fear God, the entailment will be to David's Stock; if not, how can I or mine help it, which leads me to ask, What Security there is that their Heires be not Idiots & Atheists as well as mine? And then what security shall my Heirs have against such Misusing this Power to Truths and their Damage?—And this only I might have answered to thy objection to me vizt “Thou hast provided against thy Heirs being an Infant; but not if an Idiot or an Atheist &c.

But Jasper, I will suppose that thou intendest that God's Power among honest Friends should have the Rule and Dominion and that is, David's Stock in Spirit.—With my whole soul Jasper! But wilt thou secure they or theirs shall not be Corrupted, as well as I, or myn? Besides tell me what will those *Jetheses Centurions* and *Gamaliels* think who in outward things that belong to the Spirit of a Man, are rightfully interested as well as wee—and have Wisdom as men?.. Shall they neither chuse nor be chosen? If not, the Patent is forfeited; for that Right is founded upon Civil & not Spiritual Freedom—“The Freemen of the Province shall &c.” Besides we should look selfish, and do that which we have cry'd out upon others for, namely letting nobody touch with Government but those of their own way. And this hath been often flung at us, (viz). If you Quakers had it in your power, none should have a part in the Government, but those of your own way. On the other hand, if all that are Freemen may choose or be chosen Members of the Provincial Council & General Assembly, and that I and my Heir have only 3 Voyces in 272, in case they should outnumber us in vote we are gone, & this having been like to be done the last Assembly, in chusing of a Speaker (Friends carrying it but by one voyce, & that through the absence of 2 of the other side that were not Friends) Friends have several of them lamented that I have given so much Power away as I have done. At least, till Truth's interest had been better settled, and desire me to accept of it again, saying, that as God so signally cast it into my hand, and they believe for a purpose of Glory to his Name, and for the Good of his People, and since the Eyes & Hearts of People are after me in so eminent

a manner nere, if I receive it not, they shall as yet be little regarded in the use of it.

Come Jasper, I could speak largely of God's Dealings with me, in getting this thing, what an inward Exercise of Faith & Patience it cost me in passing; the Travail was mine, as well as the Debt and Cost; Though the Envy of many, both Professor, false Friend & Profane. But my God hath given it me in the face of the World, and it is to hold it in true Judgment, as a Reward of my Sufferings, and that is seen here whatever Despisers there may say or think. The Place God hath given me, and I never felt judgment for the Power I kept, but Trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a Worldly title & Patent that hath clothed me in this Place; Jasper, keep in thy Place; I am in mine, and have served the God of the whole Earth since I have been in it; Nor am I sitting down in a Greatness that I have denied, as thou suggestest. I am day & night spending my Life, my Time, my Money, & am not sixpence enriched by this Greatness, Costs in getting, settling, Transportation & Maintenance now in a Public manner, at my own Charge duly considered, to say nothing of my hazard, & the Distance I am from a considerable Estate, and which is more, my dear Wife & poor Children.

Well, Jasper, the Lord is a God of Righteous Judgment, had I sought Greatness, I had stay'd at home, where the difference between what I am here, and was offered, if I could have been there, in Power & Wealth, is as wide as the Places are.

No, I came for the Lord's sake, and therefore have I stood to this day, well & diligent & successful, blessed be His Power so that the 45th of Jeremiah, 4th & 5th Verses, I send thee back again, and they that fear God will rebuke thy application of it to me that know it.

My God hath given Sentence, for my Innocency in my own Soul, Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the People of this Place in Travels, Watchings, Spendings, and my Servants, every way freely, (not like a selfish man, I have many Witnesses) but it is below me to do it, I mean in

my Place on God's account, I pretend to no more, nor no other in my answer to thee but as a Friend.

And thy Conclusion overthrow thy Work: Thou sayest I desire thou mayst be sensible that I distinguish between Property & Government the *first not questioned*, but good Laws & Government, that Right which God gives to all, and is not to be bought and sold.

Now Jasper, what Civil Right hath any man in Government besides Property, at least without it, can a Farmer, Copyholder, an Almes man in England chuse a Parliament-man? Is it not men's Freehold that entitles them to chuse or be chosen a Member to make Laws about Right and Property? Is not this to their Heirs? And is not English Freehold entailed while they keep their Lands? And will not Jasper allow me and my Heirs as much as three 50 acre men have in the Government, that have fifty hundred times more Property? No, Jasper, Thy conceit is neither Religious, Political nor equal, and without high words, I disregard it as meddling, intruding & presumptuous.

However in this I rejoyce that dear George Fox, Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, Will^m Gibson L. Fell J. Claypool, Christoph. Taylor, and an hundred most honest Friends, have liked it in the present state of things, and the wise men of the World not a little admired it, and valued Friends as a discreet People upon it—But all are it seems under thy Judgment.

[Here half a page is missing, which may, however, have been designedly curtailed by W. P.]¹

To conclude, It is now in Friends hands, through my travail & faith and patience (I lett the rest alone.)

If Friends here keep to God, and in the Justice, Merety Equity and Fear of the Lord, their Enemy's will be be their Footstool. If not, their Heires, & my Heires too will loose all, and Desolation will follow. But, blessed be the Lord, we are well, and in the deare love of God, and the Fellowship of his tender Heavenly Spirit; and our Faith is for ourselves and one another that the Lord will be wit' us a King and a Counsellor forever.

¹ This remark is in the copy furnished by Mr. Fisher.

So, Jasper, desiring thou mayst act more righteously, than to smite the Innocent behind his back, and thy suffering Brother too, and that in a wrong matter and upon a false or an impossible ground, I take my leave, and rest

thy Ancient tho' grieved Friend

Chester ye 5th $\frac{12}{mo}$ 1682.

W. P.

To Mr. Robert Boyle.¹

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 5, 1683.

My worthy friend,

I could not let my agent go without a letter directed to so worthy and ingenious a friend; though I can say little, that may add to the small account I gave in another letter; only the natives, some ore, and some flowers and plants I will touch upon. I find them a people rude, to *Europeans*, in dress, gesture, and food; but of a deep natural sagacity. Say little, but what they speak is fervent and elegant; if they please, close to the point, and can be as evasive. In treaties, about land, or traffick, I find them deliberate in council, and as designing, as I have ever observed among the politest of our *Europeans*. I have bought two large tracts, and had two presented me, which cost me alike. However, in this they are happy, and even with us, they care and want for little; and if they have not had their passions raised to the same degree after the luxury of *Europe*, by like enjoyments, neither have they the anxieties that follow those pleasures. They trouble not themselves about bills of lading, or exchange; nor are they molested with chancery suits and exchequer accounts. Their rest is not disturbed for maintenance; they live by their pleasures, fowling and fishing: the sons of providence; better without tradition, unless that they have got had been better; for the *Dutch*, *English*, and *Swedes* have taught them drunkenness. Thus they are the

¹ From the Works of Robert Boyle, vol. VI., pp. 658-9, London, 1772. Communicated by Livingston Haines, Camden, N. J. This letter should be read in connection with the extracts of other letters printed on pages 234 and 235 of this Volume, regarding Penn's Treaty with the Indians, as it is additional evidence on the same subject.

worse for those they should have been the better for; and this they are not so dark as not to see, and say. So that the low dispensation of the poor *Indian* outshines the lives of those Christians, that pretend an higher.

Of ore, here are divers sorts, I have sent a little, to spend thy judgement upon, which I have delivered to my kinsman, captain *Markham*, to put into thy own hands.

Of plants, here are excellent for medicine and cure of wounds. Some chemists intend an observation upon them. But immediate cures have been wrought most certainly.

Of flowers, I may say I never saw larger, more variety, richer colours, in the curious gardens of *England*. Of these I have ordered my gardener to make a collection against the next year. I have a garden prepared by my kitchen-stuff this year, of two acres, for that and other services. Our town goes on apace; twenty houses got up since my last, I suppose. God has preserved our health, during the greatest heats and rains, the oldest inhabitant remembers. But the corn, which was plentiful, was first in; they reap about six weeks before us in *England*; I might say two months; for I saw barley cut on the third of *May* last.

I ADD no more, but if any thing from these parts may be agreeable to thee, use me freely; for of thy numerous friendships, no body is more sensible of thy worth, nor more affectionately than I am, without all reserve,

Worthy friend, thy cordial friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

PRAY give my respects to the lady Ranelagh.

LET the bearer have thy favour and advice. *Vale*.

*To Secretary Bridgeman in ye Lord Sunderland's Office,
Whitehall.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, 1st Gmo. Aug^r 83.

whilst I should excuse the liberty I take, I am under the necessity of using it, It being the only way left me, at this

¹ From the original in the State Paper Office, London, the above is the superscription of the letter.

distance, by w^{ch} to express my Just sense of thy Civilitys, w^{ch} were many before, but multieplied since I left England, as advis'd by my frd Tucker; I know not by w^t else, then a Kind Providence and thy inclination to be good to the absent; one of the worthiest, as well as most obleidgeing qualitys. I can only say, that the favours y^t are done me, tho I deserve them not, are not flung away, for tho they may meet wth more ability, they will no where meet wth more gratitude. There is a Gentleman in that office, wth whom I have no acquaintance, y^t has sent a venture, I mean, he has been freindly at a venture; pray please to give him my respects & thanks. I Congratulate your respective returns & wish you the reward & success y^t should follow Integrity & ability.

I wave to give any Narrative of thes parts of y^e world, recommending y^t Curiosity to the Bear Cap^t Markham my Kinsman, as I do him to thy favour & Councel. he goes my Agent to Court, in my poor affaires, yet Incompleat, & is fitted for it, haveing been already Deputy in the Govern^t of this Province. I do very perticularly beg thy freindship for him, few being equally able to direct his endeavours in the Court; & without skill, tis looseing time to sollicite. I perceive the Sceen is a little alter'd since my being in those parts, & a Man may miss y^e door y^t Knocks by proxy; for Courts, too often like loose grounds, are perpetually to be watcht & markt; else all endeavours save but venture. But I dare promess my selfe he will not want fair access to y^e Lord Sunderland, my ancient, & Noble freind, nor good usage in y^t office, where there is so much civility & dispatch. I have only to excuse a poor present I have sent, of Country produce, of w^{ch} I must say, as to others, y^t of old y^e heart vallued y^e offering; w^{ch} is sincerely devoted in affection & gratitude to engage me in the character of

Thy very Cordial & Thankfull friend

WM. PENN.

The Gentleman afore mentioned is — Mon stevens.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 364.)

Aug. 7, 1722.	Russell,	Mary, dau. of Thomas and Mary.
Sept. 11, 1728.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 12, 1729.	"	Sarah.
Jan. 27, 1743-4.	"	John.
Mar. 16, 1729-30.	Rutter,	Catharine, dau. of Thomas.
Feb. 5, 1733-4.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
July 3, 1734.	"	Thomas.
Nov. 18, 1735.	"	John.
July 15, 1750.	"	Thomas. [ceased.
June 23, 1751.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas, de-
Aug. 2, 1746.	Ryal,	Sarah, dau. of Samuel.
Aug. 7, 1746.	"	Mary, wife of George.
Aug. 17, 1746.	"	Jane, dau. of George.
Aug. 5, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of George.
Oct. 30, 1748.	"	David.
July 22, 1754.	"	Samuel, son of Samuel.
Mar. 29, 1729-30.	Ryall,	Isaac.
Nov. 27, 1732.	"	William.
Dec. 4, 1743.	"	Jane. Widow.
Dec. 6, 1748.	Ryan,	Martha.
June 18, 1727.	Sage,	Edward, son of John and Jane.
April 2, 1730.	Salisbury,	Humphrey.
Nov. 27, 1727.	Salter,	Mary.
Nov. 6, 1756.	"	Elisha.
Nov. 17, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Elisha.
Nov. 25, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Elisha.
Dec. 6, 1756.	"	William.
Oct. 17, 1759.	Saltus,	Norwood. [Mercy.
Nov. 18, 1718.	Sames,	Christian, dau. of John and
Sept. 22, 1714.	Samms,	Triphian, dau. of John and Mary.
June 23, 1746.	Sample,	Rachel, wife of William.
Oct. 30, 1746.	Sanderland,	Margaret.
Nov. 13, 1730.	Sands,	Rachel, dau. of Thomas.

Jan. 31, 1747-8.	Sandwith,	Sarah.
April 20, 1736.	Sandy,	Henry. Strangers' Ground.
Dec. 27, 1726.	Sanger,	Richard.
Sept. 25, 1758.	Sant,	John.
Mar. 17, 1759.	Sants,	Sarah, dau. of John. [Tresse's.
Jan. 2, 1734-5.	Saunders,	Mr. Wilson. From Thomas
May 5, 1737.	"	Anne, wife of Bartholomew.
July 27, 1742.	"	William.
Dec. 20, 1744.	"	John, son of John.
Aug. 17, 1746.	"	Anne. Widow.
Aug. 19, 1747.	"	Leah, wife of John.
Dec. 30, 1748.	"	Margaret, dau. of John.
July 29, 1759.	Saunderson,	William, son of Christopher.
July 18, 1752.	Savage,	Joseph, son of Joseph.
Aug. 13, 1757.	"	—— son of Joseph.
Oct. 12, 1759.	Scanlan,	Sarah, dau. of Luke.
Dec. 3, 1745.	Scantling,	Elizabeth, wife of Cornelius.
Dec. 23, 1740.	Scarfe,	Anne, wife of Timothy.
Sept. 14, 1749.	Scarth,	Timothy.
Mar. 31, 1755.	"	Timothy. [Henry.
Nov. 10, 1741.	Schleydorn,	George Nicholas, son of
July 31, 1751.	Schofield,	Thomas, son of George.
Aug. 10, 1751.	"	John, son of George.
Sept. 26, 1745.	Schogin,	Catharine, dau. of John.
Nov. 9, 1747.	"	John.
Dec. 29, 1747.	"	John, son of Marian. Widow.
Jan. 25, 1736-7.	Scholar,	Peter, son of David.
Jan. 25, 1736-7.	"	David, son of David.
Aug. 5, 1742.	Schollar,	Mary, dau. of David.
Jan. 15, 1754.	Scholler,	Mary, dau. of William.
Feb. 9, 1744-5.	Schraek,	Samuel, son of Simon.
Aug. 30, 1748.	"	Joseph, son of Simon.
Sept. 9, 1759.	Schuppen,	Benjamin.
Aug. 5, 1711.	Skeen,	William, son of Robert and
June 12, 1748.	Seolier,	Mary. [Mary.
May 16, 1733.	Scot,	Robert.
June 14, 1749.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
July 3, 1750.	"	Thomas, son of John.
July 26, 1749.	Scotan,	Sarah, dau. of Samuel.
Nov. 24, 1729.	Scott,	Rebecca.
Feb. 22, 1729-30.	"	William.
Oct. 13, 1735.	"	Rebecca, wife of Richard.
Oct. 5, 1737.	"	Anthony.
Mar. 3, 1740-1.	"	Thomas.
Mar. 29, 1756.	"	Thomas.
July 12, 1752.	Scotten,	Sarah, dau. of Samuel.

Mar. 13, 1740-1.	Scull,	Rebecca, dau. of Joseph.
Mar. 14, 1742-3.	"	Mary, wife of Joseph.
Mar. 15, 1742-3.	"	Deborah, dau. of Joseph.
Aug. 4, 1747.	"	Nicholas, son of Edward.
June 9, 1748.	"	Deborah, wife of Joseph.
April 5, 1752.	"	Nicholas, son of Joseph.
Oct. 9, 1729.	Seal,	Eleanor.
Nov. 17, 1729.	"	John, son of Joseph.
Feb. 1, 1745-6.	Sealey,	Isaac.
Sept. 27, 1747.	Searle,	Sarah, wife of John.
Oct. 18, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
June 11, 1748.	"	Anne, wife of Capt. John.
Oct. 1, 1757.	"	John.
Feb. 25, 1733-4.	Sedgrave,	Mary, dau. of Maury.
Feb. 10, 1730-1.	Sedgwick,	Edward.
Feb. 4, 1750-1.	Sellers,	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
May 17, 1758.	"	——— dau. of William.
Sept. 21, 1721.	Sells,	Arthur, son of John and Ann.
Dec. 10, 1722.	"	John, son of John and Ann.
Nov. 18, 1756.	Seth,	——— dau. of James.
Feb. 17, 1729-30.	Sewel,	Hannah.
Mar. 9, 1730-1.	"	Richard, son of Richard.
April 12, 1752.	"	Henrietta, wife of Richard.
Oct. 4, 1744.	Sewell,	Thomas, son of Richard.
Feb. 12, 1713-4.	Sewers,	John, son of John and Mary.
Dec. 14, 1735.	"	John.
June 8, 1754.	Seymore,	Andrew.
Aug. 19, 1735.	Shackleton,	William, son of William.
April 1, 1739.	"	William, son of William.
Oct. 19, 1756.	"	——— wife of William.
July 29, 1733.	Shaddock,	Isaac, son of Isaac.
Aug. 21, 1734.	"	Isaac.
Jan. 15, 1728-9.	Shakelton,	Sarah, dau. of William.
April 1, 1717.	Sharp,	John.
May 11, 1737.	"	Mary, dau. of Rachel.
Aug. 28, 1739.	"	Thomas, of Bristol.
July 28, 1709.	Shaw,	William.
Dec. 8, 1709.	"	Richard.
Oct. 15, 1714.	"	Middleton.
June 10, 1727.	"	Robert.
Sept. 4, 1738.	"	Marjory.
Aug. 30, 1753.	"	William.
Sept. 11, 1748.	Shea,	Elinor, wife of Edward.
Sept. 28, 1753.	Shearean,	Giles.
June 16, 1736.	Shearman,	William. [Isabella.
June 26, 1720.	Sheed,	Elisheba, dau. of George and

Aug. 5, 1721.	Sheed,	Susannah, dau. of George and Isabella.
May 30, 1747.	"	Isabella, wife of George.
June 24, 1748.	"	John.
July 22, 1756.	"	William.
Mar. 28, 1757.	"	William.
Sept. 24, 1758.	"	Sarah, dau. of William.
Sept. 7, 1718.	Sheen,	Jonathan, son of Mercy.
Dec. 16, 1718.	Sheerman,	John, son of William.
June 25, 1746.	"	Priscilla.
Jan. 22, 1719-20.	Sheffield,	Moses.
Mar. 11, 1745-6.	Shenton,	Frederick. An officer of the army in Jamaica.
Aug. 28, 1727.	Shepherd,	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert and Amy.
Sept. 26, 1726.	Shepherd,	John, son of John and Mary.
Sept. 29, 1726.	"	John, son of Edward.
Feb. 3, 1726-7.	"	Mary, wife of Edward.
Feb. 3, 1726-7.	"	Robert, son of Edward and Mary.
Aug. 15, 1757.	"	——— wife of Robert.
Mar. 21, 1726-7.	Sheppard,	Robert.
May 27, 1731.	"	Diana.
Jan. 25, 1731-2.	"	William, of Antigua.
June 29, 1759.	"	Ezekiel, son of Ezekiel.
Dec. 31, 1756.	Sheppins,	John.
July 7, 1726.	Sherbourn,	John, son of John and Mary.
June 17, 1728.	Sherburn,	Margaret, dau. of John.
Mar. 14, 1730-1.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Aug. 10, 1754.	Sherlock,	Mary, dau. of Simon.
Dec. 12, 1756.	"	——— son of Simon.
Aug. 13, 1759.	"	Thomas, son of Simon.
Sept. 27, 1731.	Sherrard,	Lawrence, son of Francis.
Mar. 10, 1728-9.	Shewart,	Faith.
April 30, 1729.	Shewers,	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
Nov. 29, 1759.	Shillingforth,	——— wife of Robert.
Dec. 19, 1759.	"	Robert, son of Robert.
Jan. 19, 1740-1.	Shillingsford,	William, son of James.
Oct. 25, 1741.	"	Sarah, dau. of James.
Oct. 25, 1743.	Shillingsworth,	Grace, dau. of James.
July 20, 1740.	Shippen,	Margaretta, dau. of Joseph.
Sept. 20, 1742.	"	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
Sept. 30, 1741.	Shockelea,	Henry.
Aug. 2, 1727.	Shores,	Mary, wife of John.
Nov. 1, 1756.	Short,	——— wife of John.
Jan. 22, 1758.	Showcraft,	James.

Oct. 22, 1733.	Shubert,	Ann, wife of John.
Sept. 30, 1745.	"	John.
Oct. 20, 1758.	Shute,	Attwood.
July 21, 1758.	Shuter,	Sarah, dau. of John.
Dec. 9, 1745.	Shuttel,	John, son of Jacob.
Aug. 9, 1747.	Shuttle,	John, son of Jacob.
Dec. 5, 1751.	Sibald,	Margaret, wife of Joseph.
June 17, 1751.	Sibbald,	David, son of John.
Sept. 14, 1758.	"	David, son of John.
Sept. 27, 1742.	Siddle,	Richard.
Oct. 27, 1710.	Sidelworth,	Evan.
July 10, 1740.	Silas,	Joseph, son of Joseph.
Feb. 4, 1750-1.	Sill,	Ann.
Nov. 17, 1754.	Simmons,	John, son of Weldon.
June 10, 1744.	Simms,	Joseph Turner, son of Joseph.
April 10, 1740.	Simons,	John, son of Weldon.
Oct. 6, 1755.	Simpson,	Barbara, dau. of Samuel.
Jan. 23, 1759.	"	—— dau. of Samuel.
Feb. 19, 1759.	"	Robert.
July 1, 1711.	Sims,	Robert.
Feb. 13, 1726-7.	"	John.
Feb. 28, 1730-1.	"	Jacob. Infant, of Maryland.
Aug. 25, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Joseph.
June 27, 1757.	"	Joseph, son of Joseph.
Sept. 14, 1753.	Simson,	Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel.
Sept. 25, 1753.	"	William, son of Samuel.
Sept. 28, 1728.	Sinclair,	Mary, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 14, 1738.	"	John.
Jan. 5, 1743-4.	"	Robert.
Sept. 27, 1751.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph.
June 24, 1752.	"	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
Aug. 5, 1743.	Sing,	Isaiah, son of Philip.
Feb. 28, 1748-9.	"	Anne, dau. of Philip.
May 4, 1758.	"	John.
Jan. 10, 1756.	Singclear,	Mary.
Feb. 13, 1756.	"	Elizabeth.
July 23, 1759.	Sitgreaves,	William, son of William.
Oct. 29, 1745.	Skarth,	Elizabeth, dau. of Timothy.
Oct. 11, 1751.	Skiuner,	John, son of Edward.
July 9, 1745.	Skofield,	Jane, dau. of John.
July 11, 1746.	"	Stephen, son of George.
April 20, 1744.	Skull,	Edward, son of Edward.
July 11, 1757.	Slack,	Francis. [Michael.
Sept. 4, 1750.	Slator,	—— son of the Rev. Mr.
April 24, 1751.	Sleigh,	Anne, dau. of Joseph.
Sept. 9, 1759.	Sleydorn,	Henry.

Oct. 6, 1738.	Slidehorn,	Henry, son of Henry.
Jan. 3, 1730-1.	Smal,	Robert. Strangers' Ground.
Jan. 1, 1759.	Small,	—— son of William.
Jan. 17, 1728-9.	Smallwood,	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
Feb. 8, 1721-2.	Smalwood,	Joseph.
Sept. 18, 1732.	"	Thomas.
Mar. 23, 1736-7.	"	Anne, dau. of Anne.
Aug. 5, 1727.	Smart,	John. [land.
Oct. 21, 1744.	"	James, son of James. Sweeds'
June 1, 1759.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Nov. 18, 1709.	Smith,	Thomas, son of John and
Aug. 14, 1711.	"	Abraham. [Elizabeth.
Aug. 15, 1711.	"	William, son of George and
		Mary.
April 25, 1717.	"	Margaret, wife of Abraham.
July 16, 1717.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Abraham
		and Margaret.
Nov. 3, 1717.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph and
Mar. 29, 1721-2.	"	John. [Elinor.
Sept. 26, 1726.	"	George, Senior.
Mar. 5, 1726-7.	"	Susannah, wife of Isaac.
Aug. 3, 1727.	"	John.
April 7, 1729.	"	Jeremiah, son of Jeremiah.
July 21, 1729.	"	Catharine, dau. of William.
Aug. 15, 1729.	"	James, son of Andrew.
Aug. 30, 1729.	"	Abraham.
Aug. 10, 1730.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Mar. 14, 1730-1.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Jeremiah.
April 18, 1731.	"	John.
Jan. 29, 1734-5.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Jeremiah.
June 28, 1735.	"	George.
Sept. 23, 1735.	"	George, son of George.
Sept. 27, 1735.	"	John, son of John.
Oct. 13, 1735.	"	Mary, wife of George.
Dec. 23, 1736.	"	Alexander, son of Edward.
July 25, 1738.	"	Ann.
Oct. 11, 1738.	"	Hannah, dau. of Edward.
Feb. 17, 1739-40.	"	Hannah, dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 30, 1739-40.	"	John.
May 6, 1740.	"	John, from Charles Moore's.
June 3, 1740.	"	Jane, dau. of William.
Aug. 5, 1740.	"	George, from Charles Moore's.
Aug. 20, 1740.	"	Mary, wife of William.
Sept. 22, 1741.	"	Rachel, dau. of Daniel.

(To be continued.)

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, 1882-3.

A stated meeting was held on the evening of March 13, 1882, the President, Mr. Wallace, in the chair.

The reading of the minutes on motion was dispensed with.

The President introduced Mr. Charles G. Leland, who read "A Memoir of the late Colonel Chapman Biddle."

Upon the conclusion of the reading, upon motion of Horatio Gates Jones, Esq., the thanks of the Society were presented to Mr. Leland for his able and interesting eulogium, and a copy was requested for the use of the Society.

The President announced that nominations of officers to be voted for at the next meeting was now in order.

Henry Flanders, Esq., renominated the following :—

President.

John William Wallace.

Vice-Presidents.

Craig Biddle,

Aubrey H. Smith.

Recording Secretary.

William Brooke Rawle.

Corresponding Secretary.

Gregory B. Keen.

Treasurer.

J. Edward Carpenter.

Members of Council to serve for four years.

Richard L. Nicholson,

Edward T. Eisenbrey,

Thomas H. Montgomery.

*Trustee of the Publication, Binding, and First Building Funds,
to serve for six years.*

Aubrey H. Smith.

These nominations were seconded, and there being no others, the nominations were closed.

The President appointed the following Tellers to conduct the Annual Election on May 1st: John P. Nicholson, Charles Roberts, F. D. Stone, R. Patterson Robins, and Spencer Bonsall, or any two of them.

A stated meeting was held on May 1, 1882, the President, Mr. Wallace, in the chair.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Secretary of the Council read the Report of that body for the year 1881.

In the absence, on account of sickness, of Mr. E. R. L. Gould, of Johns Hopkins University, his paper on "Local Self-Government in Pennsylvania" was read by the Secretary.

Dr. James J. Levick read an interesting sketch of "George Smith, M.D., the Historian of Delaware County."

Mr. F. D. Stone then read some "Extracts from a Paper lately found in the British Museum, giving Abstracts from Penn's First Letters from Pennsylvania, together with other interesting notes regarding the settlement of the province."

The thanks of the Society were voted to the several gentlemen named for preparing and reading the above papers.

The Tellers reported that the officers nominated at the last meeting had been unanimously elected.

A special meeting was held October 23, 1882, the President, Mr. Wallace, in the chair.

The President, after referring to the appropriateness of the subject of the evening's discourse in connection with the forthcoming celebration of the Bi-Centennary of the Landing of William Penn, introduced Ex-Senator William A. Wallace, of Clearfield Co., who read an address upon "The Formative Influence of Pennsylvania on Federal Institutions."

Upon the conclusion of the reading, Mr. G. DeB. Keim moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Wallace for his able and interesting address, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of it to the Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. J. R. Sypher with some very appropriate remarks, and was adopted.

A stated meeting was held on January 8, 1883, Vice-President Craig Biddle, in the chair. The reading of the minutes was, on motion, dispensed with.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. Lloyd P. Smith, who read a paper on the "History of the Library Company of Philadelphia." After expressing his satisfaction on the friendly relations existing between the Society and the Library Company, Mr. Smith sketched the history of the Library Company from the time it was founded by Dr. Franklin in 1731. He compared its wise liberality with the extremely exclusive policy pursued by the libraries in Europe. He spoke of the magnificent bequest of Dr. James Rush to the Library Company, eulogizing his character, and concluded with an appeal for funds to enable the Historical Society to purchase the Patterson Mansion at Thirteenth and Locust Streets.

On motion of Charles M. Morris, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Smith for his valuable paper.

The Hon. Robert E. Pattison, Governor-elect of Pennsylvania, was then introduced to the members by Judge Biddle. Mr. Pattison said that he felt a sense of condemnation when he remembered that he had been a member of the Society for several years, and yet had not given it the attention it deserved. There could be no question as to its benefits. In early times more attention was given to the accumulation of knowledge than to the distribution of it. Now both the accumulation and distribution of it are the aims of libraries, and while the records of the present were necessary to education, the benefits and pleasures to be derived from the histories of the past were inestimable. He spoke of the work which the Society was accomplishing through its Publication Fund and Magazine, and congratulated the members on the encouraging outlook before the institution.

On the conclusion of his remarks, an informal reception took place, the members present being personally introduced to the Governor-elect.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

IN WHAT BUILDING DID THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA SIT?—There is an old saying, "That a false statement once started on its travels, runs so fast that the truth never catches up to it." Amongst the beautiful models, in cork, made by my old friend Lloyd B. Hoppin, of the Historical Houses of Pennsylvania, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is one of the so-called building, in which it is alleged, that the first Legislative Assembly of this Province was held. Mr. Hoppin, in giving this building has but followed common tradition, but again a proverb, "Memory is an easy dupe and tradition a notorious storyteller." Mr. Hoppin must not take anything I write to himself; he has but followed the commonly received tradition, which, as a boy in Chester, I firmly believed, that the cooper-shop of Samuel Long, in the rear of his residence, built of brick, was the building in which the First Assembly of the Province was held, but it is an error of the most palpable kind, that building did not exist then, in 1682, it was the first Meeting House of Friends in Chester, and was not built until the year 1693. The proofs are indisputable.

I will first copy what I have heretofore written on this subject, from my (Martin's) *History of Chester*, pp. 66 and 67.

"On the 7th of Dec. 1682, William Penn held his first legislative Assembly at Chester, at which time the *Great Code of Laws* (containing 61 Chapters), that had been prepared in England, was passed and was ordered to be taught in the Schools of the Province and Territories. The three lower Counties of the Delaware were annexed to the Province, and the Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners naturalized. It has been universally believed, until quite recently, and is yet, by many people in Chester, that "the first General Assembly of Pennsylvania and the territories thereunto belonging," held at Chester on the 7th of Dec. 1682 (1 *Laws of Pa.* p. 1), met and held its sessions in the rear part of the old building which recently stood on the west side of Front street (now Edgemont Road), near the margin of Chester Creek, and occupied by Samuel Long for his cooper-shop. This structure was familiarly called 'The Old Assembly House,' and is alluded to and designated as such by Benjamin Ferris in his history, by the Rev. Richard D. Hall in his *Sketches of Chester*, and other writers, but it appears now that this old building was erected by Friends and was the first *Friends' Meeting House built in Chester*, and was never used for any other purpose whatever; *in fact it was not built until 1693*, and the first Assembly met in 1682, eleven years before it was erected."—See *Dr. George Smith's History of Delaware County*, p. 188, and foot-note.

No doubt the first Assembly held its sessions in the *Court House* which was then the "House of Defence" as Dr. Smith says: "It was the only public building erected in Upland at that time, of which we have any knowledge."

It may be said that these statements are mere assertions, I will substantiate them by a further reference to the *History of Chester*, p. 82, where it is stated: "The Monthly and First-day meetings of Friends at Chester, were held in the *Court House*, *i. e.*, the House of Defence, until the erection of the first meeting-house, which was completed in 1693, as has been hereinbefore shown. The lot upon which the first meeting house of Friends at

Chester was built, is thus described in a conveyance, made on the 1st of March, 1688, by Urian Keen *in trust* to John Simcock, Tho. Brassey, John Bristow, Caleb Pusey, Randal Vernon, Thomas Vernon, Joshua Hastings, Mordecai Maddock, Thomas Martin, Richard Few, Walter Faucete, and Edward Carpenter, 'beginning at a corner of said Urian's lot or garden, by the creek side, and so running sixty foot along and fronting the street towards the prison house, then down to low water-mark in Chester Creek, thence along said creek sixty foot, thence to the place of beginning, . . . to the use and behoof of the said Chester meeting of the people of God called QUAKERS and their successors, forever.'" "At a mth meeting at Walter Ffocett's y^e 5th, 10th moth 1687: ffeofees chosen in trust for y^e purchased land and meeting house at Chester,'" then follow the names above. The date of this minute is clear in the original, yet, being misplaced in the record, Thomas Chalkley in transcribing made it the 5th of 6th Mo. 1688. It would seem that there was a house on the property, when purchased, suitable for the use of a meeting.

"Mordecai Maddock, of Springfield, the last surviving trustee, conveyed this property, by direction of the meeting, to Edward Russell, of Chester borough, April 2, 1730, and in the deed therefor it is said that the Society had purchased a larger lot elsewhere and erected a new meeting house thereon."

The meeting house erected by Friends on this lot, was the rear part of the building, as I knew it in my boyhood, say about 1835, 6, 7, and 8, *it was of brick*, and could only have held 200 or 250 people. I played in and around it many a time, with Samuel Long, who still lives in Chester; he was a son of the cooper. The front part of the house, was a double-house, *built of stone*, but it was a very narrow building, not so broad as Mr. Hoppin makes it appear in his model, the windows were long or high and narrow, the rooms inside and the entry between them were quite small, the steps leading into the front door were high, there were three or four steps. The house was no doubt built by Edward Russel after he purchased the property. Watson in his *Notes on a Visit to Chester* in 1827, MS., a copy of which I have in my possession, says, "Near the preceding building was an ancient building which was shown to me *as the first Court house*, now a dwelling-house and cooper shop, and owned by John Hart." He then gives a sketch of "The Assembly Hall," which I recognize, as the residence and shop of Samuel Long, being a southern view, the view of the same building in Dr. Smith's history, facing page 188, is a northern view. The rear building was entered by a large, high, circular topped door, in the south side, and on the northern wall could be seen the outlines of a similar door, built up with stone, so that the form of the old door was very distinct.¹ Old St. Paul's Church at Chester had two similar doors, originally, one on its north, and one directly opposite on the south side, directly in the centre of the building. Boyhood's recollections are very strong, and generally reliable. Much more might be written, but enough has been suggested to show that earlier writers and Mr. Hoppin have been misled by *traditional* stories told about the old building mentioned, and which have no foundation.

May 4th, 1880.

JOHN HILL MARTIN.

"DUM CLAVUM TENEAM."—The motto in the Penn arms appears to have been borrowed from a passage in Quintilian, which shows that the words

¹ In the view in Dr. Smith's History the northern door looks like the remains of an oven or a fire-place. this is caused, I think, by the filling in of ground around the back part of the house. The inscription to the model ought to be "The first meeting house of Friends at Chester, erected in 1693."

dum clavum rectum teneam were proverbially used by the Romans, when they wanted to say: Let us do our duty, whatever the result may be. Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria*, ii. 17) argues that oratory is an art, and the speaker should be judged by his faithful observance of the principles of that art, not by success merely. By way of illustration he adds: *Nam et gubernator vult salva nave in portum pervenire, si tamen tempestate fuerit abreptus, non idem minus erit gubernator dicetque notum illud: Dum clavum rectum teneam.* (For the pilot, also, wants to reach the harbor with his ship safe, but when storms drive him off, he is none the less a pilot, and will quote the well-known adage: "If only I hold the tiller right.") The words mean then, that correct and faithful performance of duty is the standard by which men should be judged, not success, that may be given or thwarted by fortuitous circumstances.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the beauty and fitness of the motto, whether used by the Admiral who has command of a fleet, or the Statesman who watches at the helm of the Commonwealth. O. S.

EXECUTION BY BURNING.—TOWNSEND WARD, Esq., Dear Sir: In 1873-4, I corresponded with you concerning an execution by burning in South Carolina.

I am informed from Massachusetts that Increase Mather mentions the execution of a woman in Roxbury by burning in 1681.

Also, I learned that in 1749, Phillis, a slave of Capt. John Codman, who had helped to poison her master in Charlestown, was legally burned in Cambridge, Mass.

Cornelius Van Horne, of Meadville, born in 1750, had an uncle killed in New Jersey by a slave. The slave was legally burned; whether before or after 1750 I do not know.

Stroud, in his *Slave Laws*, mentions a woman burned in Charleston, S. C., in 1820.¹

I recollect burning of a slave in South Carolina, somewhere, I think, between 1830 and 1838.

An intelligent colored man of Meadville, born in 1826 or 1827, tells me that in his boyhood his grandmother attended such an execution, and that the person executed (a white man, he thinks) asked to have oil put on the faggots.

I am told from Massachusetts, that the executions there were under the English common law, which made murder of a master by his servant a crime of "petty treason."

Would it not be worth while for some member or members of your Historical Society to ascertain whether any such execution has ever occurred in Pennsylvania, and also whether such executions in different States were the result of American or of English law? In South Carolina, I believe that three magistrates could determine the form of punishment. Yours truly,

MEADVILLE, Pa., Feb. 13, 1883.

F. HUIDEKOPER.

CHRIST CHURCH PARSONAGE.—Since Mr. Ward, in his *Walks on North Second Street*, recorded the tradition (*PENNA. MAGAZINE*, iv. 171) that the Parsonage was in the rear of Second Street, investigation has brought to light certain data which establish its location on Second Street at the north corner of what we now know as Lagrange Street. An original survey of 12 April, 1784, found among the church papers, leads to this conclusion. The lot was 34 feet on Second Street, extending in depth 303 feet. The

¹ Judge Stroud was unable to find his authority for this statement.—T. W.

first reference to the Parsonage Lot we find on 18 June, 1707, in a Deed for property on the north, which is described as bounded on the south by the Parsonage Land; and in a deed of 12 December, 1713, the same is bounded "South with the Parsonage House . . . saving and excepting two feet whereon the said parsonage school-house stands or hangs over." By this latter we can approximate the date of the erection of the Parsonage, and the School House doubtless was contemporary. Both buildings overlapped the northern line of the lot by two feet, or thereabouts, and the survey above referred to in showing this enables us to identify the precise location of each. The Parsonage fronted on Second Street, its north wall being about five and a half feet north of the south line of the present No. 44 North Second Street, and, as shown by the overlapping lines in the survey of 1784, was about thirty-five feet in depth. There must have been a passage way left between the Parsonage and the south line for an entrance to the school building and the rear lot. The school-house appears to have been about eighty-six feet west from Second Street, and was forty-four feet deep, by about the same width as the Parsonage. I believe we can identify a part of the wall of this school, incorporated in one of the modern buildings we now find on the north side of Lagrange Street. The building "at the northwest corner of Ledger Place running South, and Hartung's Alley [Lagrange Street]," which tradition says embraces the original walls of the Parsonage, was built there by John Fromberger after his purchase of the Parsonage property in 1791, and is called in the agreement of 12 June, 1794, "John Fromberger's Messuage;" it now forms a part of the Boneblack house of the Sugar Refinery of Messrs. McKean, Borie & Co.

The first occupant of the Parsonage was Dr. Evan Evans, the second minister of the parish; but he eventually rented it to Mr. George McCall, who resided in it some years. By 2 May, 1718, his connection with the church appears to have ended, for the vestry on that day order "notice to Mr. George McCall, tenant of the parsonage house, that his rent from this date is to be paid into their hands for the use of the church during the vacancy." Dr. Dorr says in his *History of Christ Church*, p. 281, that Dr. Evans moved to Maryland and there died, but the church books show he died in Philadelphia, 10 October, 1721, and was buried 12 October, doubtless within the church building. The Rev. Archibald Cummins, Rev. Dr. Jenney, and Rev. Dr. Peters occupied the Parsonage, the two former dying here. Dr. Peters resigned in September, 1775, from the infirmities of age, and whether he remained here until his death on 10 July following, I know not, although this is probable, for Mr. Duché, his successor, was then residing in his house at Third and Pine Streets, and would be in no haste to occupy it. On Dr. White's election, in 1779, he remained in his residence at Front and Pine streets until his removal to his new house on Walnut Street in 1788. Thus Dr. Peters was the last official occupant; and, finally, on 17 August, 1791, the vestry sold the entire lot with its buildings on a lease for ninety-nine years to John Fromberger. On 12 June, 1794, Fromberger and his neighbors on the south agreed to lay out a public alley, he granting three and a half feet for the depth of fifty-six feet, then widening to five feet, this narrower portion doubtless representing the passage way above referred to on the south of the Parsonage. This has been variously termed Fromberger's Alley, Hartung's Alley, and now Lagrange Street. On 13 June, 1810, Jacob Ridgway bought this property from Fromberger's estate, and proceeded to erect on it, and the adjoining property to the north, the buildings we now know on the west side of Second Street, and those on the north side of Lagrange Street, in one of which latter may be traced the wall of the old school house. Of the Parsonage no vestige remains. T. H. M.

WASHINGTONIANA. No. I.—When George was about six years old he was made the wealthy master of a hatchet, of which, like most boys, he was immoderately fond, and was going about chopping everything that came in his way. One day, in the garden, where he often amused himself hacking his mother's pea-sticks, he unluckily tried the edge of his hatchet on the body of a beautiful young English cherry-tree, which he barked so terribly that I don't believe the tree ever got the better of it. The next morning the old gentleman finding out what had befallen the tree, which, by the by, was a great favorite, came into the house, and, with much warmth, asked for the mischievous author, declaring, at the same time, that he would not have taken five guineas for his tree. Nobody could tell him anything about it. Presently George and his hatchet made their appearance. "George," said his father, "do you know who killed that beautiful little cherry-tree yonder in the garden?"

This was a tough question, and George staggered under it for a moment; but quickly recovered himself, and looking at his father with the sweet face of youth brightened with the inexpressible charm of all-conquering truth, he bravely cried out:—

"I can't tell a lie, Pa; you know I can't tell a lie, Pa. I did cut it with my hatchet."—WEEMS'S *Life of Washington*.

No. II.—"Skenesborough is most dreadfully infested with mosquitoes. . . . These insects were of a much larger size than any I ever saw elsewhere, and their bite was uncommonly venomous. General Washington told me that he never was so much annoyed by mosquitoes in any part of America as in Skenesborough, for that they used to bite through the thickest boot."—*Travels through the States of North America, &c.*, 1795, 1796, 1797, by ISAAC WELD, Jr. P.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.—A series of papers bearing this title is being issued from Johns Hopkins University under the editorship of Prof. Herbert B. Adams. The idea of this series is to bring together, in numbered monographs, kindred contributions to Historical and Political Science, so that individual effort may gain strength by combination, and become more useful as well as more accessible to students. The titles of some of the papers already printed or promised will show the scope and character of the undertaking. From a list of nineteen we take the following: The Germanic Origin of New England Towns; Local Government in Illinois; Local Government in Pennsylvania; Saxon Tithing-men in America; Norman Constables in America; Village Communities in America; Origin and Development of the Municipal Government of New York City; Administration of Berlin compared with New York; French and English Institutions in Wisconsin; Old Maryland Manors; Indian and French Towns in Ohio; and History of Free Schools of Maryland.

With Mr. Gould's paper on Local Government in Pennsylvania the readers of this Magazine are already familiar. The first two papers of the series are before us. Number one is An Introduction to American Institutional History by Professor Edward A. Freeman, with an introduction by the editor, giving an account of Dr. Freeman's visit to Baltimore, and supplemented with his Impressions of America, from the Fortnightly Review. Dr. Freeman's short paper treats of the reproduction of European Institutions in America.

No. II. The Germanic Origin of New England Towns, was read by Prof. Herbert B. Adams, before the Harvard Historical Society, May 9, 1881.

The title of this so clearly indicates the character of the treatise that little additional can be added within the prescribed space of a note. Accepting the conclusions of Green, Freeman, and Stubbs, that the origin of English

institutions must be sought in Germany, Professor Adams points out the similarity which exists between the town and village life of New and Old England and that of the village community system of the ancient Germans.

The number also contains an interesting paper on Co-operation in University work.

HISTORY OF MINNESOTA: FROM THE EARLIEST FRENCH EXPLORATIONS TO THE PRESENT TIME. By the Rev. Edward Duffield Neill. Fourth Edition. Revised and enlarged. 8vo. 927 pp. Minnesota Historical Society, Minneapolis, 1882. No better proof is needed of the excellence of this work than the fact that a fourth edition has been called for. Since it first appeared in 1858 it has grown from 628 pages to its present proportions. In the preparation of this last edition material has been used which was not accessible when the earlier ones were published. In it a chapter will be found on "the published and unpublished maps of the region west of Lake Superior; additional notices of Groselliers and Radisson, the first white men to visit the Sioux; a memoir of Dr. Luth; a careful examination of the writings of Hennepin; additional notices of Perrot and Pierre Le Sueur, the explorer of the St. Pierre, now Minnesota River; and abstract of La Hontan's fabulous voyage in midwinter, upon a so-called Long River; an extended account of Fort Beauharnois on the shores of Lake Pepin; the explorations of the Verandries; a sketch of David Thompson, the geographer and astronomer of the North-West Company; large extracts from the manuscript of Alexander Henry, one of the first English traders in the valley of the Red River of the North; and a history of Fort Snelling."

OBLIGATION OF JACOB SVENSON AND JOHN MANNING NOT TO CARRY TO THE DUTCH OR ENGLISH PROVISIONS PURCHASED IN NEW ENGLAND FOR THE SWEDES IN 1653.—[The great rarity of documents relating to New Sweden on this side of the Atlantic lends peculiar value to this paper, the original of which is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Svenson came to America with Governor Printz, was a soldier at Elfsborg in 1644, and a gunner at Christina in 1648, and in 1658 an ensign. (See the MAGAZINE, vol. iii. p. 410.) He was very useful in procuring supplies for the Swedes on the Delaware, and was again sent to New England for that purpose by Governor Rising in the summer of 1654.]

Bee it Knowne unto all men by theis presents that wee Jacob Swanson Agent for the Sweeds Gov'no^r of Deleware Bay and John Maning of Boston in Newe England m^{ch}ant are holden & firmly bound unto Richard Russell treasurer of ye Massachusetts in ye some of Two hundred pounds to be paid unto ye said Richard Russell or his successors for ye use of ye said Collonie of ye Massachusetts To w^{ch} true payment well & faithfully to be made Wee binde us & either of us our & either of our heires executo^{rs} administrato^{rs} & assigns firmly by theis prests Sealed wth our seales Dated ye 2^d of August Ano Dni 1653.

The Condicon of this Obligacon is such that if ye above bounden Jacob Swanson his agent or assigne shall not nor will carry any of ye prvisions expressed in theis lycence directly or indirectly to either Dutch or French inhabiting in theis partes of america, but doe well & truly stand to obey and prforme the Order of ye Generall Court in that Case provided That then this obligacon to be void or els to stand & bee in full force & vertue.

Sealed & delivred in ye presence of

EDWARD RAWSON

JACOB SUENSSONN

J^a. KITCHCOCKE [Hitchcocke ?]

JOHN MANNING

Endorsed: Jacob Swanson &

August

Jⁿ Manning

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HISTORY OF AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA. By J. Lewis Peyton. 8vo. 385 pp., etc. etc. Staunton, Va., 1882.—The territory now confined within the boundaries of Augusta County, Virginia, was not visited by white men until 1716, and remained uncolonized till 1732. Originally extending "westward to the utmost limits of Virginia," the history of the county might be traced from the time when the Mississippi Valley was first visited by the French. The book before us treats sparingly of this early period, and deals chiefly with events that have occurred since 1732. It is unconventional in arrangement, but a sufficiently strict chronological order has been preserved to give a clear and intelligible understanding to the whole. The history of the settlement of the country is excellent, and mention is made of the Indians, Braddock's expedition, Walpole's Grant, or Connolly's Lord Dunmore's war, the part taken by Augusta County during the Rebellion, and other subjects of far more than local interest. The style is natural and entertaining, and any one interested in American history will be tempted to turn over its pages long after the information he is in quest of has been discovered. To the citizens of Augusta County the book must prove an acceptable one, and to those of Pennsylvania it possesses more than a general interest. Many of the first emigrants to the county were of Scotch-Irish origin, that strong and energetic race which furnished a large portion of the families that settled the interior of Pennsylvania, and a number of the Augusta County pioneers moved directly there from our own State. The book can be had of Hunter & Co., Staunton, Va. The price is \$3.50.

COLLECTION OF VARIOUS PIECES CONCERNING PENNSYLVANIA, and A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF PENNSYLVANIA.—In our last number we printed the translation of a portion of a little volume issued at the Hague in 1684, entitled *Recueil de Diverses pieces Concernant Pensylvanie*. We did not print the first paper in the "Collection," as it seemed to be an abridgment of "Some Account of Pennsylvania" (printed in *Hazard's Annals*, p. 505), and ventured the opinion that possibly it was a reprint of "A Brief Account of Pennsylvania," mentioned in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books as having been published by Penn in 1682. We have lately received from Joseph Smith a transcript of "A Brief Account," and find not only that our supposition was correct, but that all printed on pages 313 to 318 inclusive, with the exception of the last paragraph of twelve lines on page 318, is from the same publication. In place of the paragraph mentioned, the following is given in the form of a Postscript, and closes the tract:—

Whoever are desirous to be concern'd in this Province, they may be treated with, and further satisfied, at Philip Fords in Bow-lane in Cheapside, and at Thomas Rudyards, or Benjamin Clarks, in George-yard in Lombard street, London, where the Mapps of Pennsilvania are likewise to be sold. As also the Description belonging to the Mapps; and likewise the Articles Settlement and Offices of the Free Society of Traders in Pennsilvania agreed upon by divers Merchants and others for the better Improvement and Government of Trade in the Province.

The question now arises, what map is here spoken of? The pamphlet from which the above postscript is taken was printed in 1682. Neither the Holme's map, nor his plan of the city of Philadelphia, which accompanies Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders, issued in 1683, could have been published so early, and it is possible that the map of 1682, and the description belonging to it, have escaped the notice of writers on Pennsylvania history. If such is the case, and they should be known to any of our readers, we will be greatly indebted to them if they will send some description of these interesting publications to the MAGAZINE, or will inform us where the originals can be found. It is possible that in speaking of the description

belonging to the map, allusion may have been made to *Some Account of Pennsylvania* published in 1681 (see *Hazard's Annals*, p. 505).

In connection with this subject it may be as well to note the difference that exists in the two tracts, of which Smith gives the titles as follows:—

A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania lately Granted by the KING under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, and his Heirs and Assigns.

London, Printed for Benjamin Clark in George-Yard in Lombard-street, Bookseller, 1682.

A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn &c.

The former is a 4to. of 8 leaves, or 14 pages, the title-leaf having no pagination. A variety of type is used in it, such as large and small capitals, Italics, Roman and black letters. The latter is a single folio leaf, containing two closely-printed pages of small type, with no variation but Italic. It has no title-page, but a heading as given above. Penn speaks of it as an "abbreviated account of the former Relation," and there is little in it that will not be found in the 4to. tract.

F. D. S.

NOTES FOR A HISTORY OF STEAM NAVIGATION, by Rear-Admiral G. H. Preble, U. S. N.—Admiral Preble has reprinted, for the use of a few personal friends and certain literary societies, an edition of twenty-five copies of his interesting notes on Steam Navigation, published in the *United Service Magazine*. A revised edition under the title of a *Chronological History of the Origin and Development of Steam Navigation, 1543–1882*, has been issued by the publishers of the *Magazine*, and is on sale.

A SMALLER HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Josiah W. Leeds, Author of *History of the United States*. 12mo. 305 pp. Phila. 1882.—This work, like the large one by the same author, is written from the standpoint that there are other things in the history of a country worthy of remembrance than wars and battles, and that too much space is generally given to those subjects. In writing thus "he does not wish to be misunderstood as in anywise depreciating the spirit of self-sacrifice, which so largely animated many who were willing to give up their lives for their country," but only desires to give to the record of each event the space its relative importance demands. This book is more elementary in character than its predecessor, and is designed for use in schools and for home study. It will nevertheless be found useful in any library, as it contains in compact form a number of facts not easily attainable.

THE PROPRIETARY TOWNS OF WEST NEW JERSEY is the title of a paper read before the Surveyors' Association of West New Jersey, August 8th, 1882, by John Clement. It furnishes an interesting chapter in the early history of West Jersey, in which the reader will find ably discussed the causes of the slow progress made in the settlement of that country, in comparison with Pennsylvania.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN POTTSTOWN, PA. A discourse delivered Sept. 24, 1882, at the Decennial Commemoration of the Consecration of Emmanuel Lutheran Church, by B. M. Schmucker, D.D. 8vo. pp. 48. Pottstown, 1882.—This discourse, delivered on the one-hundred-and-tenth anniversary of the establishment of the church, presents its history in an interesting form down to the present time. In it biographical sketches of the pastors of the congregation will be found from John Ludewig Voigt to the Rev. Abraham H. Groh, who died in 1866.

HISTORY AND CAUSES OF THE INCORRECT LATITUDES as recorded in the journals of the early writers, navigators, and explorers, relating to the Atlantic Coast of North America, 1535-1740.—The Rev. Edmund F. Slafter has privately printed a small edition of a pamphlet with the above title, the substance of which appeared in the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register* for April. In it the Reverend author calls attention to the fact, that through the excellent charts emanating from the office of the United States Coast Survey, and from the Admiralty office of England, we have the means of determining the correct latitude of many places mentioned by our early navigators and explorers. In comparing a number of statements made by these writers he finds variations to exist in every case examined, and that they follow no uniform rule. This Dr. Slafter attributes to the crudeness of the instruments then in use rather than to the principles on which latitudes were determined. He also describes the instruments used by early explorers of America, and arrives at the following conclusions:—

I. The early latitudes are generally trustworthy to within a single degree.

II. The *minutes* of fractions of degrees, as set down by writers anterior to the middle of the eighteenth century, are never to be relied upon, and are never correct except by accident.

III. The annotation of the learned commentators upon the latitudes recorded in the journals of our early navigators and explorers, in all cases in which they attempt to identify places, within the limit of one degree, by the latitude alone, cannot properly be cited as authority.

PENNSYLVANIA BI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT MOUND SANTA BARBARA, Cal., 1882. 8vo. pp. 10. Santa Barbara, Cal.—On the 25th of October last two hundred and fifty citizens of Santa Barbara responded to the invitation to celebrate the Bi-centennial Anniversary of the landing of Penn. The place selected for the gathering is called Burton's Mound. It is a mound of several acres in extent situated on the sea-shore. The committee of arrangements consisted of Horace J. Smith, Dr. S. B. P. Knox, A. Hayman, J. K. Fisher, Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Ellwood Cooper, Mrs. J. E. Richardson, and Mrs. Hugh D. Vail. The opening speech was made by Horace J. Smith, a telegram prepared by the committee to be sent to Mayor King was read, and a suitable address was delivered by Judge Fernald, Mayor of Santa Barbara.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF HON. C. C. WASHBURN. 8vo. pp. 41.—We have received, from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the published addresses delivered on the life and character of Gov. Cadwallader C. Washburn, at its meeting July 25, 1882. Addresses were made by Gen. David Atwood, Hon. Harlow S. Orton, Prof. J. B. Parkinson, Prof. J. D. Buller, Prof. Edward S. Holden, Prof. O. M. Conover, and Mortimer M. Jackson. A letter from Ex-Gov. Wm. B. Washburn, of Massachusetts, was read by Secretary Draper.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN EDWARDS COUNTY, ILLINOIS. By George Flower, with preface and foot-notes by E. B. Washburne. 8vo. pp. 402. Chicago, 1882.—This work forms the first volume of the Chicago Historical Society's Collections, and if its excellence augurs for what is to come, no society in the country will have greater reason to feel proud of its work, or will have contributed more valuable material to the history of the United States than that of Chicago. It is a life-like picture of the experiences of a western settler. Nothing equal to it that we are aware of has been preserved, and so radically different are the circumstances under which western emigration is now accomplished, that present adventurers will furnish a different story.

George Flower, the author of the book, was an Englishman of education and means, who, with Morris Birkbeck, in 1817, took up a tract of land on an Illinois prairie, and founded an English settlement. The towns Wau-borough and Albion were soon established, and numerous families from England flocked to the settlement. We could fill pages with lively extracts from the volume before us, detailing the experiences of these immigrants, the hardships and rewards which were their portion. But for these and much more of interest we must refer the reader to the book itself. Not only did the English settlement furnish a numerous and useful class of citizens to Illinois, but it was largely through their efforts that the proposition to hold a convention to alter the constitution of the State and sanction slavery was defeated. It is sad to think that one so enterprising and public-spirited as Mr. Flower, one to whom the happiness of so many is due, should have failed to reap the reward that was his. Through financial embarrassment was lost what would have proved a handsome competence had he thought more of himself and less of others, and the latter part of his life was passed in poverty. It was then that the volume which Mr. Washburne has so ably edited was written. The society of Chicago have been enabled to publish the work through the generosity of Mr. L. Z. Leiter, of Chicago, to whom readers and students cannot but feel indebted.

CORRECTIONS IN "THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN."—Vol. IV., p. 346, line 13, for "National" read Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*, line 15, after "£2000," read: and one of the first subscribers to the Bank of North America.

Vol. V., p. 97, line 4, omit "(Robinson)," and on "Rebecca Barclay" add this footnote: Daughter of Peter Evans, Sheriff of Philadelphia, by his wife Mary, daughter of John Moore, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, ancestor of Charles Smith and John Cadwalader, who married descendants of Jöran Kyn. *Ibid.*, p. 461, add to first footnote: A "plan for a reorganization of the Continental Army," by General Gist, is printed from the original manuscript in *The Historical Magazine*, second series, vol. iii., pp. 270 *et seq.* (Morrisania, N. Y., 1868).

Vol. VI., p. 107, line 3 from foot, omit "and," and next line, after "M.D.," add: and his great-great-granddaughter Phœbe Warren Ingersoll. *Ibid.*, p. 108, line 4, after "was," add: an original member of the Library Company of Philadelphia. *Ibid.*, p. 329, line 15 from the foot, on "1765," add this footnote: Mr. Swift's name appears with those of a committee of merchants of Philadelphia, who acknowledged a vote of thanks for their patriotic conduct, passed by the Assembly of New Jersey. (See "Interest-ing Correspondence," in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. iv. p. 198.)

G. B. K.

MEMOIR OF DR. GEORGE SMITH—CORRECTIONS.—In the brief Memoir of Dr. George Smith, of Delaware County, PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. VI., p. 184, it is stated that the catalogue of plants given in the History of Delaware County is "all from Dr. Smith's pen." This is slightly inaccurate. Dr. Smith, in his history states that the *flora* of Delaware County agrees so nearly with that of Chester County as given by Dr. Darlington in his *Flora Cestricea*, that it is unnecessary to name it in full. He confines himself to a catalogue of the flowering plants and some of the higher order of cryptogamous or flowerless plants. "In arranging this catalogue, Gray's *Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States* has been substantially followed. To Dr. Thomas P. James, of Philadelphia, I am indebted for that part of the catalogue which includes the mosses."

In the same Memoir, on page 185, for *Margaret read Isatt*, and for *Ilminston read Ilmiston*. Dr. Smith died March 10, 1882. J. J. L.

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL.—[Joseph Smith, of London, the well-known dealer in Quaker literature, to whose indefatigable labors and acumen we are indebted for the excellent catalogue of Friends' Books which bears his name, has printed the following note on Fox's Journal that will we think interest many of our readers.—ED. OF MAG.]

Joseph Wyeth¹ (the editor of Thomas Ellwood's Life) says, respecting the above work, "Our dear friend, *George Fox*, dying in the eleventh month, 1690, and leaving behind him an excellent *Journal* of his *Travels* and *Sufferings*, our friend *Thos. Ellwood* (as nobody fitter) about this time was at the pains of transcribing it and fitting it for the press (a laborious work), which was printed in a large folio, in 1694.

And the following Friends were appointed by G. Fox, and the *Yearly Meeting* of 1691, to consider of a method for the printing his *Books, Papers, Epistles*, and *Manuscripts*, viz. :—

John Blaykling,	George Whitehead,	Thomas Lower,
Thomas Docwra,	Stephen Crisp,	Thomas Ellwood,
William Mead,	John Whitehead,	John Field." ²
John Rouse,	Thomas Robertson,	
John Vaughton,	Benjamin Antrobus,	

On this appointment *Francis Bugg* observes (see his "Seasonable Ca-véat," &c., 1701), "You see what persons *G. Fox* reposed his trust in to print his *Books, Papers*, and *Manuscripts*. I know some of them well, and I suppose the rest are like them, or else they left the work to them, for there is not one book of Fox's that I can find that is printed as it was writ, nor do I think there is four lines of *G. Fox's* Manuscript, called his *Journal*, printed as wrote by him."

Thomas Ellwood being now chosen out of the above named committee as editor of the journal, and the labour devolving chiefly on him, I suppose he began to find it rather irksome and his colleagues troublesome and impatient, as appears from the following letter written to John Feild, 16th of the Second month, 1693, which caused him to bring it out in a slovenly manner, as Joseph Phipps says this first edition was issued from the press. "I wish I could have dispatched it with more expedition, but can assure Friends and thee I have not neglected it, nor been lazy at it. . . . As to hastening it to the press, Friends may do as they please; but if I may take leave to offer my advice I think it were well that the whole were deliberately and carefully read over again before it be committed to the press, that nothing may be omitted fit to be inserted, nor any thing inserted fit to be left out."

However slovenly it is said to have been done, Friends reprinted it, in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1709, and *Joseph Bevan Braithwaite* says, this second edition "is the only genuine edition besides the first. The third having been *corrected*, and this led to the deprecation of subsequent editions."

I must be allowed to differ from our friend; my belief is that the only genuine reprint is the edition printed in Philadelphia in 1831, forming the first and second volumes of his works, which says on the title-page "corrected by the first edition;" at any rate this last contains the account of the Justice biting his Maid, which the former does not. See a note concerning this case in my catalogue, vol. 1.

I now come to the third edition, which was published in London, in 1765, and is stated, on its title-page, to be "the third edition *corrected*." It was prepared and issued with the sanction of London *Yearly Meeting*, and was revised and edited by *Joseph Phipps*, of Norwich, a valuable member of

¹ Author also of "A Switch for the Snake in the Grass," and other works.

² Author of "Piety Promoted," and other works.

that body, and author of many works. For which see my Catalogue of Friends' Books, vol. 2.

In a Letter to *James Pemberton*, of Philadelphia, dated London, 3rd month 1st, 1764, *Joseph Phipps* writes, "I expect *G. Fox's Journal* will be put into the press soon after our next Yearly Meeting. I have it under correction at present, and find a necessity for the sake of *clearness and propriety to expunge many thousands of useless words*, as well as *to correct the periods and pointing*; many of which are *false and injurious* to the *apostolic author* and his work. I am astonished to think so noble a piece should ever be suffered to issue from the press in *such a slovenly manner*. Nothing but the excellency of the matter and spirit of it could have supported it with reputation. I shall endeavour to render this impression less liable to objection and easier to the reader, *if the Yearly Meeting approve my labour*."

Queries.

WEST'S AUTO-MINIATURE.—In the Catalogue of the sixth exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts, 1817, is the following: "Miniature of Mr. West, painted by himself, in the 18th year of his age."

This picture, the property of C—, Esq., of Philadelphia, was shown to Mr. West in January, 1816. The dialogue between himself and his visitors on the occasion is characteristic of the painter, and of sufficient interest to deserve insertion.

Mr. O. opened the object of our visit by saying that some years ago he had waited on Mr. W. with the picture of a Great Man,¹ an American, and had now the pleasure of showing him the picture of another great man, also an American; at the same time presenting the miniature. He looked at it earnestly. "This is a curiosity. Where did this picture come from, sir?" I replied, from Philadelphia. "This is, indeed, a very great curiosity! This, sir, was done for me, and by me. Who does it belong to?" I said, "To myself; you gave it, sir, to a Miss Steele, who married a Mr. W., and was the mother of my wife." "Yes, sir, and well I remember it; 'tis now sixty years ago; and there is something more about it that, may be, you don't know. We were very much in love with one another, sir, and the old lady, her mother, whose memory I honor, didn't like my intended profession, and she knew, too, there was such a place as Swedes Church, where people sometimes got married. There again," looking earnestly at the picture, "this I did, and gave her previous to my going to New York, whither I was sent for to paint some portraits. Now this is not a bad picture for one who had never seen a miniature!"

He continued some time musing on the picture, frequently exclaiming, "This is, indeed, a very great curiosity!" Altering its position to different shades of light, at length, "Walk with me into my picture gallery," said he, "I will send for my son and daughter; I should like to show them this picture, it will gratify them." We followed him; he still kept his eyes fixed on the miniature. Mr. C., adverting to it, observed there was no collar to the coat, and said something about the dress of a Quaker. "Sir," said Mr. W., "I was once a Quaker, and have never left the principle. I was once present by the king's desire when seven bishops waited on him. The Quakers were mentioned. *The king said, 'I was born to fill the station,*

¹ George Washington.

and am head both of Church and State. I remain in the line of my duty. But had I been left to my own free choice, I should have been a Quaker myself."

We returned to the parlor, where were Mr. W.'s son and daughter and a lad about thirteen, as we supposed, his grandson. He showed them the miniature, and recounted its history. His son, after listening to him and looking at it closely, exclaimed: "Is this picture to go back, sir?" "It is the property of this gentleman," said Mr. W. He remarked that he could see the likeness of the lad in it, and continued at intervals, while we stayed with him, to look at it with undiminished attention.

Speaking of Mr. Leslie, he said: "That young man will be a great painter; he astonishes us all at the Academy! How is it that there is more intellect in Americans than there is in our people? I perceive it in most of those who come to me."

He gave us a history of his "Christ Healing the Sick." Said he had painted a better picture than that for the Pennsylvania Hospital; that he had given instructions for a room to be built there for its exhibition; that one person had offered him 7000*l.* for it, and the profits of the first year's exhibition; another had offered 10,000*l.* for it; that if the managers could build *such* a room, he could present them with two other pictures. "I do not say what those pictures shall be; but, sir, I authorize you on this condition to promise them two more pictures."

He pressed us to visit his painting of "Christ Rejected," and having presented me with a ticket for myself and friends, returned the miniature, particularly requesting that I would have engraved on the back of it that it was painted in 1756, by himself.

"C., Esq.," spoken of in this extract, was either John Cook or William Wallace Cook, his son. They both died about 1845-6, the son surviving the father but a few months. Their effects were, within a year, sold at auction by M. Thomas & Son. I have seen the advertisement, which mentions a miniature of West by himself among the articles to be sold. Who purchased that interesting picture? Where is it now?

THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

DR. ANDREW ROSS.—Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE furnish information concerning Dr. Andrew Ross? He was a friend of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. March 12th, 1784, Dr. Franklin wrote from Passy, France, a letter to a gentleman in America, introducing Dr. Ross in very complimentary terms, saying he had been strongly recommended to him by persons of distinction in England.

A letter from Dr. Rush to John Lukens, Surveyor-General, refers to Dr. Ross likewise in complimentary terms, and adds, that "Dr. Ross intends settling in Sunbury, Pa."

If he came to Sunbury, he could not long have remained there. Is it known where he settled? when? and from what part of England he removed to America?

H. P. B.

Elizabeth, N. J., No. 227 West Jersey St.

THE SOUTHERN RANGERS OF 1812.—Can any of your readers inform me when the company of riflemen called the Southern Rangers, under the command of Lieut. Joseph McCoy, attached to the Second Brigade Pennsylvania Militia, in the service of the United States, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Joel B. Sutherland, was recruited?

They were in camp near Marcus Hook October 15, 1814, according to Penna. Archives, 2d series, vol. xii. p. 294.

Is it known whether any members of that company are still living?

Yours, very truly,

ALFRED SMITH.

MICHAEL HILLEGAS (Vol. I. p. 116).—Was there any answer given to the inquiry on page 116, Vol. I. No. 1, referring to Michael Hillegas, one of the Continental Treasurers? His great-granddaughter, Mrs. Emma St. C. Whitney, wife of William L. Whitney, Esq., Prest. of the Miners National Bank, resides in Pottsville, Pa. J. A. M. P.

Replies.

SARAH SCHUMACHER, (Vol. VI., p. 262).—Mr. Ward, in his interesting paper "The Germantown Road and its Associations," page 262, Vol. VI., makes mention of "Sarah Schumacher, a widow," etc.

It may interest some of the readers of the MAGAZINE to learn that Sarah was not a widow, when she with her family left her native country to come with many other Friends to this land. Her husband, George, died at sea, leaving her with her seven children, to complete the voyage.

Benjamin Hallowell, the well-known teacher of the Alexandria, Va., High School (and who died in 1877), was a direct descendant of this George Shoemaker, through his mother, who was a daughter of Benjamin Shoemaker, grandson of George. From a letter written by him, a few years prior to his death, I make some extracts.

"George Shoemaker, then aged 23, living at Criesheim, in the Palatinate, on the right bank of the Rhine below Heidelburgh, embraced the religious views of the people called Quakers, and meeting with persecutions at home, was invited by William Penn to come to Pennsylvania.

He, together with his parents—George and Sarah Shoemaker—and six brothers and sisters—(nine in all) accepted the invitation—first going to England.

Among the passengers on the good ship 'Jeffries,' Arnold master, were Richard Waln and his granddaughter Sarah. During the voyage, which occupied many weeks, sickness broke out, and the elder George Shoemaker died and was buried at sea.

The 'Jeffries' at last arrived safely at Chester, on the 12th of the 8th month, 1685.

On the 14th of the 12th month, 1694, George Shoemaker and Sarah Wall (Waln) were married at the house of Richard Waln, which appears, at that date, to have been used as a meeting-house. I have a copy of their certificate of marriage, George signing his name in German. The original is in possession of Dr. Wm. L. Shoemaker, of Georgetown, D. C.

The children of George and Sarah were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Elizabeth, George, and Richard.

The children of the original George (who died at sea) were George, Barbara, Abraham, Isaac, Susannah Elizabeth, Benjamin.

Isaac Price married Susannah at the house of Richard Waln, 'according to the good order of Friends,' 1st month 4th, 1696. And from this marriage descended Philip and Rachel Price, the parents of Eli K. Price, who at this writing is probably the oldest living member at the Philadelphia Bar."

ROBERT SHOEMAKER,

of the 6th generation from George and Sarah (Waln).

Shoemakertown, Cheltenham Township, January 16, 1883.

CATHARINE TENNENT (Vol. VI. p. 374).—The Pennsylvania Gazette for Oct. 1, 1783, contains the following obituary:—

"On the first ult. departed this life at Pittsgrove, Salem County, State of New Jersey, Mrs. Catharine Tennent, Relict of the Revd. William Tennent, late of Freehold, in the 80th year of her age, after a short illness, which she bore with much patience, and was entirely resigned to the Divine will. The day following, her remains were interred in the Presbyterian Church-yard at said place; when a Sermon was preached on the occasion by the Revd. George Faitout, from Psal. xc. 12."

C. R. H.

PITTSBURGH IN 1761 (Vol. VI. p. 344).—Fred'k D. Stone, Esq., Dear Sir: I have carefully examined the return sent me, and regret that I am unable to give you any information of value. The following Nos. in the lower town I have already noticed: 14, 15, 20, 22, 25, 26, 33, 37, and the following in the upper town: 31, 45, (see P.A. MAG. Vol. II. p. 469); 45 should be *John Daily*.

I am inclined to believe that No. 12, lower town, should be Frederick Dent, a brother of Geo. Dent, the grandfather of Mrs. General Grant; but I am not certain. No. 23, I believe, was afterwards General William Thompson, who died near Carlisle, Pa., Sept. 4th, 1781; but I have no means of deciding positively although he was my mother's kinsman. No. 15 may be John Campbell who laid out what is known as the "Military Plan" of Pittsburgh in 1765: but of this I cannot be sure. No. 40, Wm. McAllister, is no doubt the same mentioned in P.A. MAG. III. 297. In the upper town, No. 33 is doubtless Wm. Heth. Nos. 43 and 69, Guttery and Sennot, appear to have been Indian traders, and are merely mentioned in Croghan's Journal of 1765.

Major W. B. Negley informs me that neither 44 of the lower town, nor 37 of the upper town, were in any manner connected with his family.

In relation to Wm. Trent, Geo. Croghan, John Ormsby, Capt. Mathers, Capt. Clapham, and Capt. Barnsley, I presume you know as much, if not more, than I do. It is hardly probable you wish any notes regarding them; if I am mistaken I will either send you references or notes as you may desire. Persons not mentioned in this were of little prominence. In haste,

Yours truly,

ISAAC CRAIG.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE TO COUNCIL.

BALANCE SHEET: THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

1881.

Investment account	\$68,594 29	
Cash	4,669 99	
Publication Fund Trust, Capital, with uninvested cash .	\$30,006 35	
Binding Fund Trust, " "	3,300 00	
Library Fund Trust, " "	4,305 09	
Endowment Fund Trust, " "	6,026 60	
First Building Fund Trust, " "	6,336 85	
Second Building Fund Trust, " "	10,946 28	
General Fund, " "	10,663 57	
Publication Fund, Interest	1,509 24	
Binding Fund, "	73 63	
General Fund, "	96 67	
	<u>\$73,264 28</u>	<u>\$73,264 28</u>

JOHN JORDAN, Jr.,
JAMES C. HAND,
EDWIN T. EISENBREY, } *Com. on Finance.*
Dec. 31, 1881.

In the operation of the Library Fund, Interest Account
for 1881, there were received interest and contributions

of members \$1,536 12
And paid for books purchased 1,536 12

General Fund Account for 1881, dues from members . 3,635 00
Rent, Interest, etc. 940 81

\$4,575 81

Deficiency of 1880 11 32

\$4,564 49

The general expenses of the Society in 1881 were . \$4,467 82

Balance of Interest Account, Dec. 31, 1881 . . . \$96 67

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STATED MEETINGS.

March 12, 1883.

November 3, 1883.

May 7, 1883.

January 14, 1884.

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Perkins, John L., Roxbury
Pickering, Henry W., Roxbury
Waterman, Wm. H., New Bedford
Whitmore, W. H., Boston
†Whiting, William, Boston
Winthrop, Robert C., Boston

MICHIGAN.

†Lloyd, Franklin, Bay City

III

MINNESOTA.

Garrard, Lewis H., Lake City

MISSISSIPPI.

†Duncan, Henry P., Duncansby

MISSOURI.

Wilson, John H., St. Louis

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Jackman, A. W., Bath

NEW JERSEY.

Bourquin, Frederick, Camden
College of New Jersey, Princeton
Cooper, Joseph B., Camden
Coryell, Martin, Lambertville
Croft, Samuel, Camden
Culin, Robert S., East Moorestown
Davis, Lemuel H., Riverton
Grubb, Edward Burd, Edgewater
Hassler, Charles W., Englewood
Hunt, Mordecai, Moorestown
Hutchinson, Charles R., Allentown
Library, Clisophic Society, Princeton
Library, Salem, J. J. Sinnickson
Morris, Anthony S., Pemberton

†Parrish, George D., Burlington Co.
Parry, Richard Randolph, Woodbury
Potts, William John, Camden
Scranton, Selden T., Oxford, Warren Co.
†Slack, J. Hamilton, Bloomsbury
†Smith, Charles Perrin, Trenton
Stryker, William S., Trenton
†Van Rensselaer, Cortlandt, Burlington
Warrington, Joseph, Moorestown
White, Barclay, Mount Holly
Whitehead, William A., Newark
Whitney, Thomas H., Glassboro'

NEW YORK.

†Archer, Ellis S., City
Arnold, Simon W., City
Astor Library, City
†Barton, Thomas Pennant, City
†Bradish, Luther, City
Burdge, Franklin, City
†Bushnell, Charles J., City
†Chambers, Thomas, City
Clymer, Edward M., City
†Cogswell, Joseph G., City
Columbia College, City
De Voe, Thomas F., City
Drowne, Henry T., City
Duncan, William Butler, City
Emmet, Thomas Addis, City
Harrison, William Henry, City
†Hayes, I. I., City
Johnson, Theodore T., City
Knowles, Daniel W.
†Lenox, James, City
†Ludewig, Herman E., City
†McAllister, Wardale G., City

Menzies, William, City
Moreau, John B., City
Myers, T. Bailey, City
Packer, E. A., City
†Putnam, George P., City
Quintard, Edw. A., City
†Reed, William B., City
†Sabin, Joseph, City
†Ward, Richard Ray, City
†Welsh, John, Jr., City
†Wight, Andrew, Jr., City [Co.
DePeyster, J. Watts, Tivoli, Duchess
Diven, Alexander S., Elmira
Helfenstein, William L., Mott Haven
Hicks, Benjamin D., Old Westbury
†Munsell, Joel, Albany
Read, John M., Jr., Albany
†Sanford, E. S., Brooklyn, L. I.
Vernon, Thomas
†Wetmore, Henry C., Fishkill
Williams, Miss Rachel M., Utica
†Woodward, Royal, Albany

IV

NORTH CAROLINA.

†Salem Female Academy, Salem, renewed

OHIO.

†Buchanan, R., Cincinnati
†Clements, Richard, Gambia
Dawes, E. C., Cincinnati
Ely, Heman, Elyria
Goshorn, A. T., Cincinnati

Jones, John D., Cincinnati
Library of Cincinnati, the, Cincinnati
†Resor, Jacob, Cincinnati
State Library, Columbus

OREGON.

Arnold, Frederick K., Portland
Davis, Thomas A., Portland

Library Association, Portland
Schuyler, P. C., Jr., Portland

PENNSYLVANIA.

Adams County.

†McCammon, David C., Gettysburg
McPherson, Edward, Gettysburg

Stahle, Henry J., Gettysburg

Allegheny County.

†Brereton, Thomas J., Pittsburgh
Brunot, Felix R., Pittsburgh
Darlington, William M., Pittsburgh
†Denny, William H., Pittsburgh
†Haven, William S., Pittsburgh
Irwin, John, Edgeworth
†Kramer, Allen, Pittsburgh
†McHenry, Isaac, Pittsburgh
Murray, James B., Pittsburgh

Negley, W. B., Pittsburgh
Schwartz, Jacob E., Pittsburgh
Shea, C. B., Pittsburgh
Shoenberger, John H., Pittsburgh
Thaw, William, Pittsburgh
Tibby, John, Pittsburgh
Whitney, George I., Pittsburgh
Wilson, David Shields, Fort Pitt Bank

Armstrong County.

Golden, Edward S., Kittaning

Neale, James B., Kittaning

Beaver County.

Agnew, Daniel, Beaver Court House
†Baker, R. L., Economy
Hoopes, Henry, New Brighton

Quay, Matthew S., Beaver Court House

Berks County.

Baer, George F., Reading
Baer, S. A., Kutztown
Ermentrout, Daniel, Reading
Graeff, Moses K., Reading
Hawley, Jesse G., Reading
Hiester, Isaac, Reading
†Hiester, William M., Reading
Jones, F. Marion, Reading
†Jones, J. Pringle, Reading
Keim, De B. Randolph, Reading

†Keim, George M., Reading
Keim, Henry M., Reading
Messchert, M. H., Douglassville
Montgomery, Morton L., Reading
Muhlenberg, Henry A., Reading
Muhlenberg, Hiester H., Reading
Richards, Lou's, Reading
Smith, Frederick L., Reading
†Woodward, Warren J., Reading

V

Blair County.

Mathias, John T., Tyrone

Bradford County.

Craft, David, Wyalusing

Herrick, Edward, Athens

Bucks County.

Chapman, Henry, Doylestown
†Coryell, Lewis S., New Hope
Davis, W. W. H., Doylestown
Ely, Richard Elias, New Hope
Fackenthall, Alfred, Doylestown
Kirk, Harriet E., Mrs., Davisville

Lennig, Charles F., Chelwood, Andalusia
Ross, George, Doylestown
Shellenberger, J. Monroe, Doylestown
†Snowden, James Ross, Hulmeville
Watson, Richard, Doylestown
†Wiggins, Benjamin, Pineville
Yerkes, Harman, Doylestown

Carbon County.

†Albright, Charles, Mauch Chunk

†Packer, Asa, Mauch Chunk

Centre County.

Beaver, James A., Bellefonte
Bellefonte Library Association
Furst, A. O., Bellefonte
Hale, E. W., Bellefonte
Jackson, George W., Bellefonte
Linn, John B., Bellefonte

Milliken, James, Bellefonte
Pennsylvania State College, State College P. O.
Rhoads, Daniel, Bellefonte
Valentine, Robert, Bellefonte

Chester County.

Baird, Alexander, Kimberton
Baker, Joseph B., Thorndale
Cope, Gilbert, West Chester
Everhart, James B., West Chester
Futhey, J. Smith, West Chester
Library, Athenæum, West Chester
McFarland, David M., West Chester
†Meconkey, David, West Chester

†Miller, John, Oxford
Passmore, Benjamin W., Westtown
Boarding School
Pennypacker, Charles H., West Chester
Sharp, Joseph W., Leopard P. O.
Steele, Hugh E., Coatesville
Wayne, William, Paoli

Clarion County.

†Fox, William Logan, Foxburg

Clearfield County.

†Bigler, William, Clearfield

Columbia County.

John G. Freeze, Bloomsburg

Crawford County.

Huidekoper, Alfred, Meadville
Huidekoper, Frederick, Meadville

Tyson, James, Titusville

VI

Cumberland County.

†Hamilton, James, Carlisle
Hays, John, Carlisle
Murray, Joseph A., Carlisle.

Parker, John B., Carlisle
Ross, Andrew, New Cumberland
†Watts, William M., Mechanicsburg

Dauphin County.

Cameron, Simon, Harrisburg
Dauphin County Historical Society,
Harrisburg
Egle, William H., Harrisburg

Hartranft, John F., Harrisburg
Library of State, Harrisburg
McPherson, John B., Harrisburg

Delaware County.

Askin, J. Henry, Radnor
Broomall, John M., Media
Crozer, J. Lewis, Upland
†Crozer, John P., Upland
†Fallon, Christopher,
Felton, S. M., Chester
†Kelly, Charles, Kellyville
Howarth, James W., Glen-Riddle

Library, Delaware County Institute
of Science, Media
Library of Swarthmore College
Miskey, William F.
Okie, J. Brognard, Linwood
†Pennock, Mrs. Caroline, Howellsville
Whitney, John R., Glen Brook Farm,
Bryn Mawr
Ward, William, Chester

Elk County.

Earley, Charles R., Ridgway

Fayette County.

†Nutt, A. C., Uniontown

Rogers, James Slocum, Brownsville

Franklin County.

Chambers, Benjamin, Chambersburg †Chambers, George, Chambersburg

Huntingdon County.

Africa, J. Simpson, Huntingdon

Guss, A. L., Huntingdon

Lackawanna County.

Boies, Henry M., Scranton

Dickson, Thomas, Scranton

Lancaster County.

Baumgardner, Thos., Lancaster City
Dubbs, Joseph Henry, Lancaster
Hager, John C., Lancaster City
Haldeman, Paris, Chickies Furnaces

†Jacobs, Samuel F., Churchtown
Shoch Library, Columbia
Steinman, Andrew J., Lancaster City
Wickersham, J. P. Lancaster City

Lebanon County.

Coleman, Mrs. Debbie B., Lebanon
†Coleman, G. Dawson, Lebanon
Hammond, D. S., Lebanon
Killinger, John W., Lebanon

McCauley, Edwin H., Lebanon
Mish, John Weidman, Lebanon
†Ross, George, Lebanon
Weidman, Grant, Lebanon

VII

Lehigh County.

Jones, D. D., Slatington	†Thomas, David, Catasauqua
†Longenecker, Henry C., Allentown	Wright, Robert E., Jr., Allentown
†McDowell, Robert, Slatington	

Luzerne County.

Bennet, D. S. Wilkes-Barré	†Maxwell, Volney L., Wilkes-Barré
†Conyngham, John N., Wilkes-Barré	†Miner, Charles, Wilkes-Barré
Conyngham, John Nesbitt, Wilkes-Barré	Pardee, Ario, Hazleton
Coxe, Eckley B., Drifton, Jeddo P. O.	Parrish, Charles, Wilkes-Barré
Darling, E. P., Wilkes-Barré	†Ross, William S., Wilkes-Barré
†Drake, Charles B., Wilkes-Barré	Scott, E. Greenough, Wilkes-Barré
Haydon, James C., Jeanesville	†Slocum, J. J., Wilkes-Barré
Kulp, George B., Wilkes-Barré	Welles, Edward, Wilkes-Barré

Lycoming County.

Allen, Robert P., Williamsport

McKean County.

Kane, Thomas L., Kane

Monroe County.

Brodhead, Luke W., Delaware Water Gap	Croasdale, Miss Susan, Delaware Water Gap
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Montgomery County.

Bines, William H., Pottstown	†Kent, Rodolphus, Gwynedd
Boyd, James, Norristown	Jones, J. Aubrey, Wynnewood
Buck, William J., Jenkintown	Lambert, John, Aysgarth, Abington
Cassatt, Alexander J., Haverford	†Lardner, Richard Penn, Graydon
Comly, Franklin A., Fort Washington	Mellor, Thomas, Shoemakertown
Emory, John, Cheltenham Hills	Morris, Wistar, Overbrook
Fisher, Henry M., Alverthorpe	Shoemaker, Robert, Shoemakertown
†Fisher, J. Francis, Alverthorpe	Thomson, Frank, Merion
Godey, Frank, Overbrook	Tyson, James L., Penn Llyn
Gumbes, Charles W., Oaks P. O.	Union Library Company, Hatboro
Haverford College, Haverford College P. O.	†Witte, William H., White Marsh
Heacock, John, Jenkintown	Yeakle, W. A., Flourtown
Hunsicker, Henry A., Freeland	†Yost, J. S., Pottstown

Montour County.

Maus, Philip F., Danville

VIII

Northampton County.

- | | |
|--|---|
| †Bleck, Ernest F., Bethlehem | Library of Lehigh University, South Bethlehem |
| Fatzinger, Jacob, Jr., Weaversville | |
| †Firmstone, William, Easton | Library, Congregation of United Brethren, Bethlehem |
| Henry, Granville, Nazareth | |
| Hutchinson, John N., Easton. | †Library, Moravian Seminary, Bethlehem, renewed |
| †Jones, Maurice C., Bethlehem | †Library, Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, renewed |
| Jones, William Ashley, Bethlehem | |
| Lamberton, Robert A., South Bethlehem, Northampton Co. | †Maxwell, Henry D., Easton |
| †Leibert, James, Bethlehem | †Michler, Peter S., Easton |
| Lerch, John, Bethlehem | †Roepper, William T., Bethlehem |
| Library of Lafayette College, Easton | Schropp, Abraham S., Bethlehem |
| | Wilbur, E. P., South Bethlehem |

Northumberland County.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Greenough, William J., Sunbury | Rockefeller, William, Sunbury |
| Packer, John B., Sunbury | Wolverton, S. P., Sunbury |
| †Priestley, Joseph R., Northumberland | |

Potter County.

- †Joerg, Edward, Kettle Creek

Schuylkill County.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Atkins, Charles M., Pottsville | Shippen, Samuel S., Pottsville |
| Brown, David P., Pottsville | Snyder, George W., Pottsville |
| Hughes, Francis W., Pottsville | Taylor, Charles K., Minersville |
| Kaercher, George R., Pottsville | Washburn, Daniel, Ashland |
| Keim, George de B., Pottsville | Wetherill, J. Macomb, Pottsville |
| Passmore, J. A. M., Pottsville | White, J. Claude, Swatara |
| †Repplier, George S., Pottsville | Zulich, Thomas C., Schuylkill Haven |
| Sheafer, Peter W., Pottsville | |

Somerset County.

- Ross, Moses A., Addison

Union County.

- Linn, J. Merrill, Lewisburg

Warren County.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Irvine, William A., Irvine | †Newbold, Thomas H., Irvine |
| Library Association, Warren | |

Washington County.

- Crumline, Boyd, Washington

IX

Wayne County.

†Dickson, James R., Honesdale
Preston, Miss Ann, Stockport

†Preston, Paul S., Stockport

Westmoreland County.

Huff, George F., Greensburg

Laux, James B., Greensburg

York County.

†Wagner, Samuel, York

Eichelberger, M. S., York

Philadelphia.

Adams, H. Carlton
†Adams, Robert
Aertsen, James M., Germantown
Allen, Edmund
Allen, Samuel
†Allen, William H.
†Allibone, Thomas
Allison, Walter
Allison, W. C.
†Alter, Solomon
Altemus, S. T.
Anspach, John, Jr.
Archer, Pierce, Jr.
†Armstrong, Edward, Germantown
Armstrong, William G.
Arrott, William
†Ashbridge, William
Ashhurst, Henry
Ashhurst John
Ashhurst, John, Jr.
†Ashhurst, Richard
Ashhurst, Richard, Jr.
Ashhurst, Richard L.
†Ashmead, Samuel B.
Ashton, Samuel K., Germantown
†Atlee, Washington L.
Audenried, J. Thomas
†Audenried, Lewis
Austin, John B.
†Bache, Franklin
†Backus, F. R.
Bailey, E. Westcott
Baird, Henry C.
Baird, John
†Baird, Matthew
†Baird, William M.
Baker, Alfred G.
Baker, John R.
Baker, William DeFord, Germantown
Baker, William S.
†Balch, Thomas
Bald, J. Dorsey
†Balderston, Jonathan

Baldwin, Henry, Jr.
†Baldwin, Matthias W.
†Ball, George W.
Barclay, Richard D.
†Barton, Isaac
Bateman, James
Bates, Joseph William
†Bates, Jos. Wm., Jr.
†Beck, Charles F.
Bell, Miss Helen
Benness, William J., Germantown
†Benson, Alexander, Jr.
Benson, Gustavus
Besson, Charles A.
†Bettle, Samuel
Bettle, William
†Betton, Thomas F., Germantown
Biddle, Alexander
Biddle, Alexander W.
Biddle, Miss Anne E.
†Biddle, Chapman
†Biddle, Charles J.
†Biddle, Clement
Biddle, Craig
Biddle, Edward C.
Biddle, George W.
Biddle Henry D.
Biddle, James S.
Biddle, Thomas A.
Biddle, Walter L. C.
Bines, Samuel M., Germantown
Blanchard, M'ss Maria
†Blanchard, William A.
Blight, Atherton
Bliss, William
†Boardman, Henry A.
Boker, Charles S.
Boller, Frederick J.
†Bond, James
†Bond, L. Montgomery
†Borie, Adolphe E.
Borie, Charles L.
Bowen, Ezra

- Boyd, Augustus
 †Brady, Patrick
 †Breck, Samuel
 Brewster, Benjamin Harris
 Brick, Samuel R.
 Bringhurst, John H.
 †Brock, John P.
 Brockie, William, Germantown
 Brooke, Francis M.
 Brookfield, Hannah P.
 Brotherhead, William
 †Brown, David S.
 †Brown, Frederick
 †Brown, John A.
 †Brown, Joseph D.
 Brown, T. W star
 †Brown, Washington, Chestnut Hill
 †Browne, N. B.
 †Browning, Edward
 †Buck, Francis N., Chestnut Hill
 Bullitt, John C.
 †Bunting, Jacob T.
 †Burgin, George H.
 Burgin, George H., Germantown
 Burgin, Herman, Germantown
 Burnham, George
 Burns, Robert
 Burroughs, Horatio N.
 Burt, Nathaniel, Roxborough
 †Busch, Edward
 †Butler, John M.
 Cabeen, Francis von A., Germantown
 Cadwalader, John
 †Cadwalader, John
 Cadwalader, Richard M.
 †Cadwalader, William
 †Caldcleugh, William George
 †Caldwell, James E.
 Caldwell, S. A.
 †Campbell, Archibald, Germantown
 †Cannell, S. Wilmer, Beechwood
 †Carey, Henry C.
 Carpenter, Edward
 Carpenter, J. Edward
 Carpenter, Joseph R.
 †Carpenter, Samuel H.
 †Carpenter, Samuel H., Jr.
 Carson, Hampton L.
 †Carson Joseph
 Carter, William T.
 Carver, Alexander B.
 Cassatt, Robert S.
 Cassidy, Lewis C.
 †Castle, James H.
 Catherwood, H. W.
 Caven, Joseph L.
 Cavender, Thomas S.
 Chambers, Harmon A.
 Chandler, James B.
 Chew, Samuel, Cliveden, Germant'n
 Childs, George W.
 Christian, Samuel J.
 Claghorn, James L.
 †Claghorn, John W.
 Clark, Clarence H.
 Clark, Edward W.
 †Clark, Elisha W.
 Clarke, Edward S.
 †Clayton, John
 Clothier, Conrad F.
 Coates, Benjamin
 †Coates, Benjamin H.
 Coates, Henry T.
 Cochran, Thomas
 Cochran, Travis
 Cochran, William G.
 †Coffin, Arthur G.
 †Coles, Edward
 †Colladay, George W.
 †Collins, T. K.
 †Colwell, Stephen
 Comegys, B. B.
 Conarroe, George W.
 Conduct, J. Elliot, Germantown
 Conrad, Thomas K.
 Cooke, Jay
 Cooke, Jay, Jr.
 Cooley, Aaron B.
 †Cooper, Lewis
 †Cope, Alfred, Fairfield
 Cope, Caleb
 Cope, Francis R., Germantown
 Cope, Thomas P., Jr., Germantown
 Corlies, S. Fisher
 Coxe, Brinton
 †Cowan, Richard
 †Crabb, William A.
 Craig, Andrew C.
 Cramp, Charles H.
 Cramp, Henry W.
 Cramp, William M.
 †Craven, Thomas
 Cresson, Charles C.
 Cresson, George V.
 †Cresson, John C.
 Cresson, William P.
 †Crissy, James
 †Croasdale, Jeremiah
 †Croasdill, Charles W.
 Cummins, D. B.

XI

Curtis, Joseph
 Cushman, Herbert
 †Da Costa, John C.
 Dallett, Gillies
 Darley, Francis T. S.
 †Davids, Hugh
 Davies, Thomas F.
 †Dawson, Josiah
 †Dawson, Mordecai L.
 Dawson, William
 †Day, Alfred
 Dechert, Henry T.
 Delano, Eugene
 †Derbyshire, Alexander J.
 Dick, Franklin A.
 Dickinson, Mahlon H.
 †Dickson, Levi
 Dickson, L. Taylor
 Disston, Albert H.
 Disston, Hamilton
 Disston, Horace C.
 Dougherty, Daniel
 Dougherty, James
 Douredoure, Bernard L.
 Dreer, Ferdinand J.
 Drexel, Anthony J.
 †Duane, William
 Du Barry, J. N.
 †Dulty, William
 †Dundas, James
 Dungan, Charles B.
 †Dunlap, Thomas
 Dye, John H.
 Earl, Harrison
 Earle, James M.
 †Early, William
 †Eckert, George N.
 Edwards, Howard
 Edwards, Richard S.
 Eisenbrey, Edwin T.
 Eisenbrey, William Harrison
 Eldridge, G. Morgan
 Elkin, Solomon
 Elliot, A. G.
 †Elliott, Isaac
 †Ellis, Charles
 Ellmaker, Peter C.
 Elverson, James
 Elwyn, Alfred Langdon
 †Ely, John
 †Ely, Miss Louisa, Germantown
 Ely, William, Germantown
 Emery, Titus S.
 Emley, Gilbert
 †Emory, Charles

†Errickson, Michael
 Evans, Horace Y.
 Evans, Joseph R.
 †Evans, J. Wistar, Germantown
 Fagan, George R.
 †Fagan, John
 †Fahnestock, B. A.
 †Fahnestock, George W.
 Fallon, John
 Farmer, James S.
 †Farnum, John
 Fay, William A.
 †Fell, Franklin
 †Fell, J. Gillingham
 Fell, John R.
 †Fenimore, Jason L.
 Fernon, Thomas S.
 †Fish, A. J.
 †Fisher, Charles Henry, Brookwood
 †Fisher, Miss Elizabeth R., Wakefield,
 Germantown
 Fisher, George Harrison
 Fisher, J. B.
 Flanagan, James M.
 Flanagan, Stephen
 Fitler, Edwin H.
 †Foster, William B., Jr.
 †Foulke, William Parker
 †Foust, Robert M.
 †Fox, Charles P., Champ-lost
 Fox, George S.
 Fox, Miss Mary D., Champ-lost
 Fox, Philip L.
 Fraley, Frederick
 Franciscus, A. H.
 Frazier, William W., Jr.
 Freas, P. R., Germantown
 Freeman, Chapman
 French, Samuel H.
 Fritz, Horace
 Frohmann, August
 †Fuller, Henry M.
 †Fullerton, Alexander
 Furness, Horace Howard
 Gallagher, Augustus B.
 Gardette, Emile B.
 Garrett, Thomas C., Germantown
 Garrett, Walter
 Garrett, William E., Jr.
 †Gaul, Frederick
 Gaw, Alexander G.
 Gawthrop, Henry
 Gazzam, Joseph M.
 †Gerhard, Benjamin
 Gerhard, John S.

XII

- Gest, John B.
 Ghriskey, Charles M.
 Gibbons, Charles
 Gibson, Henry C.
 †Gilbert, David
 †Gilbert, John
 Gillingham, J. E.
 †Gilpin, Henry D.
 †Goforth, John
 †Gordon, N. P.
 Gowen, Franklin B., Mount Airy
 Graff, Frederick
 Graff, Mrs. Paul
 Grant, Samuel, Jr.
 Grant, William S.
 Gratz, Harry S.
 †Gratz, Robert H.
 Gratz, Simon
 Greble, Edwin
 Greene, Stephen
 †Greeves, James R.
 †Gries, John M.
 Griffiths, William F., Jr.
 †Grigg, John
 Griscom, Clement A.
 †Grout, Henry T.
 †Grugan, Charles
 Gulager, William
 †Hacker, Isaiah C.
 †Hacker, Jeremiah
 †Hacker, William E.
 †Haines, Ann, Germantown
 Hamilton, Charles L.
 †Hammersly, George
 Hammond, Charles, Jr.
 Hand, James C.
 †Harlan, Charles
 †Harmar, Charles, Harmar's Retreat
 †Harmar, James Lanman
 Harrah, C. J.
 Harris, Franklin M.
 Harrison, Alfred C.
 Harrison, Charles C.
 Harrison, George L.
 Harrison, John
 †Harrison, Joseph, Jr.
 Harrison, Thomas S.
 Hart, Abraham
 Hart, Thomas, Jr.
 Hartshorne, Charles
 Hartshorne, Edward
 Harvey, Alexander E.
 †Haseltine, John
 Haseltine, Ward B.
 Haupt, Herman
 Hay, Miss Mary
 Hay, Thomas
 †Hazard, Erskine
 †Hazard, Samuel
 †Heazlitt, Charles F.
 Heberton, Craig
 †Heberton, G. Craig
 Henry, Morton P.
 Henszey, William C.
 †Hering, Constantine
 Hildeburn, Henry M.
 †Hill, Marshall
 Hilles, Nathan, Frankford
 Hockley, John, Jr.
 †Hodge, Hugh L.
 Hoffman, Francis S.
 †Hollingsworth, Thomas G.
 Hollis, P. C., Germantown
 †Holsman, Daniel
 †Hone, Isaac S.
 †Hood, Samuel, Mount Airy
 †Hoopes, Penrose R.
 Hopkins, Edward M.
 Horstmann, F. Oden
 †Horstmann, Sigmund H.
 †Horstmann, William J.
 Houston, Henry H., Germantown
 Howard, Daniel W.
 Howard, James W.
 †Howard, N. G.
 Huddy, Benjamin F.
 Huff, John W.
 Huidekoper, Rush Shippen
 †Humphreys, Charles
 †Hunt, Benjamin P.
 Huntington, L. C. L.
 Hutchinson, Charles Hare
 Hutchinson, Emlen
 Ingersoll, Charles
 †Ingersoll, Joseph R.
 Ingram, Harlan
 †Ingram, Thomas R.
 Iseminger, Charles F.
 Jackson, Charles M.
 Jacobs, William Boyd
 James, John O.
 †James, Thomas C.
 Jamison, B. K.
 Janney, Benj. S., Jr.
 Janney, George
 Jayne, E. C.
 †Jayne, David W.
 Jeanes, William C.
 Jenkins, Jabez, Jr.
 Jenks, Barton H.

XIII

Jenks, John S.
 Jenks, William H.
 Jenks, William P.
 Jennings, N. A.
 Johnson, John G.
 †Johnson, Lawrence
 Johnson, R. Winder
 †Johnston, Alexander
 Johnston, William Stoddart
 Jones, Caleb
 Jones, Horatio Gates, Roxborough
 Jordan, Edgar F.
 Jordan, Francis
 Jordan, John, Jr.
 Justice, Philip S.
 Kane, Robert P.
 Kay, J. Alfred
 Keating, William V.
 Keen, Gregory B.
 Keith, Charles Penrose
 Kelley, William D.
 Kemble, William H.
 †Kempton, James C., Manayunk
 †Kent, William C.
 Kern, William H.
 Kessler, John, Jr.
 Keyser, Charles S.
 †Keyser, Peter A.
 †Kimball, Stephen
 Kimber, Thomas, Jr.
 †King, C. Murray
 †King, D. Rodney
 †King, Robert P.
 Kirkbride, Thomas S.
 †Kirkham, William
 Kirkpatrick, Edwin
 Kirtley, Thomas H.
 Kneass, Strickland
 Kneedler, J. S.
 Knight, Edward C.
 Knowles, George L.
 Koecker, Leonard R.
 †Kuhn, Hartman
 †Kuhn, J. Hamilton
 Lambdin, James R., Germantown
 Landreth, Oliver
 Lardner, Jas. Lawrence
 Lea, Henry C.
 Lea, Isaac
 Lea, Joseph
 Lee, George F.
 Leedom, Benjamin J., Germantown
 †Lehman, William H.
 Lejee, William R.
 †Lennig, Frederick

†Levering, Lemuel S.
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 Lewis, George T.
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 Lewis, Joseph W., Germantown
 †Lewis, Mordecai D.
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†Mitchell, Thomas S.
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XVIII

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Montreal

CUBA.

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Guiteras, Pedro J., Matanzas

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Timmins, Samuel, Birmingham

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HOLLAND.

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XIX

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Stephen Taylor, \$1000.

WORKS ALREADY ISSUED BY THE FUND.

History of Braddock's Expedition.

Contributions to American History, 1858.

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Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. I.

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Acrelius's New Sweden. Translated by REYNOLDS.

An Historical Map of Pennsylvania.

Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. I.

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