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Chas. P. Butler

The
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Magazine

OF

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Vol. VII.

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ERRATUM.

On page 403, line 5 from foot, for "Brandywine" read Christiana.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. VII.

1883.

No. 1.

THE BUTLER FAMILY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

BY JOHN BLAIR LINN.

In 1848, when Gen. William O. Butler was the Democratic candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with Gen. Lewis Cass, Francis P. Blair, Sen., of *The Globe*, published some reminiscences of the Butler Family, which furnish the principal material for the following sketch of the Butler Family of the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolutionary War and their descendants.

Blair himself was of the Blair lineage of Fagg's Manor, Chester County—a race as remarkable over a century ago for its profound divines and scholars, its eloquent and impressive preachers, as in the present century for its distinctive prominence in the editorial chair, the cabinet, the halls of congress, and upon the field of battle.

Thomas Butler (father of the family) was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, April 6, 1720, and was married there in 1742. Col. Richard Butler, Col. William Butler, and Capt. Thomas Butler were born in Ireland. The family then emigrated to Cumberland Valley, settling at Carlisle, Penna., where Lieutenant Pereival Butler was born, as well as Lieut. Edward Butler, the youngest son.

Thomas Butler, the father, belonged to the Church of England, and was prominent in securing the building of the original (St. John's) Episcopal Church, which stood on the northeast corner of the public square at Carlisle. There is a petition on file, in the State Department at Harrisburg, signed by Robert Callender, George Croghan, Thomas Smallman, and Thomas Butler in 1765, "on behalf of the members of the Church of England in Cumberland County," representing that they had in part erected a church in Carlisle, but from the smallness of their number, and so forth, they were unable to finish it, and praying relief; which was granted by including the enterprise in the lottery Act of February 15 of that year.

F. P. Blair relates an anecdote of 1781, when the Indians became troublesome on the frontiers, derived from a letter belonging to an old Pennsylvania friend of the Butler parents, who brought it with him from Ireland. "While the five sons," says the epistle, "were absent from home in the service of the country, the old father took it into his head to go also. The neighbors remonstrated, but his wife said: 'Let him go; I can get along without him, and have something to feed the army in the bargain; and the country wants every man who can shoulder a musket.'" It was doubtless this extraordinary zeal of the family Gen. Washington had in mind, when at his own table, surrounded by a large party of officers, he gave as a toast, "The Butlers and their five sons." This anecdote rests upon the authority of Gen. Finley, of Cincinnati, who long survived his comrades in arms, and delighted to talk of their martial deeds. Gen. Lafayette, in a letter still extant in the possession of a lady connected by marriage with the Butlers, wrote: "When I wished a thing well done, I ordered a Butler to do it."

I. General Richard Butler, the oldest, was recommended by the Pennsylvania Convention of 1776 for Major of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, and was elected by Congress and commissioned July 20, 1776. He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and then, June 9, 1777, was transferred to Morgan's celebrated rifle command, which owed to him much of its

high character. . The cool disciplined valor, that gave steady and deadly direction to their rifles, was derived principally from this officer, who devoted himself to the drill of his men. Personally he knew no fear. He was by the side of General Arnold in the attack on the Brunswicker's camp at Saratoga, when Arnold was wounded. He was promoted Colonel of the 9th, and commanded the left in Wayne's attack on Stony Point. Under the arrangement of 1781, he was placed in command of the 5th, and assigned to Wayne's detachment, which, after the capture of Cornwallis, was moved to Georgia, and only returned after the echo of the last gun of the Revolution had died away forever. After the war he was constantly employed on public business, particularly in negotiations with the Indians; and was commissioner for the purchase of the Erie triangle, and so forth. Upon the erection of Allegheny County, he was appointed Lieutenant of the county and one of the Judges of its several courts, and, on the adoption of the State Constitution of 1790, became the first State Senator from that county. A year afterward, November 4, 1791, he fell—at St. Clair's defeat.

Gen. Richard's son William died a Lieutenant of the Navy early in the war of 1812. Another son, Capt. James Butler, commanded the Pittsburgh Blues in the war of 1812, and was particularly distinguished in the battle of Mississinnawa; he died in Pittsburgh in April, 1842. Gen. Butler's daughter married Isaac Meason, forty years ago a leading and enterprising citizen of Fayette County, owner of the Mt. Braddock estate near Uniontown. She was an educated lady of the old school, a devoted member of the Episcopal Church, noted for her charity, and admired for the dignity of her character and the rich endowments of her head and heart. She died some four years ago, in Uniontown, in the ninety-sixth year of her age.

II. William Butler entered the Revolutionary War as Captain in Col. Arthur St. Clair's Battalion, January 5, 1776, and was promoted Major October 7, 1776, serving during the campaign in Canada. Upon the organization of the Pennsylvania Line he was promoted, September 30, 1776, Lieu-

tenant-Colonel of the 4th Regiment.¹ Shortly after the battle of Monmouth he was ordered to Schoharie, New York, with his regiment and a detachment of Morgan's Rifles, to defend the frontiers of New York from Indian incursions. Simm's History of Schoharie County gives an interesting account of the activity of this command during the winter of 1778-9. In June, 1779, he joined Gen. James Clinton's command, and came down the river to take part in Sullivan's expedition. He was the favorite of the family, and was boasted of by this race of heroes as the coolest and bravest man in battle they had ever known. When the army was greatly reduced in rank and file, and there were many superfluous officers, they organized themselves into a separate corps, and elected him to the command. Gen. Washington, however, declined receiving this novel corps of commissioned soldiers, but in a testimonial, of which they were very proud, did honor to their devoted patriotism. He retired from the service January 1, 1783, and died in Pittsburgh in 1789, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard.

Col. Wm. Butler had two sons. One died in the navy; the other was a subaltern officer in Wayne's Army in the battle with the Indians in 1794.

III. Capt. Thomas Butler was a student of law in Judge Wilson's office, when, January 5, 1776, he was commissioned 1st Lieutenant of his brother William's company in Col. Arthur St. Clair's Battalion, and October 4, 1776, was promoted Captain in the 3d Pennsylvania. At the battle of Brandywine he received the thanks of Gen. Washington on the field, through the commander's aid Gen. Hamilton, for his intrepid conduct in rallying some retreating troops, and checking the enemy by a severe fire; and at Monmouth Gen. Wayne thanked him for defending a defile in the face of a severe fire from the enemy, while Col. Richard Butler's regiment made good its retreat. At the close of the war he became a farmer, but entered the army again as Major in 1791.

[¹ For some account of the Colonel of this regiment, Lambert Cadwalader, see the *MAGAZINE*, Vol. VI. pp. 209 *et seq.*—ED.]

At St. Clair's defeat he headed a bayonet charge on horseback, though his leg had been broken by a ball. It was with great difficulty that his surviving brother Edward removed him from the field. In 1794 he was Lieut.-Col. Commandant of the 4th sub-legion at Fort Fayette, Pittsburgh, which he prevented the insurgents from taking more by his name and threats than by his force. In 1803 he was arrested by the commanding General Wilkinson, at Fort Adams on the Mississippi, and sent to Maryland, where he was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted of all the charges *save that of wearing his hair*.¹ He returned to New Orleans and took command, but was rearrested. He died September 7, 1805, aged 57. Out of the arrest and persecution of this sturdy veteran, Washington Irving (Knickerbocker) has worked up a fine piece of burlesque, in which Gen. Wilkinson's character is inimitably delineated in that of the vain and pompous General Von Poffenburgh.

Lieut.-Col. Thomas Butler had three sons. The oldest was Judge Butler; the second, Col. Robert Butler, was Gen. Jackson's chief-of-staff throughout the war of 1812; while the third, William E. Butler, also served in Gen. Jackson's Army.

IV. Percival Butler was commissioned 1st Lieutenant in the 3d Pennsylvania, Col. Thomas Craig's regiment, September 1, 1777, when he was only eighteen years old. He wintered at Valley Forge, served in the battle of Monmouth, and was at the capture of Cornwallis. He went south with Wayne, and remained there until the close of the war. He emigrated to Kentucky in 1784, and married Miss Hawkins, of Lexington, sister-in-law of Col. Todd, who was killed in the battle of Blue Licks. He was the only survivor of the old stock when the war of 1812 began. He was made Adjutant-General of Kentucky, and in that capacity joined one of the detachments of troops sent off from that State.

Percival Butler had four sons: first, Thomas, who was a captain and aid to Gen. Jackson at New Orleans; next, Gen.

¹ [In disobedience of Wilkinson's well-known order to cut off queues, with regard to which see Dr. Murray's article hereafter cited.—ED.]

William O. Butler, who distinguished himself greatly in the war of 1812, and was candidate for Vice-President in 1848; third, Richard, Assistant Adjutant-General of Kentucky during the war of 1812; and fourth, Percival Butler, a distinguished lawyer, who was not of age to bear arms in the war of 1812.

V. Edward Butler, the youngest of the five brothers, was too young to enter the army at the first stages of the Revolution, but at an early age was made an Ensign of his brother Richard's 9th Pennsylvania Regiment. January 28, 1779, he was promoted Lieutenant, and continued in the army until the close of the Revolution, being then, 1783, a Lieutenant in the 2d Pennsylvania. He was a Captain at St. Clair's defeat, and subsequently was Adjutant-General of Gen. Wayne's Army.

Of these five brothers four had sons, all of whom, with one exception, were engaged in the military or naval service of the country during the war of 1812. Of the second generation nine at least served in the Mexican War, Maj.-Gen. William O. Butler being second in command in the battle of Monterey, under Gen. Zachary Taylor.¹

¹ Since filing this article for publication I have read Rev. Dr. J. A. Murray's very interesting monograph on "The Butlers of Cumberland Valley" in *The Historical Register* of January, 1883 (Dr. Wm. H. Egle, editor, Harrisburg, Pa.). I am at a loss to reconcile Mr. Blair's statement that the three older brothers were born in Ireland, with Dr. Murray's very circumstantial account of Richard Butler "taking up land near Conewago, May 17, 1743," where the family lived for some time, "subsequently removing to West Pennsboro, Cumberland County," and that all the sons were born in Pennsylvania. I suppose Mr. Blair's account was traditionary, and that the Dr. has anchored to the written record. From Dr. Murray's article I quote: Richard, born April 1, 1743; William, born January 6, 1745, died May 16, 1789; Thomas, born May 28, 1748; Eleanor, born about 1754; Percival, born April 6, 1760, died Sept. 9, 1821; Edward, born March 20, 1762, died May 6, 1803. Edward G. W. Butler, son of Edward, was Colonel of 3d U. S. Dragoons in the Mexican War, and is still living in Louisiana, aged 83 years. The wife of the latter died in 1875, the nearest relative of General and Mrs. Washington. She was a daughter of Lawrence Lewis and Eleanor P. Custis.—J. B. L.

[Mr. Linn's statement with regard to the place of birth of Richard Butler is corroborated in the following article, which follows the family bible.—Ed.]

BIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL RICHARD BUTLER.

BY SIMON GRATZ.

(Centennial Collection.)

Richard Butler, one of the most distinguished officers of the Pennsylvania line during the War for Independence, was the eldest child of Thomas and Elinor Butler, and was born on the 1st of July, 1743, in the Parish of St. Bridget's, Dublin, Ireland.

Shortly after the birth of Richard his father emigrated to America, and, in the year 1748, settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, whence he removed to Mount Pleasant, in Cumberland County, where he engaged in farming. In these places the early life of Richard was passed.

About the year 1770, Richard and his brother William (who, subsequently, attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of one of the Pennsylvania Regiments) settled at Pittsburgh (then a small village) and entered into partnership as Indian traders.

During the troubles which, in the years 1774 and 1775, grew out of the dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, concerning the western boundary of the former province, Richard Butler warmly espoused the cause of Pennsylvania, and took an active part in raising a company of one hundred men to sustain the authority of Pennsylvania, and to resist that of Dr. John Conolly, whom Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, had appointed commandant of Fort Pitt.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, he entered the service of the Colonies, as one of the Agents of the Commissioners for the Middle Department of Indians—a position which he was peculiarly fitted to fill, by reason of the knowledge and experience which he had acquired as a trader with the Indian Nations embraced in this department.

In this capacity he served, with great energy and activity,

for more than a year. The services which he thus rendered seem to have been highly appreciated by the Continental Congress; for, May 16, 1776, that body adopted the following resolution: "Whereas Captain Richard Butler, by accepting the office of Agent in the Middle Department of Indians, has lost the opportunity of being appointed a Captain in the Continental service; Resolved, That Congress will, as soon as possible, compensate for that disappointment to him, by some promotion in their service."

The promised promotion came quickly. On July 20, 1776, upon the recommendation of the Convention of Pennsylvania, he was elected, by Congress, Major of the battalion ordered to be raised for the defence of the western frontiers. His active service, as an officer, commenced at this time, and lasted until the close of the war.

By resolution of Congress, passed November 12, 1777, for settling the relative rank of the officers of the Pennsylvania line, it was ordered that Richard Butler's commission, as a Lieutenant-Colonel, should bear date September 28, 1776; and on the 7th of June, 1777, he was commissioned as Colonel of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

In the year 1777, when Colonel (afterwards General) Daniel Morgan's famous Rifle Corps was organized, Butler was selected as its Lieutenant-Colonel. With this corps he participated in several sharp actions in New Jersey, and in the battles of Bemis's Heights and Stillwater. At Stillwater he had the honor of leading the corps of riflemen against the right wing of the British Army. After the surrender of Burgoyne, at which he was present, he was ordered to New Jersey, with a separate command of riflemen. Soon after he was transferred to the command of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment. At the storming of Stony Point he commanded the left column of the American Army. He was with his regiment at the time of the revolt (so called) of the Pennsylvania line; and, being greatly respected and beloved by the troops, was enabled to render valuable assistance to General Wayne in quelling the revolt and in allaying the well-grounded feeling of discontent which had occasioned it.

Garden, in his "Anecdotes of the American Revolution," speaks of Butler in the following terms: "He was, from the commencement to the end of his military career, considered as an officer of superior talent. Much of the celebrity of Morgan's Rifle Regiment (declared by Gen. Burgoyne to be the finest marksmen in the world) was derived from his skill in training, and example in leading them to victory."

Under the terms of the Resolution of Congress, passed September 30, 1783, providing "that the Secretary at War issue to all officers in the army, under the rank of Major-General, who hold the same rank now that they held in the year 1777, a brevet commission one grade higher than their present rank," Col. Butler became entitled to the commission of Brigadier-General by brevet; and it can scarcely be doubted that such a commission was issued to him.

After the close of the war, Congress elected him one of the Commissioners to negotiate treaties with the Six Nations and other Indian tribes. Having discharged this duty he was chosen Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District.

In the year 1788 he was elected, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, Lieutenant of the County of Allegheny—an office which he held until his appointment as one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas for the same county.

In 1790 he was chosen State Senator for the district composed of the counties of Westmoreland and Allegheny.

In 1791, he was made second in command, with the rank of Major-General, of the army organized by Gen. St. Clair for an expedition against the western Indians; and commanded the right wing of the American Army in the disastrous battle fought on November 4, 1791. "It was on this occasion," says Garden, in his *Revolutionary Anecdotes*, "that the intrepid Butler closed his military career in death—his coolness preserved, and courage remaining unshaken, till the last moment of existence. While enabled to keep the field, his exertions were truly heroic. He repeatedly led his men to the charge, and with slaughter drove the

enemy before him; but, being at length compelled to retire to his tent, from the number and severity of his wounds, he was receiving surgical aid, when a ferocious warrior, rushing into his presence, gave him a mortal blow with his tomahawk. But even then the gallant soldier died not unrevenged. He had anticipated this catastrophe; and, discharging a pistol which he held in his hand, lodged its contents in the breast of his enemy, who, uttering a hideous yell, fell by his side and expired."

Several years after this disastrous battle, Cornplanter, the noted Indian chief, returned to Gen. Butler's widow the medal of the Society of Cincinnati, which was on his person at the time he was killed; and assured her that her husband had not been scalped, nor his body mutilated.

It is most probable that the battle-field on which the General fell became the last resting place of his remains. If his grave is elsewhere, its location is unknown.

EDWARD SHIPPEN,
CHIEF-JUSTICE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY LAWRENCE LEWIS, JR.

Edward Shippen, the third of that name in this country, was the son of Edward and Sarah Shippen.¹ He was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 16th day of February, 1729. Of his early education we have no authentic account. One biographer,² indeed, has thought fit to dwell with complacency upon "his attention to his studies, his respectfulness and submission to his preceptors, the engaging affability of his manners and the propriety and decorum of his general deportment." It is to be feared, however, that much of this glowing eulogy should be attributed to the partiality of the writer rather than to the merit of his subject. This only we are fairly entitled to presume, that, being the son of a prosperous merchant and well-known citizen, he enjoyed to the full whatever educational facilities the Philadelphia of his time afforded.

In 1746, having reached the age of seventeen years, young Shippen entered upon the study of the law in the office of Tench Francis, Esq., the most noted counsel then at the Philadelphia bar, whose practice was large and lucrative, and who was in the following year appointed to be Attorney-General of the Province.

In such an office it may well be believed that Mr. Shippen had an excellent opportunity to become acquainted with the practical details of his intended profession. We have his own authority for the statement that at some time during this

[¹ For a brief genealogical reference to this family, see the *MAGAZINE*, vol. v. p. 453, and vol. vi. p. 332; and, for fuller information, Mr. Balch's *Shippen Papers*, and Mr. Keith's *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*.—ED.]

² Dr. Charles Caldwell, *Portfolio*, 1810.

period he drafted with his own hand the first "common recovery" ever suffered in Pennsylvania,¹ and it was no doubt by just such practical experience as this that he laid the foundation of that extensive and useful knowledge of Pennsylvania precedents for which he was afterwards so justly noted.

But, however thoroughly the practical details of a lawyer's business might be acquired in Pennsylvania, there was at that time little or no chance for a student to become familiarly acquainted with the more abstruse parts of his profession, the great underlying principles of English jurisprudence, and their application to controversies between man and man. Books were scarce, and well-trained lawyers few. Beside Tench Francis, John Ross and John Moland were the only counsel of note at the bar. Nor was the bench much better supplied, so that cases were too frequently settled according to the untutored dictates of natural justice rather than by the fixed and immutable principles of law. It was, therefore, determined that Mr. Shippen, having spent two years in the pursuit of his legal studies, should complete them under more favorable auspices, that he should be entered regularly at one of the London inns of court, and by pursuing the course of studies then in vogue should duly qualify himself for admission to practice as a barrister.

With this intent Mr. Shippen in 1748 sailed from Philadelphia. An interesting account of his voyage and arrival in London will be found in the following extract from a letter written by him to his brother Joseph shortly after his arrival:—

"LONDON, Feb. 25th, 1748-9.

Dear Joe . . . You desire that I should give you a particular account of my voyage, which I shall do with the greatest pleasure, though the narration may not be altogether so agreeable as you could wish. For eight days after we left the Capes we had as fine winds and pleasant weather as one could possibly desire, in which time we had run to the outermost part of the Banks of Newfoundland, something above a third part of our passage; the eighth day, about nine o'clock, we had a storm come on from the northwest so sud-

¹ *Morris's Lessee v. Smith*, 1 Yeates, 238-244; *Lyle v. Richards*, 9 S. & R. 322-332.

denly that we could not possibly get our sails furled time enough to prevent the violence of the wind from tearing our mainsail and foresail all to pieces. The maintop yard was lowered and the sail furled but the fury of the wind drove the yard from its proper place quite up to the head of the maintop-mast, blew the sail loose and made it stand abroad like a vane. We continued in this situation for about an hour, without any further damage, when the gale increased to such a degree, that we could not by any means keep the ship before the wind, but she violently broached to, and we must have inevitably gone to the bottom, had not the captain very seasonably cut away the mizzen-mast, which brought her to rights. Some time after this, the wind raged still more and obliged the ship, notwithstanding the loss of our mizzen-mast, to broach to a second time, and now we had lost all hopes and thought that nothing less than a miracle could save us from the impending ruin. The ship lay on her beam ends, so that one could sit straight up on her side and we expected every moment to perish. The sailors were so disheartened that they would not work a stroke, but quitted the deck, every man but one, and retired to their cabins to pray. After lying some time in this melancholy posture, we had the good fortune to have our maintop-mast with the head of our mainmast blown away; which took away so much of the power of the wind over us, that we righted once more, and got before the wind and thus we continued, exposed to the mercy of the winds and seas, till about six o'clock in the morning, when we found the storm somewhat abating, and, in about two hours afterwards, we had but a very moderate gale. But to have seen the havoc that was made upon deck and the miserable plight we were reduced to from the loss of our sails and masts and the shattered condition of everything about us would have made men of more philosophy than any of us feel concerned, even after the abatement of the wind. But, thank God, this terrible storm was succeeded by three or four days of very fine weather, which gave us time to mend our sails and put ourselves in as good a posture for proceeding with the voyage as could possibly be expected from people in our condition, yet we thought ourselves so unfit to enter into the English channel, that we consulted several times whether it was not most proper to put into Lisbon to refit. But the captain's opinion prevailed that we should stand for the channel and put into the first harbor in England, in case it should be thick or stormy weather. So we proceeded and arrived safe in the Downs the twenty-seventh day after we left the Capes. We landed at Deal and

took coaches for London, where we have had the pleasure of congratulating one other upon our deliverance. . . . Since I have been in London I have enjoyed a very good state of health and have spent some time in seeing all the curiosities of this populous city, which I shall forbear to particularize at present. The relation will serve to pass an hour or two of our winter evenings when we get together again.

Give my love to mammy, and tell her I have her often in my mind, and wish she could mention anything that would be agreeable to her from hence. I should take great pleasure in supplying her.

Remember me kindly to Uncle Billy and his family, Mr. Willing and his family, Billy and Jemmy Logan, Tommy Smith, and all friends; and, dear Joe, accept my hearty love to yourself, and believe me your very loving and affectionate brother,

EDWD. SHIPPEN, JR.¹

The London to which Mr. Shippen was now introduced must indeed have been a new world to him. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had just been concluded, and the town was full of the fêtes and rejoicings incident to the return of peace.

As he went down to the Great Hall at Westminster he must have seen figures passing and repassing whose memory he must have loved to dwell upon in maturer years. There turning his steps to the House stalked Mr. Speaker Onslow, with ponderous wig and gown, Pelham the prime minister of the realm, the uncouth, unwieldy form of the Duke of Newcastle, and the lithe active figure of a certain late cornet of horse, then paymaster-general of the forces, no less a person than the future Lord Chatham. Here striding in with nervous energy was a shrewd Scotchman who, any bystander could have informed him, was the Solicitor-General, Mr. Murray, the great Lord Mansfield yet to be. There too were Henry Fox and Charles Townshend, and a score of others whose names were within a single decade to be coupled either with execrations or with blessings by American lips.

Crossing to the other side of the Great Hall, he no doubt saw Chief-Justice Lee in the King's Bench and Lord Hard-

¹ Balch's *Shippen Papers*, p. 13.

wicke, the father of English Equity Jurisprudence, in the marble chair.

Outside in the streets he beheld the very scenes of which Hogarth has left us the imperishable memorials. The gaols were full to repletion of Jacobite prisoners. But two short years before Lords Kilmarnock, Lovat, and Balmerino had lost their heads on Tower Green, and those blackening trophies of vengeance empaled on the spikes of Temple Bar must often have attracted his eye as he went to and forth from his lodgings.

If he sought the more fashionable part of the town, he may have seen Mr. Horace Walpole, or Mr. George Selwyn, idly sauntering along to White's, or in the Park he may have met the great Lord Chesterfield, the Duke of Cumberland (Billy the Butcher, as the Jacobites called him), Lady Mary Wortley Montague in her chair, or perhaps Mr. Garrick refreshing himself by a stroll for Macbeth, or King Richard the Third, in the evening.

Notwithstanding the many attractions by which he was surrounded, Mr. Shippen did not fail to maintain a lively correspondence with his family at home. The following letter to his brother-in-law James Burd is of interest, both on account of the amiable light in which the character of the writer is displayed, and the glimpse we catch of the Paris of a century and a half ago:—

“LONDON, 1st August, 1749.

DEAR JEMMY

Your kind Fav^r via Ireland I received, containing the agreeable acct of Sally's Delivery with the Welfare of herself and little one which demands my hearty Congratulations. I sincerely wish the dear Infant may prove a Blessing and Lasting pleasure to you both. If you can convey my Blessing to it by a Kiss, pray give it an hearty one immediately. I am highly pleased with your Smoothing-Iron over the Disappointment (as you call it) of a nephew. I have attempted a French Letter to Sally as I suppose she would naturally expect one from a Brother just return'd from France. If she has time to spare from attending my little niece and has not forgot her French I make no Doubt she will try an answ^r in the same Language.

You acquaint me of your acting a play the last Winter to the Satisfaction of all Spectators. I am glad that Spirit is kept up, because it is an amusement the most useful of any to Young People and I heartily wish it would spread itself to y^e younger Sort, I mean School Boys. For I think there is no method so proper to teach them Grace of Speech and an elegant Pronunciation and withal there is nothing that emboldens a Lad and rids him of his natural Bashfulness and fear so much as this. I now feel more concern on account of the Education of Youth in my own Country than ever I did. I see how much we are defective in opportunities to give them Learning and how much we are excelled by those in Europe. As you are beginning to be master of a Family there I make no question but Thoughts on this Subject frequently occur to your mind.

I am glad to hear that all our Ships that went for Philadelphia this Spring are arrived but Mesnard, and am still gladder on your acco^t that there is a good Sale of Goods. I doubt not you will be able to manage your affairs so as not to give Cause of Complaint to any gentleman here.

I am lately return'd from making a short Trip into France. I think a man that comes to England to see the World is inexcusable in peaceable times if he does not visit that metropolis of the polite World. I have been entertained with an Hospitality and Politeness quite answerable to the general character of that nation. Paris is a beautiful City. The Houses all built with a fine white Stone and covered with Slate make a charming appearance.

The public Buildings exceed those in England vastly, especially the Palaces. Versailles is very justly the pride of France and admiration of the whole World. Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and all the Polite Arts flourish greatly in that Kingdom. There is so much Encouragement for these things that many People imagine France will in a little time be the center of the Arts and Sciences. She increases daily and if England is not cautious she may take from us something more than the Arts and Sciences.

I suppose Capt. Stupart will be sail^d before this reaches you. If not, I desire my compliments to him, and dont forget me to all Relations and Friends. Mr. Lardner, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Smith, Mr. Trotter & Mr. Kidd are in the number of these. Give my Love particularly to Uncle Billy. I pray God bless you and am

Your affectionate Brother,
EDWD. SHIPPEN, JR.^m

¹ Original in possession of Chas. R. Hildeburn, Esq.

To return, however, more particularly to Mr. Shippen's career. He had within a month or so after his arrival in London been duly entered as a student of law at the Middle Temple. The character of his studies and the nature of his prospects may be learned by the following extract from a letter written by him to his father:—

“LONDON, Jan. 23, 1749-50.

I have according to your desire visited Mr. Richard Penn, who made me very welcome, and yesterday I had the honour of dining with him. . . . I am sorry that I have to inform you that I am disappointed in my expectations of being called to the bar at this term; the occasion of it I could not possibly prevent. Every student before he comes to the Bar is obliged to perform six vacation exercises, three candle-light exercises and two new-ium exercises which he is not allowed to do alone but must join with another student. I had calculated matters so as to have performed them all before the end of this term; but, unluckily for me, the gentleman who was my companion in the exercises, having some engagements in the country, could not attend at the time appointed for the performance of one of the vacation exercises, which obliged me to defer that duty until next vacation, so that it will be Easter Term before I can be possibly called, unless I consent to compound for vacation exercises, which would cost me near twenty pounds. I know, sir, that you expect me to leave England by March or February, which makes me at a loss how to act. But I am reduced to the necessity of either returning home without being made a barrister, and so making all my expenses at the Temple useless, or of prolonging my stay in England two or three months. The former I am sensible would not be so agreeable to you, and since I have gone so far at the Temple, I believe I must stay and see it out and depend on your goodness to send me about £30 upon my coming away. According to my calculation, that amount, together with the money you have already favored me with, and the £20 you order Storke to let me have will suffice with frugality to maintain me till my departure and defray the expenses of my being called to the bar. All that I shall then want further will be some £30 or £40 for my gown and tie-wig, a suit of clothes, my sea-stores and passage. Easter Term is in May, but I cannot take the oaths until about the middle of June, after which I shall leave in the first vessel. In the mean time, I hope you

will furnish me with the money necessary to complete my affairs with advantage and to quit England with credit."¹

He succeeded, however, in completing his studies earlier than he had anticipated, for he was duly called and took the necessary oaths in the early part of May, and on the seventh of that month wrote to his father as follows:—

"I am preparing for my voyage in Capt. Adams — who talks of sailing next week; we have all the prospect in the world of an agreeable passage, having a good lot of company, a fine ship and the best season of the year."²

Mr. Shippen had, according to his expectation, a favorable return passage, and almost immediately upon his arrival addressed the following letter to his father:—

"PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1750.

Hon'd Sir. My Mind has been much employed for about a Twelvemonth past about an affair, which, tho' often mentioned to you by others, has never been revealed by myself, and, as I can now no longer bear the anxiety of mind which a state of suspense in matters of consequence is always attended with, I must open myself to you and beg your best advice and assistance. Miss Peggy Francis has for a long time appeared to me the most amiable of her Sex, and tho' I might have paid my Addresses, possibly with success, where it would have been more agreeable to you, yet as Our Affections are not always in our Power to command, ever since my Acquaintance with this young Lady I have been utterly incapable of entertaining a thought of any other. I know, Sir, your Sentiments of these matters are more than usually generous and therefore I can with the greater Confidence ask your consent in this Affair, especially when I assure you 'tis the only Thing can make me happy. If I had obtained a Girl with a considerable Fortune, no doubt the world would have pronounced me happier, but, as in my own Notion, Happiness does not consist in being thought happy by the World, but in the internal Satisfaction and Contentment of the mind, I must beg leave to say I am a better Judge for myself of what will procure it than they: yet I am not so carried away by my Passion as to exclude the considera-

¹ Balch's *Shippen Papers*, 17.

² Shippen Papers, MS. In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

tion of money matters altogether; without a Prospect of a comfortable subsistence, 'tis madness to marry. That Prospect I think I have. With a little Assistance in setting out, my Business, with Frugality, can't fail to maintain me, and a bare support with one I love is to me a much preferable State to great affluence with a Person one regards with indifference. Be pleased, Sir, to let me know your sentiments of this affair as soon as possible. For tho' I might not press a very speedy conclusion of it, yet I am anxious to know my Fate.

I am Dear Sir

Your Very affectionate
and dutiful Son
EDWARD SHIPPEN, JUNR.¹

Some difficulties ensued in relation to the marriage settlements, which were, however, speedily overcome; and the engagement of Mr. Shippen to Miss Peggy Francis was in the following autumn announced.

Meantime his natural talents, family connections, and the prestige of his London education secured for him a fair share of business. In the Docket of the Supreme Court for September Term, 1750, the following entry occurs:—

“On the 25th Sept^r 1750 Edward Shippen Jun^r Esq^r produced his certificate from the Treasurer of the Middle Temple that he is utter Barrister of the Society of that Temple which was read.”²

We have some reason also to conclude that shortly after this time he was retained in some cases of note.

On the 22d of November, 1752, Mr. Shippen received the appointment of Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court—a station of some importance and considerable pecuniary value.³ The admiralty court-house in which he now heard causes was situated over the market at Third Street at some little distance from the other Provincial courts, as though to mark the difference of jurisdiction and practice existing between

¹ Shippen Papers, MS. In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Supreme Court Docket, Sept. 24, 1750, to Sept. 29, 1750, p. 32.

³ 4 Penn. Arch. 600; 2 Proud's Hist. of Penna. 291; Gordon's Penna. 623, App.; 8 Col. Rec. 171; *Vasse v. Ball*, 2 Yeates, 178-182.

them.¹ These advances in wealth and dignity now prompted Mr. Shippen to take another and most important step in life. He was on the 29th of November, 1753, married to Margaret the daughter of his former preceptor Mr. Francis. His wife brought him a dowry of £500, part of which he expended in extending his library. His father at about the same time presented him with a house on Walnut Street in which he began his married life.²

Meantime his reputation for ability and prudence seems to have been steadily and surely on the increase. In April, 1756, the perpetration of a fiendish Indian massacre in the western part of the State had lashed the people into a great commotion. An indignant and tumultuous crowd gathered at Lancaster clamoring for vengeance and setting at naught the efforts of the local authorities to control their passion within reasonable bounds. The Governor accordingly, on the 15th of the month, dispatched a commission to these people to persuade them quietly to disperse. Of this commission Mr. Shippen was one. Its mediation was entirely effectual, for upon its appeal the mob separated at once without further trouble.³

On October 7, 1755, Mr. Shippen was chosen as a common councilman of the City of Philadelphia,⁴ and on May 27, 1758, was elected town clerk, and also clerk of the council.⁵ These offices he retained until the Revolution.

Of the kind of life then led in Philadelphia we catch various glimpses in his letters to his father who was then Prothonotary at Lancaster. The following extracts are selected from a large mass of business correspondence, in the main hopelessly dry and unentertaining:—

“Jan. 17, 1755.

As to a Book of Precedents for Writs I know of no such things in English. I have an exceeding good one in Latin

¹ 1 Forum, 264, note.

² Letter, Edw. Shippen, Jr., to his Father, Sept. 14, 1753. Shippen Papers MS., in Collection of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

³ 7 Col. Rec. 93.

⁴ Minutes of Common Council, Oct. 7, 1755.

⁵ Minutes of Common Council, May 27, 1758.

called *Officina Brevium*, but as I have daily occasion for it I cannot possibly spare it out of my office, besides it is a science to understand the Law Latin. I cannot think you have any sort of occasion for such a Book, as the Lawyers whenever they want a writ of a special nature draw it themselves."¹

"April 8, 1756.

The sore throat has run through the whole town; many have had it very dangerously. The way of treating it that is most successful is to bleed very freely upon the first symptoms appearing, to use a Gargle of Sage Tea, Honey and Vinegar, to take strong purging Pills, if the Throat is well enough to let them down which mine was not, so that I was obliged to put up with liquid purges. If there is like to be a gathering which will break or require to be lanced, leave off the Purges and the vinegar out of the Gargle and wait the event, taking warm diluting drink and keeping the parts very warm. Relapses are brought on with the very least cold."²

"March 30, 1758.

The Doctor (William Shippen) has been at Princeton these 2 months; he has inoculated great numbers there for the small pox. The President, Mr. Edwards, died; otherwise he has been very successful."³

"Oct. 9, 1760.

I have enquired at all the Booksellers' shops for Garth's *Metamorphoses* and Trap's *Virgil*, but can get neither. I had Ovid's *Metam.* translated into English verse by several Hands in two volumes, which I would have sent you, but can find only one volume. . . . I have got your clothes from Cottringer. Jerry Warder promises to have your Hat done to-morrow and so does your Joyner the Table and the Box. . . . I formerly had Dryden's *Virgil* in English verse. I thought you had it."⁴

Like most Americans of his time Mr. Shippen was extremely proud of the prowess of the Provincial troops, and it was with singular interest that he watched and recorded every occasion when they won the laurels of the day. "The New England Men," he wrote to his father on March 13, 1755-6, referring to their services in Acadia and about Lake George, "are now esteemed the champions of the American

¹ Shippen Papers MS., in Collection of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

World.”¹ “Bradstreet your countryman,” he writes again on Sept. 15, 1758, after the gallant capture of Fort Frontenac, “has done bravely. Saying Provincials are worthless troops won’t go down, now; and the story that the repulse at Carillon was owing to the backwardness of the irregulars, won’t be believed in England when they hear that an American, with about 3000 Provincials marched into the very heart of an enemy’s country and took a Fortress which is the very key to all the French settlements on the Lakes.”²

But, notwithstanding these natural sentiments of pride, Mr. Shippen like many others of peaceable and conservative disposition looked with horror upon the widening gap between the colonies and the mother country. Keenly alive to the tyranny to which he in common with his countrymen was subjected, he could see no remedy, which, in his estimation, was safe, and most particularly deprecated the making of a resistance which it seemed to him must inevitably prove futile. He thus writes to his father, concerning the insolent and overbearing conduct of General Braddock relative to the supplies for his expedition:—

“PHILADELPHIA, March 19, 1755-6.

The Governor has laid before the Assembly a most alarming letter from General Braddock, which charges them in strong terms with faction and disaffection . . . and lets them know that he is determined to obtain by unpleasant means, what it is their duty to contribute with the utmost cheerfulness. The Assembly know not how to stomach this military address, but ’tis thought it will frighten them into some reasonable measures, as it must be a vain thing to contend with a General at the head of an army, though he should act an arbitrary part; especially as in all probability he will be supported in everything at home.”³

An additional incentive for entertaining these sentiments was afforded him by his appointment on September 24, 1765,⁴ as Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, an office which does

¹ Balch's *Shippen Papers*, 34.

² Shippen Papers, Collection of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

³ Balch's *Shippen Papers*, 35.

⁴ Martin's Lists in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

not seem to have been inconsistent with the discharge of his judicial duties, and which certainly did not prevent his attending to the details of a rapidly growing practice.

The next year came the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, a measure which afforded Mr. Shippen sincere joy as promising to effect a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country. The news arrived in Philadelphia on April 6, 1766, and he thus concludes a letter to his father of that date: "I am stopt short with the joyful news of the Stamp Act being repealed. I wish you and all America joy."¹

In 1770 Mr. Shippen suffered a great decrease in the amount of revenue which he derived from his judicial position. His remuneration consisted entirely of fees levied upon the various suitors, and of course was increased or diminished in proportion as the business was abundant or scanty. In this year Jared Ingersoll received the appointment of Commissioner of Appeals in Admiralty, and accordingly set up a tribunal which seems to have been of co-ordinate jurisdiction with the Vice-Admiralty Court, and to have drawn away most of the causes from it.²

On December 12, of the same year, Mr. Shippen had, however, the satisfaction of being nominated as a member of the Provincial Council,³ a station in which he served the Province faithfully for nearly five years, as the minutes of that body will show.

The renewed troubles with the ministry in England were now viewed by Mr. Shippen with increasing apprehension and distress. As far as can be ascertained he took no part in any of the popular measures on behalf of the colonial cause. Quietly discharging the routine of the offices which he held, he preferred to stand aloof from the scenes of excitement about him and to await the event of the collision between the colonies and the mother country which now seemed every day more imminent. One curious result of the

¹ Shippen Papers, Collection of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

² Martin's Lists in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

³ 9 Col. Rec. 704.

discontinuance of the use of tea by the American people is noted in the following extract from a letter to his father:—

“April 20, 1775.

Peggy has searched every Shop in town for a blue and white China Coffee Pot, but no such thing is to be had, nor indeed any other sort that can be called handsome. Since the disuse of Tea great numbers of People have been endeavoring to supply themselves with Coffee Pots. My Brother, having no Silver one, has taken pains to get a China one, but without success.”¹

At length the Revolution came, bringing with it a train of evils to all those who were unfortunate enough to entertain opinions like Mr. Shippen's. He was of course at once deprived of his offices and dignities, nor did the troubled nature of the times and the great mercantile and financial depression and distress allow him much opportunity to continue the practice of his profession. Mistrusted by the authorities of the State, he was by order of the Supreme Executive Council placed on his parole to give neither succor nor information to the enemy, and was bound with sureties not to depart further than a limited distance from his home.² “I intended to have visited you this summer,” he writes to his father on July 12, 1777, “but the Test Act stands in my way.”³ The following very interesting letters to his brother-in-law, Jasper Yeates, express clearly his political views during the early stages of the war:—

“19th Jan'y 1776.

Dear Sir, I inclose you the bill for your settee and chair which Mr. Fleeson thought it necessary to accompany with an apology on acct of its being much higher than he gave Mrs. Shippen reason to expect it would be; he says every material which he has occasion to buy is raised in its price from its scarcity and the prevailing Exorbitance of the storekeepers.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken about Tush and Crawford. If I do not find a safe opportunity of sending

¹ Shippen Papers, MS., in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

² 11 Col. Rec. 269.

³ Shippen Papers, in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

up Tush's bond before your next Court I shall do it then. I find the practice of taking securities in silver dollars is becoming common. The Trustees of our college as well as other people have done the like and I don't find it is like to give any uneasiness.

The repulse our troops have met with at Quebec, with the death of Montgomery and the loss of all Arnold's men give us but little reason to expect a reduction of Canada this winter. However, the Congress have ordered five or six regiments to be sent there immediately. We have had Lord Drummond with us for about a fortnight. He left England in September, and was so much with Lord North and others of the administration before his coming away, that he appears to know all the designs of the ministry respecting America. He has had many free conversations with several gentlemen of the Congress since his arrival, and I hope with some effect. He tells us the ministry see the destructive consequences of the present contest in its fullest light and are extremely desirous to have an end of it, that they would gladly receive any proposals from America which had the least tendency to produce an accommodation, and would even dispense with forms and receive them from the Congress, but that they apprehend the loss of America unless they make vigorous efforts next summer, which they will most certainly do. He thinks that before any blow is struck terms will be held out by the General which will be mild, but, if not accepted, any Exertion is to be dreaded. He advises the Congress to send gentlemen over immediately to treat, as the surest means both to preserve their own consequence and to serve America, as he thinks it probable the Colonies may divide about the propriety of accepting the terms which will be offered when the Army comes over, in which case the Congress will be in danger of being forsaken. Whatever the Congress may do I don't find any disposition for sending over persons to negotiate. I am told, however, a majority are for moderation, but how long this will last is uncertain, as every unlucky event inflames and every successful one elates.

A Book called *Common Sense*, wrote in favor of a total separation from England, seems to gain ground with the common people; it is artfully wrote, yet might be easily refuted. This idea of an Independence, tho' some time ago abhorred, may possibly by degrees become so familiar as to be cherished. It is in everybody's mouth as a thing absolutely necessary in case foreign troops should be landed, as if this step alone would enable us to oppose them with success. A Gentleman

of some weight in the Congress told me, he wished some of the country committees and other public bodies would somehow or other signify their disapprobation of an Independence as a step that would strengthen the hands of the advocates for a reconciliation in the Congress. I am told the Convention of Maryland are about something of that sort, and you must have observed the instructions of the people of New Hampshire to their delegates in the Provincial Congress run in the same strain.

My Best love to Sally and all the family.

I am D^r Sir

Y^r Very affectionate Hble Serv.

JASPER YEATES, Esq.

EDW. SHIPPEN, JR."¹

"11th March, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

I received your favor of the 19th Febry inclosing £29-7-0 for Mr. Benezet. . . . The dullness of business obliges one to think of collecting ones demands in order to keep ones receipts upon an equality with the current expenses of Housekeeping.

Since the Resolution of the Assembly to increase the number of members I find some of the leading men of your county are very anxious that you should be one of the new members to be elected the first of May. . . . There is certainly a design on foot to reduce the affairs of this province to as great a state of anarchy as will put us on a level with some of the colonies to the Eastward; it therefore seems the part of every good citizen to afford a helping hand to support our tottering constitution. The scheme of the Convention was principally to get Andrew Allen and a few other good men removed from the Congress; they have stood forth and dared to expose the designs of the cunning men of the East, and if they continue members of Congress will prevent this province from falling into their favorite plan of Independency. This will probably be a summer of events, and, if you can think it any way consistent with the good of your private affairs to go into the Assembly for this year or at least till the first of October, I believe it would be very agreeable to all your friends, both here and in your own County, who all think that at this time you may be particularly useful. You, however, can judge better for yourself than any other person.

I am D^r Sir your very affectionate humble Serv^t

EDW. SHIPPEN, JR."²

¹ Original in the possession of Chas. R. Hildeburn, Esq.

² Ibid.

As the war went on Mr. Shippen found his position in Philadelphia growing more and more disagreeable. He finally, therefore, withdrew with his family to his country place near the Falls of Schuylkill, and remained an impassive spectator of the great public events transpiring around him. How he thought and felt at this period is most graphically set forth in the following extracts from letters to his father, written by him in the early part of the year 1777:—

“ Jan. 18, 1777.

Your condition with regard to the income of your offices is to be lamented, and the only consolation you can have is that everybody else is in the same situation. How long matters may thus continue cannot be known, yet I think another summer must necessarily show us our fate. If the war should continue longer than that, we are all ruined as to our estates, whatever may be the state of our liberties. . . . The scarcity and advanced price of every necessary of life makes it extremely difficult for those who have large families, and no share in the present measures, to carry them through, and nothing but the strictest frugality will enable us to do it. . . I live near the Falls of Schuylkill, a very clever retired place, yet am in daily apprehension of every house in town being filled with soldiers, which has been the fate of all which have been left empty. In order to prevent this I now go to town almost every day, that I may be seen in and about my house, which is constantly opened every day, and has all the appearance of being inhabited, and is really lodged in by two or three women every night. By this means I hope to escape the mischief. . . . I have lately had an affliction of another kind. My Son Neddy was sent on an errand by his master into Jersey, where he staid longer than his business required. In order to avoid being pressed in the militia service, when General Howe had advanced as far as Trenton and it was thought he was making his way to Philadelphia, Neddy was prevailed upon by Johnny, Andrew and Billy Allen, to go with them to the British army, which he accordingly did, and was civilly received there by General Howe and the British officers. His companions soon after went to New York, and Neddy remained at Trenton. When the attack was made on the Hessians there, he was accordingly taken prisoner by our army and carried, with others, to General Washington, who, after examining his case, and finding that he had taken no commission nor done any act that showed him inimical, very kindly discharged him, and he is now

with us. Though I highly disapproved of what he had done, yet I could not condemn him as much as I should have done, if he had not been enticed to it by those who were much older, and ought to have judged better than himself.”¹

“ March 11, 1777.

The complexion of the times is still bad. I know not when there will be any alteration for the better. I mean that peace (the most desirable of all human conditions) seems at as great a distance as ever. General Howe in all probability will be in Philadelphia in a month or two, having been reinforced (as it is said) at Brunswick, and General Washington’s army in no condition to prevent him, but his coming to Philadelphia will only be the introduction of all the calamities of war in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia will be as a place besieged by the American army, and the country will be laid waste by the two contending parties. In this dreadful situation of affairs I am at a loss to know how to dispose of my family. Advantages and disadvantages present themselves by turns, whether I determine to remain in Philadelphia or remove to a distance. Your situation is better; you are already at a distance from the seat of war, and may remove still further if necessary, yet no situation is actually exempt from the possibility of danger. We must make the best of it. I presume your office will get into other hands. . . In these times I shall consider a private station as a post of honor, and, if I cannot raise my fortune as high as my desires, I can bring down my desires to my fortune; the wants of our nature are easily supplied, and the rest is but folly and care.”²

When the British took possession of Philadelphia, Mr. Shippen returned with his family to town, and was on terms of intimacy with many of the officers of the British army. His daughters, particularly the youngest, were much flattered and admired, and were considered among the chief belles of the place. Their father, it is true, declined to allow them to attend the “*Meschianza*” after all their preparations were made; but this, there is reason to believe, should be attributed to a just feeling of shame on his part at the indelicacy of the costume in which they were expected to appear, rather than to any unwillingness to allow them to take part in the festivities of an enemy.

¹ Balch’s *Shippen Papers*, 254.

² *Ibid.* 256.

When the Americans again took possession of Philadelphia, Mr. Shippen remained in town. He now found it, however, with his straitened means, very difficult to support the expenses of his family. All kinds of foreign merchandise were almost out of the market, or if for sale only at ruinous prices. On July 3, 1778, he writes to his father:—

“I have sent you by Mr. Yeates half a dozen pounds of chocolate, but I am afraid it will be very difficult to procure Madeira wine at any price; the only pipe I have heard of for sale was limited at eight or nine hundred pounds . . . There is no such thing as syrup, the sugar bakers having all dropped the business a long while. It is possible after some time there may be an importation of French molasses; if so, I will try to get you some.”¹

And again on December 21, of the same year, he writes to the same correspondent:—

“I shall find myself under the necessity of removing from this scene of expense, and I don’t know where I could more properly go than to Lancaster. The common articles of life, such as are absolutely necessary for a family, are not much higher here than at Lancaster; but the style of living my fashionable daughters have introduced into my family and their dress will, I fear, before long oblige me to change the scene. The expense of supporting my family here will not fall short of four or five thousand pounds per annum, an expense insupportable without business. . . . I gave my daughter Betsy to Neddy Burd last Thursday evening, and all is jollity and mirth. My youngest daughter is much solicited by a certain General² on the same subject; whether this will take place or not depends upon circumstances. If it should, I think it will not be till spring. What other changes in my family may take place to forward or prevent my removal from Philadelphia are still uncertain.”³

These plans, however, he was destined never to carry out. When peace was once more established, and the independence of the United States assured, there was at once an imperative necessity for honest and capable public officers; and so uni-

¹ Balch’s *Shippen Papers*, 266.

[² Benedict Arnold, whom Miss Shippen married the following April.—Ed.]

³ Ibid. 268.

versal was the regard and respect in which Mr. Shippen was held, that, notwithstanding the sentiments he had entertained during the Revolution, he was, with the general approbation of the community, called once more to assume the judicial chair.

On May 1, 1784, he was appointed President Judge of the Common Pleas of Philadelphia,¹ an office in which he so conducted himself as to give the public every cause for satisfaction.

On September 16, 1784,² he was appointed Judge of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, for which office he duly qualified on September 21,³ and which he retained until the abolition of the Court.

But the remuneration derived from these offices was small. For the latter he was paid but a pound a day for every day's actual attendance in court, and we know that between the time of his appointment and the 3d of October, 1785, he received in this way but £59.⁴ He thus writes to his brother Joseph about his affairs on New Year's day, 1785:—

“I am not yet absolutely settled in my future plan of living. They have put me into an office which yields me comparatively nothing, and I cannot afford to continue in it unless some allowance be made. The matter is before the Assembly, who seem willing to do something . . . I have the strongest assurances that it shall be pushed at the next meeting of the Assembly. Should it fail, I must betake myself again to my practice . . . it being impossible to support a family in this expensive city without some profitable business.”⁵

In the autumn of 1785, he consented at the solicitation of his friends to be nominated for the office of Justice for the Dock Ward of Philadelphia. The following is the account of the election which he wrote to his brother Joseph:—

“Oct. 2, 1785.

The inhabitants of this district have seen fit to elect me a magistrate, tho' without my solicitation or even wish to

¹ 14 Col. Rec. 103, 1 Dall. 76.

² 14 Col. Rec. 207.

³ Id. 210.

⁴ 16 Col. Rec. 534.

⁵ Shippen Papers MS., in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

accept it; but, as I found an earnest desire in the people to choose some person who might be of use in the magistracy, and also to set an example to the other districts in future, I was prevailed upon to consent to their running me in the Ticket, and though a strong interest was made very early in favor of a Mr. Dean, a Militia Colonel, yet the Gentlemen of the Ward turned out so very generally, that I was elected by a great majority of votes. Tho' I dislike the business and know it will be burthensome, I shall, however, undertake it in Expectation that, having been in this instance the choice of the people, I may be in the way of something more to my mind."¹

On October 3 he was duly commissioned,² and on the following day received an appointment as President of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Oyer and Terminer.³ Both these positions were, however, so irksome to him, that on November 20, 1786, he presented his resignation from them both,⁴ which was duly accepted on the 5th of the following December.⁵

Judge Shippen at this period lived on the west side of Fourth Street near Prune, and kept up apparently an establishment of some pretensions. Like many other Pennsylvanians of his day, he was a slave-holder. He writes to his brother Joseph on September 17, 1790:—

"I have some thoughts of parting with my black man Will; he is my coachman, but not so careful as my other servant; he is, however, sober, and I believe tolerably honest, and a strong healthy fellow, who can do a variety of work; his greatest fault is being rather an eye servant. . . . As I believe you are in want of help, I would let you have him, either to buy or hire, or, if you would like to have him some time on trial, I would have no objection. I think his age is about 32. He cost me £100. You may have him for half that sum."⁶

So satisfactorily did Judge Shippen discharge the duties of his office in the Common Pleas, that on January 29, 1791, he

¹ Shippen Papers MS., in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

² 14 Col. Rec. 548.

³ Id. 549.

⁴ 15 Col. Rec. 130; 11 Pa. Arch. 91.

⁵ 15 Col. Rec. 138.

⁶ Shippen Papers MS., in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.

was made an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the State,¹ an office in which he so conducted himself as to win still more respect and confidence from the community. The following letter to his brother-in-law Jasper Yeates, in reference to the Whiskey Insurrection, shows the lively interest which he took in public affairs:—

“Philadelphia, 6th August, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

The alarming Conduct of the Inhabitants of the Western Counties seems to reduce the general Government to the Dilemma either of risking a civil Commotion by the use of an armed force, or of submitting to the subversion of the Law and of Course to the prostration of the Government of the United States. In this situation the President has conceived the design of sending some respectable Commissioners to meet the inhabitants at a general meeting, which it seems is called by themselves on the 14th of this month, there to represent to them the dreadful consequences of their perseverance and to urge them to a Submission to the Laws, on promises of an amnesty for what is past. I have been asked whether I thought you would consent to be one of those commissioners, some confidence being placed in your negotiatory talents, as well as in the general good opinion entertained of you in that County. All that I could say was that I knew in general your good wishes in favour of the Support of the general Government, and that I did not doubt, if it could at all consist with the situation of your private affairs, you would not hesitate to contribute to a work of such magnitude, especially if your associates were made agreeable to you. On this idea Mr. Bradford has consented to be one, and I believe Mr. James Ross of Washington is expected to be the third. I am requested to represent this matter to your consideration by letter. There certainly has not been a Crisis when the Exertions of every influential Citizen could be so useful—no less perhaps than saving the effusion of some of our best blood.

I am Dear Sir

Your Very affectionate friend & hble Servt
Hon'ble JASPER YEATES, ESQ. EDWD. SHIPPEN.”

In 1799, Chief-Justice McKean was elected Governor of the Commonwealth. He was perfectly acquainted with

¹ 1 Yeates, 7.

Judge Shippen's talents and ability. He, therefore, appointed him Chief-Justice in his own place,¹ an honor which the recipient's long and faithful services in the Province and Commonwealth undoubtedly merited. Judge Shippen continued in office until the latter part of the year 1805, when feeling the infirmities of age creeping upon him he resigned, and on the 16th of the following April (1806) suddenly and quietly died.²

The Philadelphia newspapers of the succeeding day contained the following paragraph.

"On Tuesday, 15 April inst., Died suddenly the Hon. Edward Shippen, late Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the 78th year of his age. At a meeting of the gentlemen of the Bar of Philadelphia, Jared Ingersoll, Esq., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved that the Gentlemen of the Bar will attend as mourners the funeral of the late Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, the Hon. Edward Shippen, and that they will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days, as a testimony of the respect they bear to his memory.—HON. BINNEY, Sec'ry."

He was buried at Christ Church Burying Ground, but without tablet or slab to mark the spot. By his will³ he nominated his sons-in-law, Edward Burd and Dr. William McIlvaine, and his daughter, Mrs. Lea, as his executors, and divided his property with marked fairness among his surviving children and grandchildren.

Of the political views of Chief-Justice Shippen enough has perhaps already been said. That he opposed the separation from England is without doubt true, but in this he resembled many others whose interests or disposition prompted them to abhor change. It should, however, in this connection, be remembered that he was never accused or suspected of any positive act of disloyalty; and it is believed that the minutest scrutiny into his actions or correspondence will fail to substantiate such a charge.

¹ Martin's Lists in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna.,

² 1 Binney, Fly Leaf.

³ Dated April 1, 1785; admitted to Probate, April 25, 1806. Registered at Phila. in Will Book 1, page 479.

As a lawyer, Chief-Justice Shippen was without doubt "patient, discriminating, and just." To his pen we owe the first law reports published in Pennsylvania.¹ Unhappily but few of his decisions have been handed down to us verbatim. As far as can be judged at the present day, they evince a thoroughly careful and practical cast of mind. Not so replete as the opinions of his great successors, Chief-Justices Tilghman and Gibson, with the more abstruse learning of the profession, they intimate a most familiar and protracted acquaintance with the practical details of business, the forms of writs, nature of process, etc. etc.

"Chief-Justice Shippen was a man of large views,"² said Chief Justice Tilghman, and one "for whom I always entertained a most affectionate regard."³ "Everything that fell from that venerated man," said Judge Duncan, "is entitled to great respect."⁴ He was indeed, just such a judge as the State required—of some ability, great experience, and undoubted integrity. Of his personal character, it is at this late day difficult to speak intelligently. He was a lover of literature outside the realm of his profession, and was sufficiently interested in the cause of general education to be at one time a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania.⁵ In his relations to his family he was punctilious in the discharge of filial and fraternal duty. As to his own household, it may be remarked that his old housekeeper, Molly Cobb, who had lived with him many years prior to his death, was of opinion that "it ought to be wrote upon his tombstone that he was a good *purwider* for his family." His manners are said to have been austere and his disposition unyielding. But it should be remembered that the qualities which best befit a judge are often those least calculated to win and retain popular favor and esteem. The best extant portrait of Chief-Justice Shippen is that by Gilbert Stuart, now in the possession of the Corcoran Gallery in Washington.

¹ 1 Dall. 30.

² Walker v. Bamber, 8 S. & R. 61.

³ Lyle v. Richards, 9 S. & R. 332. ⁴ Id. 366.

⁵ Austin v. Trustees of U. of Pa., 1 Yeates, 260.

THE NAME GWYNEDD IN WELSH HISTORY.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

[Designing to write a history of Gwynedd, a township of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, since its settlement in 1698 by immigrants from Wales, I have thought it worth while to devote some inquiry to the origin of its name. It was that of their native region, endeared to them by many ties of association. The settlers of the "Welsh Tract" west of the Schuylkill had already commemorated Merioneth, Haverford, and Radnor; those who came later into the interior of Montgomery (then part of Philadelphia) County had in mind the more comprehensive designation. They were husbandmen from the hill country of North Wales—chiefly, if not entirely, from Merionethshire and Denbighshire—and, looking back to the places they had left, they found a name for the new home in that of the old one. The Kymric pride of patriotism and tenacity of association were shown in the choice.]

Gwynedd was for a long period the name of a portion of the region of Britain occupied by the Welsh. Given by them, and belonging strictly to their language, the name existed and was definitely known both in Wales and without for at least seven hundred years. In that time many of the most prominent and able of the Welsh leaders were identified as princes or so-called kings of Gwynedd; and from the days of Rhodry Mawr, or Roderick the Great, in the middle of the ninth century, a political supremacy over the whole of Wales was claimed for and to some extent enjoyed by Gwynedd.

Upon the maps of Britain which are now constructed as presenting the completest results of historical inquiry,¹ the northern portion of what we now call Wales is designated from about 600 A. D. down to the closing years of the thirteenth century as *Gwynedd*. This was the stronghold of the Welsh. In it were concentrated a considerable part of

¹ See, for example, those in Green's *History of the English People*, and his *Making of England*.

the Kymry people, descendants of those Britons who faced Cæsar on the shores by Deal, when, half a century before Christ, he crossed from Gaul to invade their island. It is, in fact, the wildest portion of "Wild Wales." Enclosed within the bent arm of the Dee, the fastnesses around the base of Snowdon were naturally, as they are in fact historically, the last refuge of the Britons against the relentless pressure of invasion, first Angle then Norman, which came upon them from their eastern border, and fastening upon southern and central Wales, left them, at last, nothing but these rocky recesses in the north.¹ There, it may be said, was the seat of the most persistent British spirit. Not more intense, perhaps, than that which marked portions of southern Wales, it was better situated for resistance. In the halls of Aberffraw (in Anglesey), Gwynedd's last capital, the bards sang to the end praises of their heroes, and fanned with their tales of old prophecy the spark of national feeling which kindled into a flame—though but for an instant—so late as the days of Glendower. In these fastnesses, shadowed by Snowdon, lingered latest that patriotic dream, born of the vehement Kymric temper, and fed by the vivid Kymric imagination, that still the time would come when some heroic chief—doubtless great Arthur, awakened from his sleep in Afalon, and wielding again his magic Excalibur—would restore the liberties of "the ancient isle of Britain," reclaiming to the last foot of eastern sands by the Thames mouth, where first the invaders' keels touched, the ground that, inch by inch, in eight hundred years of conflict had been unavailingly fed with the blood of its defenders.²

¹ "It hath been," says Sir John Price, as edited by Humphrey Lloyd, speaking of Gwynedd, "a great while the chiefest seat of the last kings of Britain, because it was and is the strongest country within this isle, full of high mountains, craggy rocks, great woods, and deep valleys, strait and dangerous places, deep and swift rivers." Woodward, in his *History of Wales* (London, 1850-52), remarks that "the pride and the glory of the Kymry has been that last retreat of British independence, the principality of Gwynedd."

² In Gwynedd, in the fastnesses about Snowdon, Llewellyn (second of the name conspicuous in Welsh history, Llewellyn ap Griffith) made his last

But, though the name of Gwynedd belongs so distinctly, for so long a time, to the northern part of Wales, there was, apparently, a greater Gwynedd than this before 600. In the vague chronicles of that time, for a half century or more, we hear of British chiefs—sometimes called kings, sometimes named by other titles—who, as they fought against Anglo-Saxon encroachment in the north of England, ruled over a Gwynedd that extended northward from the Dee's mouth across the Mersey and up into the lake and mountain region which is now Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. For such a union of British power, including part or all of the present Wales, and that northwestern part of England just described, the city which we now call Chester, the Caerlleon on Dee, of the Britons, was the natural capital.¹

To this larger district the king or prince known as Maelgwn Gwynedd, whose name stands out in the chronicles about the middle of the sixth century, appears attached. The theatre of his action seems to have been more in northwestern England than in Wales. He was resisting that advance of the Angles which came across Yorkshire, from the place of their descent upon the coast, about the mouth of the Humber. The Britons in his time had been forced by the pressure of invasion into the three natural strongholds in the western side of their island. In the extreme south they had been driven into the long point of land—the shores now of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall—which form the Cornwall

struggle with the overwhelming force of Edward I. Failing there, his death shortly after ended finally—except the episode of Glendower—the effort to maintain Welsh independence. The eldest son of the English king became then, in fact as in name, Prince of Wales.

¹ Chester was the *Deva* of the Roman itineraries, otherwise *Castra Legionum*, in which name we see the origin of that which it now bears. There, where two of their great roads crossed, the Romans had placed a legion, the famous Twentieth, and hence the British called it Caerlleon Vawr, or Caerlleon ar Dyfyrdwy—"the Camp of the Legion on Dee." Strongly fortified during the Roman period, commanding the crossing of the ways, and furnishing a key to the two regions of the greater Gwynedd, the Britons must have regarded it, as the Romans had done, as a place of the greatest military importance.

peninsula, and, when A. D. 577 the West Saxons under Ceawlin defeated them at the great and decisive battle of Deorham,¹ these Britons were cut off, by their enemies' hold upon the Severn, from connection with those who held the middle region north of that river. This region above the Severn—the Wales of our day—was then called by the Saxons North Wales, and so appears on the maps which represent that time, for the Cornwall region was known as West Wales. The third stronghold was that of northwestern England, the "Lake Country" of our later time, and from it the Britons joined hands with allies still farther in the north, along and beyond the Clyde.

Confining ourselves to a view of the greater Gwynedd that included, as has been said, part or all of modern Wales, and most of the modern "Lake Country," it will easily be seen how this hinged upon Chester, and how, when the Saxons cut through to the sea's edge upon the west by the capture of that city (probably about A. D. 613, under Æthelfrith), they severed the Britons of the great central stronghold from those in the northern one, and so divided Gwynedd. Precisely who had made the fight against the Saxons after Maelgwn's time is uncertain. But before the victory of Æthelfrith, Gwynedd had been boldly and fiercely defended. Its territory, says Green,² besides embracing the bulk of the present North Wales, pushed forward, by its outlying fastness of Elmet,³ into the heart of southern Deira.⁴ In Elmet the Britons long held their rude homes. By the Welsh chronicle, which, though it must be quoted with great caution, may be, after all, as trustworthy as that of Saxon or Angle, there followed Maelgwn Gwynedd, in direct succession, father and son, Run, Beli, Cadvan, Cadwallon, and Cadwalader. These were "Kings of Gwynedd," or, as Welsh authority says of the last three, "Kings of Britain;" they

¹ Deorham was a village northward of Bath, on hills overlooking the Severn.

² *The Making of England*, p. 232 (New York. 1882).

³ The wooded region north of "The Peak" of Derbyshire.

⁴ The Saxon Deira was a large part of the present Yorkshire.

were at any rate chiefs who headed the British struggle. In A. D. 589, when the kingdom of Deira had been overrun by its Bernician neighbors, it was to the protection of a king of Gwynedd that the sons of Ælla, the Deiran king, then just dead, fled for protection.¹

That the Britons did lose their hold at Chester in A. D. 613, by a victory of Æthelfrith, we accept on the authority of Green. The chronicle of the Welsh, known as that of Caradawg of Llangarvan avers that this (Chester) "chief city of Venedotia" was taken by Egbert the Saxon about A. D. 883, having "hitherto remained in the hands of the Welsh." It may be that the possession of Æthelfrith was not made permanent, and that, again falling for a while into British hands, the city was a second time taken in Egbert's day. But it does not seem that after the close of the sixth century there was anything of the kingdom or principality of Gwynedd northward from the mouth of the Dee, and this is what chiefly concerns the present inquiry. We may remark only how natural it was, so long as their passage from the one region to the other was kept open by the possession of Chester, that the Britons of Wales and those of northwestern England should have been bound together in some rude form of national unity. For the two regions are very similar natural fastnesses; the crags and glens southwest of the Dee find their counterpart in the wild scenery northward of the Mersey. While Cader-Idris and Snowdon rise in the one region, and through the deep clear waters of Bala the current of the Dee flows unchanged and unmingling,² in the other the Scawfells, Helvellyn, and Skiddaw lift their heads above the charming lakes of Cumberland. Two such regions, easily defensible, nearly adjoining, and inhabited by a kindred people, were natural allies at the least.

¹ History can never forget the kingdom of Ælla, for thence it was that there came to Rome as slaves those blue-eyed, fair-haired youths whom Gregory saw and stopped to inquire about, as he passed through the market-place of the Eternal city. "Angels, not Angles," he exclaimed as he viewed them, and departed to organize his work of Christianity in Britain.

² Such is the old and familiar tradition; let us at least respect its age!

This Gwynedd is easily recognized by the name itself. For Gwyn-edd means *The White Land*. In the symbolism of patriotic association the white meant, doubtless, the pure, the beautiful, the untaken, the virgin land; but in the snows that crowned Snowdon and Helvellyn another reason might be found for the name. Gwen is a favorite Welsh name for a woman—corresponding to Blanche, as belonging to a light-haired fair-skinned beauty. The white stones that inclosed “the place of session,” in Welsh law, were the “*meini gwynion*.” In the Lake of Bala a famous white fish is known as *Gwyniad*.¹ In fact, the word *gwyn* or *gwen* will be continually met with in Welsh, and has always the same significance—to be white, pure, unsullied. Justice, patriotism, the beauty of fair women, the sunny heights of the unconquered mountains, the recesses of the unravaged home of the Kymry, all were represented in the adjective.

Taking *Gwyn*, then, as the root, the termination *edd* has simply the significance of a land, a region, a country. The pronunciation of it is not *edd*, as in English, but *eth*, the *th* soft, as in “with.” *Gwen-eth* may therefore be assumed as the name spoken, and its significance, the white or fair land.²

Returning to that Gwynedd which was but the northern third of what we now know as Wales, it may be said that between A. D. 613, when Æthelfrith took Chester, and the time of Rhodry Mawr, about A. D. 843, little is known concerning it geographically, and nothing in the chronicles of its feuds and wars is of importance to this inquiry. But Rhodry Mawr, when he died in A. D. 877 divided all Wales

¹ Oddly enough, and quoted as part of the proof that some part of the American Indians are of Welsh descent—probably come from Madoc’s voyages in the twelfth century—there is a salmonoid fish (*Corogonus fera*) in the waters of British Columbia, with silvery scales, closely resembling that in Bala, and its name, as given by the natives, is the *Quinnat*.

² It need hardly be said after this explanation, that while Gwynedd means the same thing as North Wales, in the sense that both names were long applied to the same region of country, they have no other relationship whatever, and no other similar meaning. What the Kymry called Gwynedd the English knew as North Wales, till geographically the designations became interchangeable.

amongst his three sons, and named definite boundaries for their territories. In the north he gave Gwynedd to his eldest son Anarawd, and he ordered that Merfyn, the Prince of Powys, the middle division, and Cadelh, of Deheubarth, the southern, should, with their heirs and successors, acknowledge the superior sovereignty of Anarawd. These divisions long continued to have a practical and actual existence; for four hundred years they were regarded: and they still have, as a basis of historical and descriptive method, a certain acknowledged importance.¹

In this division by Rhodry Mawr, "Gwynedd," says Sir John Price, "had upon the north side the sea, from the river Dee, at Basingwerke, to Aberdyfi, and upon the west and southwest the river Dyfi,² which divideth it from South Wales [Dehenbarth, Prince Cadelh's possession] and in some places from Powys Land. And on the south and east it is divided from Powys, sometimes with mountains and sometimes with rivers, till it come to the river Dee again."

The same authority describes Gwynedd as "of old time" divided into four parts—the island of Môn (Anglesey), Arfon (Caernarvon), Merioneth, and "Y Berfedwlad, which may be Englished the inland or middle country." Substantially these four divisions were Anglesey, the whole of Caernarvon, nearly all the present Merioneth, the greater part of Denbighshire, and all of Flintshire, except a small section. It would include rather less than a third of the area of modern Wales.

It is not germane to the present purpose to trace the history of the Gwynedd over which Anarawd was left the ruler.

¹ This division of the kingdom, tending to divide its strength in the face of the Saxon enemy, the Welsh chroniclers much lament; but it was according to the general tenor of the Welsh system, which required, as in the *gavel-kind* of the old English law, a distribution of the father's possessions among his children. ["The custom of gavel-kind," says Blackstone, "is undoubtedly of British origin."—Ed.]

² By looking at the map these lines will be easily followed, and the description is inserted for that purpose, but the points of the compass given are misleading; the sea lay on the west, as well as the north, and the Dyfi (Dovey) could only be fairly described as bounding on the south and in part on the southeast.

It figures, however, as has already been stated, in all the chronicles of subsequent Welsh struggle. In the twelfth century, Owain Gwynedd made himself a name equal to that of Rhodry and Maelgwn, though inferior, perhaps, to that of the two desperate and heroic Llewelyns. And it was Madoc, son of Owain Gwynedd, who, as Welsh authority claims, crossed the Atlantic to the American Continent, more than three hundred years before the caravels of Columbus sailed out from Palos. It would be useless to enter the well-beaten field wherein the claims of Madoc have been disputed, but it is enough to say that some of these claims are in modern time accepted as probably true. That Madoc was a real person, the son of Owain Gwynedd, that he sailed from Wales in one or two voyages about 1170-72, and that he bore away into the Atlantic westward "by a route leaving Ireland on the north," is conceded. But what land he reached, if any, and whether any descendants of himself and his company have ever been found, either in North or South America, are questions quite beyond settlement;¹ in the Welsh Triads themselves Madoc's second and final voyage is accounted one of "The Three Losses by Disappearance" sustained by "The Isle of Britain."

In the Triads we may find abundant allusions to Gwynedd. In those that are historical and geographical, as well as those that refer to "the social state" of the Welsh, the name frequently appears. "There are three courts of country and law—one in Powys, one at Caerleon-on-Usk, which is that of Glamorgan and Deheubarth, and one in Gwynedd." "The court of country and law in Gwynedd is constituted of the lord of the commot (unless the prince himself be present), the mayor, chancellor," etc. There were "three invading tribes that came into the Isle of Britain, and departed from it," one of these being "the hosts of Ganvel the Gwyddel [Irishman] who came to Gwynedd, and were there twenty-

¹ For an estimate of the importance now assigned to Madoc and his voyages, see Bryant's *History of the United States*. The various speculations have assigned his landing place, settlements, and descendants to nearly the whole east coast of the American continent from Canada to Patagonia.

nine years, until they were driven out by Caswallon, the son of Beli." Of "the Three Primary Tribes of the nation of the Cymry," the Gwyndydians, the men of Gwynedd and Powys formed one. Rhun, who was the son of Maelgwn and the first of "the Three Fair Princes of the Isle of Britain," reigned over Gwynedd, it is said, from A. D. 560 to A. D. 586. Cadavael, the son of Cynvedw, in Gwynedd, is recorded as one of "the Three Plebeian Princes of the Isle of Britain," and he is handed down in disgrace by another Triad as having inflicted one of the "Three Heinous Hatchet Blows" that caused the death of Iago ap Beli, the sovereign of Gwynedd.

The poetry of the bards, much of it inspired amongst the hills of northern Wales, and relating to events that had occurred there, makes Gwynedd and those associated with the name repeatedly a theme. Owain Gwynedd is celebrated by numerous bards, and Llywarch of Powys, singing the bravery of a Powys prince (about A. D. 1160) calls him "Gwynedd's foe." Madog, the voyager, was a favorite subject: the Prince Llywelyn is referred to in the verse of Llywarch, a bard, as

"The lion i' the breach, ruler of Gwynedd,"

and as the

"Nephew of Madog, whom we more and more
Lament that he is gone."

Meredydd ap Rhys (about A. D. 1440) says:—

"Madog the brave, of aspect fair,
Owain of Gwynedd's offspring true,
Would have no land—man of my soul!—
Nor any wealth except the seas."

Elidir Sais, who wrote in the thirteenth century, and was one of the earliest Welsh composers of religious verse, says:—

"The chieftains of Dehenbarth and Gwynedd,¹
Pillars of battle, throned have I seen."

And Einion ap Madog ap Rhawaid, in a eulogy upon Griffith, the unhappy son² of Llewelyn the Great, says:—

¹ The rhythm places the accent on the second syllable, as it should be.

² His brother Davydd treacherously took him prisoner, and Henry III. kept him in the Tower of London, in attempting to escape from which he was killed.

"The eagle of Gwynedd, he is not nigh.
Though placable, he will no insult bear;
And though a youth, his daring horsemanship
Fastening on him the strangers' wondering eyes."

And one more stanza, by an author whose name is not precisely given in the authority here quoted, runs thus:—

"Gwynedd! for princes gen'rous famed—and songs,
By Gruffydd's son¹ unshamed
Thou art; he, hawk untamed,
Is praised where'er thy glory is proclaimed."

¹ The second Llewelyn.

REPORT OF THE COURT-MARTIAL FOR THE TRIAL
OF THE HESSIAN OFFICERS CAPTURED
BY WASHINGTON AT TRENTON,
DECEMBER 26, 1776.

TRANSLATED FROM A GERMAN COPY COMMUNICATED BY FREDERICK KAPP.

[In the spring of 1782 a court-martial was held at Cassel for the trial of the officers who were captured by General Washington's army at the surprise at Trenton, December 26, 1776. This body of Hessian officers consisted of Lieutenant-Colonel Bretthauer, Major Malthaus, Captain Brubach, and four subaltern officers of Rall's regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Scheffer, Major von Hanstein, Captain Steding and eight subaltern officers of the Lossberg regiment, Captain von Biesenrodt and seven officers of the Knyphausen regiment, and Lieutenant Fischer of the artillery. It will be seen that the blame was all thrown upon Colonel Rall, the commanding officer, and Major von Dechow, a field officer of the Knyphausen regiment, both of whom were wounded, and died in the village of Trenton. It does not appear that General Sir William Howe, who ordered the long chain of weak cantonments through Jersey, was spoken of at the court-martial as in any way responsible for the defeat of the Hessian contingent. Five years after the surrender it was quite easy for the German War Commission to report the misfortune as due to the two officers who lay in bloody graves in the quiet churchyard on the Delaware.—WILLIAM S. STRYKER.]

SERENE HIGHNESS!

Most gracious Prince and Lord!

The War Commission graciously confirms the complete acquittal by the court-martial of the surviving officers of the Trenton surprise, deferentially agreeing with the court that its sentence should be published in the Gazettes, and also that free permission to carry new colors should be granted, such being, though not requisite to the sentence, in accordance therewith; and moreover, both in reference to errors in the trial, and as concerns the premature announcement of his own opinion to the court by Auditor Lotheisen, the War Commission will in its own time give the requisite instructions.

Testantibus Actis. On the 13th Dec. 1776, by the order

of the English General Grant, several regiments were entrusted to Col. von Donop's command, winter-quarters being assigned them in Trenton and its neighborhood. Thereupon Col. von Donop occupied the designated positions, and on the 14th Dec. 1776, Col. Rall entered Trenton with the hon. regiment of Alt-Lossberg, Knyphausen's and his own, with the artillery belonging thereto, with troopers and twenty English cavalry, making in all an effective force of about 1200 men. But instead of protecting his position by redoubts, as instructed by Col. von Donop in person, and afterwards through Captains Pauli and Martin, he only posted a few detachments and picket-guards. Even in Trenton he permitted the companies, with their entire equipments, to remain over night at the alarm-posts, and later each regiment in turn. On the 20th Dec. Col. Rall made a request of both Brigadier-General Leslie at Princeton, and Major-General Grant at Brunswick, that, on account of the distance between Trenton and Princeton, a detachment of 200 men should be stationed at Maidenhead, the enemy's position threatening to interrupt communication between the two places. He received in return the answer that this was unnecessary on account of the insignificant number and wretched condition of the enemy. Col. Rall, however, thinking this opinion of the state of affairs to be without foundation, strengthened the patrols in the vicinity of Princeton, whilst continuing to occupy Trenton. In the mean while several American officers in disguise presented themselves to him, and, under pretext of soliciting protection, spied out all his preparations. The 25th Dec., the day before the surprise, the main picket on the Pennington road was attacked and six men were wounded. Major von Dechow, prompted by this, advised Col. Rall to send the baggage to the Grenadiers. Col. Rall answered, "Fudge! these country clowns shall not beat us." Still he sent Lieutenant Wiederhold to strengthen the before mentioned pickets, and placed troops over night at the alarm-posts. Major von Dechow, on the other hand, who on 26th Dec. should have made his round two hours before day with two canons and the needful forces, omitted this, not-

withstanding the anxiety which he had expressed the day previous, and Col. Rall likewise on the same morning slept until half-past seven o'clock, whilst the enemy and the picket to which Lieutenant Wiederhold had been sent were firing at each other. Brigade-Adjutant Lieutenant Biel, of the honorable regiment of Alt-Lossberg, reports that, between five and six o'clock and again at half-past seven, finding the Colonel sleeping, he hesitated to rouse him and announce the approach of the enemy. He arranged, however, in the mean while that forces from the main-guard should be sent to the picket. On his return he found the Colonel in his dressing-gown at the window, and to Colonel Rall's question, "What is the matter? What is the matter?" he replied, "Have you not heard the firing?" Whereupon the Colonel rejoined, "I will be there directly." Meanwhile upon the approach of four battalions of the enemy (the whole body amounting to from five to eight hundred men) Lieutenant Wiederhold withdrew under a steady fire, and waited before the town until the regiment marched out. As the enemy had by this time with their cannon and howitzers gained the heights of Trenton, Englehard and Fischer, lieutenants of the artillery, directed their cannon sharply upon them; but the loss of eight gunners and five draft-horses prevented further use of the cannon, and the officers were compelled to retire. After the loss of the cannon Rall's regiment withdrew from the well-contested posts, yet with great hurry and disorder, through both the other regiments. While the Adjutant Ensign Kleinschmidt repaired this confusion as much as possible, Colonel Rall, with his own and the Lossberg regiment, attacked the town, already advantageously occupied by the enemy, covering his flank by Major von Dechow and the Knyphausen regiment. This regiment was thus obliged to separate itself from the others, and to march with the Lossberg cannon, of which, however, one piece was sunk in the morass, to the bridge, in order to hold it, but so much time was lost in endeavoring to recover the sunken piece, that before the regiments reached the bridge both ends of it were in the hands of the enemy. As Colonel Rall was

forced by the pressure of the opposing troops to give up Trenton, and in the conflict received a fatal wound, the command fell upon Lieutenant-Colonel Schaefer. He was truly disposed to fight his way through, with the Lossberg and Rall's regiment, reckoned in all 483 men, but the enemy's advantage, their dispositions, cannon-firing, and the state of his own ammunition, rendered useless by the heavy snows, compelled him to abandon this design and to lay down his arms. Major von Dechow then, with his intercepted Knypshausen regiment, reckoned at 276 men, wished to retreat through the water. But he received a severe wound and gave over his command to Captain von Biesenrodt, informing him that the other two regiments had been taken prisoners, and that he also with his regiment must surrender. Captain von Loewenstein, who brought him this order, failed to mention that in that neighborhood there was a place where the water was only knee-deep. Captain von Biesenrodt had no intention of surrendering as Major von Dechow advised, but resolved to retreat through the wood. But this plan was defeated by the occupation of the wood by the enemy, and he commanded that the creek be sounded, and that his regiment march through it, ordering an officer with 40 skirmishers to cover their retreat, himself taking the place of rear guard. But the accomplishment of this design was thwarted in its commencement by the urgency of the Stirling brigade, which had been warned by the display of a white handkerchief by Major von Dechow of the disadvantage of the regiment, and Captain von Biesenrodt was forced, though with favorable terms, to lay down his arms. From all this it follows that Colonel Rall, together with Major von Dechow, in many regards acted culpably, and laid the foundation for the misfortunes of the brigade. Therefore, all its surviving officers are, by the constituted court-martial, exempted from penalty. The War Commission finds that conformable to the facts, and agrees with it the more readily, because the members of the court, by their accurate knowledge of the localities, and of the accompanying circumstances of the case, are in the best condition to judge of its merits.

Moreover, the War Commission is of the opinion that what appears in the sentence in reference to its publication in the Gazettes, and the gracious permission to carry new colors, is not essential to it, but is simply a conferring of the greatest favor. Also, with regard to the errors noted in the examination and trial, as well as in regard to the extract from the reports containing the individual opinion of the auditor, and communicated to the court-martial before the casting of the votes, proper instructions will be given. And we ever remain, in deepest reverence,

Your Serene Highness's humblest, most truly obedient,
and most dutiful servants,

Signed. BARDELEBEN, SCHLIEFFEN,
W. HEIKENNITZ, JUNG KENN,
WANGERMANN,
SCHRAMM.

CASSEL, 15 April, 1782.

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN'S PATENT FOR NEW ALBION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY PROFESSOR G. B. KEEN.

The article entitled "An Examination of Beauchamp Plantagenet's Description of the Province of New Albion," written by the late John Penington, of Philadelphia, in 1840, and published in the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 133 *et seq.*, is not precisely the *dernier mot* upon the subject which the tone of the author would indicate that he regarded it. The paper was very justly criticized at that time by a reviewer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (August, 1840), and afterwards by other students of history, among the latest of these being a contributor to the fifth volume of the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, who certainly does not show himself a partisan of the proprietor of New Albion, or of his Catholic friends and relatives who most probably united with him in the endeavor to settle his Province.

Since the appearance of the articles of Mr. Neill, the editor has discovered the following interesting mention of Sir Edmund Plowden in the second report of Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden, to the Swedish West India Company, dated Christina, June 20, 1644, printed at the end of Prof. C. T. Odhner's *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning* (Stockholm, 1876) :—

"In my former communications concerning the English knight I have mentioned how last year, in Virginia, he desired to sail with his people, sixteen in number, in a barque, from Heckemak [Accomack] to Kikathans [or Kecoughtan, the present Hampton]; and when they came to the Bay of Virginia, the captain (who had previously conspired with the knight's people to kill him) directed his course not to Kikethan, but to Cape Henry, passing which, they came to an isle in the high sea called Smith's Island, when they took counsel in what way they should put him to death, and thought it best not to slay him with their hands, but to set him, without food, clothes, or arms, on the above-named island, which was inhabited by no man or other animal save wolves and bears; and this they did. Nevertheless, two young noble retainers, who had been brought up by the knight, and who knew nothing of that plot, when they beheld this evil fortune of their lord, leaped from the barque into the ocean, swam ashore, and remained with their master. The fourth day following, an English sloop sailed by Smith's Island, coming so close that the young men were



"The Order, Medall, and Riban of the Albion Knights, of the Conversion of 23 Kings, their support."

(Reproduced from the *verso* of the title-page of Plantagenet's *New Albion*.)

able to hail her, when the knight was taken aboard (half dead, and as black as the ground) and conveyed to Hackemak, where he recovered. The knight's people, however, arrived with the barque May 6, 1643, at our Fort Elfsborg, and asked after ships to Old England. Hereupon I demanded their pass, and inquired from whence they came; and as soon as I perceived that they were not on a proper errand, I took them with me (though with their consent) to Christina, to bargain about flour and other provisions, and questioned them until a maid-servant (who had been the knight's washer-woman) confessed the truth and betrayed them. I at once caused an inventory to be taken of their goods, in their presence, and held the people prisoners, until the very English sloop which had rescued the knight arrived with a letter from him concerning the matter, addressed not alone to me, but to all the governors and commandants of the whole coast of Florida. Thereupon I surrendered to him the people, barque, and goods (in precise accordance with the inventory), and he paid me 425 riksdaler for my expenses. The chief of these traitors the knight has had executed. He himself is still in Virginia, and (as he constantly professes) expects vessels and people from Ireland and England. To all ships and barques that come from thence he grants free commission to trade here in the river with the savages; but I have not yet permitted any of them to pass, nor shall I do so until I receive order and command to that effect from my most gracious queen, her Royal Majesty of Sweden."

The courtesy of a London correspondent has supplied the succeeding extracts from the will of Sir Edmund Plowden, preserved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury :—

"This nine and twentieth day of July, one Thousand Six hundred fifty-five, I, S^r Edmund Plowden of Wansted in the county of Southton Knight, Lord, Earle Palatine, Governor, and Captain Generall of the Province of New Albion in America, and a peere of the kingdome of Ireland."

To be buried in Ledbury Church with "brasse plates of my eighteene children had affixed to the said monument at thirty or fourty powndes charges, together with my perfect pedigree as is drawne at my house."

£40 apiece to 11 parishes wherein lands.

Son Francis's "sinister & undue practises," "damnified & hindered by him these eighteene years," "his mother a mutable woman by him perverted."

Daughter Winifred. Son Thomas.

"And whereas I am seized of the province and County Palatine of New Albion as of free principality, & held of the

Crowne of Ireland of which I am a Peere, which Honor and title and province as Arundell, and many other Earledomes, and Baronies is assignable and saleable with the province and County Palatine as a locall Earledome all that my province and County Palatine and Peerage as a Peere of Ireland with all Royalties, and Regalities Tribute Rents Customs Profits Reversions and Services unto Thomas my sonne. . . . I doe order & will that my sonne Thomas Plowden & after his decease his eldest heire male & if he be under age then his guardian with all speed after my decease doe imploy by consent of S^r William Mason of Grays Inne Kn^t otherwise William Mason Esquire whom I make a Trustee for this my plantation all the cleere rents & pfts of my Lands underwoods tythes debts stocks & moneys for full ten years (excepted what is bequeathed aforesaid) for the planting fortifying peopling and stocking of my province of New Albion, and to summon & enforce according to Covenants in Indentures and subscriptions all my undertakers to transplant thither & there to settle their number of men with such of my estate yearely can transplant, namely Lord Monson fifty, Lord Sherrard a hundred S^r Thomas Danby a hundred, Captaine Batts his heire a hundred, Mr. Eltonhead a Master in Chancery fifty, his eldest bro^r Eltonhead fifty, Mr. Bowles late Clerke of the Crowne fourty, Captain Cleyborne in Virginia fifty, Viscount Muskery fifty, & many others in England Virginia & New England subscribed & by direction in my manuscript bookes since I resided six [years?] there, & of policie & government there & of the best seates, profits, mines, rich trade of furs, and wares, and fruites, wine, worme silke & grasse silke, fish, & beasts there, rice, and floatable grounds for rice, flax, maples, hempe, barley, and corne two crops yearely. To build churches & schooles there, & to indeavour to convert the Indians there to Christianity & to settle there my family kindred & posterity."

Signed Albion.

Proved 27 July, 1659, in the P. C. C.

The same person has furnished these extracts from the will of Sir Edmund Plowden's son, Thomas Plowden, also to be found at Somerset House:—


"This sixteenth day of May in the ninth and tenth year of our lord King William [1698] Thomas Plowden of Lasham in the County of Southton Gent unto all my children sons & daughters ten shillings a piece of lawfull English money & to every of my Grandchildren ten shillings apiece of like money. . . . Item I do give & bequeath unto my son Francis Plowden the Letters Pattent & Title

with all advantages & profitts thereunto belonging. And as it was granted by our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the first over England under the great Seal of England unto my ffather Sir Edmund Plowden of Wansted in the County of Southton now deceased The province and County palatine of new Albion in America Or in North Virginia & America which pattent is now in the custody of my son in law Andrew Wall of Ludshott in the said County of Southton who has these severall years wrongfully detained it to my great Loss & hinderance and all the rest and residue of my goods chattles & personall Estate after my debts and Legacies be paid & funerall discharged I give & devise unto my wife Thomazine Plowden of Lasham."

Pr. in P. C. C. 10 Sept. 1698.

A copy of the very rare pamphlet circulated by Charles Varlo in America, in 1784, has been kindly loaned by the owner of it, Mr. Charles H. Kalbfleisch, of New York City, with permission to reprint the title and the only portion of it not contained in Ebenezer Hazard's *Historical Collections* (vol. i. pp. 160 *et seq.*), and the "parergon" to Mr. Penington's essay, above referred to. These are as follows:—

The Finest Part of America.

To be Sold, or Lett, | From Eight Hundred to Four Thousand Acres, in a Farm, | All that Entire Estate, called | Long Island, in New Albion, | Lying near New York: | Belonging to the Earl Palatine of Albion, | Granted To | His Predecessor, Earl Palatine of Albion, | By King Charles the First. | *.* The Situation of Long Island is well known, therefore needs | no Description here, | New Albion is a Part of the Continent of Terra Firma, de | scribed in the Charter, to begin at Cape May; from thence Westward | 120 Miles running by the River Delaware, closely following its Course | by the North Latitude, to a certain Rivulet there, arising from a Spring | of Lord Baltimore's, in Maryland. To the South from thence, | taking its Course into a Square, bending to the North by a Right Line | 120 Miles. From thence also into a Square inclining to the East in a right | Line 120 Miles to the River and Port of Reacher Cod, and descends | to a Savannah or Meadow, turning and including the Top of Sandy Hook; | from thence along the Shore to Cape May, where it began forming a | Square of 120 Miles of good Land. | Long Island is mostly improved and fit for a Course of Husbandry. | N. B. Great Encouragement be given to improving Tenants, by | letting the Lands very cheap, on Leases of Lives, renewal for ever. |  Letters

(Post paid) signed with real names, directed for F. P. at | Mr. Reynell's Printing-Office, No. 21, Piccadilly, near the Hay-Market, | will be answered, and the Writer directed where he may be treated with, | relative to the Conditions of Sale, Charter, Title Deeds, a Map, with the | Farms allotted thereon, &c. &c. | Just Published, and may be had as above, (Price One Shilling) | A True Copy of the Above Charter, | With the Conditions of Letting, or Selling the Land, | And other Articles relating thereto.

*Conditions for Letting or Selling,
Lord Earl Palatine of Albion's Estate, New
Albion, in America.*

I. Wood or unimproved land, which lies above ten miles from any sea-port or navigable river, will be sold at 5l. 100 acres, or let on a lease of lives renewable for ever, at 2l. 10s. 100 acres, paying a fine at the fall of a life.

II. Unimproved or wood land, which lies less than ten, or more than five miles from a sea-port or navigable river, will be sold at 10l. 100 acres, or let at 5l. 100 acres, on leases for lives renewable for ever, to pay a fine at the fall of a line.

III. Unimproved wood land, which lies within five miles from any sea-port or navigable river, will be sold at 15l. 100 acres, or let at 7l. 10s. 100 acres, on a lease of lives renewable for ever, paying a fine at the fall of a life.

IV. Any cleared or improved land will be sold or let cheap, in proportion to its value. N. B. A bargain may be made, and leases executed in England, for any lot or quantity of land that may be fixed upon, and should the said lot fixed, be engaged by any prior lease, or not liked by the tenant when he arrives in America, and views the premisses, he shall then have any other part of ground at the same rent or quality he pleases, that is not prior engaged.

In 1881 Mr. G. D. Scull spoke, in his *Evelyns in America* (pp. 361 *et seq.*), of having met with a volume in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, containing a copy of the charter of New Albion in the original Latin, with written opinions of certain "able and learned lawyers," consulted by Edward Bysshe, "Garter Principal King of Arms of Englishmen," favorable to the validity both of it and of the claim to the Irish peerage, made by Sir Edmund Plowden, all of these being recorded by Bysshe, Jan. 23, 1648-9. "in the office of arms, there to remain in perpetual memory." Already, however, in 1880, it had occurred to Mr. Brinton Coxe, of Philadelphia, to have a search instituted in the proper office at Dublin for the same letters patent, said by Varlo to be on record in that city, and almost by return mail had been received the certificated copy of the paper, which we take

satisfaction in reproducing *literatim* in the MAGAZINE. The prime importance of the document all who have any knowledge of the topic will appreciate. For the information of persons not familiar with the language, or at least with the abbreviated style of the manuscript, it may be stated that the English translation of this charter, printed in Varlo's pamphlet before mentioned, and reprinted in Hazard's *Collections*, is sufficiently accurate for all purposes of historical inquiry.

CERTIFIED COPY

OF PORTION OF A RECORD IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF IRELAND,
ENTITLED "PATENT ROLL," CHANCERY, 10 CHARLES I. PT. I.

CAROLUS dei gratia Anglie Scocie ffranc' & hibiñie Rex fidei defensor &c omnibus ad quos p^osent' lre nre pvenet' salm
CUM p^odilcūs & fidelis subditus noster Edmundus Plowden miles laudabili quodam et pio Christiane religionis pariter et imperii nri territoria dilatandi studio flagrans certam quandam Insulam et regionem inferius describendam in terra quadam nra ad occiduam mundi plagam in aliquibz partibz a barbaris et feris quibusdam hominibz nullam divini immunis notitiam habentibz occupata vulgariter appellata borealis Virginia magnis suis impensibz antehac discoperiivit et nunc amplam admodum & copiosam quingentaꝝ psonaꝝ et nroꝝ subditoꝝ coloniam eo deducturus socios eiusdem pii operis et colonie fundande Iohem Lawrence milit' & Barronet' Bowyer Worsley milit' et Carolum Barrett Armig' & Iohem Trusler Roger' Packe Willm Inwood Thomam Ribread et Georgiū Noble secum elegit ac totam illam insulam & regionem in provinciam & comitatum Pallatinatum erigendam cum certis quibusdam privilegiis et iurisdiccōibz ad Colonie sue & Region' p'dce salubre regimen & statum ptinent' a regia celsitudine nra illis & hered' & assign' eoꝝ dari concedi et confirmari humiliter supplicaver' Ac eiusdem Eddum Plowden milit' & assign' eius gubernatoꝝ p'missoꝝ et dignitatibz titlis & privileg' decoratum crearemur orantes SCIATIS igit' qđ nos pium & nobile p'dci Edmond' Plowden mil' & p'dcoꝝ socioꝝ eius p'positum & studium regio favore psequentes et eo qđ Colonia iħm incepta

& diligenter habitata & culta subditis & regnis n̄ris magni est momenti ex gr̄a n̄ra sp̄iali certa Sciencia & mero motu n̄ris Necnon de advisament' & consensu p̄dilect' & fidel' consanguin' & consiliar' n̄ri Thome Vicecomit' Wentworth Deputat' n̄ri general' d̄ci Regni n̄ri hibīnie ac s̄cdm tenor' et effect' quarund' l̄ray n̄ray manu n̄ra pp̄ria signat' ac sub signeto n̄ro sigillat' geren' dat' apud Oatlands vicesimo quarto die Iulii anno regni n̄ri octavo et nunc in Rotul' Canc' n̄re d̄ci Regni n̄ri Hibīnie Irrotulat' DEDIMUS concessim' et confirmavim' ac p̄ p̄sent' hanc Cartam n̄ram p̄ nobis hered' et success' n̄ris p̄fat' Edmondo Plowden mil' Iohi Lawrence mil' & Barronett' Bowyer Worsley milit' Carolo Barret & Iohi Trusler Rogero Packe Willō Inwood Thome Ribread et Georgio Noble hered' et assign' eorū impp̄m̄ Damus concedim' et confirmam' totam & integram illam Insulam p̄pe continent' sive terram firmam Borealis Virginie vocat' Insula Plowden seu longa Insula & iacen' p̄pe vel inter trigesimum nonum & quadragesimū gradum borealis latitudinis unacum parte continentis sive terr' firm' p̄dict' p̄pe adiacen' describend' incipiend' a puncto anguli cuiusdam promontorii vocat' Cape Maye et inde ad occidentem versus p̄ spaciū quadragint' leucarum p̄currens sinus Delaware boreale latus sequendo intimum eius p̄cessum usq' ad Rivol' cuiusd' ibm scaturiginem ascendit qua d̄m Baltimore terras de Maryland et Sinum p̄dict' ad austrum tota sua latitudine coniuncta p̄tingit & conterminat' indeflexo itinere in quadrantem curvans ad Boream recta linea p̄ spaciū quadraginta leucarum excurrit de inde similit' per quadrantem flectens orientem versus recta linea per spaciū quadragint' leucarum fluviū et portum de Ratcher Cod conterminans ad oceanum descendit sumū de Sandhay p̄tingens & includens ac inde versus austrum p̄ quadrantem tendens p̄ oceani Insuleq' Plowden p̄dict' littora p̄teriens & alluens ad punctum promontorii Cape Maye sup̄ius memorati ubi incepit terminat' Damus insup et p̄ p̄sentem Cartam n̄ram p̄ nobis hered' & success' n̄ris p̄fat' Edō Plowden imlit' Iohi Lawrence milit' et Barronetto Bowyer Worsley milit' Carolo Baret arō Iohi Trusler Rogero Packe Willō Inwood Thome Ribread & Georgio Noble hered' & assign' suis Concedim' et confirmam' oēs &

singul' insulas & insululas infra decem leucas p'dict' regionis littoribz in mari existent' natas vel nascendas vocat' p noën vel noia de Pamonke Hudsons seu Hudsons River Iles vel aliquibuscunq' noibz cum oibz & singulis portubus navium & maris crecis ad eam vel ad insulas insululasq' p'dict' scituat' existent' vel conterminant' Omnesq' terr' fundos silvas lacus aquas salsas & fluvios iuxta regionem insulas insululasq' p'dict' existent' et infra limites p'dict' inclusas descript' et conterminat' cum cuiuscunq' gener' pisciū ballenay et sturionum et alioꝝ regatm in mare vel fluminibz piscacōibz omnes insup auri argenti gemar' & lapidum p'tios' et alias quascunq' sive lapidum sive mettelloꝝ sive alterius cuiuscunq' rei vel mater' venas & fodinas tam apptas quam occultas infra regionem insulas seu limittes p'dict' reptas & reperiendas Et hoc amplius omn' Ecclīay quas crescente Christi cultu & religione infra dict' regionem Insulas & limittes futuris temporibz edificari contigerit patronatus & advocacōes unacum oibz & singul' huiusmodi ac adeo amplis iuribz iurisdicōn' privileg' p'rogativis regalitat' lib'tat' imunitat' iuribusq' regalibus & franchises quibuscunq' tam p mare quam p terr' infra regionem Insulas & limitt' p'dict' habend' exercend' utend' & gaudend' put aliquis Episcopus Dunelmens' infra Episcopatum sive Comitatum Palatinatum Dunelmense infra regnū nrm Angl' unquam antehac hūit tenuit usus vel gavisus fuit seu de iure hēre tenere uti vel gaudere debuit aut potuit Ipsumq' Edmond' Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suos p nobis hered' et success' nris Regionis Insuleq' p'dict' ceteroꝝq' p'miss' veros & absolutos Dominos & pprietarios salva semper fide & ligeancia nobis hered' & success' nris debita & eiusdem Comitem Pallatinū et gubñatorem cum tot tant' & tal' titlis addicōe dignitat' & privileg' p p'sent' facim' cream' et constituim' quot quant' et qual' Georgius Calvert miles infra Provinciam sive comitat' Pallatin' de Avalonia infra terr' nram novam vel ut p'dcūs dñs de Baltamore infra Maryland p'dict' vel Iacobus Comes de Carlisle infra insulas Antillas vel illas Comunit' vocat' S' xpōfer vel Barbadoes vel ut Episcopus Dunelmens' p'dict' infra Episcopatum seu comitat' Pallatin' Dunelmens' p'dict' vel ut Thomas Mason nup Thesaur'

exercitus nři in terra sua infra novam Angliam vel aliquis alius fundat' Colonie vel gubernator noster ubicunq' unquam antehac hūit tenuit usus vel gavisus fuit seu de iure tenere hēre uti vel gaudere debuit aut potuit HABEND' tenend' possidend' & gaudend' p'dict' region' Insulam & cetera p^omiss' primo concess' eidem Edmondo Plowden milit' Iohi Lawrence mil' & Barronett' Bowyer Worsley mil' Iohi Trusler Rogero Packe Willō Inwood Thome Ribread Carolo Barrett & Georgio Noble et hered' & assign' eoy imppm Et habend' tenend' possidend' exercend' et gaudend' p'dict' titlm addicōn' dignitat' & privileg' comit' Palatin' seu officiū Gubernator' Regionis insul' & p'missoy p'fat' Eddo Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suis imppm TENEND' de nobis hered' & success' nřis ut de Coron' nřa Hibñie in capite ut vero p'dict' regio sic a nobis concess' & discripta ceteris oīb3 illius terr' regionibus p^ofulgeat et amplior' titlis decoret' SCIATIS qđ nos de ampliori grā certa sciencia & mero motu nřis de advisament' & consensu p'dict' deām regionem insulam & p^omiss' in Provinciam erigend' esse duxim' put eas ex plenitudine potestatis et prerogative nře regie p nobis hered' & success' nřis in Provinciam erigim' et incorporam' Eamq' novam Albion seu Provinciam nove Albion nominam' et sic in futur' nominari volumus et qđ dēa provincia ut liber Comitatus Pallatinus sit nullo modo de Provinciis sive regionib3 Virginie & nove Angl' & gubernatorib3 eay vel ulle alie Provincie regioni & gubernator' quovismod' subdit' aut dependens sed exempta & libera et a nřa psona Regali et impali Corona nřa ut Rex hibñie et a nullo alio dependeat p p^osent' p nobis hered' & success' nřis ordinam' et decreuim' Et quoniam p^ofat' Eddum Plowden milit' totius Provincie antedēe verum dñm & pprietaꝝ supius fecim' et ordinavim' ULTERIUS igit' Sciatis qđ nos p nobis hered' & success' nřis eid' Eddo de cuius fide prudent' iusticia & pvida animi circumspecōe plurim' confidim' & hered' suis p bono & felice dēe Provincie regimine leges quascunq' sive ad publicum eiusd' Provincie statum sive ad privat' singuloy utilitat' ptinent iuxta sanas discretionēs suas et cum consilio approbācōe & assensu liberoꝝ tenentiū eiusd' Provincie vel maior' part' eoydem quos ad leges condendas cum & quoties opus

fuerit a p^ofat' Eddo Plowden ac hered' suis & in forma que illi vel illis melior esse videbit' convocari volumus condend' faciend' edendi & sub sigillo p^odco Edmundi & hered' suoꝝ p^omulgandi in oēs hoīes infra p^odict' Provinciam & limit' eiusd' p^o tempore existen' vel sub illius vel illoꝝ potestat' ac regimine novam Albion versus navigando & inde redeundo extra vel ad terr' Angl' seu extra vel ad aliqua alia Dominia n^{ra} ubilib^t constitut' p^omulctaz^z imposicōem incarcerationē & aliam quamlib^t coercionem etiamsi oportet Et dilⁱci qualitas id exegeret p^o membri vel vite privaōem p^o se p^ofat' Edmund' & hered' suos seu p^o Deputat' locumtenent' iudices justiciar' officiar' & ministr' suos sc^dm tenor' ac veram intenōem p^osentiū constituend' et conficiend' et debit' exequend' iudicesq' magistrat' et officiar' quoscunq' ad quascunq' causas & quacunq' potestate et in forma que p^ofat' Edmund' Plowden vel hered' sui melior' esse videbit' terr' marique constituend' et ordinand' crimina item & excessus quoscunq' contra hu^mōi leges sive ante iudiciū oceptiū sive post remittendi relaxandi p^odonandi et abolendi ceteraq' oīa et singul' ad justicie complement' curiasq' & tribunalia iudicioꝝ form' et p^ocedent' modos p^otinent etiamsi de illis expresso in p^osentib^z non fiat mencio faciend' liberam plenam & omnimod' tenore p^osenciū concedim' potestat' Quas quidem leges sic ut p^omittit' p^omulgand' absolutissima iuris firmitate et ab oīb^z hominib^z subditis & ligeis n^{ris} hered' et success' n^{roꝝ} quatenus eos concernen' custodiri et sub penis in eisd' express' & exprimendis inviolabilⁱ observari volum' iniungim' p^ocipim' et mandam' Ita tamen qd leges p^odict' sint racōe consone et non repugnantes nec contrarie (sed quoad convenient' fieri poterit) consentanie legib^z statut' consuetud' et jur' regnoꝝ n^{roꝝ} Anglie & hibi^e Et quoniam in tanto Provincie regimine repentiū casus sepe numero contingunt quib^z necesse erit remediū adhibere antequam liberi tenentes d^e Provinc' ad leges condend' convocari possint nec idoneum erit continuo tal' casu emergente tantum populum convōcari Id circo p^o meliori gubernacōe d^e Provincie volum' et ordinam' ac p^o p^osent' p^o nobis hered' & success' n^{ris} p^ofat' Edmundo Plowden & hered' suis concedim' qd p^ofat' Edmundus Plowden ac hered' sui p^o se ac p^o magistrat' & officiar' in ea

parte debite ut p'fert^r constituend' ordinacōes idoneas ac salubres de tempore in tempus facere & constituere possint ac valeant infra provinciam p^dict' custodiend' & observand' quam p^r custod' pacis qm̄ p^r melior' regimine populi ibm̄ degent' easq' oībus quas eadem aliqualit' tangunt seu tangere possint publice innotescere Quas quidem ordinacōes infra dict' Provinciam inviolabit^r observari volum' sub penis in eisd' exprimend' Ita qđ eadem ordinacōes sint racōe consone et non sint repugnantes nec contrarie sed quoad convenient' fieri potest consentanie legibz statut' et Juribz regni nři Angl' & hibernie (et ita qđ eadem ordinacōes se non extendant ad ius vel interesse alicuius psone vel aliquay psonay de aut in libero tenemento bona seu catalla aliqualit' astringend' ligand' onerand' seu tollend' Porro ut nova Colonia populi eodem confluentis multitudine felicius crescat' pariter & Barbaroy alioyq' hostiū piratay et p'donum incursibz firmitus muniat^r Id circo nos p^r nobis hered' & success' nřis oībz hominibz et subdit' nřis hered' & success' nřoy ligiis p^rsentibz & futuris nisi quibz id spīalit' fuerit inter diet' se familiasq' suas ad dēam nove Albion p^rvinciam cum idoneis navigiis et commentu congřo transferrend' sedesq' suas ibm̄ collocandi incolendi & inhabitandi et extra regn' nřm Hibernie se cum laboratores & artifices conducere & transportare unacum granis cuiuscunq' gener' capros equos equas vaccas boves porcos & peccora aliasq' bestias domesticas cum oībz necessar' tam ad victum qm̄ ad vestitum ptinentibz & quotiescunq' inhabitantes dēe Provincie vel gubernator' vel principal' provincie p^dict' hoc innotescerint castraq' & castella seu al' fortilitia ad p^rfat' Edmund' Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suoy arbitriū p^r defensione publica & sua extruend' & muniend' facultat' licenciam & lib^rtat' damus & concedim' p^r p^rsent' statutum de fugitivis vel aliis quibuscunq' tam in Anglia quam in Hibernia fēis in contrar' p^rmiss' in aliquo non obstante VOLUMUS etiam et ex uberiori grā p^r nobis hered' & success' nřis firmit' p^recipim' & constituim' ordinam' et mandam' qđ dēa Provincia de nřa ligeancia sit Quodq' oēs & singuli subditi & ligei nři hered' & success' nřoy in p^rfat' Provincia p^dict' vel deducend' ipōyq' & omn' alioy liber' ibm̄ nati seu imposter' nascendi sint

& erint indiginei et ligei nři & hered' & success' nřoy ac in oĩbz tractent' reputent' & habeant' tanquam fideles ligei nři ac hered' et success' nřoy infra regnũ nřm Angl' vel hibñie oriund' Necnon terr' teñt' reu²ẽõn' servic' et al' hereditament' quecunq' infra regn' nřm Angl' & hibñie ac alia dominia nřa pquirere recipe cape hẽre tenere emere ac possidere ac eis uti & gaudere easq' dare vendere alienare & legare ac etiam oẽs lib²tat' franchises' & privileg' regnoy nřoy Angl' et hibñie libere quiete & pacifice hẽre & possidere eisq' uti & gaudere possint tanquam ligei nři infra dẽa regna nřa Angl' & hibñie nati seu oriundi absq' impediment' molestacõe vexacõe Calumnia seu gravamine nřo hered' & success' nřoy quoycunq' aliquo Statut' act' ordinacõe seu pvisione in contrariũ inde non obstant' Preterea ut subdit' nostr' ad expediẽõem hanc prompto & alacri animo suscipiend' lucri spe & p²viligeoy dulcedine incitenter SCIATIS qđ nos de grã nřa spĩali ac ex certa Sciencia & mero motu nřis tam p²fat' Eddo Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suis quam al' oĩbz de tempore in tempus habitandi causa in novam Albion pfecturis oĩa & singul' bona sua tam mobillia qm̃ immobilia merces & mercimonia arma item & instrumenta bellica offensiva & defensiva in quibuscunq' portũbus nřis hered' & success' nřoy in naves imponendi et onerand' et in Provinciam novi Albion p se vel servos aut assign' suos transportandi absq' aliqua imposicõe subsid' custum' seu alia quacunq' re nobis hered' vel success' nřis inde solvend' Et absq' impedimento vel molestacõe nři hered' vel success' nřoy vel cuiuscunq' officiar' nři hered' et success' nřoy seu firmar' nřoy hered' vel success' nřoy plenam tenore p²senciũ licenciam damus & liberam facultat' concedim' aliquo statut' actu ordinacõe aut alia re quacunq' in contrariũ non obstant' PROVISIO semp anteqm̃ dẽa bona res & mercimonia in naves inferenter & onerenter licencia sup hoc a Thesaurar' nřo hered' et success' nřoy regnoy Anglie vel hibñie respective vel Comissionar' p Thesaurar' nřo vel sex vel plur' de privato Consilio nřo hered' & success' nřoy sub eoy manibz inscripta petita fuĩt & obtenta Quibus quidem Comissionar' & privato Consilio nřo hered' & success' nřoy aut aliquibz sex aut plur' eoy licencias huĩmõĩ in forma p'dict' concedend' potestat' p

nobis hered' & success' nris Dedim' & concessim' sicut damus & concedim' p p'sent' Quia vero in tam longinqua regione & inter tot Barbaras nationes posita tam ip̃oy Barbaroy qm̃ alioy hostiū piratay et p'donū incursus vero similit' timeri poterit Id circo p'fat' Edmund' Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suos p se vel capitaneos aut alios officiar' suos oēs hoīes cuiuscunq' condiōis aut undecunq' oriundos in Provincia Novi Albion p tempore existent' ad vexilla vocandi delectus habendi bella gerendi hostesq' & p'dones p'dict' terra mariq' etiam ultra Provincie sue limites psequend' Eosq' si deus dederit pfligandi & capiendi et captos iure belli occidendi vel p arbitrio suo servand' ceteraq' oīa & singul' que ad capitanei general' ius & officiū spectan' seu spectare consueverunt faciend' adeo plenam & liberam ac quivis capitan' general' unquam hūit Dedim' ac p nobis hered' & success' nris damus potestat' p p'sent' VOLUMUS etiam ac p p'sent' hanc chartam nrām p'fat' Edmondo Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suis potestat' lib²tat' & auc̃tat' damus ut in casu rebellionis repentini tumultus aut seditionis sique (quod absit) sive sup terram infra Provinciam ante dict' sive sup alto mare in itinere ad novam Albion vel inde revertendo oriri contigerit p se capitaneos deputat' aut al' officiar' suos sub sigill' suis ad hoc aūthorizand' quibz etiam nos p nobis hered' & success' nris plenissimam p p'sent' potestat' & auc̃tatem Damus & concedim' adversus rerum novay authores seditiosos regimini illius vel illoy se subtrahentes militiam detractantes transfugas desertores emansores vel aliter uteunq' contra rem moram & disciplinam millitar' delinquentes iure utant' militari adeo libere ac in tam ampl' modo & forma ac aliquis capitaneus general' virtute officii sui uti possit aut consuevit Porro ne viris honeste natis & se ad p'sentem expediōem accinturis ac bene de nobis & regnis nrīs pace & bello mereri cupientibz in tam remota longeq' dissita regione omn' ad honores & dignitat' via pclus' & penitus obsepta esse videat' PROPTEREA nos p nobis hered' & success' nris p'fat' Edmundo Plowden hered' & assign' suis liberam & plenariam potestat' Damus favores grās & honores in bene meritos Cives infra pvinciam p'dcām inhabitantes conferrendi eosq' quibuscunq' titulis & dignitatibz (modo

talis non fuerint que in Angl' nunc usurpant^r) p arbitrio suo decorandi villas item in Burgos et Burgos in civitat' ppter Inhabitantū merita et locoꝝ oportunitatem cum privileg' & Iñunitat' congruis erigend' & incorporand' ac etiam maner' creare & erigere tenuras etiam & servicia libōꝝ tenentiū instituere & reservare ac diversas formas & species monatarū (sed auris different') incudere & imprimere quas in dēa Provincia lītīmas fore & currentes & acceptabiles ab oībꝫ ibi degentibꝫ & frequentantibꝫ esse mandam' ceteraq' oīa & singula in p^omiss' faciend' que illi & illis congrua esse videbunt' etiamsi talia fuerunt que de sua natura mandatum & warrant' exigant magis spīal' quam in p^osentibꝫ sit expressum et adeo libere et tam amplis modo & forma p^ot societas nove terre et Indiaꝝ oriental' & Insulaꝝ Barmoodas atq; Somers vocat' seu Episcopus Dunelmensis infra Episcopat' seu comitat' Pallatin' Dunelmense seu Dñs Baltamore infra terras sive p^ovincias suas de Maryland et Avolonia vel Iacobus comes Carlile infra Insulas de S^t xpōfer et Barbadoes & ceter' Antillas dict' vel aliquis al' Gubernator Societas seu fundator Colonie noster unq̃m antehac habuit teñit usus & gavisus fuit seu de iure hēre tenere uti vel gaudere debuit aut potuit Et quoniam Coloniaꝝ et omn' rerum publicaꝝ p^omordia variis incomodis & difficultatibꝫ laborare solent Propterea nos p^osentis huius Colonie innitiis faventes ut qui gravent' in uno relevent' in alter' regia sollicitudine p^ovidentes ex grā spīali & mero motu n^oris p^ofat' Edmondo Plowden hered' & assign' suis omnibusq; nove Albion incolis & inhabitantibꝫ quibuscunq' p^osentibꝫ & futur' p hanc chartam n^oram licenciam n^oram damus & concedim' ut merces et mercimonias quascunq' ex dēa Provincie fructibꝫ & comoditat' terrestres vel maritimis redigend' p se vel factor' suos & assign' suos in quoscunq' portus n^oros hered' & success' n^oroꝝ regnoꝝ Anglie aut hibernie libere inferre & exon^oare & alit' de eis ibm disponere Et si opus fuerit easdem merces infra unū Ann' ab oneracōe eoꝝdem contiguo numerandi rursus in naves easdem vel alias onerare & in quascunq' voluerint regiones sive n^oras sive extraneas exportare valeant nullo inde subsid' Custum' taxaōe vel imposicōe quacunq' nobis hered' vel success' n^oris vel success' n^oroꝝ fir-

mariis & redemptor' quomodolibet solvend' PROVISIO semp & nre intencōn' est qđ hec grā nra & custum' & imposicōn' ac subsid' immunitas decem duntaxit annos a dat' p^osenciū continuo numerandi et non ultra duret & firmitatem hēt dēis vero decim annis elapsis & finitis volum' & concedim' ac p nobis hered' & success' nris mandam' qđ p^ofat' Edūs Plowden miles hered' & assign' sui aliiq' nove Albion incole et inhabitantes oēs & singul' & futur' merces & mercimonia & merchandisas quascunq' p^odiet' in quoseunq' portus nros hered' & success' nroy inferre & exonare et si voluerint p se vel suos infra tempus p^odiet' reonerare et exonerare possint & valeant PROVISIO semp qđ tales & talia custum' imposicōes subsid' & telonia nobis hered' & success' nris inde solvere teneant' qualis & qualia reliqui subditi nri p tempore solvere tenebunt' ultra quas & que p^ofat' novi Albion incolas nullatenus gra varivolum' ET ULTERIUS de ampliori grā nra spīali ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nris p nobis hered' & success' nris concedim' p^ofat' Eddō Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suis plenam & absolutam potestat' & auctat' faciend' erigend' & constituend' infra dēam Provinciam novi Albion & Insulas p^odiet' tot & tal' portus maritimos naviū stationes cree' & al' loc' oneracōis & exoneracōis p navibz cimbis & al' vassibz AC tot in talibz loc' & cum tal' nris iur' iurisdicōn' lib^otat' privileg' ad huñōi portas spectan' put ei vel eis melius videbit' expediri Quodq' oēs & singul' naves cimbe & al' vasa quecunq' causa merehandizandi ad Provinciam vel ex Provincia p^odiet' venientes vel exeuntes ad huñōi portus p p^odiet' Eddūm Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suos sic erigend' & constituend' solumodo onerent' et exonerent' aliquo usu consuetudine aut aliqua re in contrariū non obstant' salva semp & omnibz subdit' nris Angl' hered' vel success' nroy reservat' lib^otatem piscandi tam in mare quam in portubus & crecis Provincie antedēe ac privileg' saliendo excicandi & arefaciend' pisces in littore eiusd' Provincie si eandem racionabilit' hactenus usi sunt vel gavisī aliquo in p^osentibz in contrar' non obstant' Quibus quidem lib^otat' & privileg' subditi nri et hered' & success' nroy antediet' gaudebunt absq' notabil' dampno vel iniuria p^ofat' Eddō Plowden hered' et assign' suis aut eiusdem

Province incolis & inhabitantibz in Portubus crecis aut littor' p^odict' & p^osertim in boscis ibm crescentibz aliqualit' fiend' Et si quis huñoi fecerit dampn' aut iniuriam gravis indignacōis nre hered' et success' nroy debiteq' legum castigacōis piculum penamq' subeat VOLUMUS insup statuim' ac ordinam' ac p p^osent' p nobis hered' & success' nris concedim' p^ofat' Eddo Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suis qđ p^ofat' Edmundus hered' & assign' sui de tempore in tempus imppm hēant & gaudeant oīa & singula subsidia custum' & imposicōn' in portubus naviū stationibz ab locis p^odict' infra Provinciam p^odict' solubiles sive emergent' p mercundinis & rebus ibm onerand' ac exonerand' Et ulterius volum' ac p p^osent' p nobis hered' & success' nris convenim' & concedim' ad & cum p^ofat' Eddo Plowden milit' hered' & assign' suis qđ nos hered' & success' nri nullo unquam tempore imposter' aliquam imposicōem custum' & al' taxaōem quameunq' imponem' & imponi faciem' aut causabim' in & sup incolas aut inhabitantes Provincie p^odict' aut aliqua terr' teñt' bona seu catall' in & infra Provinciam p^odict' aut in & sup aliqua bona seu merchandizas infra Provinciam p^odict' aut infra port' aut Naviū station' dēe Provincie onerand' aut exonerand' Et hanc declaracōem & concession' nram in oībus Cur' & coram quibuscunq' iudicibz nris hered' & success' nroy p sufficient' & lītima soluōe liberaōe & acquietam' & de tempore in tempus recipi & allocari volumus ac p nobis hered' & success' nris iubem' et mandam' p^ocipientes oībus & singul' officiar' & ministr' nris hered' & success' nroy sub gravi nra indignacōe iniungentes ne quid in contrariū p^omiss' ullo unquam tempore attemptare audeant aut eisd' ullo modo contravenient' sed p^ofat' Eddo Plowden militi Iohi Lawrence mil' et Barronett' Bowyer Worsley milit' Carolo Barret arō Rogero Packe Willō Inwood Iohi Trusley Thome Ribread & Georgio Noble ac p^ofat' novi Albion incolis & mercator' p^odict' eoy servis ministris factoribz et assign' in plenissimo huius Charte nre usu & fruitione omn' tempore auxiliēnt' & assistant put decet Et si forte imposter' contigerit dubitacōes aut questiones circa verum sensum & intellect' alicuius verbi claus' vel sententie in hac p^osenti charta nra content' generari eam semp & in oībz inter-

pretacōem adhiberi et in quibuscunq' Cur' n̄ris obtinere volum' p'cipim' & mandam' que p'fat' Eddo Plowden milit' & assign' suis sociisq' suis p'nominatis aliisq' novi Albion incolis benignior' utillior' & favorabilior' esse iudicabit^r PROVISO semp qđ nulla fiat interpretacō p qm̄ sacro Saneta dei & vera xp̄iana religio aut ligeancia nobis hered' & success' n̄ris debita iminuōem p*o*iudiciū aut dispend' in aliquo patiant^r Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo aut de certitudine p*o*miss' vel eoy alicuius aut de al' don' sive concessioⁿ p nos seu p aliquem pgenit' seu p*o*decess' n̄roy p'fat' Edmondo Plowden milit' ante hac tempora fact' in p'sentibz minime fact' existit aut aliquo statuto actu aut ordinaōn' pvisione p*o*elamacōe sive restricōe antehac fact' habit' edit' ordinat' sive p*o*vis' aut aliqua re causa vel mater' quacunq' in contrar' inde in aliquo non obstant' IN CUIUS rei testimoniū has l̄ras n̄ras fieri fecim' patent' TESTE p'fat' Deputat' n̄ro general' Regni n̄ri hibernie apud Dublin vicesimo primo die Iunii anno regni n̄ri decimo p l̄rs de privat' Sigillo.

I certify that the foregoing is a true and authentic copy made purs^t to the statute 30 & 31 Vic. ch. 70.

W. M. HENNESSY,

Certifying Officer under the act 39 & 40 Vic. cap. 58.
18th June, 1881.

JEREMIAH LANGHORNE.

BY WILLIAM J. BUCK.

The earliest information I possess of the family is in the year 1662, when Thomas Langhorne, the father of the subject of this brief memoir, was committed to Appleby jail for refusing to pay a fine of five pounds for attending a Friends' meeting.¹ This was in the long and oppressive reign of Charles II., and for more than twenty years after that date he still underwent persecution on account of his religious profession, during which the prison-house was often his abode, either under the stringent provisions of the Conventicle Act, or for refusing to recognize the imposition of tithes.² While undergoing imprisonment in 1668 he wrote a piece entitled "The Captive's Complaint, or the Prisoner's Plea against the burdensome and contentious title of Tithes."³

In consequence of his repeated sufferings from the intolerant spirit of the age, he at length concluded to seek in the wilds of the New World that freedom of conscience which was denied him in his native land. With this in view, he procured a certificate of recommendation from the Friends' Quarterly Meeting at Kendal, in Westmoreland, England, of which he was a member, being dated the 4th of 5th month, 1684.⁴ On account of numbers of his persecuted brethren in the faith having emigrated to Pennsylvania within the two preceding years, he resolved to follow with his family, consisting of his wife Grace and children Jeremiah and Sarah.⁵ It is said he sailed for America in the sixth month⁶ of this year, accompanied with several other Friends from West-

¹ Bowden's *Hist. Friends in America*, Lond. ed., 1854, II. p. 109.

² Besse, vol. ii. p. 10-35.

³ Whiting's *Memoirs*, p. 369.

⁴ Middletown Friends' Records. Samuel Smith, in his *Hist. Province of Penna.* (Hazard's *Reg.*, VI. p. 214), gives it 4th of 6th mo. 1684, probably an error in copying.

⁵ Bucks Co. Records, Deed Book, No. 1.

⁶ S. Smith, *Ibid.*

moreland, and after landing in Philadelphia removed up into the country to make their settlements in Middletown Township, Bucks County, where a few Friends had already gone before them.

Middletown was settled and bore the name as early as 1682-3, the Friends having established a monthly meeting for worship the 1st of 11th month, 1682,¹ at the house of Nicholas Waln, near the Neshaminy Creek, where they built in 1690 a meeting-house, which was one of the first places of worship erected in the county. It was in this building a court was held the 27th of 7th month, 1692, that divided the county into townships,² amongst which was Middletown. It stood about one mile and a quarter west of the present meeting-house at Attleborough, now called Langhorne.

The following are the names of the settlers who had preceded Thomas Langhorne, and at the time of his arrival here were his neighbors. Nicholas Waln, who was a distinguished preacher, arrived here in the ship "Welcome" with William Penn in the 8th month, 1682. He represented Bucks County in the Assembly in 1683. He came from Yorkshire, and took up an extensive tract of land in the township, on which the first "Neshaminy Meeting-house" was built. The same year also arrived Robert Heaton, Robert Hall, William Paxson, James Paxson, James Dillworth, Cuthbert Hayhurst, Thomas Wigglesworth, Thomas Croasdale, Thomas Stackhouse, and John Scarborough. In 1683 came Ezra Croasdale, John Town, Jonathan Scaife, George White, and Richard Davis.³ They all belonged to the Society of Friends, and most of them brought families, who have at this day numerous descendants living in the county. Amongst this number and of those who followed for several years after and lived in this vicinity, undoubtedly the most conspicuous were Nicholas Waln and Thomas Langhorne. Both were preachers and men of intelligence and influence.

¹ Middletown Friends' Records.

² Bucks Co. Court Records, vol. 1.

³ Middletown Records, and Pemberton's Registry of Arrivals.

Smith, in his *History of the Province of Pennsylvania*,¹ speaking of Thomas Langhorne, mentions that, "having purchased his plantation and made some improvements, he in a few years died." This appears to us to be not strictly correct. In the Bucks County Records² we learn that on the 5th of September, 1687, he purchased of Francis Dove, William Wiggins, and Edward Samways, 860 acres of land "situated and lying on Neshaminy Creek." On the Map of Original Surveys, by Thomas Holmes, the surveyor-general, this tract is distinctly marked as belonging to the three aforesaid individuals in common. It is there represented as triangular in shape, being about one mile wide at the western end by the Neshaminy, and extending eastwardly from thence nearly two and a half miles. It may be that he made improvements here several years before the date of the above purchase, but he erected his residence near the western end of this tract, about half a mile from the Neshaminy, on an elevated situation on the south side of what has been ever since called Langhorne's Hill.

To have brought a family from a populous part of England and to settle down here in the wilderness and make the first improvements, was enough, no doubt, to appal the stoutest hearts; but it appears that our peaceful Friends did it cheerfully, without fear of Indians or lurking beasts, for the sake of peace and religious freedom. That the neighbors and acquaintances of Thomas Langhorne reposed high confidence in his abilities and integrity is seen in his being elected a member of Assembly from Bucks County in 3d month, 1687,³ and on the following 5th of 7th month appointed a justice of the peace by the council. With high promises of future honors and usefulness, he died at his residence⁴ the 6th of 8th month, 1687.⁵ An inventory of his personal effects was filed in the office 1st of 2d month, 1688, the valuation being

¹ Hazard's *Register of Penna.*, vi. p. 214-5.

² Deed Book, No. 1.

³ Proud's *Hist. of Penna.* 1, p. 335.

⁴ John Hayton's Testimony in *Memorials of Deceased Friends*, Phila. 1787, p. 6-7.

⁵ Middletown Friends' Records.

£331 1s. 2d. Proud mentions¹ that "he was an eminent preacher among the Quakers." John Hayton says: "I knew him for fourteen years. Having had the opportunity of being with him in this solitary country, as well as in our native land, both in private and public places, I am a witness according to my measure, that the power and presence of the Lord did greatly attend him in preaching the everlasting truth. After he was taken sick, he grew weaker until his departure, saying 'the will of the Lord be done.' His short continuance here caused many to mourn when he was taken from them." We further learn from Samuel Smith's work² that "he died to the great grief of his family and neighbors," who "had not long that satisfaction in his company, which they could have earnestly desired from their former knowledge of and love for him." It must have been a serious blow to the mother and young family to be so soon deprived of their natural protector. However, they concluded to stay on and continue the improvements he had either begun or contemplated, which, they deemed, in a young and growing country might prove highly advantageous, as it subsequently came to pass they were.

Sarah Langhorne, the sister of Jeremiah, was married in 10th month, 1695, to William Biles, Jr., of Falls Township.³ He was the eldest son of William Biles, who settled with his family near the Falls in Bucks County, in 4th month, 1679.⁴ Proud says he was a preacher amongst Friends, and had taken up his lands under a grant from Governor Andross. William Biles, Jr., was elected to the Assembly in 1710, and in 1724 was chosen speaker of that body.⁵ In 1717 he was appointed coroner of the county.

It appears from the Bucks County Records,⁶ that the estate of Thomas Langhorne was not fully settled till in the year 1697, when his administrators were Grace his wife, Jeremiah his son, with his sister Sarah Biles. This administration was

¹ *Hist. Penna.* i. p. 289.

² *Hist. Penna.* in Hazard's *Reg.* vi. p. 214-215.

³ Middletown Friends' Records.

⁴ Pemberton's Registry of Arrivals.

⁵ *Votes of Assembly*, ii. p. 403.

⁶ Deed Book, No. 1.

probably deferred to this time, so that the children should be of age. Jeremiah Langhorne thus became the proprietor of his father's plantation, which he retained and continued to reside upon till his death. Out of respect and veneration for the memory of his father, it is related that, when he arrived at manhood,¹ he sought his grave so that he might place a stone there, so as to be able to recognize it, but it was his regret to learn that his friends had unadvisedly interred his body so near Neshaminy Creek, that the grave was supposed in some years to have been washed away with the bank, and he was in consequence unable to find it. This was in the ancient graveyard attached to the first meeting house. The latter has long been torn down, and the former ceased to be used as a place of interment.

At this day it may be a matter of surprise how the subject of this memoir was enabled to obtain the education in his youth which was so essential to qualify him for the respective posts he subsequently held in the government, and which it is known he filled with great ability, so much so, as to have often confided to his action some of the most complex duties in the affairs of the Province. No doubt he received his earlier education in England, while residing in Westmoreland, but after he came here, which was about his twelfth year, he must certainly have labored under great disadvantages, both from the sparseness of the population, and the early death of his father. To a mother much may have been due in instilling the principles which led to his eminence.

We now come to that point in his life where his official career begins, a career, we might say, that for popularity and general satisfaction is perhaps unexampled in the history of Pennsylvania. The first office he held, to our knowledge, was as a representative in the General Assembly from Bucks County, on the duties of which he entered the 10th of 3d month, 1700.² He was again elected to the same office in 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, and 1710. After this, beginning with October 1st, 1713, his constituents re-elected him annually

¹ S. Smith's *Penna.*, Ibid.

² *Votes of Assembly*, ii. p. 118.

without intermission till the year 1741, when ill health compelled him to resign.

To his mother, Grace Langhorne, we have already made some allusion. After a residence here of nearly twenty-one years, of which she survived her husband about seventeen years and a half, she died, and was buried¹ the 10th of 3d month, 1715. As a woman, she must have borne her share of afflictions. More than once to be a witness to the trials and imprisonments of her husband for conscience' sake, then to leave her native land to follow him across a wide ocean, to settle down in the woods of Pennsylvania, and here, after a residence of only three years, to be left a widow, with the sole cares of a family, were hardships indeed.

Mr. Langhorne was appointed Clerk of the Court and Register of Bucks County the 6th of 1st month, 1701, and Deputy Master of the Rolls the 20th of 3d month, 1702, which offices he continued to hold till 1739.² He was commissioned a justice of the county the 30th of May, 1715. He was again appointed to the same office in 1717, with eleven others,³ by Sir William Keith, with the consent of the Council. How long he continued to act in these several county offices I have not been able exactly to ascertain. In 1721 he was instrumental in getting a road opened from "Yardley's Ferry to the Cross Roads near Neshaminy meeting-house." He was appointed by the court, with Samuel Beck, William Biles, William Paxson, Jonathan Woolston, and Thomas Yardley,⁴ as viewers, who made a favorable report on the 14th of December. This is the road that now leads from Yardleyville to the borough of Langhorne.

The General Assembly, in their annual meeting in the fall of 1721, elected Jeremiah Langhorne their speaker. He again had the honor of presiding over that body in 1733. As a member of the Assembly while in Philadelphia, he wrote a lengthy address on the 10th of February, 1724, to Andrew Hamilton and Clement Plumstead, in relation to the

¹ Middletown Friends' Records.

² Bucks Co. Rec. Will Book, No. 1.

³ Colonial Records, iii. p. 18.

⁴ Bucks Co. Rec. Road Book, vol. i.

conduct of Sir William Keith as Governor of Pennsylvania and on whom he reflects. It may be seen in the manuscript collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and has also been published.¹ An act having been passed March 22, 1723, for emitting 15,000 pounds in paper money, a loan office was created, of which Samuel Carpenter, Jeremiah Langhorne, William Fishbourne, and Nathaniel Newlin were appointed trustees. For their services therein each was allowed fifty pounds annually.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of Bucks County having petitioned the Assembly for the removal of the court-house and prison from Bristol, for the reasons that those buildings were not sufficiently large, and were situated on ground not belonging to the county, and that their location was not sufficiently central for the accommodation of a large majority of the inhabitants, and therefore desiring that Newtown become the county seat, and that these buildings be erected there,² the Assembly, in consequence, passed an act, March 20, 1724, "to enable Jeremiah Langhorne, William Biles, Joseph Kirkbride, Thomas Watson, M.D., and Abraham Chapman, to build a new court-house and prison in Bucks County." Accordingly these were erected at the aforesaid place. Bristol became the county seat in 1705; previously the courts had been held at the Falls. Newtown continued the seat of justice till 1812, a period of eighty-seven years.

From the Penn Manuscripts we learn that before 1724 Mr. Langhorne had become a considerable landholder, he having purchased 2000 acres for £260, and again another tract of 5200 acres for £936. The latter we know was located in Bucks County, as we believe also was the former.

During the whole colonial period, as well as several years after the Revolution, the elections for the whole county were always held at the seat of justice. To show the popularity of Mr. Langhorne, as well as the number of votes polled in Bucks for the respective years mentioned, the following elec-

¹ Hazard's *Register Penna.* vi. p. 224.

² *Votes of Assembly*, ii. p. 238.

tion returns for Representatives of the Assembly may be interesting. The county was then entitled to eight members:—

Oct. 1, 1725.		Oct. 1, 1730.	
Jer. Langhorne,	323	Jer. Langhorne,	270
William Biles,	322	Jos. Kirkbride,	304
Joseph Fell,	251	William Paxson,	288
Abraham Chapman,	205	Abraham Chapman,	263
Christian Vanhorn,	203	Christian Vanhorn,	257
Matthew Hughes,	202	Mathew Hughes,	221
Benjamin Jones,	199	Andrew Hamilton,	229
Thomas Watson,	189	Thomas Canby,	151

Oct. 1, 1734.		Oct. 1, 1739.	
Jer. Langhorne,	334	Jer. Langhorne,	303
Jos. Kirkbride,	339	Jos. Kirkbride,	297
William Biles,	276	John Watson,	382
Abraham Chapman,	290	Abraham Chapman,	239
Christian Vanhorn,	312	Mark Watson,	337
Thomas Merriot,	279	Benjamin Field,	229
Andrew Hamilton,	308	Benjamin Jones,	189
Lawrence Growdon,	266	Thomas Canby,	309

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania at this time consisted of David Lloyd as Chief Justice, and Richard Hill and Robert Assheton, Esquires, as Associates. Judge Assheton, in consequence of having received the office of Recorder of Philadelphia, sent in his resignation, when the Governor, Patrick Gordon, the 15th of September, 1726, “desired the Board to consider of a fitt Person to be appointed the third Judge in his stead, and Jeremiah Langhorne, Esquire, being named, the Board unanimously agreed that he should accordingly be appointed and putt in the Commission.”¹ It was thus that Mr. Langhorne became one of the Justices of the Provincial Supreme Court, and where he was to hold a seat for upwards of sixteen years—until his death.

The powers of the Provincial Courts are thus described by Gov. Patrick Gordon in a reply to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, dated March 15, 1730-1: “Four times in the year Courts of Quarter Session are held in each county.

¹ *Col. Records*, iii. p. 258.

There is likewise a court held twice every year in the said Province and Countys wch is styled the Supreme Court and by its constitution is a court for only matters of law removed thither from the inferior Courts by writs of error or certiorari, but has no power of issuing original process. From the judgment of this Court there lies an appeal to his Majesty in Council. The Justices of this Court are three, who are likewise Justices of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery before whom all capital offences are tryed."

The Assembly, the 10th of 9th month, 1726,¹ appointed Judge Langhorne and Joseph Kirkbride, Jr., to be "a committee to revise those laws enacted since 1719 to the present time." On the 25th of 2d month, 1727, he is continued on that committee with Sir William Keith, and they were desired to "make their report to the House."

The interest that Judge Langhorne took in various matters of public utility show him to have been a man of liberal spirit and enterprise. A company was formed in 1726, if not earlier, consisting of Jeremiah Langhorne, Anthony Morris, James Logan, Charles Read, Robert Ellis, George Fitzwater, Clement Plumstead, William Allen, Andrew Bradford, John Hopkins, Thomas Linley, and Joseph Turner, whose object was to erect iron-works at Durham, on the river Delaware, in Bucks County. They took up here, in the beginning of 1727, a tract of land containing 6000 acres,² and abounding in excellent iron ore and limestone. This same year they commenced the erection here of extensive works for the manufacture of iron, which are still in operation. These were the first works of the kind established in the county.

In 1729 he was reappointed one of the trustees of the "General Loan-Office of the Province of Pennsylvania." This office he held till the 20th of 11th month, 1735-6, when we learn that he "moved the House, that in regard he is now advanced in years, and subject to frequent indispositions, he may be discharged from the office of Trustee of the

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, iii. p. 11.

² Bucks Co. Rec. Deed Book, F. 1, p. 218.

General Loan Office.”¹ The Assembly, it appears, at that time referred the matter for future consideration. Judge Langhorne was appointed by the House in 1732 one of a committee of four to revise the Laws on Excise and Flour, and to bring in a bill for the more easy recovery of all debts under £10 contracted in the Province. On his appearance in the Assembly on the 20th of March, 1734-5, the House agreed to excuse his previous absence on account of his late sickness. However, in May, 1733, he was appointed to act as an additional commissary with five others, to fix the long-disputed boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

John Penn, one of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and a son of William Penn, arrived here in 1734, and after a brief stay concluded to return to England to oppose the pretensions of Lord Baltimore. The House, in consequence, appointed Judge Langhorne the 18th of September, 1735, one of a committee “to draw up an Address to the Hon. John Penn, Esq., now about to embark for Great Britain.”² During his long career as a representative in the Assembly, he is often found on the most important committees, even to name which would require more space than we would wish to occupy. A treaty was held with the Indians by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania at Pennsbury, the 9th of May, 1735, at which were present a considerable number of Indians. Judge Langhorne was there in his official capacity as a representative of the Assembly. On this occasion, Lappawinzo and Teshakomen, whose portraits now adorn the Hall of the Historical Society, were the principal orators.

A full and interesting letter was sent by Judge Langhorne to the Bishop of London, dated May 28, 1736. It appears to have been written chiefly in recommendation of Richard Peters to be assistant in the church of Philadelphia. In it he gives that gentleman’s early history, and says: “his getting the position would confer a great obligation on me, and would be acknowledged with gratitude.”³ From the same we learn that he had received a letter from the Bishop the previous 31st of July.

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, iii. p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³ *Hist. Amer. Colonial Church*, ii. p. 198.

To John Penn, the proprietary in England, the Judge addressed a letter under date of May 20, 1737, the original being in the Penn MSS. It is written in his usual neat and small hand, carefully punctuated. The following extracts are selected wherein he freely expresses his opinions:—

“I received yours of the 12th of March last wherein you acquaint me with your appointment of Col. Thomas for Governor of your Province. I have little knowledge of the man but from information of others. But I shall tell you freely I should have liked it much better if any of your family could have thought proper to have qualified yourselves, and it is my opinion it would have been more acceptable to the people in general. I am very sorry the dispute you have with Lord Baltimore is not likely to be brought to an issue. There has been great disputes among the inhabitants on the other side Susquehanna about the claims of Maryland. Which I doubt not you have had similar accounts of from other hands, otherwise I should have taken the freedom to have given you a relation of some of the facts that have happened since you left the country. Had Mr. Hamilton’s advice been strictly pursued relating to the disputes with the province of Maryland, I am of opinion our province would have come off with more credit and reputation. I hope as you say in your letter that Col. Thomas will be so prudent as to discourage all factions and parties. For I think it is very plain to me that there are a set of people about Philadelphia that to the government under your family would much rather have it under the Crown. However, I hope it will always be in your power to disappoint such, who are really enemies to our happy Constitution. I have had my health generally well since you left the country, but old age is growing very fast upon me. It would be a great pleasure to me and I am persuaded to many more of your friends, that you would take the government upon yourself and come and settle amongst us if your affairs there would admit it. Sir, I return you hearty thanks for the Sermons and the Play. I question not from the general character I have had of Mr. Forster’s Sermons, but that reading of them will give me great satisfaction and pleasure.”

James Logan having sent in his resignation, Judge Langhorne was commissioned August 9, 1739, in his place by the Governor and Council as Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Thomas Græme second, and Thomas

Griffith third Justice.¹ As Dr. Græme had been appointed to the bench as third Justice the 8th of April, 1731, it will be understood that from that date Judge Langhorne was second Justice to the time of his aforesaid appointment as Chief-Justice.

It appears that for six or seven years before his death Judge Langhorne was subject to frequent indispositions, but not so much so but that he was able to attend to the duties of his several offices until within the last few months of his life. Respecting his infirmities, James Logan in a letter of March 1, 1741, to Thomas Penn, writes: "That worthy gentleman Mr. Langhorne has never been out of his bed these four months, but in order to have the bed made, and I question whether he will ever go abroad again. His sores sometime mend and sometime grow worse, but he has now a constant pain in his feet that has quite enfeebled them and taken from him all manner of use of them." Again, on the following 20th of November, William Peters writes to John Penn: "On my return from New York I paid Mr. Langhorne a visit and found him much indisposed; I staid with him till the 20th of September. . . . As he is a sincere man and has a true respect for you and your brothers, always mentioning you with a particular affection, I thought you would be glad to have an account of the state of his health." The Judge seems to have been aware of his condition, for in a letter to Mr. Peters in Philadelphia, dated "Langhorne Park, April 21st, 1742," he says, "considering my present circumstances, it is not likely I shall ever sit in that Court again." He lingered on till Monday, October 11, 1742,² aged about

¹ *Col. Records*, iv. p. 348.

² For this date we are indebted to the *American Weekly Mercury* of Thursday, Oct. 14, 1742, which contains the following brief notice:—"On Monday last died the Honourable Jeremiah Langhorne, Esq., Chief Judge of this Province." In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* no mention of the death is found. These were then the only newspapers published in Pennsylvania in the English language; deaths at this time being very rarely announced. His age we have arrived at from the Breviate of Penn against Baltimore, wherein the Judge in his testimony, given about 1737-8, says, that he was then 66 years of age and above 54 years in Pennsylvania.

71 years, when he breathed his last. His funeral was attended by a considerable number of persons, among whom were several from a distance. Amongst the latter was William Logan,¹ a distinguished merchant from Philadelphia.

Judge Langhorne, being aware that his life could not continue much longer, made his will on the 16th of May previous, and appointed the Hon. Lawrence Growdon,² and Langhorne Biles,³ Esq., of Bucks County, and Joseph Turner, merchant of Philadelphia, his executors. His will is quite lengthy;⁴ our present object is only to give a mere abstract. He gives his plantation called "Langhorne's Park," containing eight hundred acres, to Thomas Biles, the son of his nephew Thomas Biles, deceased. To his nieces, Sarah, the wife of Lawrence Growdon, and Hannah Janney, he gives 1000 acres of land "lying near Perkassy," to be divided between them. He gives 1000 acres adjoining the same to James and Andrew Hamilton, sons of his friend Andrew Hamilton. Gives to his kinsman Thomas Langhorne, now or late in the service of Lord Lonsdale, and to his kinsman William Jackson, of London, woollen draper, and to their heirs, 500 acres on "Monockosy Creek," besides additional lands and money. To his sister Sarah, the wife of William Biles, deceased, an annuity of £50. He gives all his books to Lawrence Growdon "except such part thereof as the said Thomas Biles chooses when he becomes of age." His "stallion riding horse" he gives to his friend William Allen, and his "other riding horse" to Joseph Turner with £100. His clemency to his slaves merits our especial commendation, and we regret omit-

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, iii. p. 582.

² "The highest judicial honours of the province were sustained with reputation by the sons of Langhorne and Growdon." Extract from Peter McCall's Annual Discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Nov. 29, 1832.

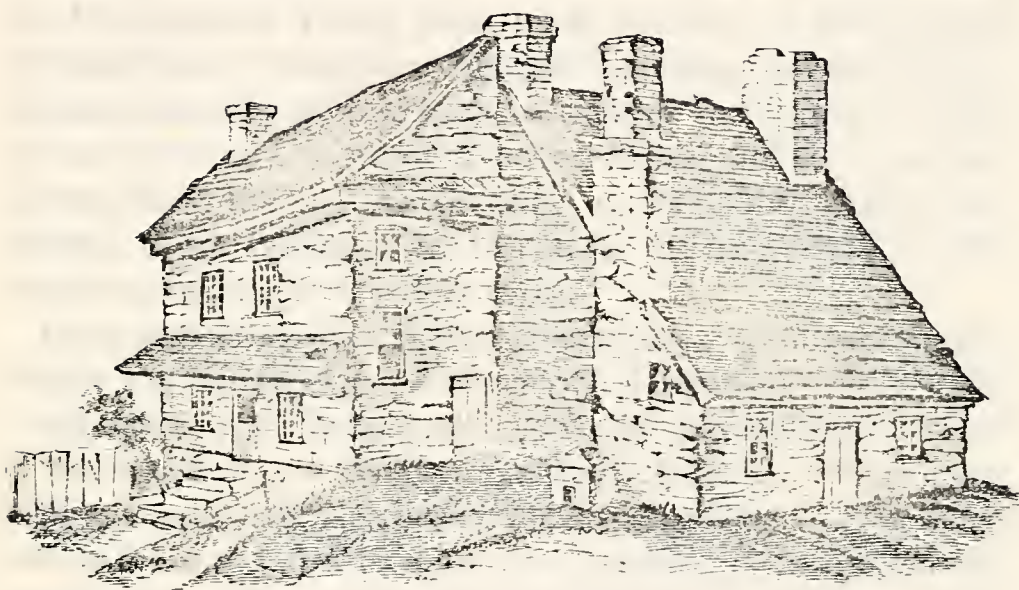
³ Biles probably was a relative. He was commissioned a Captain of a Company of Associators the 12th of Feb. 1747. He was also commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace for Bucks County the 9th of June, 1752.

⁴ Bucks Co. Records, Will Book, No. 2, p. 19-23.

ting on this subject the numerous details for their particular benefit. He directs his servants Joe, Cudjo, and London, to remain on the premises, and Boson, Frank, Sarah, Nanny, Lydia, and Hannah, to hold land on lease, and gives the same so many horses, cows, sheep, and agricultural implements, besides household goods; the remainder of his negro slaves "now under age, when twenty-four years old, to receive each £10 and then be free."

The following interesting description of the Langhorne Park estate appeared as an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, a Philadelphia newspaper, of May 3, 1788:—

"To be sold at private sale in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Langhorne Park with the Mansion-house and the other several messuages, barns, coach-houses, stables, and spring-house, with a good grist mill on a never failing stream of water, and a seat on another stream, with a fall of water, on which a capital grist mill may be erected to great advantage. It being in the vicinity of a fine wheat country, within three miles of navigation for shallops and flats; being within six miles of the borough of Bristol, with 927 acres of excellent land, arable and meadow, abounding with several streams of water, and remarkable fine springs, rising in high land, from which at a small expence, near 100 acres of the best watered meadow may be made; several hundred acres of woodland, abounding with the best timber. This estate was formerly the seat of Jeremiah Langhorne, Esquire, chief justice of Pennsylvania, now in good repair and ready to be delivered to the purchaser next spring. The mansion-house, kitchen, and out-offices suitable to accommodate a large and genteel family. This tract for health and good neighborhood is exceeded by few, if any, the prospect delightful and capable of the first improvement, nineteen miles from the city of Philadelphia and five from Newtown the county town and large good roads to and from it. The southern boundary is on Neshaminy Creek, in which are plenty of fish of various sorts, for the angle or net, also wild fowl; and it is not doubted will in a few years be navigable for boats of burden, when some expected improvements are made. It being a prevailing sentiment, that the most elegant and commodious place for the Federal City, will be about ten miles to the northeast of it; and the great road from Boston and New York to the capital cities in the southern states, will go near, if not through it. There are several fine quarries of building and



RESIDENCE OF

Mr. Langhorne

paving stones on said estate, and on the surface none to incommode the plough. This was part of the real estate of the late Lawrence Growdon, Esquire, deceased, and devised by his last will to his two daughters, Elizabeth Nichleson and Grace Galloway. This estate to be sold in fee simple. For prices &c. apply to Abel James, merchant, or Clement Biddle, Esq. Notary Public, Philadelphia."

The Langhorne Park estate, if we were rightly informed, was sold, with about four hundred acres, to a committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, for the purpose of establishing thereon a Friends' boarding and day school, but not liking it so well they afterwards purchased in 1794 the property at Westtown, Chester County, for this purpose. It was then sold by the Meeting, at the Philadelphia Exchange, to an Irishman by the name of Andrew Kennedy, who bought it at a very low price.

In an article entitled "The Neshaminy," published in the Bucks Co. *Intelligencer*, August 21, 1860, the writer says, "sixty years ago, Langhorne's house, on the Middletown side of the creek was a stately mansion, and with the grounds adjacent bore evidence of its former grandeur. A part of the wall around the park, where Langhorne kept his deer, was then standing, extending along the old Milford road, from the mansion to the top of the hill. The old mill south of the house was then running, and was the oldest mill in Middletown."

It is not known when the mansion-house was built, but it is said that Mr. Kennedy made some repairs to it near the close of the last century. The Langhorne house undoubtedly ranked amongst the oldest in the county. On learning that it was still standing, with but little alteration, as it did in the days of its venerable proprietor the Chief Justice, in company with Dr. E. D. Buckman, of Bristol, I made it an object of especial visit the 9th of August, 1855, when some additional particulars were ascertained. The house is evidently ancient, and may have probably been built in the beginning of the last century if not earlier. It is a very substantial stone structure, the walls of which were from

one and a half to two feet in thickness. There was a large open winding staircase from the cellar to the garret, with heavy turned balustrades and a white-oak hand-rail, four inches square, with good yellow pine steps and floors. The mortar that had been used in plastering had been mixed with cut straw. A girder in the garret floor was eleven by fourteen inches, with others that had been hewn in proportion. It stands on an elevated situation on the south side of Langhorne's Hill,¹ on the main road leading from Bristol to Newtown. The country around is quite rolling, and from the house a fine prospect is obtained for a considerable distance in an eastern and southern direction. The Neshaminy Creek approaches within half a mile. Paxson Blakey, the owner of the Langhorne mansion at the time of our visit, treated us kindly, and showed us whatever objects of interest the place possessed, and communicated freely such traditionary matter as he had acquired during his residence here. As he had informed us that he intended before long to demolish the ancient structure, I at once concluded to make a sketch of it, selecting a northwest view, showing the two wings of the building to the greatest advantage; which was erected first it is now impossible to tell. We since learn that Mr. Blakey's words have come to pass. The Langhorne mansion no longer stands; it was demolished in the spring and summer of 1857, to give way to a more modern structure erected about twenty feet to the north of its ancient site.

We have inferred from the will of Judge Langhorne, that he may have possibly had on his plantation, at the time of his decease, between thirty and forty slaves. Mr. Blakey gave us a few additional particulars concerning them. A house was built for each family as directed in the will, and so many acres were allotted to each to cultivate, of which they were to have the free use as long as they lived. These houses were placed together by a small stream that had its source near by and flowed into the Neshaminy, and in consequence was called by the neighbors "Guinea Run."

¹ It has borne this name for considerably over a century and a half.

Rev. Joseph Mathias mentions¹ that, "when William Thomas, a Baptist preacher, first settled (some time before 1737) in Hilltown Township, Bucks County, which neighborhood was then generally called Perkasio, he purchased here several hundred acres of land of Judge Langhorne, on which he removed, after having made a clearing and erected buildings. Shortly after this, while returning with his pack horses from Philadelphia where he had been to market, he called upon James Logan, living near Germantown, who was the owner of a large tract adjoining, to know his price for several hundred acres. Mr. Logan asked 'whether he was able to pay the price, provided he should make a purchase.' His reply was: 'My name is William Thomas; let me know the price of thy land; if that will suit me, then I will refer thee to Mr. Langhorne for any particulars thee may wish to know concerning me.' The price was named, and he was invited to call again, which he did; and was told that Langhorne had said 'if thee don't pay for it I will.'"

Joshua Francis Fisher, in his "Account of the early Poets and Poetry of Pennsylvania,"² makes mention of an eccentric Englishman, by the name of William Satterthwaite, having settled in Bucks County, where he "resumed his old employment [school teaching], but he was still persecuted by fortune, and his poverty was rendered even more bitter by the ill-temper of his wife. But he sustained his ills with equanimity, and was in the end rewarded; for, it was said, he at last became in easy circumstances, and his old age was rendered comfortable by the generosity of a patron. This patron was Jeremiah Langhorne, a gentleman of excellent talents, and of a liberal mind, who was for many years distinguished in the provincial assembly, filled several of the highest offices, and succeeded James Logan as chief-justice. Several of Satterthwaite's poems have been transmitted to us; one denominated 'Mysterious Nothing' was written in 1738, at

¹ Historical sketch of the Hilltown Baptist Church, published in the Bucks Co. *Intelligencer*, June 5, 1849.

² *Memoirs of the Hist. Society of Penna.* ii. p. 75.

the instance of several young ladies. It was, I believe, republished some years afterwards, and with it was printed 'An Elegy on the Death of Jeremiah Langhorne' and a poem on 'Providence.' We here append the Elegy:—

Langhorne, the great, the good, the just, is dead,
 And with his life our blooming joys are fled.
 And what remains? an awful gloomy scene,
 A weeping province, pious souls in pain.
 His bright example shows the best relief
 From seas of sorrow and insulting grief.
 See with what patience he serenely bore
 Legions of pains armed with their torturing power.
 Nor grave physicians, with their healing art.
 Could e'er dislodge them from the internal part;
 Nor pious friends, with sympathizing care,
 Could mitigate their furious conduct there.

Such was his goodness, and his greatness such;
 His slaves were blessings and his negroes rich.
 A perfect friend, in bold sincerity
 With lords or peasants regularly free.

He stood the patriot of the province, where
 Justice was nourished with celestial care.
 He taught the laws to know their just design;
 Truth, justice, mercy, hand in hand to join;
 Without regard to fear, or hopes, or gain,
 Or sly designs of base, corrupted men.
 Such were his constant actions; by them he
 Did living write his own true elegy.

Samuel Preston mentions that, in examining the old Durham papers, he ascertained that Jeremiah Langhorne and Lawrence Growdon were the two principal proprietors of the Durham Iron Works, and that they had employed the afore-said Wm. Satterthwaite for several years at a regular salary to keep a free school there; which probably was not only intended to diffuse education, but, as Mr. Preston remarks, "perhaps to encourage settlement in the neighborhood, and to support an eminently worthy man."¹

The probability is that Judge Langhorne was never educated for the bar, and that he was not a lawyer. This, how-

¹ Buck's *History of Bucks County*, p. 76.

ever, is found to be the case with several others of our early justices. From his will we have inferred, as no other records prove the contrary, that he must have remained unmarried. As to his religious opinions a question arises. We have already mentioned that his father was a preacher amongst Friends, for the principles of whose society he had suffered persecution. His son, no doubt, was brought up in the principles of that sect. It certainly looks as if something had occasioned his estrangement. Perhaps some breach of discipline, the Keithian controversy, or the arguments of an advocate of military service, like his friend Capt. Langhorne Biles. Partly in evidence of this, the Historical Society have in their collections a petition to the king, praying that, in consequence of the opposition of the Friends to war, the province may be placed in a much better state of defence, which is signed by Judge Langhorne as Chief-Justice, with about one hundred and twenty others. The paper bears no date, but was evidently gotten up between the years 1739 and 1742. This was, no doubt, done at the time from an apprehension of trouble with the French and Indians. In an inquiry on this matter in 1856, an intelligent Friend has given us the following information: "I have not yet been able to learn that Jeremy Langhorne was a member of the Society of Friends at the time of his death. The general impression with our oldest members is, that he was not, but I think it very probable that his remains were interred in our graveyard, but I have not been able to find any grave-stone, or other record of it."

I have since received another letter,¹ from which the following is an extract: "I have examined the Records of Births and Deaths back to 1726, but do not find any of the name. One of our books of Minutes of the Monthly Meeting, containing the proceedings of nearly forty years, is lost. Perhaps it may contain an account of his disownment. Some of our citizens have a distinct recollection of 'Old Will,' who was the last surviving slave manumitted by the Judge. and

¹ From Isaac Eyre, 22d, 11mo. 1857.

who had a hut or cabin near where Andrew Flower's mill now stands, but I am not certain the date of his death or age, but it is supposed he was over one hundred years old. He was a great fiddler and would play for the others to dance. I know of no account of the Judge having been ever published."

In summing up the long and useful services of Judge Langhorne, we find that he was at least thirty-four years in the Assembly, over which body he presided twice as speaker. That he was clerk of the court, register and recorder of Bucks County for about thirty-eight years, a trustee of the Pennsylvania Loan Office thirteen years, and a justice of the county courts for many years. In the Supreme Court he was a judge for sixteen years, of which he was upwards of three years Chief-Justice. His life was not passed without affording a lesson. He arose to eminence by degrees, and must have been a man of remarkable perseverance. His industry is exhibited in the management and the improvement of a large plantation, in the number of laborious offices he held at the same time, and the interest he took in enterprises of a public or private nature. It appears that during his long and active life such was his prudence that whatever he undertook was accomplished and proved itself successful. Our pages show that he died in comfortable circumstances, but they likewise show by the testimonies of others that he was charitable and humane. His method of emancipating his slaves, when emancipation was as little known as it was practised, proved itself no chimera. Living in an age when dissensions were rife and party spirit high, not a word has been found impeaching in the least degree the integrity and purposes of Jeremiah Langhorne. His popularity never waned, for he enjoyed the high confidence of his constituents to the last. His life viewed both in its public and private capacity is so satisfactory that we doubt whether among all his contemporaries in the province we can find such another example. "Honest Mr. Langhorne" is what John Penn calls him in a letter to Andrew Hamilton, dated February 7, 1733, but a few years before his death. Among later honors we may

add that, on the completion of a branch of the North Pennsylvania Railroad to New York in May, 1876, a station was named Langhorne, within a few hundred yards of the site of the old mansion; upon which by a popular vote the name of the neighboring incorporated town of Attleborough was changed to the same, a more fitting memorial to the virtues of the philanthropic Judge than any other monument could possibly be. Thus we close the first biographical notice that has appeared respecting him, the result of materials many years collecting.¹

¹ [For the use of the wood-cut of the residence of Jeremiah Langhorne, we are indebted to Gen. W. W. H. Davis, author of the *History of Bucks County, Pa.*, in which work it appeared.—ED.]

AUGUSTINE HERMAN AND JOHN THOMPSON.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

The accurate and interesting history of the "Descendants of Jöran Kyu" has, in a preceding volume of the MAGAZINE (iv. pp. 100 *et seq.*), alluded to a person who, in eminent distinction, is closely associated with the early history of New Netherland and of Maryland. This is Augustine Herman, the first Lord of Bohemia Manor. He was born in Prague, and had by nature an adventurous spirit that led him at an early age to seek his fortunes in our new world, first in the West Indies, then in New Amsterdam, and at last in Maryland. With the climate and soil of the latter he was so greatly pleased that he resolved to live there. But before this decision had been made, and as early as the year 1633, he had been employed by the West India Company, and in its service had made voyages to Holland and elsewhere. Afterwards he was engaged in commercial enterprises, not always of a peaceful character, for he is mentioned as having been engaged in privateering, to which, in that day, no odium attached. He was a prominent man in New Amsterdam, and the Dutch there rated his abilities of a high order. At one time Governor Stuyvesant sent him as the bearer of dispatches to the authorities in Boston. In April, 1652, he was sent as ambassador to Rhode Island,¹ and in 1659 he presented himself in the same capacity to Lord Baltimore in the province of Maryland. Before leaving New Amsterdam, December 10, 1651, Herman married Jannetje (Jane) Varleth, by whom he had two sons, and three daughters, viz., Ephraim George, who became the second Lord of Bohemia Manor; Casparus, who succeeded his brother in the title and estates; Anna Margaretha, who married Matthias Van-

¹ *N. F. Gen. and Biog. Record*, vol. ix. p. 60.



Augustin Hermann

derheyden; Judith, who married John Thompson; and Francina, who married a Mr. Wood.¹

With his preference for Maryland, and with a view to a residence there, Herman proposed to Lord Baltimore to make a map of the provinces of Maryland and Virginia. This he did, and in return for the valuable service Lord Baltimore bestowed upon him extensive tracts of land situated partly in what is now Cecil County, Maryland, and partly in New Castle County, Delaware. In the British Museum there is a copy of the map. "This was a work of some magnitude, and cost him no less than the value of about two hundred pounds sterling, besides his own labor. It also required much time, and was not finished until the expiration of some years after he had received his first patent, which was dated June 19, 1662, which was the year after he removed his family from New Amsterdam to Bohemia Manor."² It also contains his portrait.

The patents of Lord Baltimore to Herman were liberal, for besides "Bohemia Manor" there was granted him "Little Bohemia" designed for his second son Casparus, to which was added in 1671 "St. Augustine's Manor," and in 1682 "The Bohemia Sisters," so called because intended for, and by him devised to, his three daughters. The title of "Lord" was conferred on Herman by the proprietor, together with all the rights and privileges incident to a manor, such as holding court baron and court leet.

These manors were to be holden (the grant says) of "Cecilius, Lord Baron of Baltimore, and of his heirs, as of his manor of St. Maries, in free and common socage, by fealty only for all manner of service, yielding and paying therefor yearly unto us and our heirs, at our receipt at St. Maries, at the two most usual feasts in the year, viz., at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and at the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, by even and equal portions, the rent of four pounds sterling, in silver or gold, or the full

¹ Johnston's *Hist. of Cecil County, Maryland*, page 108.

² *Ibid.* p. 38.

value thereof in such commodities as we or our heirs shall accept in discharge thereof.”¹

Herman erected on the Bohemia River (so named by him after his native land) a large manor house commensurate with his rank and great landed possessions, and there he resided, surrounded by his family and servants, whom he had transported from New Amsterdam at “great expense.”

Mr. Lednum says of him, “Herman was the great man of the region: he had his deer park, the walls of which are still (1859) standing; he rode in his coach driven by liveried servants; his mansion commanded a fine view of the Bohemia River to the Chesapeake Bay.”² The same authority states that this mansion was destroyed by fire in 1815, and with it “many old and valuable paintings. One of its large halls was lined with them. Many of them had belonged to Augustine Herman the founder of Bohemia Manor. His likeness and that of his lady perished; also the painting representing the flight from the Dutch in New York by means of his famous war charger.” Tradition says the Dutch at one time had Herman a prisoner “under sentence of death,” presumably owing to his opposition to the tyrannical Governor Stuyvesant. He, feigning insanity, requested “that his horse should be brought to him in the prison. Herman mounted him, and seemed to be performing military exercises, when, on the first opportunity, he bolted, with his horse, through one of the large windows, leaped down, swam the North River and escaped. He never suffered this horse to be used afterwards, and when he died had him buried and honored his grave with a tombstone.”³

On the 9th day of August, 1684, he invested his eldest son Ephraim George with the right and title to Bohemia Manor. The consideration mentioned is: “Five thousand pounds of good, sound, and merchantable tobacco and casks, and also six barrels of good beer or strong beers, one anchor of rum or brandy, one anchor of spirits, two anchors or twenty gallons of good wine, and one hogshead of the best cider out of

¹ Johnston's *History of Cecil County, Maryland*, p. 39.

² *Methodism in America*, p. 277.

³ *Ibid.*



John Thompson.

the orchard, and one cwt. of good Muscavado sugar for my particular private spending; and lastly, if I should resolve to remove with my abode to any other place in the country from off the manor, then he, my said son, is obliged to pay towards my said board the sum of 2000 pounds of tobacco and casks; and if I should happen to go to New York, then my son is to furnish me with £25 in money."¹

In the year 1684 Herman made his will, naming as executors his two sons, and his son-in-law John Thompson, whose arms face this page. Miss Caroline Thompson, of Chestertown, Maryland, a descendant in the fifth degree of the said John Thompson and his wife Judith Herman, and now in her ninety-seventh year, has allowed her great-nephew John Thompson Spencer² to present in her behalf to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a fragment (the upper half of the first leaf) of this document, which is as follows:—

In the name and will of God the holy Trinity, Amen.

I Augustine Harman Bohemian doe herewith declare that this present writing is and shall be my last Will and Testament namely, that my monument stone with Engraven letters of me the first Author of Bohemia Mannor, Anno 1660, shall be erected over my sepnlecher, which is to be in my vineyard upon my Mannor plantation upon Bohemia Mannor in Maryland, and that my son Ephraim with my second son Casparus, and my son in law Jno. Tomson shall be my Executors equally impowred, for the intent and purpose of the Intaylments hereunder named, to be truly inspected, and first having covenanted with my son Ephraim, by a deed in writing bear-

¹ Johnston's *Cecil County*, p. 104.

² Formerly of Maryland. The Land Records of that State show large grants of land to the Spencers in 1720, and in earlier years. They are of the well-known family of that name long seated in Warwick and Northampton counties, England. Mr. Spencer's maternal ancestors, the Ringgolds, were among the earliest settlers on Kent Island. In the year 1650 Thomas Ringgold, and others, were deputed to go to St. Mary's with a petition to the governor and council. Thomas Ringgold, fifth in descent from him, was a delegate from Maryland to the General Congress held in New York in 1765, and a member of the Maryland Convention of 1776, besides performing other and patriotic services. (See Scharf's *History of Maryland*, vol. i. pp. 212, 537–540, and 552, and McSherry's *History of Maryland*, p. 155.)

ing date the 25th of March and confirmed the ninth of August this present year, entred upon Cicill County Record for my Bohemia Mannor (as the same is granted to me by Cecilius the first absolute Lord and proprietor, as by the pattent of augmentation [for geographing the publick Mapp of Virginia and Maryland, by his Majesties peculiar licence and authority printed] afterward confirmed by his succeeding Son, Charles the Second absolute Lord and proprietary intrat. in recordo Liber C. B. No. 3, folio 38 in Maryland is more at large appearing) with that provisoe that due respects shall be had to the Intaylments and that noe land by him, nor any of his heirs, or other successours shall within the bounds of the said pattent absolutely be sold and forever be alienated, that what I have my selfe infeoffed to Peter Sluyter alias Voursman, Jasper Dankerts alias Seuler, Peter Bayard, John Moll, and Arnold Legrange & Company as suitors and freeholders to Bohemia Mannor, under such rents and services

[Opposite side.]

And furthermore I doe hereby in like manner, give, bequeath and devise unto my aforenamed Son Casparus, and to his lyneal posterity legally discending from his body, as a peculiar inheritance (not to be sold but leased as abovesaid) my Bohemia River middle neck, called little Bohemia, anext to the gratuity for Geographing the publick Mapp aforesaid, as it is confirmed to me by the right Honble Lord and proprietary Charles abovesaid intrat in Recordo Liber C. B. No. 13, folio 40, to have and to hold the same, with all the appertinances and appendencies and perquisits, whatsoever enduring his naturall life, and afterward to be holden successively by his male heirs, females happening between to return afterwards to the right male heir again, but by extinct of either of them to discend, and be it entayled to the lawfull heirs and posteritys of my three daughters Anna Margarita, Judith, and Francina above named passing from one line to the other as is expressed and specified here before with Bohemia Mannor.

Item. I doe hereby further and moreover, give, bequeath and devise unto my said three daughters Anna Margarita, Judith and Francina, and to their legall heirs and posteritys, from their bodys lawfully begotten, three tracts of land, lying on the North side of Bohemia back River some time called Back Creek, confirmed to me by the right Honble Lord & proprietor Charles above named, in one pattent called the Three Bohemia Sisters, formerly called Misfortune, by Speciall Re-

survey containing the quantity of four thousand one hundred Acres, as further appears by his said Lordships grant intrat. in Recordo Liber C. B. No. —, folio . To have and to hold the same as their own peculiar inheritances, by the following partition, namely, to Anna Margarita her heirs and posterity

[Rest of sheet and writing missing.]

Augustine Herman died in the year 1686. His “monumental stone,” although broken, is still to be seen on his manor, with the following inscription:—

AVGVSTINE HERMEN
BOHEMIAN
THE FIRST FOVNDER
SEATER OF BOHEMEA MANNER
ANNO 1661.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from Vol. VI., page 457.)

YEATES—EWING—HAND.

149. SARAH YEATES⁵, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Sidbotham) Yeates, was born April 2, 1731. She married (Register of Christ Church, Philadelphia), February 20, 1749-50, John Ewing, born August 27, 1727. Mr. Ewing died November 11, 1754, and was buried in Christ Church Ground. Mrs. Ewing afterwards removed to Lancaster, Pa., where she died October 3, 1823. The following obituary notice of her appeared in the Lancaster *Express*: "Died at Lancaster, on Thursday last, Sarah Ewing, sister of the late Judge Yeates, and mother-in-law of the late General Edward Hand, aged 92 years and 6 months." Mr. and Mrs. Ewing had three children:

372. CATHARINE, b. in Philadelphia, Pa., March 25, 1751. She was m. in Lancaster, Pa., March 13, 1775,* to Edward Hand, M.D., a native of Clyduff, Kings County, Province of Leinster, Ireland, b. December 31, 1744, who had come to America in 1767 as surgeon's mate of the 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment, sailing from the cove of Cork, May 20, and arriving at Philadelphia July 11. Doctor Hand was appointed ensign in 1772, and accompanied his regiment to Fort Pitt, returning to Philadelphia in 1774, when he resigned his commission and was regularly discharged from the service. In the same year he went to Lancaster, Pa., with the intention of practising his profession in that place. At the beginning of the American Revolution Doctor Hand gave his allegiance to the colonies, and was commissioned June 25, 1775, Lieutenant-Colonel of Colonel William Thompson's

* A letter (in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) from Richard Peters, Jr., to her uncle Jasper Yeates, dated "Philada., 1st March, 1775," says, "Be so good as to make my Compliments to Mrs. Yeates, Mrs. Ewing, and your Niece, whom I cant mention by Name as I am not certain what her name will be when you receive this."

Battalion of Riflemen, consisting of nine companies of men enlisted in the counties of Cumberland, York, Lancaster, Northumberland, Bedford, Berks, and Northampton, in Pennsylvania, afterwards designated as the Second Regiment (and after January 1, 1776, the First Regiment) of the Army of the United Colonies. Lieutenant-Colonel Hand accompanied Colonel Thompson and the battalion to Boston, where they arrived August 17, 1775, and participated in the siege of that city during the following autumn and winter. In Thacher's *Military Journal of the Revolution*, under date of August, 1775, these troops are spoken of as "remarkably stout and hardy men, many of them exceeding six feet in height," and as "remarkable for the accuracy of their aim. At a review, a company of them, while on a quick advance, fired their balls into objects of seven inch diameter, at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards. Their shot have frequently proved fatal to British officers and soldiers." They formed the picket guard of the two thousand provincial troops, who, on the evening of the 26th of August, took possession of, and threw up intrenchments on Ploughed Hill. On the morning of the 27th they met with their first loss, the death of a private, the first Pennsylvania soldier who fell in the War of the Revolution. Among other noteworthy actions in which Hand and his men engaged at this period was the skirmish at Lechmere's Point. November 9, for their alacrity in which Colonel Thompson and his battalion were publicly thanked by General Washington in general orders dated the next day. The British had landed under cover of a fire from their batteries on Bunker, Breed's, and Copp's Hills, as well as from a frigate which lay three hundred yards off the point, which at high tide was an island. The regiment marched instantly, and, though the day was very stormy, regarded not the tide, nor waited for boats, but took to the water, although up to their armpits, for a quarter of a mile, and, notwithstanding the regulars' fire, reached the island, and, although the enemy were lodged behind the walls and under cover, drove them to their boats.* March 7, 1776, Hand was appointed Colonel of the regi-

* Concerning this affair, see *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* of that date, and *The Letters of Mrs. Adams*, wife of John Adams, p. 61. An amusing letter on the subject from Lieutenant-Colonel Hand to his wife is printed in *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. x., with other letters and information about the Battalion of Riflemen. Hand describes the standard of his regiment, March 8, 1776, "to be a deep green ground, the device, a tiger, partly inclosed by toils, attempting the pass, defended by a hunter, armed with a spear (in white), on crimson field. The motto, *Domari Nolo*." It is now in the possession of the State of Pennsylvania. A representation of it is given as the frontispiece to the volume of *Penna. Archives* referred to.

ment, which he had commanded since the 2d of February, and, with his men, left Cambridge, March 15, to join General Sullivan in New York. He was moved to Long Island early in April, and was stationed at New Utrecht, which remained the head-quarters of the regiment during May and June. On the 15th of April Congress resolved to recruit and re-enlist this battalion, and the independent rifle companies attached to it, for the term of two years, unless sooner discharged. Before General Washington was aware of this, he had written, April 22, to the President of Congress: "The time for which the riflemen enlisted will expire on the 1st of July next, and, as the loss of such a valuable and brave body of men will be of great injury to the service, I would submit it to the consideration of Congress whether it would not be best to adopt some method to induce them to continue. They are, indeed, a very useful corps; but I need not mention this, as their importance is already well known to the Congress." On the 24th of April it was the First Regiment of the Third (General Sullivan's) Brigade; and July 1 it entered upon another term of duty, as the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental service, enlisted, at first, for two years, but afterwards, in October, for the War. It picketed the shores of Long Island until August, when it was moved to Delancey's Mills. Colonel Hand took part, with his regiment, in the Battle of Long Island, and successfully protected the retreat of the American army, in association with Colonel Magaw, Colonel Shee (with whom was Lieutenant-Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, as elsewhere stated), and Colonel Haslet (with whom was Captain John Patten, a descendant of Jöran Kyn hereafter mentioned). The Lieutenant-Colonel, James Chambers, thus speaks of this affair: "Never was a greater feat of generalship shown than in this retreat—to bring off an army of twelve thousand men, within sight of a strong enemy, possessed of as strong a fleet as ever floated on our seas, without any loss, and saving all the baggage." Colonel Hand took part in the Battles of White Plains, Trenton, and Princeton.* At the last of these conflicts, says General Wilkinson, "at the time General Mercer engaged the 17th Regiment, Colonel Hand endeavoured, by a rapid movement, to turn the enemy's left flank, and had nearly succeeded, when they fled in disorder . . . the riflemen were therefore the first in the pursuit, and in fact took the greatest part of the prisoners; they were accompanied by General Washington in person, with a squad of

* For details of Colonel Hand's part in these engagements, see, particularly, "The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn," by Henry P. Johnston, in *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*, vol. iii., and *Memoirs of my own Times*, by General James Wilkinson.

the Philadelphia Troop.”* He continued to command his regiment until April 1, 1777, when he was promoted to be Brigadier-General. Soon afterwards General Hand was sent to Western Pennsylvania to call the militia together; and he wrote a letter† to Thomas Wharton, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth, from Fort Pitt, July 24, which was laid before Congress, resulting in the adoption of a resolution by that body, August 16, desiring the Council to give the General “such assistance from the militia of the counties of Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Bedford,” as he might “think necessary” to carry the war into the Indian country. In the performance of these duties a new fort was erected during the summer or autumn, named “Fort Hand,” situated in Westmoreland County, about fourteen miles north of Hanna’s Town, near the junction of Loyalliannon and Conemaugh.‡ May 2, 1778, “agreeably to his request,” Congress resolved to recall Hand from his command at Pittsburgh. Before his departure the General had a friendly conference with the Indians at Fort Pitt, June 17. In October he succeeded General Stark in the command at Albany. In the spring of 1779 Hand was ordered to take part in General Sullivan’s campaign against the Iroquois, in which, although the youngest of the Brigadier-Generals engaged, he held the most important position after that of the commander-in-chief, the knowledge of the country and modes of warfare of the Indians acquired by him at Pittsburgh being of the greatest value in the expedition. He commanded a Brigade of Light Troops in the centre or main division of the army, composed of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, the German Regiment, Captain Spalding’s Independent Wyoming Company, The Wyoming Militia, and Schott’s Rifle Corps. General Hand reported himself to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, April 16, as arrived at Lancaster, on his way to Wyoming, where his division of the troops was to rendezvous, and on the last day of July broke camp at the latter place and began the forward march, his men occupying the post of honour, the front of the column, about a mile in advance of the rest. The campaign

* The occasion referred to in the account of John Donnalson (*PENNA. MAG.*, vol. iv. p. 345).

† This and numerous other letters of General Hand are printed in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, further references to him occurring in the *Colonial Records*.

‡ Concerning “Fort Hand,” see *Penna. Archives*, vol. xii. p. 371. The earliest mention of the fort, which I have met with, occurs in a letter from Archibald Lochry to Thomas Wharton, President of the Executive Council, dated “Westmoreland, y^e 6th Decem^r, 1777,” in *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. pp. 62 and 69.

the first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people to California, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The second was the discovery of oil in Texas in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Texas, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The third was the discovery of silver in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Nevada, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The fourth was the discovery of copper in Arizona in 1863. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Arizona, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Colorado, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The sixth was the discovery of silver in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Idaho, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The seventh was the discovery of silver in Montana in 1862. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Montana, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The eighth was the discovery of silver in Wyoming in 1869. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Wyoming, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The ninth was the discovery of silver in Utah in 1863. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Utah, and the state became one of the most important in the Union. The tenth was the discovery of silver in New Mexico in 1861. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New Mexico, and the state became one of the most important in the Union.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 was the first of a series of discoveries that led to the great influx of people to the West. The discovery of oil in Texas in 1859 was the second of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Nevada in 1859 was the third of these discoveries. The discovery of copper in Arizona in 1863 was the fourth of these discoveries. The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859 was the fifth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Idaho in 1860 was the sixth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Montana in 1862 was the seventh of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Wyoming in 1869 was the eighth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Utah in 1863 was the ninth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in New Mexico in 1861 was the tenth of these discoveries. These discoveries led to a great influx of people to the West, and the West became one of the most important regions in the United States.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 was the first of a series of discoveries that led to the great influx of people to the West. The discovery of oil in Texas in 1859 was the second of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Nevada in 1859 was the third of these discoveries. The discovery of copper in Arizona in 1863 was the fourth of these discoveries. The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859 was the fifth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Idaho in 1860 was the sixth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Montana in 1862 was the seventh of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Wyoming in 1869 was the eighth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in Utah in 1863 was the ninth of these discoveries. The discovery of silver in New Mexico in 1861 was the tenth of these discoveries. These discoveries led to a great influx of people to the West, and the West became one of the most important regions in the United States.

occupied two months, the army reaching Easton, on its return, on the 15th of October. Officers and men were complimented by Congress with a vote of thanks, and Washington expressed his satisfaction with the management and the results of the expedition.* General Hand afterwards joined Washington, and encamped at Morristown, N. J., during the winter. On the formation of the light infantry corps of the army, in August, 1780, he was given the command of one of the two brigades of which that body was composed. He was one of the fourteen generals who constituted the tribunal that tried and convicted Major André. January 8, 1781, he was appointed Adjutant-General of the Army of the United States. He was present at the siege of Yorktown, and returned with the troops to Philadelphia. September 30, 1783, he was commissioned Major-General of the Pennsylvania Line. Upon the close of the war he resumed the practice of medicine in Lancaster. He was a Delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress in 1784 and 1785, a Member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1785, and an Elector for the same State "for choosing a President and Vice-President of the United States" in 1789. He was a Member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Pennsylvania in 1790. He was appointed by President Washington, March 21, 1791, Inspector of the Revenue for Survey No. 3 in the District of Pennsylvania, and retained the office till the end of his life. In 1798, when Washington accepted the command of the army raised in anticipation of a war with France, Hand was recommended by him for appointment as Adjutant-General. General Hand was an original Member of the Society of the Cincinnati, being one of the committee which revised the proposals for establishing that body, adopted at a subsequent meeting of the Society. He was elected President of the State Society of Pennsylvania in 1799. In politics General Hand was a Federalist. "As a citizen he was highly esteemed, and as a physician greatly sought after and beloved." "He was known as a lover of fine horses and an excellent horseman." He d. at his farm of Rockford, Lancaster Co., Pa., September 3, 1802. He is bur. in St. James's (Protestant Episcopal) Churchyard, at Lancaster, under an obelisk with the inscription: "Edward Hand, M.D. A General Officer of the Revolution. The Friend and Companion in Arms of Washington. . . . His public services are part of his country's history."† Mrs. Hand d.

* On this subject, see *The Centennial Celebration of General Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois in 1779*, published under the auspices of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society.

† A portrait of General Hand, painted from a small picture by Eichholtz, is in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. S. B. Rogers, of Lancaster.

at Rockford, June 21, 1805, and is bur. with her husband. They left issue.

373. JASPER, b. July 15, 1753. He studied law (probably with his uncle, Jasper Yeates), and became an attorney, but, on the breaking out of the American Revolution, entered on a military career, at first as Second Lieutenant, and afterwards, in August, 1776, as Adjutant of his brother-in-law, Colonel Hand's Regiment, retaining the latter position until April, 1777.* When Hand was promoted Brigadier-General, and appointed to the command of the Western Department, Ewing went with him to Fort Pitt as Brigade-Major. In a letter† addressed by Major Ewing to Jasper Yeates, dated "Fort Pitt, June 3d, 1777," the writer says: "On Saturday last we arrived here not a little fatigued with the Journey. But, notwithstanding the Badness of the roads and still worse accommodations, I think myself amply Compensated for all my Fatigues by being stationed at this delightful Place." Ewing remained with General Hand, in the same capacity, until the recall of the latter in 1778. In 1789, Ewing resided in Northumberland County, Pa., and July 29, of that year, he was elected to succeed Lawrence Keene,‡ deceased, as Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, Clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Jail Delivery, and Clerk of the Orphans' Court for that county. The same day he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the same county. He d., it is believed, unm. at Sunbury, Pa., September 25, 1800. In his will, recorded at Sunbury, he bequeathed his "fees" to his mother and nephews, John and Jesse (Jasper) Hand, and to the latter his "two guns;" his "library of

Pa. An engraving of it appears in Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, and in *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. x. Valuable MSS. of the General are owned by Mrs. Rogers, who has very courteously supplied me with some facts concerning her grandfather and other members of the family. Other MSS. are in the office of the Secretary of War, at Washington, and in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A notice of General Hand is given in Alexander Harris's *Biographical History of Lancaster County*.

* A letter written by him to his uncle, Jasper Yeates, dated New York, August 30, 1776, mentioning his safe arrival there with Colonel Hand's Regiment from Boston, is printed among "Documents" (No. 14) appended to Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, before cited, and in *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. x. pp. 309-10.

† This, with other letters of his written at the same period, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

‡ It may be proper to note that, notwithstanding the similarity of name, this gentleman was not descended from the founder of Upland.

books" and "fishing tackle" to his "four nieces, the daughters of General Edward Hand;" his "gold watch" to his niece, Sarah Hand; other personal effects to General and Mrs. Hand; and his "old walking cane" to his "friend Charles Hall," whom, with John Boyd, he nominated his executor.

374. JOHN, b. June 22, 1755. He resided in Lancaster, Pa., where he followed the trade of jeweller. He paid a visit to his brother, Jasper Ewing, and his brother-in-law, Colonel Hand, on Long Island, and witnessed "everything that occurred from the time the enemy landed on the Island until a day or two before we retreated from thence"—a brief account of which events were given by him in a letter written to his uncle, Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster, September 14, 1776, accompanied by an original "Draught of the Engagement."* March 17, 1793, he wrote a letter† to his brother-in-law, General Hand, then Inspector of the Revenue, from "Donegall," complaining of his treatment by a "distiller in Donegall Township at the Conewaga Creek," whose stills he attempted to measure, from which it appears that he was engaged in such service for the Government. Mr. Ewing m. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Keen, said to have been born in Wilmington, Delaware (not identified as a descendant of Jöran Kyn). He d. at Lancaster, February 14, 1799. Mrs. Ewing survived her husband, and afterwards m. Jonathan Hillborn, of Limerick Township, Montgomery Co., Pa. Mr. and Mrs. Ewing left issue.‡

* Both the letter and "Draught" appear in "Documents" (No. 15) appended to Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*. The letter is also printed in *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. x. pp. 310-11, where it is incorrectly attributed to Major (Jasper) Ewing. A MS. letter of Edward Shippen to Jasper Yeates, dated "Lancaster, 13th September, 1776" (in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), says: "Jacky Ewing's now at our Tea Table, is hearty and well, and left his brothers, Jesse and the Doctor, in the Same happy Situation at the Camp." Mrs. Yeates, in a letter to her husband, dated "Lancaster, September 14th, 1776" (also belonging to the Historical Society), writes differently: "I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that Jacky Ewing is returned; he looks very thin." According to Ewing's own letter he had been sick.

† In the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

‡ For some of my information concerning Mr. and Mrs. Ewing I am indebted to their great-grandson, Ewing Jordan, M.D.

(To be continued.)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. VI., page 480.)

Oct. 8, 1741.	Smith,	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
April 25, 1742.	"	Thomas. Strangers' Ground.
June 10, 1744.	"	William.
Aug. 22, 1744.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 3, 1745.	"	Samuel, son of Thomas.
Aug. 14, 1746.	"	Lucretia, dau. of Abel.
Nov. 10, 1746.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
July 1, 1747.	"	—— wife of Samuel, at Wiccacoe.
Aug. 20, 1747.	"	William, son of John.
Oct. 4, 1747.	"	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 6, 1747.	"	Thomas.
Dec. 1, 1749.	"	Mary, wife of James.
Dec. 1, 1749.	"	Joseph, son of James.
July 30, 1750.	"	Anne, dau. of William.
Sept. 13, 1750.	"	Hugh.
Mar. 26, 1753.	"	George.
Nov. 22, 1755.	"	Rebecca, wife of William.
Oct. 28, 1756.	"	Charles.
Nov. 12, 1756.	"	William.
Nov. 13, 1756.	"	Jeptha.
Oct. 4, 1757.	"	—— wife of William.
Mar. 8, 1758.	"	Amelia, wife of John.
April 16, 1758.	"	John, son of Jeptha.
Feb. 4, 1759.	"	—— wife of Thomas.
Mar. 10, 1759.	"	Jeptha.
July 18, 1744.	Smithers,	John.
Sept. 25, 1711.	Smout,	Edward. [Jane.
Oct. 4, 1711.	"	Ellton, son of Edward and
Sept. 10, 1715.	"	Edward, son of Edward and Elizabeth.
May 8, 1716.	"	Silvanus, son of Edward and Elizabeth.
Aug. 3, 1717.	"	Elton, son of Sylvanus and Elinor.

Sept. 18, 1727.	Snead,	Elizabeth, dau. of William and Elizabeth.
Dec. 9, 1725.	Snowden,	Margaret. Palatinate.
Dec. 7, 1727.	Sobers,	Mrs.
July 16, 1738.	"	Charles.
April 21, 1740.	"	Thomas.
Sept. 15, 1757.	"	Sarah.
Aug. 6, 1726.	Souder,	William, son of William and Rebecca.
Feb. 11, 1730-1.	"	Thomas, son of William.
Sept. 6, 1742.	"	William, son of John.
Dec. 14, 1744.	"	Margaret, wife of Jacob.
Mar. 22, 1744-5.	"	Jacob.
May 29, 1745.	"	John, son of John.
Aug. 17, 1746.	"	Rachel, wife of Jacob.
Dec. 20, 1726.	South,	John.
Nov. 25, 1725.	Spafford,	Thomas, son of William and Rebecca.
May 13, 1749.	Spaning,	Joseph.
May 20, 1754.	Sparks,	John, son of James.
Mar. 5, 1754.	Spavin,	Elizabeth.
Sept. 28, 1741.	Speed,	Martha, wife of Simon.
Oct. 7, 1746.	"	Simon.
Aug. 18, 1730.	Spencer,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Jan. 15, 1736-7.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Sept. 12, 1738.	"	Richard, son of John.
Sept. 29, 1740.	"	Mary, wife of John.
Aug. 12, 1741.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Aug. 7, 1750.	"	Lydia, dau. of John.
Feb. 26, 1756.	"	James.
Dec. 1, 1720.	Spicer,	Thomas, son of Abraham and Magdalen.
Nov. 22, 1723.	Spofford,	—— child of Capt.
Feb. 1, 1726-7.	Spooner,	John.
May 9, 1742.	Spring,	Sarah, wife of John.
Nov. 28, 1742.	Springe,	John. [Ground.
June 5, 1729.	Sprogel,	Lodowick C. Quakers'
Dec. 26, 1728.	Spuraway,	Elizabeth, dau. of Charles.
Nov. 2, 1718.	Spurway,	Gertrude, dau. of Charles and Charles. [Prudence.
Sept. 8, 1734.	"	
Sept. 9, 1710.	Stableford,	Robert, son of Thomas and John. [Mary.
July 13, 1721.	Stagg,	
Dec. 13, 1727.	Stainbridge,	William.
June 7, 1736.	Stamper,	John, son of Thomas.
Sept. 14, 1748.	"	Dinah, dau. of Thomas.
Jan. 31, 1752.	"	Hannah, wife of John.

Mar. 28, 1732-3.	Stanhope,	William, son of Thomas.
Aug. 1, 1739.	"	Mary, wife of Thomas.
June 3, 1714.	Stanley,	Mary, dau. of James and Mary. [Mary.
Dec. 26, 1727.	"	Eleanor, dau. of Luke and
Jan. 3, 1736-7.	"	Thomas, son of James.
June 11, 1742.	"	Charles.
Sept. 7, 1747.	"	James, son of James, deceased.
Dec. 25, 1747.	"	Richard.
Jan. 22, 1758.	"	Moses.
April 6, 1739.	Stanton,	Isaac. [John).
Dec. 10, 1756.	Stanwix,	Thomas (only son of Genl.
Aug. 5, 1711.	Stapleford,	Thomas, son of Thomas and
Sept. 13, 1713.	"	Thomas. [Mary.
July 23, 1714.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas and Mary.
July 30, 1714.	"	Rebecca, dau. of John and Mary.
Sept. 26, 1715.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas and Mary.
Sept. 4, 1727.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Thomas and
Dec. 17, 1739.	"	Thomas. [Mary.
Feb. 1, 1747-8.	"	Mary.
Mar. 19, 1730-1.	Stapler,	Richard, son of Richard.
Dec. 20, 1739.	"	Richard.
April 17, 1714.	Stark,	John, son of Elizabeth.
April 27, 1746.	Steed,	Thomas.
Nov. 9, 1716.	Steel,	John, son of Peter and Eliza-
Oct. 17, 1738.	"	Nicholas. [beth.
June 2, 1759.	Stepence,	John, son of John.
Mar. 2, 1717-8.	Stephens,	Anthony.
Mar. 11, 1712-3.	Stephenson,	Susannah, wife of Joseph.
Feb. 6, 1753.	"	Edward Nash, son of James.
Sept. 29, 1756.	"	—— dau. of James.
Dec. 11, 1709.	Stevens,	James.
Jan. 11, 1738-9.	"	Maria.
Jan. 25, 1748-9.	"	John.
Dec. 2, 1749.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
Dec. 31, 1758.	"	John.
Dec. 5, 1733.	Stevenson,	Susannah, wife of John.
Mar. 26, 1734-5.	Steward,	James.
May 5, 1739.	"	Anne. Widow.
Sept. 3, 1747.	"	Anne, wife of James.
Sept. 18, 1748.	"	—— wife of James.
Dec. 20, 1759.	"	Ann.
July 6, 1755.	Stewart,	Margaret.

Oct. 26, 1756.	Stewart,	——— son of George.
Aug. 28, 1759.	"	George, son of George.
Jan. 6, 1734-5.	Stiles,	Mary.
Aug. 16, 1752.	"	Henry, son of Henry.
Nov. 16, 1756.	"	——— son of Henry.
Sept. 12, 1757.	"	——— dau. of Henry.
Aug. 30, 1736.	Stilly,	John, son of Peter. Sweeds' Ground.
May 8, 1714.	Stocks,	Edward, son of Edward and William.
Aug. 2, 1757.	Stockwell,	[Lucy. Stephen.
Sept. 23, 1732.	Stokes,	Jane, wife of Robert.
Jan. 13, 1755.	"	Thomasine, wife of Jacob.
Sept. 29, 1736.	Stoll,	Jacob.
May 1, 1737.	"	Thomasine, dau. of William.
Nov. 21, 1735.	Stone,	William, son of William.
Aug. 29, 1736.	"	Alexander, son of Alexander.
Feb. 10, 1741-2.	"	William, son of William.
Dec. 16, 1750.	"	Sarah. [Sarah.
Mar. 8, 1730-1.	Storke,	Elizabeth, dau. of Enoch and Samuel, son of Enoch and Sarah. [Sarah.
June 29, 1709.	Story,	Mercy, dau. of Enoch and Enoch, son of Enoch and Sarah.
Oct. 21, 1709.	"	Sarah, dau. of Enoch and Enoch. [Sarah.
Oct. 4, 1712.	"	John. [Mary.
Sept. 21, 1714.	"	Diana, dau. of Thomas and Robert, son of Enoch. Strangers' Ground.
Aug. 30, 1717.	"	Anne, dau. of Cornelius.
Dec. 17, 1723.	"	Hannah, dau. of Cornelius.
Nov. 21, 1726.	"	——— dau. of Cornelius.
Nov. 24, 1726.	"	Martha, dau. of Charles.
Aug. 16, 1743.	"	Lazarus, son of Charles.
Sept. 20, 1746.	Stout,	Lazarus, son of Charles.
Dec. 7, 1750.	"	Robert.
Mar. 7, 1759.	"	Margaret, dau. of Benjamin.
Aug. 14, 1730.	Stow,	Joseph, son of Benjamin.
Jan. 2, 1736-7.	"	Amos.
Mar. 11, 1751.	"	Francis.
July 30, 1741.	Strahan,	——— dau. of Anna.
May 10, 1751.	Street,	Mary, wife of Friend.
Nov. 11, 1757.	"	William, son of John.
Dec. 23, 1756.	Stretle,	Theodosia, dau. of Mary.
Nov. 25, 1756.	Stretson,	
Aug. 5, 1758.	Strettel,	
July 20, 1758.	Stretton,	
Sept. 29, 1759.	Strickland,	
Sept. 5, 1717.	Strode,	

April 30, 1733.	Strong,	William, son of Abraham.
Sept. 30, 1733.	"	Abraham, son of Abraham.
June 13, 1741.	"	Dorothy, wife of Abraham.
July 20, 1741.	"	Abraham.
Sept. 4, 1740.	Stuart,	Elizabeth, wife of James.
Mar. 28, 1755.	Studwick,	Nathaniel.
May 28, 1736.	Stull,	Mary, dau. of Jacobus.
Jan. 21, 1752.	Sturgeon,	Lawrence Anderson, son of the Rev. Mr.
July 29, 1755.	"	—— son of William.
Sept. 23, 1757.	"	Robert Anderson.
Dec. 25, 1738.	Sturges,	Susannah, dau. of Joseph.
Jan. 25, 1736-7.	Sturgis,	George, son of Joseph.
Jan. 30, 1736-7.	"	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
Mar. 24, 1746-7.	"	Joseph.
Dec. 28, 1736.	Styles,	Anne, dau. of William.
May 21, 1752.	Sugar,	Samuel.
Sept. 7, 1749.	Sullivan,	Margaret, wife of ——
Aug. 28, 1757.	Sullivan,	Dennis.
Sept. 10, 1731.	Sundergill,	Elizabeth, dau. of Christopher.
Mar. 11, 1756.	Suting,	George.
Aug. 28, 1735.	Suttlife,	John, son of John.
Dec. 1, 1722.	Sutton,	Francis.
June 9, 1727.	"	Anne, wife of Henry.
Oct. 2, 1728.	"	Sarah, dau. of Henry.
Aug. 10, 1747.	"	Mary, wife of John.
July 3, 1751.	"	Elizabeth.
Oct. 31, 1759.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Oct. 2, 1738.	Swan,	Anne, dau. of Richard.
July 31, 1742.	"	Margaret, dau. of Richard.
July 6, 1747.	"	Sarah, dau. of Richard.
Aug. 26, 1747.	"	Anne, dau. of Richard.
Oct. 30, 1737.	Sweet,	Henry. [Mary.
Aug. 31, 1712.	Sykes,	Eleanor, dau. of James and
Mar. 1, 1713-4.	Symes,	Thomas, son of John.
July 5, 1746.	"	Anthony, son of Zachariah.
Aug. 27, 1746.	Symmons,	Anne, dau. of Weldon.
July 19, 1747.	"	Thomas, son of Weldon.
July 28, 1751.	"	Mary, dau. of Weldon.
Oct. 25, 1744.	Syng,	Peter, son of Philip.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

RETURNS OF INHABITANTS AND LANDS OWNED AND IMPROVED IN PORTIONS OF PHILADELPHIA COUNTY IN 1684.—The following papers are contained in a MS. volume belonging to the American Philosophical Society. The returns were probably made in consequence of an order of Nicholas More, Thomas Holme, and Thomas Fairman, Justices of the Peace, dated 14th 2d mo. 1683 (O. S.), to be executed "betwixt this and three weeks inclusive :"—

John Cocke Aged 27 yeare hath 3 hondred Acres of land whearof hee hath Improved 8 ackers.

Lacey Cocke Aged 37 yeares hath 550 Ackers of land whearof hee hath Improved 30 ackers.

Lacey Cocke hath A negroe 20 yeares of Age. And a —— named Bartholomew Sprint 21 years.

Widdow Jacop hath one hondred Ackers of land whearof thear is 12 ackers Improved.

frances Jacop her Sonu living with her Aged 26 years.

Petter Cake the yeounger Aged 25 years hath one hondred Ackers of land whearof hee hath Improved 3 ackers.

Mathew holstin Aged 41 yeare hath one hondred & ffty Ackers of land whear thear is 12 Ackers Improved.

William Snowden Aged 22 yeare hath one hondred Ackers whearof thear is 12 Ackers Improved.

Peter Rambow hath 6 hondred Ackers of laud whearof hee hath Improved 16 Ackers.

Andrew Rambow Aged 25 yeare.

John Rambow Aged 22 yeare.

Petter Dallbow Aged 36 yeare hee hath 6 hondred Ackers of land & hath Improved 12 ackers.

John meefelon Aged 45 yeare hath 3 hondred Ackers of land & hath Improved 10 Ackers.

John Meefelon the younger Aged 22 year.

Dennis Rotchford above 16 years hath a hondred & 60 acker of land & one Acker Improved.

William Askill his sarvant.

John Svenson his sarvant.

Pattreck Robinson Aged 30 years hath one hondred Ackers of land Improved 12 Ackers.

Robert neverbeegood his negor sarvant.

[Endorsed "John Cocke Returned."]

By Vertue of a Warrent Recived from Benjamin Chambers I have taken a True Account of all y^e male Inhabitants from Peter Cox's Island to Andros Boons and Carcours Hooke and a Long y^e mile Crick to Peter Yocumbs & King Sas to Siamancen that are above 16 years of Age to y^e Age of 60 years and y^e quantity of Land they Hold and How much of y^e said Land is Clear.

By me

LAURENCE DALBOE
Collect^r.

	years old	ye quantity of Land	whearof is Cleard Acors
Peter Coxs :	072	200	30
Gabrill Coxs	ab ^t 20		
Mats Handrix	ab ^t 21		
William Shute	040		
Tho: Shute	017		
Andris Swanson Boon	63	750	60
Swan ditto	about 22		
Peter ditto	about 19		
Andris Homan	62	160	10
Lawrence ditto	20		
Banke Johnson	50		
Hance Peterson	35		
Luck Hank	50		
Peter Ellitt	40		
Lawrence Dalboe	26	120	10
William ditto	23		
Andris Peterson	26	150	10
Jonas Nelson	63	200	08
Mouns ditto	20		
Rennar Peterson	25	50	08
Mouns Justis	25	250	10
Charls ditto	23		
Hance ditto	21		
Justa Justason	28	50	6
Tho: Paschall	46	500	04
William ditto	18		
Tho: Rogers	22		
Henry Love	30		
Obdiah Hyerson	17		
Neils Johnson		200	6
Peter Yocumbe	30	400	10
John Minsterinan	36	100	
John Neilson		300	
W ^m Clayton Jun ^r		100	

[Indorsed: "Lawrence Dalboe's Return."]

G. B. K.

PAUL BUSTI, a native of Italy, and his wife, Elizabeth May, born in Holland, came to Philadelphia towards the end of the last century. With minds well cultivated, and of a good social position, they were welcomed as an addition to its society. Their portraits are among those so beautifully engraved by St. Mémin. A few persons yet living speak of Mr. Busti as a most amiable and kindly hearted gentleman, and they remember his residence at the "Retreat Farm," Blockley. He came here in the service of the Holland Land Company. This was an association of Dutch capitalists who had, in our Revolution, lent the colonies several millions of dollars, and who, after the Federal Government was established, received in lieu of their money vast tracts of land situated in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania, and in adjacent parts of New York.

A gentleman of Holland, Francis Adrian van der Kemp, was imprisoned by the authorities there, and had his property confiscated on account of his liberal political opinions. He fled to this country prior to the time of the arrival of Mr. Busti, and found an asylum at Esopus, now Kingston, on the North River. He was introduced to Washington by Lafayette, and at once made a visit to Mount Vernon. It may be said, parenthetically, that

it was quite in accordance with his second nature—his habit as a native of the land of canals—that van der Kemp suggested to Governor De Witt Clinton the construction of the Erie Canal, a work that made New York the foremost State of the Union. A beautifully bound volume in the library of the Historical Society contains a hundred or more inlaid autograph letters of the elder John Adams, addressed to van der Kemp, and has, as the initial one, an invitation “to join a few chosen Americans at supper at the Golden Lion,” an excellent inn, much resorted to in its day, in Amsterdam. The intercourse thus begun resulted in Mr. van der Kemp’s obtaining in Holland the money so essential for the prosecution of our War of Independence. It also resulted in a warm and life-long friendship between the two gentlemen. The invitation spoken of is followed by the letters which Mr. Adams continued to write to him so long as he lived, and these are followed by the few which John Quincy Adams wrote to the then aged friend of his father.

In the course of nature Francis A. van der Kemp, John Adams, and Paul Busti passed away from earth; and when the latter had done so, he was succeeded in his office at Philadelphia by John J. van der Kemp, a son of the former. “Governor Horatio Seymour has often spoken of the poetical justice which, so many years after the father’s exile and his aid in obtaining in Holland the money for the prosecution of our Revolutionary War, made the son, John J. van der Kemp, ‘General Agent’ of the vast concern, and that he obtained that position by his own merit, and by no inherited right.” The son is well remembered in Philadelphia, for he died only about twenty-five years ago. His residence was for a long time the house No. 132, now 510 Walnut Street, but the last few years of his life were passed at No. 1217 of the same street. He left two children, a son of his own name, who resides in Paris, and Mrs. Pauline Elizabeth Henry, of Germantown, who established the well-known excellent hospital in that place: her parents, in their profound respect for Paul and Elizabeth Busti, named her after both of them.

Mr. Busti’s “Retreat” is now comprised within the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, the house he occupied having been for a long time the residence of its Superintendent, Dr. Kirkbride. Some years ago a water-color sketch of the house was presented to the Society. The account books of Mr. Busti were sent to Holland, but not his farm journal, which has only recently been examined, and on account of its interest been presented to the Society by Mrs. Henry. Mr. Busti’s experience at Blockley as a gentleman farmer is similar to that of many others, but I doubt if any one of them has told the melancholy tale so well. The journal contains tables which are valuable, for they show prices, rates of wages, etc.

T. W.

RICHARD PETERS TO THOMAS FITZSIMONS.—The following letter has been contributed by John W. Jordan, Esq.:—

DEAR SIR,

Philada. March 9th, 1790.

I saw a Letter of yours to Lewis & am obliged by your desiring him to communicate it. I was at a Loss to determine on several matters we had before us at the Time I wrote to Mr. Muhlenburg & wished for Information which on some Points I have since obtained. It is now generally agreed that the old Plan of choosing Representatives shall be again adopted & of Course the Law must again be temporary. If a permanent Law was to be enacted we should adopt some Mode of making Nominations to save the Trouble and Expense Conference, & if it could be done now it would be better; but I see not that it can as the Terms will not admit of it. I wished to know how the Connecticut Plan or any other on this Head was approved

of & should have wrote to some of my Eastern Friends but that I feared we could not do anything of the Sort as the Nominations are made for a succeeding choice at a precedent Election. If you know of anything that will make our Bill better inform me of it.

As to your Plans of Finance the Opinions here are as various as at New York. The Assumption of the State Debts is pleasing to many but its Antagonists are not a few. A direct continental Land Tax is supposed to be the consequence & tho' I see not that this would be wrong our People are sick of Land Taxes. We shall have nothing else however to carry on our State Government for it seems all our Sources in another way are or will be seized on by federal Financiers. We are turning our attention to a Tax for 1791 as we cannot leave the new Government of our State without Resources lest the State should suffer and we be charged with Improvidence. If we do Nothing the Funding Demon gets again at Work of Course, as its operation is only suspended. Being but a poor Financier I have Nothing in Contemplation but confining it to *improved* Land & making it as light as our circumstances will well bear. As to many Schemes of substitution for this I either do not understand or cannot approve of them. Among others a State Lottery has been mentioned & I need not repeat to you the Arguments for & against this Species of political Gambling. You are my Oracle on fiscal Subjects—communicate some of your Thoughts about the Plan we ought to persue. I often miss you but never more than on this Subject in which we are most distressingly wanting in our House. I wish I could say however this was the only Deficiency.

The subject of Roads & Navigation I have pushed these two Years & I think now it has laid deep Hold of our House who had never before a just Idea either of its Practicability or Consequence. The Explanations we had made last year have opened Peoples Eyes & we are now about persuing them so as to complete every species of Information. One Point I thought would have been ascertained by actual Surveys & Documents was that which has Reference to the federal Seat, to wit, that the great Route from the western world must be thro' Pennsylvania where it can be carried thro' better Waters & a shorter Distance. Much has been done towards establishing Proofs of it & a short Time will put it beyond a Doubt. Now I am on this Subject I recollect a Passage in your letter which alludes to Jealousies respecting the Eastern Members of our State. I am convinced the Noise made about this flowed more from Artifice than Conviction. The Persons who brought it forward wished to hang Terrors round the Minds of the Delegates from this Quarter which might induce them in case the Point came up again, under a false Delicacy, to abandon the Idea of Residence in the Eastern Part of the State. Who does not wish that it should be somewhere in Pennsylvania at all Events? & on this Account local Objects should be sacrificed. But are we on the Eastern Border to be blamed for Endeavors to have it near us more than the western Gentlemen who wish it fixed so as to accommodate themselves?

The Business of Wioming will be brought forward this Week & I feel some Consolation in Lewis's having determined to come to the House a week or ten days before he quits us which he will do from Motives I cannot disapprove of. He has suffered too much in his Business to induce any of his Friends to persuade his making further sacrifices. I fear however this Wioming Business will end shabbily as there seems a dead Majority determined to get rid of the Compensation to the Pennsilvanians at all events.

The affair of the Comptroller General you have no Doubt been informed of. I believe there is not *Spunk* enough to do what ought to be done. If it is done at all it must be carried by Sap as the Troops are not disposed to Storm. I have often wondered at the Gullibility of mankind but in Nothing more than in this Circumstance.

I agree in your Ideas that mutual Communications will be useful & I heartily concur in the Plan. But do not think I expect you will take up Time much engaged unless it be absolutely necessary. Therefore whatever you may think of my Jealousy on this Head it only amounted to a Distinction between hearing from you *sometimes & not at all*. Among Lovers moderate Jealousy—not that of Othello—is a Proof of Love. Why should it not also evidence Friendship? I wish however I had better Evidence to give you which would more pleasingly prove how Sincerely,

I am affectionately yours,

RICHARD PETERS.

The Vendue Business is again before us & a Majority I fear for liberating entirely. This is ruinous in the extreme. A Bill is brought in. Chaloner is the mover & mischevously industrious. I have no Resource but to bring about a Compromise & get him additionally licensed & no more in the city and the Distance beyond which Vendues shall not be held extended. I wish we could be furnished with Proofs of the bad Effects of this Nuisance in New York where I am told it is pestiferously hurtful to Trade. I mean honest fair Trade. Send us some indisputable Testimonies from New York. I believe Baltimore has recently opened Vendues & repents of it. I suppose this source of Revenue being a Species of Excise will soon be *federalized*. You know better than I do the necessity of taking care of the Police of our Port. We cannot pay our Health Officers, Wardens, &c. It would be wise in Congress when they take away Revenue to attend to the Offices necessarily supported by it. This would make the States easier under the Deprivation.

HBLE T. FITZSIMONS.

FRANCIS XAVIER DUPONT, FRENCH CONSUL AT PHILADELPHIA, 1793.—The *New Hampshire Gazette*, a newspaper of the day, under news from Philadelphia, Oct. 28, 1793, has the following: "Died in this City Citizen Dupont the French Consul for Philadelphia, a victim to the malignant fever now prevailing there. The day on which his remains were interred, the frigate *La Precieuse* and the India Ship *La Ville d'Orient* began at sunrise and continued 'till the sun was down to fire every five minutes in honor of this true republican and man of estimation. The American and French vessels in port wore their colors mast high."

Dupont was buried in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on a farm between Cornwell's Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad and the river Delaware, belonging in 1870 to Mr. Nathan Middleton. About that time I copied the following inscription from a headstone which had been removed from his grave when the field was ploughed over a short time before and placed against the fence near by. The traditions of the country people in the neighborhood state that the person buried there was a Frenchman who died of the yellow fever, attended by an old negro woman servant. He had the reputation of being rich, and it is supposed communicated information of the place where his money was hidden to this person. She, dying some time after, endeavored to make some communication to those around her, but was speechless. I mention these stories for what they are worth. The inscription is: "Francis Xavier Dupont, born on the 11th July, 1762, died on the 11th Octobr, 1793. He loved the virtuous, And the Humble."

No will or letters of administration appear in Philadelphia. They may be recorded at Doylestown, in Bucks County. It would seem likely that the estate may have been settled by those who raised a headstone to his memory. During the latter part of September and the month of October, in the year 1793, the newspapers in Philadelphia were suspended on account of the yellow fever, and the only record of the death of Dupont, I have been

able to find, is that in the list, given by Carey, of those who died after August in that year, which briefly indentifies this gentleman as "Consul of the French Republic."

Camden, New Jersey.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHESTER, ON DELAWARE. By Henry Graham Ashmead. With Maps and Illustrations. Chester, Pa. 1883. 8vo. pp. vi., 336.—This is a memorial volume of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of William Penn at Chester, and is published under the auspices of the committee who had charge of the commemorative exercises. It embraces an account of the latter by William Shaler Johnson. Besides containing a history of Chester from the period of Governor Printz and Jöran Kyn to 1882, it indicates the residences and sites of residences of many of the descendants of the founder and of other early settlers of Upland, and so possesses a peculiar family and local interest. The frontispiece is an engraving, by Mr. Sartain, of the portrait of Penn in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The work also contains facsimile reprints of two letters of the Proprietor of the Province. Other illustrations are pictures of the old Court-house, built in 1724, the Pusey House, built in 1683, still standing in the modern village of Upland, the Hoskins House, built in 1688, the first meeting-house of Friends at Chester, built in 1693, and the monumental tablet to the memory of James and Ann (Keen) Sandelands in St. Paul's Church, given in the *Record of the Court at Upland*, published by our Historical Society, besides a copy of the portrait of Penn in the National Museum, in Philadelphia, and a representation of the Penn Memorial Stone, erected to identify the place where Penn probably landed. Three maps also adorn the volume, which will prove of great value to the genealogist and antiquarian.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. By James Schouler, Vol. i. 1783-1801; vol. ii. 1801-1817. Washington, D. C., 1880 and 1882. 8vo.—The author of this work, the third volume of which "is in active preparation," is a native of Arlington, Mass., being the eldest son of the late William Schouler, Adjutant-General of Massachusetts under Governor Andrew during the Rebellion. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1859, and afterwards practised law at Boston, writing several treatises on subjects connected with his profession. The *History* is intended to cover the period of 1783 to 1861, thus supplementing the work of Mr. Bancroft, who says of it: "I recognize in all I have read faithful investigation and superiority to prejudice."

MARTIN'S BENCH AND BAR OF PHILADELPHIA: Together with other Lists of Persons appointed to administer the Laws in the City and County of Philadelphia, and the Province and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By John Hill Martin. Philadelphia: Rees Welsh & Co. 1883. 8vo. pp. xvi., 326.—This work comprises a list of the members of the Philadelphia Bar from 1682 to March 31, 1883, giving the dates of deaths of deceased lawyers, and indicating judicial or other prominent positions held by the persons named. It also contains sketches of each of the courts of the city and county, lists of judges, with the dates of their commissions, and other lists as indicated in the title. Mr. Martin spent over ten years in preparing and publishing this book, which is thus highly spoken of by Chief-Justice Sharswood: "It is a very valuable work, and must have cost a great deal of time and labor in the collection of the material. I have examined it very carefully, and am impressed not only with its fulness, but its accuracy."

THE NORTHWEST REVIEW. A Biographical and Historical Monthly. Editorial staff: Rev. Edward D. Neill, G. F. Magoun, D.D., Joseph Ward, D.D., C. W. Butterfield, J. D. O'Connor. Vol. I. No. 1. March, 1883. The Review Company: Minneapolis, Minn. 8vo. pp. 64.

In the prospectus of this new periodical it is stated that the first volume of it "will end with the February number in 1884, and will contain nearly 800 pages of biographical and historical matter prepared by authors of acknowledged literary ability in the States of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Dakota Territory." The initial number is chiefly biographical.

A MEMORANDUM-DESCRIPTION of the finer specimens of Indian earthenware pots in the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Made by Harrison Wright, Recording Secretary of the Society, and Member of its Committee on Cabinet. Publication No. 4. Printed for the Society. Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 1883.

Seven pots are described in this little pamphlet, the representations of them being remarkably good.

REMINISCENCES AND MEMORIALS OF MEN OF THE REVOLUTION AND THEIR FAMILIES. By A. B. Muzzey. Fully illustrated. Boston: Estes and Lauriat. 1883. 8vo. pp. xviii. + 424.

This book comprises personal recollections and traditions concerning several New England heroes of the Revolution belonging to the Otis, Adams, Quincy, Lincoln, and other families of distinction, with whom the writer is acquainted, including special accounts of the Society of the Cincinnati and the Battle of Lexington. Chapters are also devoted to Lafayette, Jackson, Channing, and Emerson. The last one in the work is designed by the writer to indicate how, "while Massachusetts and her associate States of the North initiated the labors and perils of the war, it was left largely to the Southern and Middle States to consummate their task." The best illustration in the book is the frontispiece portrait of the author.

NOTES ON THE DESCENDANTS OF NICHOLAS STILLWELL, THE ANCESTOR OF THE STILLWELL FAMILY IN AMERICA. By William H. Stillwell. New York. 1883. 8vo. pp. 62.

This little pamphlet is purely genealogical, comprising the names of 1999 persons of the lineage to which it is devoted—a considerable enlargement of the "Genealogical History" appended to the *Early Memoirs of the Stilwell Family*, by Benj. Marshall Stilwell, published in 1878. Members of the family who appear to have been overlooked by the author are spoken of in "The Descendants of Jöran Kyn" in this MAGAZINE, vol. V. pp. 86 and 87. The book has a full index, and a portrait of the writer.

BI-CENTENARY MEMORIAL OF JEREMIAH CARTER, who came to the Province of Pennsylvania in 1682, containing a historic genealogy of his descendants down to the present time. By Thomas Maxwell Potts. Canonsburg, Pa. Published by the author, 1883. 8vo. pp. 304.

Besides mentioning over 1200 members of the family of Jeremiah Carter, this book comprises "a short account of early Pennsylvania settlers bearing the name of Carter," not known to be related to him. The materials being derived from original sources, it is, no doubt, generally accurate. It contains a phototype of the writer, and a wood-cut (from an engraving by St. Mémin) of Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick, one of the consulting physicians called in by Dr. Craik on occasion of the last illness of General Washington.

SVENSKA BILDER af R. Bergström. Stockholm, 1882. 8vo. pp. 232, 56. Among the short historical and literary essays of which this book consists is one of 24 pages, entitled "Nya Sverige," relating to the old Swedish colony on the Delaware. Although the paper imparts no information not already in print, it merits notice as written in an agreeable style, and as containing a few bibliographical notes on works connected with the subject, the author being the librarian of the Royal Library at Stockholm.

Queries.

MILES MANUSCRIPTS.—On pages 237 and 559-60 of Volume II. of *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, are given extracts from Miles's manuscripts. Can any one inform us where these manuscripts are, and what is the character of them?

"SWEET SINGER OF ISRAEL."—Who is the person so designated in the "Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of William Penn," constituting the first one of "Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania," in *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D., Vol. II.? What is the significance of the expression in that connection?

Replies.

CATHARINE TENNENT (Vol. VI. pp. 374 and 498).—*Catharine Tennent*, widow of the Rev. Wm. Tennent, of Freehold, New Jersey, was descended from *Johannes Pieterse Verbrugge*, or *van Burgh* (Bridges in English), from Haarlem in Holland, born 1624, who was a trader in Nieu Amsterdam and Beaverwyck at a very early date, and in 1657 sent down from the latter place three hundred beaver skins. After his marriage van Burgh made the former his place of residence, where he became a prominent merchant and magistrate. He married in Nieu Amsterdam, 29 March (24 April?), 1658, Catrina Roelofse (daughter of Roelof Jansen van Maesterlandt and his wife, the noted Anneka Janse), widow of Lucas Rodenburgh (vice-director of Curacao, 1646-57, in which latter year he died). His children were all born in Nieu Amsterdam. His will is dated 22 December, 1696, and he died 1697. (See Valentine's *Manual*, 1861-4-6.) He had issue:

1. Helena, baptized 4 April, 1659, died young.
2. Helena, baptized 28 July, 1660, married 25 (26?) April, 1680, Tennis de Kay.

3. Anna, baptized 10 August (September?) 1662, married 13 June (2 July), 1684, Andries Gravenraedt.

4. Catharine, baptized 19 April, 1665, married Hendrick van Rensselaer.

5. Peter, baptized 14 July, 1666, married 2 November, 1688, Sarah Cuyler.

6. Maria, baptized 20 September, 1673, married Stephen Richards.

7. *Johannes* married 9 July, 1696, Margaret Provoost.

Captain Peter van Burgh was Mayor of Albany, New York, 1699, 1700-21-3. He had a house lot on the north side of State Street, west of Pearl, and near the stockade, next to the lot of his father-in-law, Hendrick Cuyler. He was buried in the church, 20 July, 1740. (See Pierson's *First Settlers of Albany, N. Y.*) He had issue, one daughter:

Catharine, baptized 10 November, 1689, married 19 September, 1707, Philip, eldest son of Robert Livingston, of Albany, born at that place, 1686, died in New York city, 1749. They had issue, six sons and three daughters. The youngest son, William, born 1723, was for many years Governor of New Jersey. (See Holgate's *American Genealogies*, Livingston family.)

Captain *Johannes van Burgh*, of New York city, was captain of the sloop *Constant Abigail*, captured off the coast of England by a French privateer. (*Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. iii. p. 430.) By the census of New York for 1706, he was living in that city. His will, recorded N. Y. Sur. Office, Liber 10, p. 45, is dated 14 November, 1705, in which he styles himself "mariner," and names his wife Margareta, son Johannes, daughters Johanna and Catharine, and brother Peter van Burgh, and brother-in-law David Provoost (see *N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record*, vol. 6, p. 5, 1876). Issue:

1. Johanna, baptized 16 April, 1697, married 20 August, 1720, Gerardus Duyking.

2. Johannes, baptized 6 August, 1699.

3. *Catharine*, baptized 16 August, 1704, married first, 1719, John Noble; married secondly, 23 August, 1738, Rev. Wm. Tennent; she died at Pittsgrove, Salem Co., New Jersey, 1787.

4. David, baptized 12 September, 1708.

5. Elizabeth, baptized 25 March, 1712.

After her first marriage, *Catharine* went with her husband to England, and two children were soon born: one died young; the other, Mary Noble, married first Robert Cumming, of Freehold, New Jersey, and married secondly a Mr. Wyncoop, of Bucks Co., Pa. The husband, John Noble, went to the West Indies on business, and while there was taken with the fever and died. During his stay, he met an old New York friend, Mr. Boudinot, who wrote the circumstances of John's death to his father in England. John had a bachelor uncle named Stokes, of Stoke Castle, near Bristol, who urged the widow to make his house her home; but she preferred to return to her family in New York, which she did in 1723, a short time after the receipt of the news of her husband's death, when she went to live with her husband's brother, Mr. Isaac Noble, a wealthy merchant, who, as well as Mr. Boudinot, were elders in the Huguenot church of that city. This Mr. Isaac Noble was the means of bringing together the Rev. Mr. Tennent and his widowed sister, resulting in the marriage, as related by Mr. Elias Boudinot in his life of the Rev. Wm. Tennent. Her second husband died 8 March, 1777. His son, Rev. Wm. Tennent, who was pastor of a church in Charleston, South Carolina, came north upon the death of his father, and after settling affairs, took his father's papers, and with his mother started to return to Charleston. They travelled by means of private conveyances, and with them were the widow of the Rev. Dr. Findley and Capt. Schaff, and two servants. When about fifty miles from Charleston, her son was suddenly

taken sick and died; and his father's valuable papers were lost sight of, and have not since been found. The bereaved widow soon decided to return, and went to live with her daughter Mary, now the wife of Matthew Wyncoop, of Bucks Co., Pa., but in a few years she too died, and Mrs. Tennent then went to the home of her granddaughter, Anna (Cumming) Schenck, the wife of the Rev. Wm. Schenck, then the pastor of the Pittsgrove, Salem Co., New Jersey, church, where he remained from 1780 to 1787, and where this worthy old lady, having survived two husbands and all of her children, died about 1787, in the 84th year of her age, and was buried in the church burying ground at that place. A record of these facts respecting Mrs. Tennent was left some years since by Miss Catharine van Burgh Schenck, who was born 7 January, 1775, and died at Franklin, Ohio, 4 July, 1871. She had a vivid recollection and a profound love for her great-grandmother, from whom she derived her name. No record of the death of Mrs. Tennent, nor any tombstone to her memory has yet been found in New Jersey, but the statement as to her death at Pittsgrove, and her age at the time, is undoubtedly correct.

By her first husband, John Noble, she had issue:

Mary, b. Bristol, England, married first, 1746, Robert Cumming; secondly, Matthew Wyncoop.

———, d. young.

By her second husband, Rev. Wm. Tennent, she had, besides several children who died young, issue:

Dr. John, b. Freehold, N. J., d. in West Indies, æt. about 33 years.

Rev. William, b. Freehold, N. J., d. near Charleston, S. C., Sept.-Oct. 1777, æt. 37 years.

Dr. Gilbert, b. Freehold, N. J., d. at Freehold, N. J., before his father, aged 28 years (see *Life of Rev. Wm. Tennent*, by Hon. Elias Boudinot, N. Y., T. Whittaker, 2 Bible House).

General Robert C. Schenck, of Washington, D. C., has a very fine portrait of Mrs. Tennent, painted in England while yet Mrs. Noble, and which presents a lady of great beauty.

Mr. John N. A. Griswold, of New York city, brother of Mrs. Secretary Frelinghuysen, has the portraits of both Catharine van Burgh and her husband, John Noble, and also of Johannes, brother of Catharine. Catharine was nearly related to Sir John van Burgh, and to Charles and Philip van Burgh, commanders of men-of-war in the English navy.

With this much of the record given, can any one give information as to the fate of the papers of the Rev. William Tennent, of Freehold, N. J., which were lost sight of at the time of the death of his son? or give information respecting Mr. Isaac Noble, the brother of Catharine's first husband, or of his family or descendants?

Washington, D. C., March 17, 1883.

A. D. S.

RICHARDS; EVANS; BOONE.—Referring to the article in No. 1, Vol. VI., of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, by Mr. Louis Richards, of Reading, on the "Descendants of Owen Richards," I can add some facts concerning persons who were no doubt of Owen Richards's immediate family. The Friends meeting records at Gwynedd (Montgomery County), and Radnor (now Delaware County), show the marriage of three children of Rowland Richard, of Tredyffrin, Chester County; and Rowland, no doubt, was the close relative (probably a brother) of Owen, the presumption being sustained in part by Mr. Louis Richards's suggestion that Owen, before moving to Berks County, probably lived in Tredyffrin.

The marriages referred to are these:—

1722.—At the house of Katharine Richard [Tredyffrin?], 8th mo. 10th,

Cadwalader Evans, son of Evan Pugh [ap Hugh], of Gwynedd, and Sarah Richard, daughter of Rowland, late of Merion, deceased. [Certificate signed by 42 witnesses.]—*Radnor m. m. records.*

1726.—At Gwynedd meeting-house, 2d mo. 21st, Samuel Richards, son of Rowland, of Tredyffrin, Chester County, deceased, to Elizabeth Evans, daughter of Owen, of Gwynedd. [Among the 54 witnesses were Rowland and John Richards.]—*Gwynedd m. m. records.*

1729.—At Gwynedd meeting-house, 3d mo. 2d, Robert Evans, son of Owen, late of Gwynedd, deceased, and Ruth Richard, daughter of Rowland, late of Tredyffrin, deceased.—*Radnor m. m. records.*

Robert Evans, named in the last record, died at Gwynedd, in September, 1746. His wife, Ruth, survived him, with nine children living, and a tenth expected, as appears from Robert's will. The will appoints Samuel Richards, "my brother-in-law," a trustee, this being the Samuel who had married Elizabeth Evans in 1726.

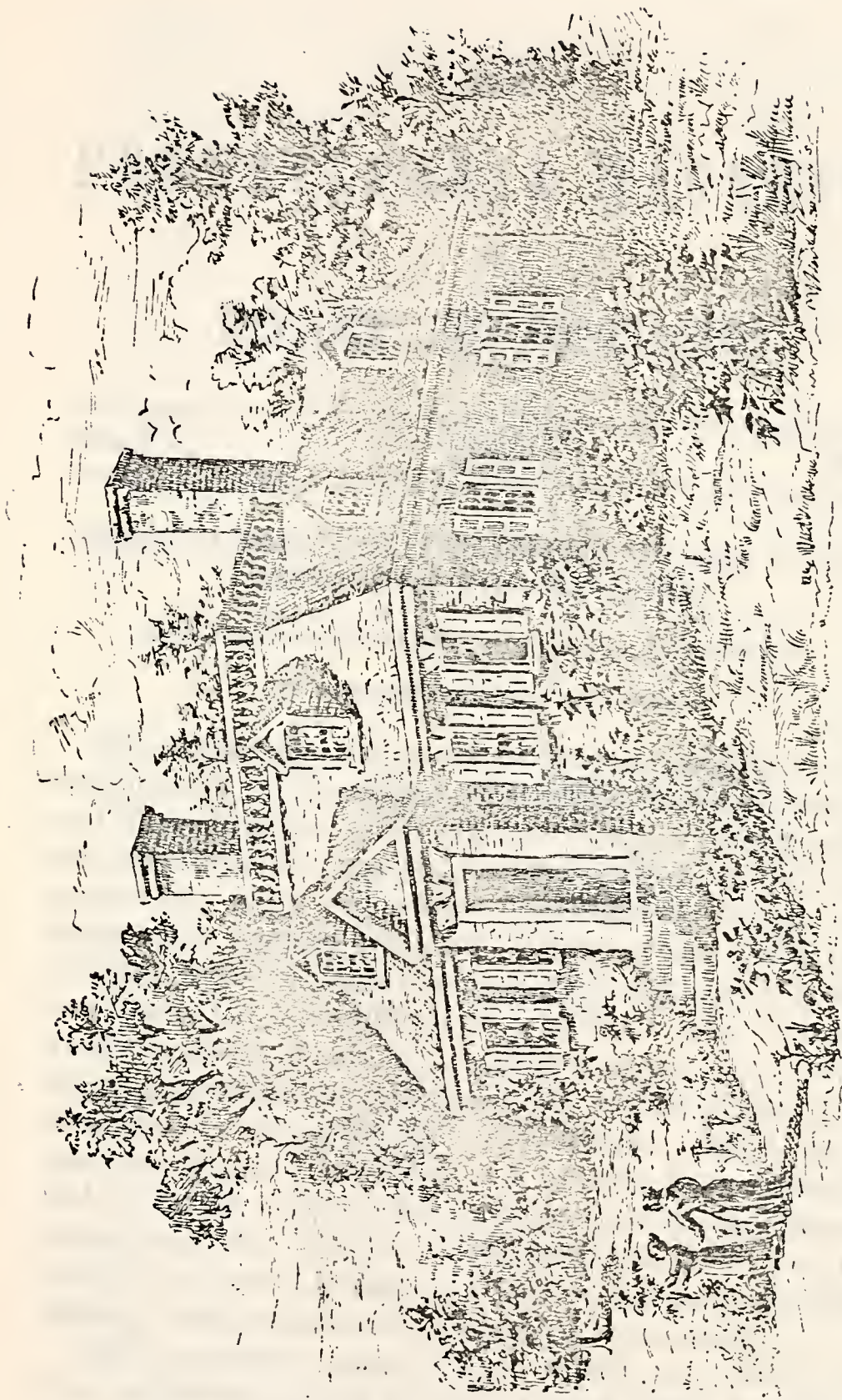
These several Gwynedd marriages show a close connection of the Richards family and the Welsh families at Gwynedd, which is further illustrated when Mr. Louis Richards mentions that the appraisers of William Richards's estate in Oley, Berks County, in 1752, were Ellis Hughs and George Boone. Ellis Hughs, as he surmises, was indeed a Welshman. He was the son of John Hugh, one of the first party of Gwynedd colonists (1698). Ellis married Edward Foulke's daughter, Jane, in 1713, and subsequently removed to Oley, his descendants being numerous in that region at one time. The other appraiser of William Richards's estate, George Boone, was the uncle of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky (as stated by L. R.); and he, too, came from the neighborhood of Gwynedd. At least two marriages of the Boones took place at Gwynedd, and are upon the records of that monthly meeting. One was that of his sister Mary to John Webb, 7th mo. 13th, 1720; and the other of his brother, Squire Boone, to Sarah Morgan, daughter of Edward, 7th mo. 23d, 1720. Among the witnesses at the first marriage were George (the appraiser), Squire, and Benjamin Boone; and at the other, James Boone. Squire Boone was the father of Daniel, the pioneer. He and George then lived in or subsequently removed to Berks County, Daniel having been born either in Bucks County, probably in New Britain Township, or possibly in Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County, at or near Gwynedd.

West Chester, Pa.

HOWARD M. JENKINS.

THE "SOUTHERN RANGERS," OR "SUTHERLAND'S RIFLEMEN." (Vol. VI. p. 496.)—The rolls on file in the Treasury Department show that Captain Joseph McCoy had a "Volunteer Riflemen" company in the 2d Brigade, 1st Division of Penna. Militia, in the war of 1812-15. They were mustered and paid from Sept. 14, 1814, to Jan. 3, 1815, Samuel Conrad, paymaster; and were under Lieut. Col. Joel B. Sutherland. The name of "Southern Rangers" does not appear, and is probably a mistake for "Sutherland's Riflemen." From several affidavits it seems that the company was raised in Philadelphia.

A. L. Guss.



—“The Plantation”. Pemberton’s.—
—Site of the Naval Asylum.—

THE
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VOL. VII.

1883.

No. 2.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE NAVAL
ASYLUM AT PHILADELPHIA.

Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, January 8, 1877.

BY EDWARD SHIPPEN, M.D., U.S.N.

Having recently endeavored to discover something of the early history of the ground upon which the Naval Asylum and Naval Hospital in this city are built, I was surprised to find how little was positively known concerning it by this generation; and it was evident to me that any one who was desirous of rescuing the early history of the place from oblivion could not begin too soon. One who has not tried it can hardly tell how difficult it is to verify even important events and dates of only two generations ago; and so, in bringing together what I have gathered from various sources, I find that there is very much still to be desired. But I can, at least, say that all I have to state is believed to be authentic, and I have the honor to place it before the Historical Society, feeling sure that, in spite of deficiencies, the story of an important institution, which has existed in our midst for half a century, must possess some interest for our members.

The government property upon which are situated the two institutions known as the "United States Naval Asy-

lum," and the "United States Naval Hospital" (the latter of quite recent erection), comprises an irregular plat of about 23 acres, bounded by the Gray's Ferry Road, Bainbridge (formerly Shippen) Street, Sutherland Avenue, running parallel with the Schuylkill, and a wall running thence eastward, meeting Gray's Ferry Road again.

Before the consolidation of the city, this property was included in the district of Passyunk. Long previous to the Revolutionary War it was the site of a handsome country house, one of three owned by the Pemberton family in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia. Two of these are still standing, and one of them is still in the possession of the family. The property in question was bought by William Pemberton from John Kinsey, a relative who had purchased it from Thos. Masters, who in 1735 had purchased it from the Penns in fee. Originally it was a part of a tract of 150 acres, extending from the Schuylkill to Long Lane.

The place was known simply as "Plantation," although the other country seats I have alluded to had distinctive names. Quite remote from the built-up portion of the city, and close to the banks of the beautiful Schuylkill, then unfettered and undammed, it was considered entirely as a country residence for the summer, quite as much so as would be the neighborhood of Bryn Mawr or Chestnut Hill to-day. It appears never to have been a farm or "plantation," in the usually accepted sense, being always small in acreage, and taken up with lawn, shrubbery, and extensive kitchen gardens, with some wood.

A small sketch of the place shows that the house, though unpretending, was of a substantial character, roomy and respectable. It was built of brick, the kitchen and offices being in a basement, which had large windows opening upon an area. A fine hall ran through the main floor, with two handsome rooms on each side. Above were corresponding rooms, under a sloping roof, with large dormer windows, the apex being crowned by a balcony. This gave the edifice a distinctive character as shown in the sketch. Two brick tenant, or servants' houses, of rather prim construction and

solid build, stood near the mansion to the north. These remained until near the time that the mansion itself was demolished. Altogether "Plantation" must have been a very complete and attractive residence.

So the British officers seem to have thought, when this city was occupied by their forces under Lord Howe, in November, 1777, for we find that there was quite a struggle among them as to who should occupy such snug quarters. At this time the owner, James Pemberton, was among the suspected and deported Friends who were involuntarily sojourning in Winchester, Va., the brothers, John, James, and Israel Pemberton having, with many others, been arrested, and sent to that place during the months of September and October, 1777. It is only necessary to allude to this arrest in this connection, to explain some letters which follow. Whatever may be thought of the war measure which caused the arrest and transportation of these people to Virginia, we have had in our own day sufficient proof that we may all be wise after an event, and, with recent examples before us, we may well judge charitably of the motives of those who were struggling, in the throes of the Revolution, with as many lukewarm friends and concealed enemies as open foes.

But James Pemberton left behind him a worthy representative in his wife, a woman who, as will appear from some of her letters, combined spirit and firmness with lady-like demeanor, and charity to her poorer neighbors. This lady, Phœbe Pemberton, had a son (by a former marriage) named Robert Morton. He was a youth of seventeen or eighteen when this city was occupied by the British army. He kept a journal during the period of the occupation, which I have read, in which he frequently mentions "Plantation," and neighboring places. He also speaks of the Light Dragoons, stationed near Evergreen, another of the Pemberton places, breaking open the house and plundering. For this offence some were hung, and others severely flogged. He also deploras the way in which the Hessians made free with the potatoes and cabbages at Plantation. At the beginning of the occu-

pation he is very jubilant, no doubt reflecting the opinions of older relatives, and he expresses a fervent wish that the stay of the Royal army may be perpetual. "*Esto perpetua!*" he writes in one of his pages, when the currency seemed more settled. It is amusing to see how his jubilant feelings experience a change, as the long hard winter wears on, and his praises of the clemency and good rule of the British turn into a chant of "save me from my friends." This is, however, an experience inseparable from war time in occupied cities.

Some time during 11th mo. 1777, we find Phœbe Pemberton addressing the following letter to Lord Howe:—

"ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I am *extreamly* concerned that I am once more obliged to Trouble Genl. Howe with any affair of mine, when his own important engagements no doubt engross his time and thoughts; but by the cruel Banishment of my Husband his business necessarily devolves on me, and being possessed of two small farms, near the city, on one of which there is a small piece of wood, Intended for Firing for myself and children, with a few of the Inhabitants, some of whom are not able to pay for it, but have constantly partook of My beloved Husband's bounty, by supplying them in the Winter season with a small quantity, which I shall be rendered incapable of doing, as the soldiers are taking it away, and say they do it by permission of the General's secretary. The Tenants of these places have informed me that they must be obliged to leave their Habitations, being stript of their Hay, Vegetables, &c. on which they depended for a Living, and if some expedient cannot be found I expect the Inclosures will be laid open: this will be a singular disadvantage to me, as I depend on the Rents of Husband's Estate for a support. The General's kind interposition in this matter will

Greatly oblige

THY ASSURED FRIEND."

It appears that the desired protection was given, for both places, and was probably effectual, as against the soldiers complained of. But it does not seem to have had the same terrors for some of the officers, for on the 14th of 2d mo. 1778, we find Phœbe Pemberton administering, with a vigorous hand, an epistolary rebuke to a certain Lord Mur-

ray, in command of the guard at "Plantation," which ran as follows:—

"I was yesterday informed that a certain officer of the Guard who passes by the name or style of Lord Murray, being stationed at my Husband's Plantation near Schuylkill, did there behave himself in an ungentlemanlike manner, by abusing part of the effects on the said place, and also breaking open the doors of that part of the house occupied by my tenants, and treating the family with barbarous and unbecoming behavior, very unworthy of a British nobleman and officer, after being previously shown Genl. Howe's protection posted up in the house, at which sight he used several expressions highly insulting and derogatory to the General's honour.

I take this method to inform the said Lord Murray that if he don't think proper to make some suitable acknowledgments, I shall immediately enter A complaint at Headquarters.

PHILA. February the 14th, '78.

PHŒBE PEMBERTON."

Here was a pretty style of Valentine for a gay young nobleman and officer to receive! It is altogether probable that this vigorous style of protest was not without effect, for there was, apparently, no more trouble of the kind during the rest of the stay of the British Army.

As the spring of 1778 drew on, and as it was at that time supposed that the stay of the army in Philadelphia was to be prolonged, the attention of some of the officers was drawn to "Plantation;" and so, on the 25th of 3d mo. 1778, we find the polite and business-like lady writing to General Pattison, the commander of the Royal Artillery, the following note:—

"Phœbe Pemberton's best Respects wait on Genl. Pattison, and has the Pleasure to inform him that upon reconsidering his Proposals respecting her House upon Schuylkill she has concluded, that the Genl. may make use of it as soon as is convenient to him; and she shall ever esteem it a Happiness to oblige him in this or any other Instance in her Power. As she formerly depended upon that Garden for a supply of Vegetables for her Family, would thank the General to reserve part of the Garden for her use.

Mar. 25th, 1778."

While the astute lady in this way complied with the wishes of an officer in high authority, and thus obtained the best safeguard for her husband's property, we see that she was also shrewd enough to make it a point of honor with the General to keep up her own private supply of vegetables, in case he occupied the place.

The very next day after she accepted Genl. Pattison's proposals, we find her declining those of Capt. Mackenzie, the military secretary of Genl. Howe, and of course an influential personage. Indeed, he is the same who is mentioned in her letter to General Howe as having authorized the soldiers to take the wood from her places in the autumn before. Capt. Mackenzie did not, of course, then know how nice a place "Plantation" was, or foresee that, before many months, he would himself be desirous of being its tenant. However, the lady evidently does not bear malice, for her note to the military secretary is charmingly polite, and here it is:—

"Phœbe Pemberton's best respects wait on Capt. Mackenzie, acknowledges the Receipt of his very polite Letter of yesterday, which was handed to her last evening, with a request for the use of her House upon the Banks of the Schuylkill during the Summer Season. As General Pattison of the Royal Artillery has a few days since made the same application, and being under Obligations to the Genl., and his request previous to Capt. Mackenzie's, the Genl. must of course have the preference; had it been otherwise she should have been very happy to have had it in her Power to oblige Capt. Mackenzie, whose amiable politeness shown on this occasion demands her warmest acknowledgments.

Mar. 26th, 1778."

"Compliments pass when quality meet." Genl. Pattison was, however, not destined to enjoy the summer delights of "Plantation," or even to do more than plant the kitchen garden, for the evacuation of the city took place in May.

Such was "Plantation" in its palmy days, and, having given this sketch of its early history, it is not either interesting or important to follow the changes by which it passed from the possession of the Pembertons to the Abbots, and thence to that of the United States Government. Suffice it

to say that on May 26, 1826, Surgeon Thos. Harris, of the Navy, was authorized by the Honble. Saml. L. Southard, of New Jersey (then Secretary of the Navy, one of the best we ever had, and a man whose premature death removed a very prominent candidate for the Presidency), was authorized, I say, to purchase "the Abbot lot, of about 23 acres, for \$16,000." It appears afterwards in the accounts, that \$17,000 was paid, which may have been caused by fees and other legal expenses. At all events, it was a marvellously small sum, compared with the value of the land to-day.

To account for this purchase of property by the United States, I shall have to beg your forbearance for a retrograde movement, and go back to the last century, and touch upon the history of the "Naval Hospital Fund." And first I must premise, that the traditions and practice as well as the Articles of War of our Naval Service, were taken in great part from the British service. Most people think that, in emancipating ourselves from the English rule, we also got rid of a certain part of their military rules and regulations. On the contrary, our Articles of War, as well as our Regulations, were taken almost bodily from those of the English, just as during the late Rebellion the Confederate government adopted all the old regulations of the United States.

As is natural, also, very little is known by the people in general of the early history of our Navy, or of the Naval Hospitals, and of the Medical Corps especially; and yet the Medical Corps has always been associated with every feat of arms. Paymasters were not always present or required. Steam engineers are a creation of yesterday. But always, since navies and armies (in the modern sense) have existed, the surgeon has shared the dangers and exposures, the defeats as well as the triumphs, of the sons of Neptune and Mars.

Nor is it generally known how great has been the stride in advance in the hospitals, and in the treatment of the sick and wounded of the Naval Service, since the beginning of the century, the time when Lord St. Vincent (the celebrated Sir John Jervis) was first Lord of the English Admiralty, and Keith, Nelson, and Collingwood were making their reputa-

tion, off Ushant, Isle d'Aix, Sardinia, and Toulon. In 1797 Lord St. Vincent, during the blockade of Cadiz, first paid attention to the qualifications and respectability of the medical officers, established regular hospitals or sick bays in the ships, obtained regular supplies of fresh beef and vegetables, and required attention to hygienic rules, at any cost of time or money. The surgeon of his flag-ship was especially charged with these matters, and was probably the first fleet surgeon in an English fleet. The French recognized the necessity of attending to these matters at an earlier period.

Previous to this time, in almost all navies, it had been a disgrace to be sick, and the wounded were regarded as a great burden. These unfortunates were kicked about like dogs, slinging their hammocks in any out of the way spot, or slinking into the "cable tier," often to be discovered only when dying or dead.

The naval hospitals of England had been mere sinks of corruption, so that, even at the time of our Revolution, noblemen and gentlemen of influence used to get their superannuated coachmen, and broken-down footmen and butlers admitted to Greenwich Hospital as pensioners. Corruption was not, therefore, so entirely confined to our day as many persons choose to think. For one proof of this we may consult Lord Dundonald's remarkable autobiography. In his time there appears to have been an unusual difficulty in getting "Investigating Committees," and these, when constituted, seem to have investigated in the wrong direction, and to have left the real nuisances undisturbed. Very different ideas reigned in England, more than a generation later, when "Investigations" into everything were the order of the day. Sydney Smith declared that the "whole earth was a commission," and that the "*onus probandi* rested with any one who said he was not a commissioner." It may be asked what this has to do with the subject in question, and I answer, that it only goes to show a gradual awakening (among other matters) to the duties and responsibilities of the State in its care of its sick or superannuated servants, which found its reflection on this side of the water. At

the time of which I speak the loss of life in the different armies and navies from preventible causes, such as improper food, want of system, and of properly regulated hospitals, especially, was fearful.

In Sir John Jervis's expedition against the French Antilles (which, though successful in capturing Martinique and Guadeloupe, had to yield those places almost immediately from the forces being so thinned by sickness, as to be incapable of garrisoning properly the islands), in this expedition, I say, the force of soldiers embarked for the first attack was 6085. Of these 970 were left sick at Barbadoes, and 224 were sick on board, before a blow was struck, and this disabling of more than one in five fell within the first month of arrival on the scene of action. In the course of this campaign 170 army officers of this small force died of yellow fever, or other climatic diseases, while only 27 were killed, or died of wounds. The historians of the period do not think it worth while to mention the total loss among the men, but it is at any rate on record, that, among the chartered transports employed, forty-six masters, and eleven hundred men died, and one transport, the "*Broderic*," lost every soul on board. This historical reminiscence may perhaps to some seem irrelevant, but I have thought it necessary to give it, as it presents vividly the state of military and naval hygiene at the time our own Naval Hospital establishment pressed its claims upon the government and had its inception.

Our Revolutionary navy was, probably, no better and no worse than its contemporaries, as far as the treatment of seamen (sick or well) was concerned. Illustrated by the names of Paul Jones, Barry, and other brave men, it served its purpose, was disbanded; the vessels disappeared, and the navy ceased to exist, even on paper. But about 1793 the naval collision with the French, as well as other causes, led to its re-establishment, and to the building of some fine vessels. It was at this time that our own Philadelphian naval hero, Charles Stewart, entered the navy as a full-fledged Lieutenant, and the navy list has come down to us uninterruptedly ever since.

It being established that we were to have a permanent naval force, it became evident that some provision was necessary for the wounded, sick, and disabled. Accordingly, we find that the Act of Congress of 1799 provided for the assessment of twenty cents a month on the pay of all seamen, for the relief of the sick and disabled. Such an Act had already been passed in 1798, in regard to the merchant marine, and it was not until the following year that its provisions were extended to the officers and seamen of the navy. This Act provided that the money so collected was to be paid over to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Act also declared that the "officers, seamen, and marines of the navy were to receive the same relief as sick and disabled seamen of the merchant service."

Under the operation of this law complaint was justly made that naval seamen had to be sent to civil hospitals, where their officers lost control of them, and they disappeared. Nor did it seem proper, that officers, seamen, and marines of a military service, should, as a sort of afterthought, be foisted upon the Treasury Department, then even more important, and more overburdened with work than now. In fact, it was evident that the navy must have a Hospital Department of its own, with officers in charge who could sympathize with the patients, and partake of their growing *esprit de corps*, understanding their peculiarities, their virtues, and their failings, as those could not, who had not been brought up with them.

Accordingly we find that, in 1810, an Act of Congress was passed appointing the Secretaries of War, the Navy, and the Treasury, a "Board of Commissioners of Naval Hospitals." The twenty cents a month from each person in the naval service, which was assessed under the laws of 1798-9, was, by this Act, turned over to these commissioners, to constitute a "Naval Hospital Fund," and fifty thousand dollars from the unexpended balance of the "Marine Hospital Fund" was also placed by this Act in their hands, that being the estimated share of the fund which had accrued since the Act of 1798. From this Act of Congress, of 1810, creating a fund,

dates the origin of the establishment in question, the "Naval Asylum," as well as of all the rest of the naval hospitals in the country.

At the time Congress passed this law, Mr. Paul Hamilton, then Secretary of the Navy, addressed a letter to the "House Committee on the Naval Establishment," advocating the establishment of hospitals, and that they should be made places for the support and maintenance, not only of the disabled seamen who preferred such a provision to a pension, but of the widows of seamen killed in action, and of their children, who were, if boys, to be brought up for the naval service. More than this, he contended that the midshipmen should be sent to these hospitals, for a period, for instruction in navigation and general learning. The letter is a long one, much too long to quote entire. Impracticable as are some of his ideas, there are good points about them, and he appears thoroughly sincere.

In sequence to the Act of 1810, was the Act of Feb. 26, 1811, authorizing "the Commissioners of Navy Hospitals" to acquire sites, and buy or build hospitals, and this Act of 1811 requires one of the establishments to provide a permanent "Asylum" for "decrepit and disabled naval officers, seamen, and marines." "Asylum" is thus used in the first law upon the subject, while it was still uncertain in which of the hospitals it was to be, and the title has always been retained. It is an unfortunate name (although it truly expresses the intention of the charity), for to most persons the word suggests a place of reception for lunatics. "Hospital," in its original sense, would well express the purposes of the institution, just as it is applied to its prototype, Greenwich Hospital, or to Christ Church Hospital in this city. It is, however, altogether probable that the name "Asylum" which it has borne so long will always be retained.

In 1826, as I have already stated, Mr. Southard, then Secretary of the Navy, under date of May 26, authorized Dr. Harris, of the Navy, to purchase the Abbot lot. During the same year the old Hospital at the Navy Yard in this city (now all swept away) was ordered to be abandoned, and the

mansion on the Schuylkill property was occupied in its place. Of this Hospital Dr. Harris had charge, and continued there until May, 1833, when the Asylum building was nearly finished. He never lived there, however, or paid more than temporary visits.

In the records of the old Hospital, while it was in the Pemberton or Abbot house, appear the names, as patients, of David G. Farragut, who was then, in 1830, a lieutenant, aged 39; Twiggs, afterwards killed at the storming of Chapultepec, a major of marines; Bainbridge and Hull, who appear to have been attended at their homes; Levy, Izard, Newell, Ogden, Howard, Phil. Voorhees, Engle, Mercer, and other names well known to naval men, and some of them to the whole country, all now dead without exception.

Not long after the occupation of the Pemberton house, the government determined to erect somewhere near Philadelphia (to carry out the purposes of the law of 1811) a large and permanent building, which was to be the one to which the term "Asylum" was to be applied. Some correspondence went on, in regard to the site, and from these letters it appears that Dr. Thos. Harris is responsible for the selection of the lot upon the Gray's Ferry Road. He was a Philadelphian, and no doubt anxious to have the institution established in this city, and so naturally recommended a site already in the possession of the government, and used for hospital purposes. Certain it is, that, when the construction of the building was begun, Dr. Harris was detailed by the Secretary of the Navy to superintend it, receiving a certain sum per annum, over and above his pay, while so employed. Mr. Strickland, the architect of the building, was associated with him in the superintendence. I find a letter of 1827, from the Secretary of the Navy to Dr. Harris and Mr. Strickland, associating them as commissioners to build the Asylum, and informing Dr. Harris that "his compensation would be adjusted." I have not been able to find any subsequent letter, however, showing what that compensation was. Popular report placed it at \$1000 per annum, in addition to his navy pay, quite a sufficient sum for those days.

Dr. Thomas Harris was a native of this State, of a highly respectable family, which has furnished many distinguished members to the different professions. Although all his life in the naval service, and for many years Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, at Washington, he was, at the time I speak of, in full practice in this city, his residence being in the quaint house still standing at Ninth and Spruce sts.,¹ within a stone's throw of the Historical Society's Hall. Dr. Harris entered the navy as full surgeon, July 6, 1812, and was surgeon of the *Wasp* when she captured the English ship *Frolic*, October 18, 1812, for which handsome action the thanks of Congress were awarded to the officers and crew. He was in Philadelphia during the cholera of 1832, at that time in active general practice, as well as attending to his naval duties. During that trying period he was conspicuous for his devotion and industry, in allaying panic and advising municipal measures of relief, for which he received from the city a very handsome and valuable service of plate.

Commodore Jacob Jones, afterwards one of the Governors of the Naval Asylum, commanded the *Wasp* in the action referred to above, and Commodore James Biddle, who was the first Governor, was the first lieutenant of the *Wasp*.

In 1832 the Asylum building was under roof, and up to this time the expense had been altogether borne by the Hospital Fund, as was perfectly right and proper. But it was now found that that fund would not stand any more heavy drains upon it, and in July of the year mentioned a bill passed Congress, appropriating, for the completion of the Naval Hospital at Norfolk, Va., and furnishing it, and for completing the "Navy Asylum" at Philadelphia, \$27,300, and for fixtures, furniture, and apparatus for one wing thereof, \$6600.

During the time that the Asylum was building, the Hospitals at or near Charlestown, Mass., Brooklyn, Norfolk, and Pensacola had been also going up, under regular annual appropriations from Congress.

¹ [Torn down since this paper was written.—Ed.]

In this same year, 1832, there was a transfer, by Act of Congress, of all powers of "Commissioners of Hospitals" to the Secretary of the Navy. The Act provided for the turning over to him of "the balance in cash, certificates of stock, and other evidences of value, previously held by the three Commissioners of Hospitals, to be used for the payment of Navy and Privateer pensions, and for expenditure on account of Naval Hospitals, etc." The Secretary of the Navy, as sole commissioner, was to keep an account of this fund, and report its condition to Congress annually, which he does to this day.

The Asylum building, though by no means completed internally, was occupied towards the close of 1833. In that year there appears to have been no appropriation, but in 1834, '35, '36, '37, '38, '39, '40, and '42, sums amounting in the aggregate to about \$93,000 were appropriated for the building, as well as for work upon the grounds, introducing water, etc. According to the report of Mr. Strickland, the architect, the Asylum building cost \$195,600. To this must be added the cost of the land, \$17,000, making a total of \$212,600. Of this amount about four-ninths was appropriated by Congress, and the rest came from the hospital fund.

A well digested report of the period remarks, *inter alia*, in speaking of the Asylum and its cost:—

"It is well for this to be remembered by those naval officers who are in the habit of asserting that this building does not belong to the government, but to them, they having paid for it by contributions to the Naval Hospital Fund, forgetting that, if any such absurd claim is set up, it extends to the seamen and marines of the naval service as well. The strange ideas such naval officers have, on the subject of this institution, show how little they understand either the law or the fact. Now, had every dollar of the whole expense been obtained from the Hospital Fund, instead of four-ninths of the cost only, the institution could no more be said to belong to the officers of the navy, or jointly to the marines and seamen, than a service of plate worth say \$500, presented for any commemorative purpose to an individual, can be considered as the property of the 500 or 1000 persons who may have subscribed one dollar, if the first number, or half a dollar, if the second, towards purchasing it for the purpose

mentioned. The Navy Hospital Fund is a fund of the government, held, controlled, and disbursed by its officers, arising in great part by a lawful exaction, not a voluntary subscription, of \$2.40 a year from every individual of the naval service. Certain prospective benefits, under the circumstances of disability and sickness, are guaranteed by this exaction law to men and officers, nothing more. This assessed annual contribution of \$2.40 has this one provision; no farther franchise pertains to it: and the legal *quid pro quo* pledge has this extent only, 'to provide temporary relief and maintenance to sick and disabled seamen in hospitals or other proper institutions.' This is the phraseology of the law of 1798, and no other law in existence ever conferred any other privilege; even that law and that dietion only relate to seamen of the merchant service. But the 2d and 3d sections of the law of 1799 empower, the first, the assessment of 20 cents monthly in the navy; the second guarantees the same prerogative (already quoted above) enjoyed by merchant seamen, to naval officers, seamen, and marines, but it conveys no other right."

Much more, to the same purpose, follows in the report I quote, which also states, farther on, that "many naval officers entertain undue expectations, and expatiate with wonderful freedom and certainty on their claims on the medical department of the navy, claims based simply on the fact that 'they have paid hospital money,' which, by the way, they could not help paying, if they would. The error of such, like those who seem to claim, in fee, the property called the Naval Asylum, is in their mistaking the compulsory contribution of law for an eleemosynary *douceur*."

The Naval Asylum building faces nearly east, and is constructed of a grayish-white marble, with a granite basement. It is 380 feet in length, and consists of a centre, with a high broad flight of marble steps, and imposing abutments, and a marble colonnade and pediment, in the bastard classic style which was all the fashion at the period of its erection. The architects of banks, colleges, churches, and even private residences, all went to Greece and Rome for their architectural inspiration. This fashion has fastened upon the country a great number of solid and costly buildings, utterly unsuited to our climate, as well as being unsightly, from the very lack of fitness.

The wings of the building are symmetrical, and terminate in pavilions, or transverse buildings at each end. These wings are supplied with broad covered verandas, on each of the two main floors, which verandas are admirably adapted to their purpose, and are, of course, entirely out of keeping with the classic style of the central structure. There is a fine attic over the whole building, which, as I have said, is in every part most substantially and thoroughly built, the marble staircases of the interior being particularly noticeable, both from their ingenious construction and economy of space.

All the ceilings of both basement and first floor are vaulted, in solid masonry, and on the main floor is a remarkably fine domed apartment, which is used as a muster-room and chapel. The most faulty part of the whole structure is the basement, which is somewhat low and damp, with an insufficiently drained sub-cellar. That part of the building has always been found unhealthy, although much less so now than in former days.

The beneficiaries are each furnished with a small room, beside which there are reading and smoking rooms in the pavilions, and handsome quarters for a number of officers and *employés*.

The building, though by no means finished internally, was first occupied about the end of 1833, when the old Pemberton house (which stood just where the ice-house now is¹) was disused, and about three years later it was demolished.

At this time there was a burial-ground on the Shippen Street side of the property, north of the Asylum, the graves extending about as far as the curbstone of the present street, the lines of which had not then been accurately extended to the Schuylkill. About 100 bodies of those who had died in the old hospital, or of those who had been sent from the Navy Yard, or ships, for interment at this spot, were taken up at this time, and transferred to a burial-ground regularly inclosed. This place was at the bottom of the grounds, near the Schuylkill, at the corner of Shippen (now Bainbridge)

¹ Even the ice-house is now entirely removed.—E. S. 1883.

Street and Sutherland Avenue. A substantial dead-house and stone wall, with an Osage orange hedge, were the permanent improvements made in this cemetery; and many burials of both men and officers took place there in ensuing years. But the dead men's bones were not to rest there, as will be shown when we come to speak of the erection of a large naval hospital on that very spot, when the remains of poor Jack were again transferred to a lot purchased by the government in Mount Moriah Cemetery, in West Philadelphia, where all interments now take place. Let us hope that Mount Moriah may remain extra-mural, at least until those now buried there are forgotten, and their dust thoroughly mingled with their mother earth.

The smaller brick tenements, which stood over close by the Shippen Street bank, remained there until the autumn of 1838, surviving the parent mansion two years. In that year Commodore Biddle demolished them, and used the *débris* to metal the roads and walks now in use, which were laid out by him.

The first pensioner, or "beneficiary," received into the Asylum after its opening, appears to have been one Daniel Kliess, and the second was William Williams. These two were not very creditable specimens of the defenders of our country, if their previous record, while inmates of the hospital, is to be taken. These men had been living as pensioners in the old house, where they were treated merely as convalescent patients. Upon the occupation of the new building they were transferred, and two others joined them, making four in all. The pensioners or beneficiaries were then first distinguished from hospital patients, and were placed under the charge of Lieut. Cooper, who lived in the house.

At the same time that this transfer of beneficiaries was made, the sick of the station, fifteen in number, were also quartered in the new building. The room at present used as the governor's office, on the main floor, was then the office and dispensary combined; and the large room back of it was the sick-room. Large as it is, there must have been pretty

close stowage for fifteen sick men. The resident assistant surgeon, Dr. Barrington, long since dead, occupied the two rooms on the same floor at the north end, which are now the smoking room and library.

At this period (about the close of 1833) neither of the wings was finished, as far as the second floor was concerned. Indeed, they were not required, while as for the attics, which are very fine and spacious, these were not entirely finished until 1848. Previous to 1841, however, the second floor south, and the rooms in the southern pavilion had been finished and occupied as the hospital, being shut off by latticed doors. The two large rooms on the main floor, immediately south of the chapel, were at the same time assigned to the Medical Examining Board as permanent quarters. This portion of the building continued to be used in this way until the new hospital building was erected, just at the close of the civil war. During the war the part of the building regularly assigned to the hospital was found insufficient, and the sick and wounded were, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, treated and quartered in other parts of the building.

When the Asylum building was first occupied, Commodore Barron was in command of the Philadelphia station, and had general charge of the Asylum. I fancy he seldom went near it. The pensioners, hospital patients, and hired men and women, all messed together; and there was a hospital steward who furnished the general mess in the same way, and from the same funds, as at other hospitals. Indeed, no direct appropriation for the support of the beneficiaries (whose number in December, 1842, had increased to forty-two) was made until July 1, 1858, when they numbered considerably more than one hundred. Up to that time the whole expense of maintenance had been defrayed from the hospital fund. As this was found to be too heavily burdened, the appropriation bill of 1858 has an item for the support of beneficiaries, of \$26,392, and a separate appropriation for that purpose has ever since been made.

The grounds about the building were, at the time of the

first occupation, full of trees, mostly fruit trees, remaining from those planted at different times when it was a country seat. In the winter of 1836-7, which was a very cold one, wood was very scarce and dear, and it was with this fuel that the building was then warmed, as well as all the cooking done. Under these circumstances Commodore Barron had all the trees of every description cut down and converted into firewood. This act, which was much deprecated at the time, as it gave the grounds a more ragged and deserted appearance than ever, was in the end productive of good, for it led to the planting of the noble trees now adorning the place. These trees, which are as fine as any I know in any of our city squares, were planted by Commodore Biddle soon after he assumed charge as the first governor of the Asylum, in the autumn of 1838. Many of these fine trees were not planted until 1840. They were mere switches when set out, and were brought from the nursery in bundles of a dozen.

At this time, and long after, there was great prejudice existing against the locality, on account of the prevalence of malarial fever. Nor was this prejudice unfounded. Even so late as eighteen years ago, when I was first stationed there, almost every one about the place had intermittent fever at some time of the year. All this is now happily changed, as the disappearance of the ponds and brick-fields, and the complete building up of the whole neighborhood, have rendered the place healthy. Indeed, I know of few places in or about Philadelphia where there is less consumption of quinine. Could the sub-cellar and basement of the Asylum be remodelled, I should consider it a very wholesome place of residence.

As the number of pensioners or beneficiaries gradually increased, the institution attracted more of the attention of the Navy Department. Numerous complaints reached the Hon. J. K. Paulding, then Secretary of the Navy, during 1838, complaints especially as to the manner in which the beneficiaries were managed by Lieut. Cooper.¹ Mr. Paul-

¹ Perhaps the luke-warm manner in which Commodore Barron inspected the place rendered Mr. Cooper's duties more difficult.—E. S. 1883.

ding wrote a private letter to Commodore James Biddle, then residing in Philadelphia, stating that various complaints had reached him, inducing him to believe that the superintendent of the Naval Asylum was totally unfit for his position. The Secretary proposed that some officer of high rank should take charge, "who, with the title of 'Governor,' might, while he gave dignity to the station, sustain no diminution of his own." He invited Commodore Biddle to address him frankly upon this subject, and to state his views. One is at loss to see how the dignity of the office is enhanced by the title of "Governor," rather than that of "Superintendent," or "Commandant." But Mr. Paulding seems to have had such an idea, having Greenwich Hospital in his mind, no doubt. The only wonder is, that, while he borrowed the title of the commanding officer, he did not also change the name of the charity, to correspond with its English prototype.

Commodore Biddle replied to the communication, agreeing with the views of the Secretary, and stating that the institution was not what it ought to be, "attractive and popular with the superannuated and disabled of the service," with more to the same purpose. In conclusion, he says that he thinks a captain in the navy (then the highest rank) should be at the head of the asylum, and that he would cheerfully take the command, as proposed by the Secretary. His appointment as "Governor" was accordingly made out, under date of August 1, 1838, a few days after which he assumed the command.

Commodore Biddle's name is so well known to the country at large, as well as to Philadelphians, and especially to members of the Historical Society, that it would seem a work of supererogation to give even a sketch of his career. But, as he was a Philadelphian, I will venture to do so, at the risk of making my paper somewhat prolix.

James Biddle was born in Philadelphia Feb. 28, 1783, and died in this city Oct. 1, 1848. A man of rather small stature, and of nervous temperament (whose appearance must be familiar to many of those present), he was the son of Charles, and the nephew of Nicholas Biddle, the Commodore,

who was blown up in 1778, while commanding the "Randolph," in action with the "Yarmouth" of 64 guns. James Biddle was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, and entered the navy in 1800, not long after its re-establishment. Of seven brothers, John and Thomas served in the regular army, William and Richard were actively employed in the militia, and Nicholas was in the legislature, while James distinguished himself most of all during the war with England in 1812. Long previous to that time, however, James had been wrecked in the frigate "Philadelphia," off Tripoli, and was a prisoner for nineteen months. During the war of 1812 he was, as I have already said, first lieutenant of the "Wasp," in the brilliant action with the "Frolic," immediately after which he was captured by the "Poictiers" of 74 guns, and taken to Bermuda, whence he was duly exchanged. In 1813 he had command of the Flotilla on the Delaware, but was soon after ordered to the command of the "Hornet," in New London, where he was blockaded by a British squadron, from which he adroitly escaped and put to sea. Soon after this he captured the British sloop "Penguin," after a sharp action. In this affair Biddle was severely wounded. He was afterwards chased for four days by the "Cornwallis" of 74 guns, and by his seamanship, and the sacrifice of his guns and equipments, escaped. For his action with the "Penguin" Congress voted him a gold medal, while Philadelphia gave him a service of plate, and he received honors from other quarters. After the war of 1812-15 he held important commands, and was clothed with diplomatic powers, not usually entrusted to naval officers. He held, in succession, the chief naval command in the Pacific, in South America, in the West Indies, and in the Mediterranean. During these periods of service he was appointed a commissioner to negotiate a treaty with the Ottoman Porte, and to ratify a treaty with China, which powers serve to show how highly he was regarded by different administrations. During his last cruise, which was a circumnavigation of the globe in a noble ship, he visited Japan, then sealed to the world at large, and, in spite of that, compelled a re-

spectful consideration of what he had to say to them. After leaving Japan he commanded, for a time, one squadron which operated on the west coast of Mexico, during the war with that country, to which squadron we owe the possession of one of our most flourishing States, California.

It was in the interval of more active service that Commodore Biddle took charge of the Naval Asylum, namely, from 1838 to 1842. He had some years left, after he gave up the command, for more stirring and strictly professional employment.

During Commodore Biddle's tenure the classes of midshipmen who were preparing for their examination were placed in the Asylum, and a professor or two quartered there, for their instruction. This seemed almost a fulfilment of Mr. Paul Hamilton's idea. The midshipmen were at first assigned the basement rooms at the north end, which were, to quote a report, "damp, cold, cheerless, and unhealthy." Afterwards, through the energetic remonstrances of Lieutenant Foote (afterwards the well known admiral), they were placed upon the floor above. Here they remained until the naval school was established at Annapolis, Md., about 1845. Time does not permit me to dwell upon the numerous scrapes and escapades of these young gentlemen, the survivors of whom are commodores. They had all been years at sea when they came to the school, and were not the "callow youth" of our times, by any means.

The various uses to which the building was at this time put, and the quartering there of a number of officers, professors, and *employés*, and an unfortunate difference between the executive and medical authorities regarding the quantity of room occupied, produced a state of things which led to the division of the building into two parts by a wall of lath and plaster, giving the north half to the beneficiaries, and the southern to the hospital proper. It is not necessary to revert farther to the causes which led to this curious state of things, but only to state the fact as a part of the history of the institution. The following letter from the architect, Mr. Strickland, to the Honorable A. P. Upshur, Secretary of

the Navy, under date of Nov. 10, 1842, will explain, concisely, the manner in which the division was made:—

“SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst. requiring me to partition off the building of the Naval Asylum at this city, so as to assign the southern portion exclusively to the purposes of an hospital, and to make an estimate and report of the probable cost.

In conformity with your wishes, I have visited the building, and examined into the best mode of performing this work, and find that your object can be perfectly and substantially done, without disturbing or changing any of the symmetry of the present plan. Indeed, sir, in the original design of the building, this kind of separation was contemplated.

There is simply nothing more to do than to preserve the principal entrance hall leading from the front portico, as a vestibule for general entrance, and where the longitudinal lobby or passage crosses the vestibule, to construct a permanent partition in its centre, as well as that of the hall of entrance east and west, on each side of which doors of ample width may be made, the one to enter into the south, or hospital lobby, and the other into that of the north. The gallery leading across the stairways, from the lobby to the rotunda, or chapel, to be also partitioned off on each side, having a door of access from the northern lobby, as well as one from the southern one, into the rotunda. These partitions will completely separate the two stairways, giving one flight to each division of the building. This is all that will be required on the principal story.

In the basement the longitudinal passage or lobby may be also separated by a bulk-head, and the east and west passage leading at right angles from the foot of the stairways to the kitchens and dining-rooms, where two partitions should be constructed, forming a lobby of separation between them, so that a wide outlet may be formed into a passage to the grounds in the rear of the buildings.

The stairways, kitchen, dining-rooms, pantrys, store-rooms, closets, coal vaults, furnaces, &c., by this plan of separation, will be all in place; the one suit being completely the ditto of the other, in each compartment of the building, and I need only add that each will have more than ample space in cooking and dining-rooms, together with the necessary apparatus for the accommodation of at least one hundred persons.

In the third story the partition must also extend across the longitudinal passage in the centre of the building, as beneath, as well as in the centre of the gallery which crosses the head of the stairways, leaving sufficient space to enter upon the roof.

In the extreme southern end of the building, or the hospital division, there is a large room in the third story, fitted with a skylight in the ceiling, which room was originally intended for a surgical hall, and which may now, at a moderate expense, be furnished with the necessary fixtures for medical and surgical purposes.

With great respect,

Yr obdt. servant,

WM. STRICKLAND."

As a matter of fact this division of the building did take place, but the arrangement did not last very long. Commodore Barron was ordered to the Asylum about this time, but, owing to these difficulties, would not remain. Better counsel at last prevailed, and the arrangement of the building was restored to its former condition, and so remained until the erection of the new hospital gave up the whole establishment to the pensioners.

During the course of the late war the necessity for a separate naval hospital became manifest, and it was therefore determined to remove the bodies of those buried in the cemetery, on the back part of the premises, and to place the hospital there. In my opinion it was the very worst of situations for a hospital; but it was done, and a large and expensive building was erected there, which has never since been filled to one-half its capacity. The remains of many officers and men were accordingly removed, and re-interred at Mount Moriah Cemetery, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, in what, it is to be hoped, is their last resting-place, some of them having already been buried three times. The hospital does not stand upon the exact site of the old burial-ground, but the steam-house, laundry, drying-ground, and coal-sheds of the hospital occupy the exact spot, still partially inclosed by a wall and an Osage orange hedge.

As to the Asylum, time prevents me from entering into the anecdotal history of the place, but I may say, that many

curious characters have been inmates of the institution; while hundreds of old men, who have deserved well of their country, have here passed their declining years in tranquillity and comfort, and many of them have attained a very great age.

At present the number of the beneficiaries ranges from 120 to 130, and they die (either from accident or the diseases of old age) about as fast as the new ones come in.

Under the regulations no one is eligible for the place who has not passed twenty years in the naval service, although there are many exceptions to this rule in cases of serious disability in the line of duty.

Upon coming into the establishment a beneficiary has to give up to the hospital fund any pension of which he may be in receipt, as is eminently right and proper. The exact converse arrangement has, however, lately taken place in England, where Greenwich Hospital as a receptacle for superannuated sailors and marines, has been broken up, and the building turned into a naval college. Those pensioners who were thoroughly bedridden or incapacitated, were sent to Haslar, or Yarmouth, as hospital patients, while those who were able to take care of themselves, or had friends to take care of them, received a pension. Thus the picturesque Greenwich Hospital uniform, immortalized by Wilkie and other artists, has disappeared from sight forever.

The beneficiaries in our Asylum have each a separate room, and three wholesome meals a day. They have also sufficient clothing and washing, with one dollar per month for spending money, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of tobacco. Many have saved money before they came there, and fit themselves out with much taste, while all are comfortable. Some, indeed, among the prudent, are quite capitalists on a small scale. They have quite a fair library, and four reading-rooms, with daily and weekly papers, a good open fire in each, and liberty to smoke as much as they please. No restraint is put upon their liberty during reasonable hours, so long as they behave themselves properly. Many who are not past all service, after coming to the house and establishing themselves, obtain

formal leave of absence, generally for a year at a time. They are apt to go to sea again, or fishing, or some other congenial employment. If the beneficiary withdraws from the Asylum, he is allowed to resume any pension to which he may have been entitled before coming there.

It is not necessary, in a notice of this kind, to proceed farther into the working of the institution, as I have endeavored to treat it in regard to its history, as one of the local objects of interest in our city, rather than in its relations as a government establishment.

THE JUDICIARY OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.**BY J. W. F. WHITE,****ASSOCIATE LAW JUDGE OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS
OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.**

The English system of Jurisprudence prevailed in Pennsylvania during the Proprietary Government. It was slightly modified by the Constitution of 1776, and radically changed by the Constitution of 1790. To understand our early courts, we must have some knowledge of the Provincial system.

The Act of 22 May, 1722, which continued in force, with slight amendments and some interruptions, until after the Revolution, established and regulated the courts. Each county had a court of "General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Gaol Delivery," for criminal offences, and a court of "Common Pleas," for the trial of civil causes, each court required to hold four terms in the year. The Governor was authorized to appoint and commission "a competent number of Justices of the Peace" for each county; and they, or any three of them, could hold the Court of Quarter Sessions. He was also authorized to appoint and commission "a competent number of persons" to hold the Common Pleas. At first, the same persons were appointed and commissioned for both courts. But the Act of 9 Sept. 1759, prohibited the Justices of the Quarter Sessions from holding commissions as Judges of the Common Pleas. That Act required "five persons of the best discretion, capacity, judgment, and integrity" to be commissioned for the Common Pleas, any three of whom could hold the court. These justices and judges were appointed for life or during good behavior. The Constitution of 1776 limited them to a term of seven years, but the Constitution of 1790 restored the old rule of appointment for life or good behavior.

The Orphans' Court was established by Act of 29 March, 1713, to be held by the Justices of the Quarter Sessions. But

the Act of 1759 changed this, and made the Judges of the Common Pleas the Judges of the Orphans' Court.

The Act of 1722 established a Supreme Court of three Judges, afterwards increased to four, who reviewed, on writs of error, the proceedings in the county courts, and were also Judges of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, for the trial of all capital felonies, for which purpose they visited each county twice a year. The Act of 31 May, 1718, made the following offences punishable with death: treason, misprision of treason, murder, manslaughter, sodomy, rape, robbery, mayhem, arson, burglary, witchcraft, and concealing the birth of a bastard child.

On the night of Nov. 24, 1758, the French blew up, destroyed, and deserted Fort Duquesne; the next day General Forbes took possession of the ruins, and commenced Fort Pitt. Ten years thereafter, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix (Nov. 5, 1763), the Indian title to all lands south of the Ohio and Monongahela, and up the Allegheny as far as Kittanning, was ceded to the Penns, and four months later (March 27, 1769), the "Manor of Pittsburgh" was surveyed. At that time all north of the Ohio and Allegheny was Indian Territory. In October, 1770, George Washington visited Pittsburgh and estimated the number of houses at about twenty, which, counting six persons to a house, would give a total population of one hundred and twenty, of men, women, and children.

All this region of the State was then in Cumberland County. Bedford County was erected by Act of 9 March, 1771, and all west of the mountains was included in it. Our courts were then held at Bedford. The first court held there was April 16, 1771. The scattered settlers of the West were represented by George Wilson, Wm. Crawford, Thomas Gist, and Dorsey Pentecost, who were Justices of the Peace and Judges of the Court. The court divided the county into townships. *Pitt* Township (including Pittsburgh) embraced the greater part of the present county of Allegheny, and portions of Beaver, Washington, and Westmoreland, and had fifty-two land-owners, twenty tenants, and thirteen single freemen.

Westmoreland County was formed out of Bedford by Act of 26 Feb. 1773, and embraced all of the Province west of the mountains. The act directed the courts to be held at the house of Robert Hanna, until a court-house should be built. Robert Hanna lived in a log house about three miles north-east of where Greensburg now stands.

Five trustees were named in the act to locate the county seat and erect the public buildings. Robert Hanna and Joseph Erwin were two of them; Hanna rented his house to Erwin to be kept as a tavern, and got the majority of the trustees to recommend his place—where a few other cabins were speedily erected, and the place named *Hannastown*—for the county seat. Gen. Arthur St. Clair and a minority of the trustees recommended Pittsburgh. This difference of opinion, and the unsettled condition of affairs during the Revolution, delayed the matter until 1787, when the county seat was fixed at Greensburg. In 1775 Hannastown had twenty-five or thirty cabins, having about as many houses and inhabitants as Pittsburgh. Now its site is scarcely known. The town was burnt by the Indians in July, 1782, but the house of Hanna, being adjacent to the fort, escaped, and the courts continued to be held at his house until October, 1786; the first at Greensburg was in January, 1787.

THE HANNASTOWN COURTS.

During all the time the courts were held at Hannastown, Pittsburgh was in Westmoreland County. The first court was held April 6, 1773. William Crawford was the first presiding justice. He resided on the Youghiogheny, opposite where Connellsville now stands. He had been a Justice of the Peace while the territory was in Cumberland County, and afterwards when it was in Bedford County. In 1775 he took sides with Virginia in the border contest, and was removed. He was the Col. Crawford who conducted the unfortunate expedition against the Indians on the Sandusky, and suffered such a cruel death at their hands. Col. Wm. Crawford was a gentleman of the old school, intelligent, ac-

complished, brave, patriotic. He was the personal friend of Washington, and served with him under Genl. Braddock. His death cast a cloud of sorrow and gloom over all the settlements west of the mountains.

Under the Provincial system the Justices selected their own president. By Act of 28 Jan. 1777, the President and Executive Council (under the Constitution of 1776) appointed and commissioned one as presiding justice. Among the first, thus regularly appointed and commissioned, was John Moor.

JOHN MOOR was born in Lancaster County in 1738. His father died when he was a small boy, and about the year 1757 his mother, with her family, moved west of the mountains. At the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1775, he lived on a farm of 400 acres, on Crabtree Run, in Westmoreland County, which he was clearing and on which he had erected a stone house for his residence, indicating that he was one of the most intelligent and enterprising farmers of his day. He was a member of the Convention that met in Philadelphia, July 15, 1776, to frame a Constitution for the State; took an active part in the Convention, and was appointed one of the "Council of Safety" in the early part of the war. In 1777 he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace of Westmoreland County; in 1779 a Judge of the Common Pleas; and in 1785 President Judge. Not being a lawyer, he could not hold that position after the adoption of the Constitution of 1790. In 1792 he was elected to the State Senate from the district composed of Allegheny and Westmoreland counties. He died in 1812, leaving two sons and four daughters. One son was county surveyor of Westmoreland County; the other was a civil engineer, and died in Kentucky. The daughters were respectively married to Major John Kirkpatrick, a merchant of Greensburg; John M. Snowden, afterwards Associate Judge of Allegheny County; Rev. Francis Laird, D.D.; and James McJunkin, a farmer of Westmoreland County.

At the first court held at Hannastown the "Rates for Tavern Keepers in Westmoreland County" were fixed, and among the rates were these:—

Whiskey, per gill	4d.
West India Rum, per gill	6d.
Toddy, per gill	1s.
A bowl of West India Rum Toddy, containing one-	
half pint, with loaf sugar	1s. 6d.
Cyder, per quart	1s.
Strong beer, per quart	8d.

At the same sessions a jail was ordered to be erected. It was made of round, unhewn logs, one story high, and had but one small room, where men and women, whites, blacks, and Indians were confined together. The jail was mainly to confine the prisoners until trial, for imprisonment was not generally a part of the sentence after conviction. Punishments were fines, whipping, standing in the pillory or stocks, cropping the ears, and branding. The whipping post, which stood in front of the jail, was a stout sapling placed firmly in the ground, with a crosspiece above the head, to which the hands of the culprit were tied, while the lashes were inflicted by the sheriff on his bare back. The pillory consisted of a low platform on which the culprit stood, with uprights supporting a frame with openings in it through which his head and hands projected. At common law every passer by might cast one stone at the projecting head. The stocks were also a rude framework on which the culprit sat, his legs projecting through openings in front. When no regular stocks were at hand, the custom was to lift the corner of a rail fence and thrust the legs between the two lower rails.

At the October sessions of 1773 James Brigland was convicted on two indictments for larceny; on the first, sentenced to pay a fine of twenty shillings, and receive ten lashes at the whipping-post; and on the second, twenty lashes. Luke Picket, for larceny, twenty-one lashes, and Patrick J. Masterson, for the same offence, fifteen lashes. At the January session, 1774, Wm. Howard, for a felony, was sentenced to receive thirty lashes on the bare back, well laid on, and afterwards stand one hour in the pillory. This was the first sentence to the pillory. At every succeeding term of court numerous parties received punishments by whipping,

standing in the pillory, branding, etc. At the October sessions, 1775, Elizabeth Smith admitted she had stolen some small articles from James Kincaid to whom she was indentured. She was sentenced to pay a fine, and receive fifteen lashes on the bare back. But Mr. Kincaid complained that he had lost her services for the four days she was in jail, and had been at some expense in prosecuting her; whereupon the court ordered her, to make up said loss, to serve her said master and his assigns two years after the expiration of her indentures. At the April sessions, 1782, James McGill was sentenced to be whipped, stand in the pillory, have his right ear cropt, and be branded in the forehead. At the April sessions, 1783, John Smith, for a felony, was sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds, receive thirty-nine lashes on his back, well laid on, stand in the pillory one hour, and have his ears cut off and nailed to the pillory. At the July sessions, 1788, Jane Adamson, a servant of Samuel Sample, had one year added to her indenture for having a bastard child.

The first person convicted of murder, and hung, west of the mountains, was an Indian of the Delaware tribe, by the name of Mamachtaga. In 1785, in a drunken spree at Pittsburgh, he crossed the river to the Allegheny side, nearly opposite Killbuck Island, and killed a white man by the name of Smith. He was tried at Hannastown in the fall of that year, before Chief-Justice McKean. Hugh H. Brackenridge was his counsel. When brought into court, he refused, at first, to plead "not guilty;" for that, he said, would be a lie; he did kill Smith, but said he was drunk at the time, and did not know what he was doing. The Chief Justice, however, held that drunkenness was no excuse for murder. After his conviction and sentence to death, a little daughter of the jailor fell dangerously ill. He said if they would let him go to the woods he could get some roots that would cure her. He went, got the roots, and they cured her. The day before his execution he asked permission to go to the woods to get some roots to paint his face red, that he might die like a warrior. The jailor went with him, he got the roots, re-

turned to jail, and the next day was executed, painted as a brave warrior. The gallows was a rude structure, with a ladder leading up to the crossbeam, from which the rope was suspended. The sheriff and prisoner ascended the ladder, the rope was tied about his neck, and then the sheriff shoved him off the ladder. The first time the rope broke. The poor Indian, strangled and bewildered, supposed that that was all, and he would then be let go. But the sheriff procured another rope, and he was again compelled to ascend the ladder. This time the majesty of the white man's law was vindicated by the death of the red man, for a crime committed in a frenzy fit, occasioned by whiskey the white man had given him.

During the trial the Chief Justice and his associate Judge were arrayed in scarlet robes, as was the custom in those days. The grave demeanor and glittering robes of the Judges deeply impressed the poor unlettered son of the forest. He could not believe they were mortals, but regarded them as some divine personages.

As there was no court-house at Hannastown, the courts were always held in the house of Robert Hanna. Parties, jurors, witnesses, and lawyers were crowded together in a small room, nearly all standing. The Judges occupied common hickory chairs raised on a clapboard bench at one side.

During the Revolutionary War, while the courts met regularly, but little business was transacted, and the laws were not rigidly enforced. At the October sessions, 1781, only one constable attended, and he was from Pittsburgh.

VIRGINIA COURTS IN PITTSBURGH.

The first courts held in Pittsburgh were Virginia Courts, administering the laws of Virginia. They were held under authority of Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia. The first court was held Feb. 21, 1775.

As soon as the country west of the mountains began to be settled, a controversy sprang up between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to which owned the territory. The charter

of Charles II. to Wm. Penn was dated March 4, 1681, and created the *Province* of Pennsylvania. Virginia was an older colony. A royal charter had been granted to a company in 1609, with very indefinite boundaries for their territory. But the charter was dissolved in 1624, and thereafter Virginia became a *crown colony*, that is, under the control and government of the King of England, and not under a *proprietary* government, like that of Pennsylvania under Wm. Penn, or Maryland under Lord Baltimore. These were called *provinces*, not *colonies*. The controversy between Wm. Penn and Lord Baltimore, as to the line between their provinces, was settled in 1767 by two surveyors chosen for the purpose, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, and the line was thereafter known as Mason and Dixon's line. But that line extended only as far as Maryland, and did not fix the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia. Virginia claimed, in a general way, all west of the mountains, but more especially all lying between the Monongahela and Ohio rivers. She surveyed, sold, and granted patents to numerous tracts of land lying within the present counties of Allegheny and Washington. The organization of Westmoreland County, in 1773, roused Virginia to an active assertion of her claim. Lord Dunmore appointed Dr. John Connolly, then residing at Pittsburgh, as his agent and representative, to enforce the claims of Virginia. On the 1st of Jan. 1774, he published a manifesto, as "Captain and Commandant of the Militia of Pittsburgh and its Dependencies," assuring the settlers "on the Western Waters" of his protection, and commanding them to meet him for conference on the 25th of the same month at Pittsburgh.

Arthur St. Clair, a Justice of the Peace of Westmoreland County, issued a warrant against Connolly, on which he was arrested and imprisoned for a short time. After he got out of jail, he obtained from Lord Dunmore a commission as a Justice of the Peace for Augusta County, Va., this being then considered a part of that county. Connolly then issued warrants on which Justices of the Peace of Westmoreland County were arrested and imprisoned.

The controversy between the two State jurisdictions continued in this irregular way for a year. The settlers generally sided with Virginia, for the price of lands under the Virginia laws was considerably less than under the Pennsylvania laws.

The Governor of Virginia and his agent Connolly enforced their pretensions by holding regular courts in Pittsburgh. The first court was held 21 Feb. 1775. The Justices of the Peace of Augusta County, who held this court, were Geo. Croghan, John Campbell, John Connolly, Dorsey Pentecost, Thomas Smallman, and John Gibson. John Gibson was an uncle of Chief-Justice Gibson. The court continued in session four days, and then adjourned to Staunton, Va. Courts were also held in May and September of that year. Connolly attended the court in May, but soon after that the Revolutionary War broke out, when he and Lord Dunmore fled to the British camp never to return.

The regular Virginia Courts continued to be held at Pittsburgh, for West Augusta County, as it was then called, until Nov. 30, 1776. The territory was then divided into three counties called Ohio, Yohogania, and Monongalia. Pittsburgh was in Yohogania County, which embraced the greater portions of the present counties of Allegheny and Washington. The courts of this county were held regularly until the 28th of August, 1780. They were sometimes held in Pittsburgh, sometimes in or near the present town of Washington, but the greater portion of time on the farm of Andrew Heath, on the Monongahela River, near the present line between Allegheny and Washington County, where a log court-house and jail were erected.

At the October session of 1773, of the court of Westmoreland County, at Hannastown, a true bill for a misdemeanor was found by the grand jury against the notorious Simon Girty. Process was issued for his arrest, but he escaped. On the second day of the Virginia Court, at Pittsburgh, 22 Feb. 1775, he took the oath of allegiance to Virginia, and had a commission as lieutenant of the militia of Pittsburgh. On the same day Robert Hanna was brought into court, and,

refusing to take the oath, was bound with two sureties in a thousand pounds to keep the peace for a year towards Virginia. On the same day the sheriff was ordered to employ workmen to build a *ducking-stool* at the confluence of the Ohio with the Monongahela River. The ducking-stool was the favorite old English method of punishing scolding wives. It was constructed on the "see-saw" principle. On one end of the plank was a chair firmly fastened, in which the scolding dame was tied, and her fiery temper cooled by repeated dips in the cold water.

At the May Court, 1775, Wm. Crawford, who presided at the first court at Hannastown, took the oath of allegiance to Virginia. At the April Court, 1776, Daniel Leet took the oath of allegiance. And so at every term of the court numerous persons gave in their allegiance to Virginia. On the 27th June, 1777, the sheriff was ordered to have erected a pair of stocks and a whipping-post in the court-house yard. This, no doubt, was at the court-house on Andrew Heath's farm, for no court-house was erected at Pittsburgh during the Virginia *régime*. On the same day (June 27, 1777) James Johnson was thrice fined for profanity. The record reads: "Upon information of Zachariah Connell," he was convicted of "two profane oaths, and two profane curses," fined twenty shillings. Upon information of Isaac Cox, he was convicted "of three profane oaths, and one profane curse," fined twenty shillings. And upon information of James Campbell he was convicted "of four profane oaths," and fined one pound.

On 22 Dec. 1777, it was ordered by the court "that the ordinary keepers (tavern keepers) within this county be allowed to sell at the following rates," viz. :—

One-half pint Whiskey	1s.
The same made into Tody	1s. 6d.
Beer per quart	1s.
For hot breakfast	1s. 6d.
“ cold “	1s.
“ dinner	2s.
“ supper	1s. 6d.
“ Lodging, with clean sheets, per night	6d.

April 29, 1778, it was "ordered that a pair of stocks, whipping-post, and pillory be erected in the court-house yard by next term." June 26, 1780, "ordered that Paul Matthews be allowed \$2000 for erecting whipping-post, stocks, and pillory." This is among the last records of the Virginia Courts. The whipping-post, stocks, and pillory were, no doubt, very rude, inexpensive structures, and the amount allowed for them seems extravagant. But that was during the Revolutionary War, when the only currency was Continental money, not worth two cents on the dollar.

For five years, from 1775 to 1780, the jurisdiction of Virginia over Pittsburgh and all the territory across the Monongahela and Ohio was supreme, and almost undisturbed. Taxes were levied and collected, and all county offices filled by Virginia authority. Courts for the trial of all civil causes, and criminal offences, for laying out roads, granting chartered privileges, settling the estates of decedents, etc. etc., were regularly held.

Negotiations had been going on for several years between the two States for settling the boundary question. Terms were finally agreed upon, 23 Sept. 1780. Commissioners were appointed to extend Mason and Dixon's line, which thus became the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and to fix the western corner, according to the terms agreed upon. The jurisdiction of Virginia was withdrawn, and that of Pennsylvania extended over the territory.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY COURTS.

Washington County was erected by Act of 28 March, 1781. It embraced all that part of the State lying west of the Monongahela and south of the Ohio. But Pittsburgh remained in Westmoreland County. Fayette County was formed Feb. 17, 1784.

Allegheny County was established by Act of 24 Sept. 1788. It embraced portions of Westmoreland and Washington counties, and all the territory north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny, from which were afterwards formed the coun-

ties of Armstrong, Beaver, Butler, Crawford, Erie, Lawrence, Mercer, Venango, and Warren, and parts of Indiana and Clarion.

The Act appointed trustees to select lots in the reserved tract opposite to Pittsburgh, on which to erect a court-house. But that was changed by the Act of 13 April, 1791, which directed the public buildings to be erected in Pittsburgh.

The first court—Quarter Sessions—was held 16 Dec. 1788, by George Wallace, President, and Joseph Scott, John Wilkins, and John Johnson, Associates. A letter was read from Mr. Bradford, Attorney-General, appointing Robert Galbraith, Esq., his deputy, who was sworn in; and on his motion the following persons were admitted as members of the bar, viz: Hugh H. Brackenridge, John Woods, James Ross, George Thompson, Alexander Addison, Daniel Bradford, James Carson, David St. Clair, and Michael Huffnagle, Esqs.

The first term of the Common Pleas was held 14 March, 1789. The Appearance Docket contained fifty-six cases. The brief minute says the court was held "before George Wallace and his Associates," without naming them. The same minute is made for the June and September Terms of that year. After that no name is given. The old minutes of the court and other records and papers of the early courts were in an upper room of the court-house and were destroyed in the fire of May, 1882.

The Constitution of Sept. 2, 1790, and the Act of Assembly following it, April 13, 1791, made radical changes in the judicial system of the State. Justices of the Peace were no longer Judges of the courts. The State was divided into Circuits or Judicial Districts, composed of not less than three nor more than six counties. A President Judge was appointed by the Governor for each district, and Associate Judges, not less than three nor more than four, for each county. The Associate Judges could hold the Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas. All Judges were commissioned for life or during good behavior. The Constitution did not require any of the Judges to be "learned in the law," but, no

doubt, it was understood that the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the President Judges of the Districts, were to be experienced lawyers. By Act of 24 Feb. 1806, the Associate Judges of each county were reduced to two.

The State was divided into five Circuits or Districts. The counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington, and Allegheny composed the fifth District. The new judicial system went into operation Sept. 1, 1791.

The first Judges commissioned for Allegheny County, their commissions bearing date Oct. 9, 1788, were George Wallace, President, and John Metzgar, Michael Hillman, and Robert Ritchie, Associates. They were the Judges until the re-organization under the Constitution of 1790.

George Wallace was not a lawyer but had been a Justice of the Peace since 1784, and was a man of good education. He owned the tract of land known as "Braddock's Fields," where he lived in comfortable circumstances, and where he died.

Upon the re-organization of the courts under the Constitution of 1790, Alexander Addison was appointed President Judge of the fifth District, his commission bearing date Aug. 17, 1791. His Associates for Allegheny County, commissioned the same day, were George Wallace, John Wilkins, Jr., John McDowell, and John Gibson.

ALEXANDER ADDISON was the first Law Judge of Allegheny County. He was born in Scotland in 1759, educated at Edinburgh, and licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Aberlowe. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in early life, and on the 20th of Dec. 1785, applied to the Presbytery of Redstone (Brownsville) to be admitted. He was not regularly received into the Presbytery, but was authorized to preach within its bounds. He preached for a short time at Washington, but read law and was admitted to the bar of that county in 1787.

"He was a man of culture, erudition, correct principles, and thoroughly imbued with love for the good of society. These characteristics are seen in his letters, essays, charges to grand juries, and reports of his judicial decisions. They

embrace a scope of thought and strength of logic, marking a fine intellect and extensive knowledge; and they exhibit a patriotism of the purest lustre, set in a bright constellation of virtues.

“Judge Addison lived and executed his functions among a sturdy people, amid the troubles, excitements, dangers, and factions, which followed the adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1787, and attended the enforcement of the excise law of the United States, which culminated in the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794. His patriotic instincts and love of the public welfare led him, by means of charges to the grand juries, to discuss frequently the underlying principles of government, the supremacy of the laws, and the necessity of due subordination to rightful authority, a duty which he felt urgently incumbent upon him in the disturbed condition of affairs. Though, at the time, controverted by partisanship and hatred of authority, owing to the peculiar hardships of the early settlers, these efforts are this day among the best expositions of the principles of free government, the necessity of order and obedience to law. No one can read his charge to the grand jury of Allegheny County, Sept. 1, 1794, without feeling himself in the presence of and listening with uncovered head to a great man, whose virtues of heart equalled his qualities of head.”¹

Judge Addison was a Federalist in politics; a warm supporter of the administrations of Washington and John Adams. During Washington's administration the French Revolution broke out. As France had assisted us in our revolutionary struggle against England, there was in this country a strong feeling of sympathy with France, and some leading men and newspapers clamorously demanded that our government should aid France in her war with England. But Washington maintained a position of strict neutrality; so did John Adams. The country was filled with French emissaries, and secret political societies were formed similar

¹ Address of Hon. D. Agnew at Centennial Celebration in Washington County.

to the Jacobin Clubs of France. The Alien and Sedition laws, passed by Congress during Adams's administration, to counteract the efforts of these emissaries and secret clubs, served only to increase the excitement, and culminated in a political revolution. Jefferson was elected President over Adams, in 1800, and the same party carried Pennsylvania, electing Thomas McKean Governor in 1799.

Judge Addison's bold, manly, and patriotic stand in favor of the Federal Government during the Whiskey Insurrection, and his equally bold, manly, and patriotic stand against French emissaries and secret political societies, caused him many enemies. H. H. Brackenridge was bitter and unrelenting in his hostility. As soon as the new political party got into power, Judge Addison was a doomed man. John B. C. Lucas was appointed Associate Judge of Allegheny County, July 17, 1800. He was a Frenchman, and intensely hostile to Judge Addison. As soon as he took his seat on the bench, he commenced to annoy and provoke Judge Addison. Although a layman, he would frequently differ with the Judge on points of law, and actually charged petit juries in opposition to the views of the President Judge. He also insisted on reading a written harangue to a grand jury, in opposition to some views expressed by Judge Addison to a previous grand jury. Judge Addison and Judge McDowell, who constituted a majority of the Court on that occasion, remonstrated against such conduct on the part of Lucas, and stopped him.

That gave a pretext for legal proceedings against Judge Addison. The first movement was an application to the Supreme Court to file an information, in the nature of an indictment, against him for a misdemeanor in office. The Supreme Court dismissed it, saying that the papers did not show an indictable offence (4 Dallas, R. 225). The next step was to have him impeached by the Legislature. The House ordered the impeachment, and the Senate tried and convicted him. The articles of impeachment contained nothing but the two charges: (1) That when Lucas charged the petit jury Judge Addison told them they should not regard what

he said, because it had nothing to do with the case; and (2) Preventing him from charging the grand jury, as above stated.

No person can read the report of the trial without feeling that it was a legal farce; that gross injustice was done Judge Addison from the beginning to the end, and that the whole proceeding was a disgrace to the State. The trial took place at Lancaster, where the Legislature sat. The House and Senate refused to give him copies of certain papers, or to give assistance in procuring witnesses from Pittsburgh for his defence. The speeches of counsel against him, and the rulings of the Senate on questions raised in the progress of the trial, were characterized by intense partisan feeling. It was not a judicial trial, but a partisan scheme to turn out a political opponent. It resulted in deposing one of the purest, best, and ablest Judges that ever sat on the bench in Pennsylvania.

The sentence was pronounced by the Senate, 27 Jan. 1803, removing him as President Judge from the 5th District, and declaring him forever disqualified for holding a judicial office in the State.

Judge Addison presided in our courts for twelve years. The volume of reports he published in 1800 shows his legal ability, and the great variety and number of new, intricate, and important causes tried by him.

He died at Pittsburgh Nov. 27, 1807, leaving a widow, three sons, and four daughters.¹

SAMUEL ROBERTS succeeded Judge Addison, was commissioned 30 April, 1803, and held the office until his death in 1820.

Judge Roberts was born in Philadelphia 8 Sept. 1763, was educated and studied law in that city, and was admitted to

¹ His eldest son, John, died without issue; Alexander read law, was admitted to the bar in 1820, and was accidentally killed in 1822; William first read law, then medicine, and became an eminent physician of Pittsburgh. Of the daughters, Eliza married Dr. Peter Mowry; Mary m. Samuel H. Fitzhugh; Jane m., first, Alexander Johnston, and, after his death, Benjamin Darlington; Ann died unmarried.

the bar in 1793. He was married the same year to Miss Maria Heath, of York, Pa. After his marriage he moved to Lancaster, and commenced the practice of law, but soon moved to Sunbury, where he was practising at the time he was appointed Judge of this district.

Judge Roberts was a good lawyer, and a very worthy, upright man. He had the respect and confidence of the bar, but it is said he was so indulgent to the lawyers, that the business of the court was rather retarded. He built for himself a fine residence, a mile or so out of town at that time, but now in the compact part of the city, near the present Roberts Street, in the 11th Ward, where he died 13 Dec. 1820. He left eight children, five sons and three daughters.¹

While Judge Roberts was on the bench, he published a Digest of the British Statutes in force, in whole or in part, in Pennsylvania, with notes and illustrations, which has been the standard work on the subject ever since. This volume, and the Supreme Court reports of cases he tried, prove that he was a most industrious and conscientious Judge.

The first person convicted of murder and executed in this county was Thomas Dunning. He was tried before Judge Addison, and hung on Boyd's Hill, Jan. 23, 1793. James Ewalt was then sheriff.

The next was John Tiernan, convicted of the murder of Patrick Campbell, Dec. 7, 1817. He was tried Jan. 12, 1818, before Judge Roberts, with Francis McClure, Associate. Campbell was a contractor on the Pittsburgh and Greensburg Turnpike. Tiernan was a laborer on the turnpike, living in a cabin on the hill this side of Turtle Creek, and Campbell boarded with him. At night, when asleep in his bed, Tiernan killed him with an axe, robbed his body, and

¹ His sons, Samuel, Edward J., Henry, Horatio, and Morgan. Henry was a physician in Brownsville, Pa. Edward J. was paymaster in the army in 1812, afterwards Clerk of the United States District Court at Pittsburgh, and died, leaving three sons, Gen. Richard Biddle, Edward J., and John H. One daughter married Oldham Craig, and one was lately living in Michigan.

fled, riding off on Campbell's horse. A few days after he appeared in the streets of Pittsburgh with the horse, and was arrested. Wm. Wilkins and Richard Biddle appeared for the Commonwealth, and Walter Forward, Charles Shaler, and Samuel Kingston for the prisoner. He was hung at the foot of Boyd's Hill. The event became an epoch in our history, from which witnesses in court, and others, would fix the date of occurrences, being so many years before or after the hanging of Tiernan.

WILLIAM WILKINS succeeded Judge Roberts. Judge Roberts had been sick for some time, and, in anticipation of his death, the friends of Mr. Wilkins had arranged for his appointment. Wilkins had been a warm supporter of Gov. Wm. Findlay, who was beaten by Jos. Hiester, in the hotly contested election in the fall of 1820. Findlay's term would expire Dec. 18th. Roberts died on the night of Dec. 13th. There were no railroads or telegraphs then. Simon Small, an old stage driver, was dispatched as a special messenger to Harrisburg, with letters for Wilkins's appointment. He rode on horseback, and by relays at the stage offices succeeded in reaching Harrisburg late at night, the last night of Gov. Findlay's term. The Governor was aroused from sleep, and, between 11 and 12 o'clock, the commission of Wilkins was signed. An hour or two's delay in the ride would have resulted in another Judge, for the next day Gov. Hiester was inaugurated.

Wm. Wilkins was born Dec. 20, 1779. His father moved to Pittsburgh in 1786. He was educated at Dickinson College, and read law with Judge Watt, at Carlisle. He was admitted to the bar in Pittsburgh, 1801. He was appointed President Judge of the Fifth District, Dec. 18, 1820; resigned May 25, 1824, when appointed Judge of the District Court of the United States for Western Pennsylvania. In 1828, when on the bench of the United States District Court, he was elected a member of Congress, but, before taking his seat, resigned, giving as a reason that his pecuniary circumstances were such, he could not give up the Judgeship to accept a seat in Congress. But in 1831 he was elected to

the Senate of the United States for the full term of six years, and resigned the Judgeship. He was an ardent friend and supporter of Gen. Jackson in opposition to John C. Calhoun and his nullification doctrines. As chairman of the Senate Committee he reported the bill which passed Congress, authorizing the President to use the army and navy to enforce the collection of revenue, and suppress the nullification movement.

In 1834 he was appointed Minister to Russia, and remained one year at the Court of St. Petersburg. When a member of the Senate, and just before leaving for Russia, it is said, he was in very straitened pecuniary circumstances. His property was covered with mortgages to its full value, and some of his creditors were so clamorous that he had to exercise great circumspection, as imprisonment for debt had not then been abolished. When he returned from Russia he was a wealthy man. The great and sudden boom in the price of real estate enabled him to sell his homestead, where the Monongahela House now stands, for ten times its value three years before, which, with what he managed to get and save while abroad, gave him the means to pay all his debts, and have considerable left.

In 1842 he was again elected to the House of Representatives of Congress. After the explosion of the monster gun on the Princeton, Feb. 28, 1844, which killed Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, and Mr. Gilmer, Secretary of War, Mr. Wilkins was appointed, by President Tyler, Secretary of War, which office he held until March, 1845.

In 1855 he was elected to the State Senate from this county, for one term.

Although over 80 years of age when the war of the Rebellion broke out, and a staunch Democrat the greater part of his life, Mr. Wilkins took an active part in support of the government and rousing the patriotic spirit of the country. As Major-General of the Home Guards, he appeared, mounted and in full uniform, at the grand review on West Common. His dress, age, and venerable form added greatly to the interest and *éclat* of the occasion.

Judge Wilkins was one of Pittsburgh's most enterprising men of the olden times. It was through his efforts, mainly, that the first bridge over the Monongahela was erected, the Pittsburgh and Greensburgh Turnpike, and the Pittsburgh and Steubenville Turnpike built, and the charter for the old Bank of Pittsburgh obtained. He was president of the first company organized to foster and encourage our home manufactures, the "Pittsburgh Manufacturing Co." It was in 1811, when money was exceedingly scarce. The company was organized to aid mechanics and manufacturers, by receiving their products, such as hoes, shovels, sickles, etc., for which certificates were issued, payable when the articles were sold, and these certificates circulated like paper money. This manufacturing company was changed into the Bank of Pittsburgh in 1814, the stockholders being nearly the same, and Wm. Wilkins the first president.

Judge Wilkins had fine natural abilities, and great aptitude for the dispatch of business, which made him popular as a man and Judge. But his quick, impulsive nature, his disinclination to close and continued study, and his lack of patience in the mastery of details, unfitted him for a high degree of eminence on the bench.

Judge Wilkins was twice married. His first wife died within a year, leaving no children. His second wife was Miss Matilda Dallas, sister of Trevanion B. Dallas, afterwards Judge in this county, and of Geo. M. Dallas, Vice-President during President Polk's administration. By her he had three sons and four daughters. His son Charles was a brilliant young lawyer of California, but died early; Dallas died when a boy; Richard Biddle died shortly after his father. One daughter married Capt. John Sanders, of the U. S. Army; one Mr. Overton Carr, of the U. S. Navy; one Mr. Jas. A. Hutchinson, and one never married. None of his descendants now live in this county, except one grandson.

Judge Wilkins died at his residence, at Homewood, June 23, 1865, in his 86th year.

CHARLES SHALER succeeded Wm. Wilkins as Judge of the county courts. He was born in Connecticut in 1788, and

educated at Yale. His father was one of the commissioners to lay off the Western Reserve in Ohio, and purchased a large tract of land, known as Shalersville, near Ravenna, Ohio. His son, Charles Shaler, went to Ravenna in 1809 to attend to the lands, and was admitted to the bar there. He moved to Pittsburgh, and was admitted to the bar here in 1813. He was Recorder of the Mayor's Court of Pittsburgh from 1818 to 1821. June 5, 1824, he was commissioned Judge of Common Pleas; occupied the bench eleven years, resigning May 4, 1835. He was appointed Associate Judge of the District Court of the county May 6, 1841, and held that office three years, resigning May 20, 1844.

In 1853, he was appointed by President Pierce U. S. District Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania.

In early life Judge Shaler was a Federalist, but for the last fifty years of his life was a staunch Democrat, taking an active part in politics, always willing to enter the contest, and be the standard bearer of his party, notwithstanding the prospect was certain defeat. He was never elected to a political office, and perhaps never desired one. Politics were to him merely as an excitement and relaxation from the laborious duties of his profession. He had fine legal abilities, was an able advocate, close student, and most industrious lawyer. He was an early riser, and nearly every morning could be seen on the streets, taking his morning walk, long before the shops and stores were opened. He had a quick, fiery temper, which frequently flashed forth in sudden outbursts of passion; but, like the outbursts in all men of impulsive natures, they soon passed away. Within that impassioned breast was one of the warmest, tenderest, and most generous hearts that ever beat in sympathy with human frailties or misfortunes. And Charles Shaler was the very soul of honor.

The sense of honor is absolutely essential to true manhood. Without it man is a brute or hypocrite. It is quite distinct from the moral or religious sense. Many a man leads a moral life from selfish considerations, the fear of the law, or public opinion. Many a church member is exemplary in all

his religious duties, but at heart excessively mean. He does not hesitate to prevaricate, or do a mean act, to escape from a hard bargain. The man of a high sense of honor scorns to do a mean act or indulge a mean thought; he knows no prevarication; his word shall stand, though the heavens fall. Such a man was Charles Shaler. He never attempted to deceive the Court. His plighted word to a brother of the bar was as sacred and inviolable as the decree of Olympic Jove.

As an illustration of his sense of honor, two incidents may be mentioned. He applied for a cadetship for his son at West Point, but, learning that a friend desired the appointment for his son, he withdrew his application. In 1846 he went to Washington City, to urge the appointment of Robert C. Grier to the U. S. Supreme Court. He was offered the appointment himself, but refused it because he had gone on as the friend of Judge Grier.

Although Judge Shaler for many years had perhaps the most extensive and lucrative practice at the Pittsburgh bar, his generous habits were such that he acquired but little property, and he died comparatively poor. He died at the residence of his son-in-law, Rev. D. H. Hodges, at Newark, N. J., March 5, 1869, in the 81st year of his age.

He was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Major Kirkpatrick, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. One of his daughters, a beautiful and accomplished young lady, while out riding with Samuel W. Black, was thrown from her horse and killed. His second wife was a daughter of James Riddle, Associate Judge of the county from 1818 to 1838, by whom he had several children.

TREVANION BARLOW DALLAS succeeded Judge Shaler on the Common Pleas bench. He was commissioned May 15, 1835.

Mr. Dallas was of Scotch descent. His great-grandfather was George Dallas, an eminent lawyer and author of Scotland. His grandfather was Robert Dallas, M.D., of Dallas Castle, Jamaica, whither he had emigrated in early life. His father, Alexander James Dallas, was born in Jamaica,

educated in England, admitted to the bar in Jamaica, but came to Philadelphia in 1783; he was an eminent American statesman and author, and honorably filled several high official stations. His eldest son was commodore in the U. S. Navy; his second, George M. Dallas, was Vice-President; and the youngest, the subject of this sketch.

Trevanion Barlow Dallas was born in Philadelphia, Feb. 23, 1801, and educated at Princeton. He commenced reading law with his brother George M., but came to Pittsburgh about 1820, and finished his studies with his brother-in-law, William Wilkins. He was admitted to the bar in 1822. Previous to his appointment as Judge, he had been Deputy Attorney-General for the county. He remained on the Common Pleas bench from 1835 to June 24, 1839, when he resigned to accept the position of Associate Judge with Judge Grier, in the District Court of the county, which position he held until his death, April 7, 1841.

Judge Dallas was a comparatively young man when he died, only 40 years old. But, as Prosecuting Attorney, member of the bar, and Judge in the Common Pleas and District Court, he won an enviable reputation. He was regarded as one of the best lawyers at the bar, and, during his seven years on the bench, gave promise of becoming one of the ablest jurists of the State. His pleasing manners and gentlemanly bearing, on and off the bench, made him very popular with the people and bar. The members of the bar erected a monument to his memory in Trinity Churchyard of this city, which is still standing.

Judge Dallas, in 1822, married Jane S., a daughter of Gen. John Wilkins, a brother of Wm. Wilkins, both sons of John Wilkins, who was an Associate Judge of the county in 1791. By her he had four sons and five daughters. His widow survives still, at a good old age, residing in Philadelphia. Only one of his sons survives, Geo. M. Dallas, Esq., a leading member of the Philadelphia bar. One of his daughters married James O'Hara Denny; two are still living.

BENJAMIN PATTON succeeded Judge Dallas. He was com-

missioned July 1, 1839, and resigned in January, 1850. He was born in Bellefonte, Pa., July 21, 1810. His ancestors were among the first settlers on the Juniata and in Huntingdon County. His maternal grandfather was a lieutenant under Washington at Braddock's Defeat, and a granduncle, Benjamin Patton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1829, and commenced the study of law with Andrew Carothers, at Carlisle. Shortly thereafter he became Secretary to Commodore Elliott, and sailed with the Commodore and his naval squadron to the Gulf of Mexico. At Vera Cruz the American Consul had been insulted; American citizens had been imprisoned, and their property confiscated by the Mexican authorities. After repeated demands for their release, the fiery Commodore was about to resort to force, when his young secretary gave cooler advice, which resulted in the release of the prisoners, and saved us from a war with Mexico.

After being absent a year with the Commodore—pursuing his studies, however, all the time—he returned to Carlisle, completed the course of study, and was admitted to the bar in 1831. He went to Nashville, Tenn., and opened an office, but within a year returned to Pennsylvania. While in Nashville, he formed the acquaintance of Jas. K. Polk and other prominent Southerners, which ripened into close friendship in after years. On his return he commenced practice in Mifflin County, and was appointed District Attorney for the county. Shortly thereafter, when only twenty-two years old, he was appointed by President Jackson U. S. District Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania. The Pittsburgh bar at that time embraced such men as Wm. Wilkins, Thos. H. Baird, John Galbraith, John H. Walker, Charles Shaler, Walter Forward, Richard Biddle, etc., giants of the olden times; yet the young District Attorney bravely took his stand among them, and maintained it with great credit until he was promoted to the Common Pleas Bench of the county, when only twenty-eight years of age—the youngest Judge that ever sat on a bench in this State.

Young Patton was an ardent Democrat and active politician. He was present at the inauguration of Gen. Jackson as President, in 1829, when he was only nineteen years old, and from that time on was a warm admirer and personal friend of "Old Hickory." But while on the bench he took no part in politics or political controversies.

During the ten and a half years Judge Patton was on the bench, he had to transact all the business of the Orphans' Court, of the Quarter Sessions and Oyer and Terminer, and a large amount of Common Pleas business. It was rather a stormy period in the history of our county, and some very important cases were tried by him. One was an indictment for conspiracy against some of the leading men of the city, engaged in shipping on the canal. They had formed an association for regulating the rates of transportation, binding each other by oaths and penalties to maintain certain prices. They had money and powerful friends. They were convicted; the Judge fined and imprisoned them, and thus broke down the conspiracy, to the great rejoicing of shippers and the public generally. Another case arose out of the "Factory Riots." Some trouble had arisen between the owners of the cotton mills and the factory girls, about wages and the hours of labor. Some of the girls, aided by a mob, broke into the factories, drove out the girls at work, and destroyed property and machinery. They were indicted for riot and convicted. These two cases illustrated the firmness and impartiality of the Judge. Another case was the indictment against Joe Barker. He was in the habit of gathering crowds of the lower classes at the market-house and on the streets, and haranguing them in vulgar and abusive language against the Catholic Church and its institutions. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to jail. While in jail, the rabble set him up as a candidate for Mayor of the city, in opposition to the regular Whig and Democratic candidates. He got the votes of the lower classes, of some Whigs, for fear a Democrat would be elected, and of some respectable people, through mistaken sympathy. He was elected by a plurality vote. But all classes soon had occasion to regret their folly.

Judge Patton also had the misfortune to try several libel suits between editors of city papers. As usual, in such cases, he incurred the enmity of both parties, who kept up a running fire on him for years. But he maintained his dignity as a Judge by never condescending to notice them, and waited his time for a full and complete vindication, which came. He had it in the public esteem when he left the bench, confirmed years afterwards when he visited the city. In 1871, on a casual visit, he was invited by the entire bench and nearly the entire bar to a social entertainment. In the letter of invitation this language was used: "On retiring from the bench you carried with you an untarnished reputation, and the respect of the whole community, who remember you as one who had ably vindicated the supremacy of the laws, and maintained the cause of law and order."

On his retirement from the bench, Judge Patton moved to Northumberland County, where he was engaged in business for a few years. In 1858 he was appointed by Judge Grier Clerk of the U. S. Circuit Court, and U. S. Commissioner, at Philadelphia, which positions he retained until Judge Grier retired from the bench in 1870, when he resigned and moved to Hicksville, Defiance Co., Ohio, where he is now residing. In 1880 and 1881, he was a member of the Legislature of Ohio, and gained considerable celebrity by his speeches, especially one on "The Reserved Rights of the States."

Judge Patton possesses fine social qualities, is good company and fond of company, and has always been noted for his kindness of heart and generous hospitality. He is a devout disciple of Izaak Walton. With his friend Judge Grier he spent the summer vacations, for more than a quarter of a century, on the trout streams of Pennsylvania; and now, when over threescore years and ten, he spends a portion of each summer trouting in Michigan.

Judge Patton was married in 1834 to Matilda Helfenstein, then of Dayton, Ohio, formerly of Carlisle, Pa., by whom he has surviving two sons and two daughters. His wife died in 1880.

WILLIAM B. McCLURE succeeded Judge Patton. He was

appointed and commissioned by the Governor, Jan. 31, 1850. That year a constitutional amendment was adopted, making the judiciary elective. The first election under it was in October of 1851. Judge McClure was elected and commissioned Nov. 6, 1851, for ten years from Dec. 1, 1851, the first Judge elected in this county. He was reelected in 1861, and commissioned for another period of ten years, but died Dec. 27, 1861, and was succeeded by J. P. Sterrett.

Judge McClure was born in April, 1807, at Willow Grove, near Carlisle, Pa. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1827. He read law in Pittsburgh with John Kennedy, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court, and was admitted to the bar in 1829. He was married in 1833 to Lydia S. Collins, by whom he had three daughters, Sarah C., Valeria, married to J. Q. A. Sullivan, of Butler, Pa., and Rebecca B., married to C. E. Flandran, of St. Paul, Minn. His widow is still living.

For many years preceding his elevation to the bench, he was in partnership, in the practice of law, with his brother-in-law, Wilson McCandless, Esq., and the firm of McCandless & McClure was widely known throughout the western part of the State, and had a most extensive practice.

From 1850 to 1859 Judge McClure was the only law Judge in the Common Pleas, Orphans' Court, Quarter Sessions, and Oyer and Terminer, of the county. The amount of business was enormous for one man. He had scarcely a day's rest or vacation. He was a most laborious Judge, frequently sitting on the bench from eight to ten hours a day. No man ever presided in a court more thoroughly in earnest or conscientious in the performance of his duties. The close confinement in the impure air of the criminal court-room, and the excessive labors of his office, gradually exhausted the vital energies of a naturally vigorous constitution, and carried him to the grave when only fifty-four years of age.

During the twelve years Judge McClure sat on the bench, he tried more criminal cases and more homicides than any other Judge in the State. His fame as a criminal jurist became almost national. Spotlessly pure in his own character, in-

tensely anxious for the public welfare, and profoundly impressed with the responsibilities of his office, he bent all his energies to the suppression of crime, and the just punishment of criminals. Naturally kind-hearted, he sympathized with the poor and unfortunate; conscientious in the highest degree, he was carefully watchful that no innocent man should suffer; but woe to the hardened criminal that came before him! He was justly a terror to evil doers.

The great increase of business in the Criminal Court of the county led to the Act of May 26, 1859, adding an Assistant Law Judge to the court. It also enlarged the jurisdiction of the Common Pleas to all cases where the sum in controversy did not exceed the sum of three hundred dollars. This was followed by the Act of April 11, 1862, adding a second Associate Law Judge, abolishing the office of Associate Lay Judge, and extending the jurisdiction, making it concurrent with the District Court, without reference to the amount in controversy.

This Act wiped out of existence, so far as Allegheny County is concerned, an institution that had existed in England for many centuries, and was brought over by our ancestors at the settlement of this country. On bidding farewell to our Associate Lay Judges, justice requires a passing tribute to their memories.

ASSOCIATE LAY JUDGES.

Until the constitutional amendment of 1850, all Judges were appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the Senate, and held their commissions for life or during good behavior. The history of our county and State Judiciary does not prove that the election of Judges by a popular vote was a wise change. It has not secured better or abler Judges, while all must admit it tends to destroy the independence of the Judiciary, so essential to an impartial administration of the laws. Short terms mean frequent changes, and popular elections the selection of politicians. While this remark applies to all Judges, it is more strikingly illustrated in the

Associate Lay Judges, whose terms by the amendment were limited to five years.

The earlier Lay Judges were among the most prominent men of the county, and their long experience on the bench added greatly to their usefulness. George Wallace was on the bench from 1788 to 1814; John McDowell from 1791 to 1812; Francis McClure from 1812 to 1838; James Riddle from 1818 to 1838. These were all men of mark and distinction. So also were Samuel Jones, Richard Butler, John Wilkins, John Gibson, George Thompson, and Hugh Davis. Among the later Judges should be mentioned Thomas L. McMillan, Gabriel Adams, and John E. Parke. Let one, of whom we have fuller information than of the others, stand as a fitting representative of the class.

JOHN M. SNOWDEN was of Welsh extraction, and his paternal ancestors came to the neighborhood of Philadelphia previous to the arrival of Wm. Penn. He was born in Philadelphia in 1776. His father was a sea captain, entered the service of the Continental Congress at the beginning of the Revolution, was captured by the British, and died in the "Sugar House" prison, New York. His mother was a woman of marked character, great intelligence and energy, and devotedly attached to the American cause. She was the trusted friend of General Washington, and through her he received, from time to time, important information respecting the British forces while they held Philadelphia.

In early life John M. Snowden was apprenticed to the celebrated Matthew Carey to learn "the art and mystery of printing." His first venture on his own account was the establishment of a newspaper in Chambersburg, Pa., in company with his brother-in-law, Mr. McCorkle. But in 1798 he removed to Greensburg, Westmoreland County, and established the *Farmer's Register*, the first newspaper in the West, after the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. Here he united with the Presbyterian Church, of which Rev. Wm. Speer, father of Dr. James R. Speer, was pastor, and married Elizabeth Moor, daughter of Judge John Moor.

In 1811 he moved to Pittsburgh, purchased the *Common-*

wealth from Ephraim Pentland, and changed its name to *The Mercury*, the office of which was at first on Market Street, between Third and Fourth, and afterwards on Liberty Street, near the head of Wood. He also published a number of valuable works, and had a large bookstore. By means of the press, his bookstore, his energy, and social position, he became widely known as one of the leading citizens of the State. He was an elder in the Presbyterian Church, Mayor of the city in 1825, '26, and '27, a Director of the Bank of Pittsburgh, Recorder of Deeds, etc.

In 1840 he was appointed Associate Judge, with Hon. Benj. Patton, which position he held for six years. His intelligence, business habits, varied experience, and broad common sense eminently fitted him for the position. He exhibited also remarkable knowledge of the law. On more than one occasion, he differed with the President Judge as to the law, and so expressed himself to the jury, as he had an undoubted right to do. He had the entire respect and confidence of the bar. The counsel concerned in one of the most difficult and important cases ever tried in this county agreed that it should be tried before him as Associate Judge. During the progress of the trial a member of the bar remarked to Mr. Walter Forward: "Strange sight to see an Associate Judge trying such an important case!" "Ah!" replied Mr. Forward, "that layman knows twice as much law, and has three times as much sense, as some President Law Judges."

Mr. Snowden was in high favor with Gen. Jackson, when President. He had recommended to the President an applicant for appointment to an important office. Another applicant for the office said to the President that the person Mr. Snowden had recommended was utterly unfit for it. This roused Old Hickory, and with eyes flashing fire, he thundered out, "How dare you say that! Do you think John M. Snowden would recommend a man unfit for the position? No! never, by the Eternal!" Mr. Snowden's man got the office.

Mr. Snowden died suddenly, April 2, 1845, at his residence, Elm Cottage, South Avenue, Allegheny City.

ASSOCIATE LAW JUDGES.

JOHN WESLEY MAYNARD was the first Assistant Law Judge of the Common Pleas ; appointed by the Governor, April 16, 1859, and commissioned until the first Monday of December following. He was of Puritan stock, his grandfather, Lemuel Maynard, born in Massachusetts, in 1739, his father, Lemuel Maynard, in 1773. His mother's maiden name was Hepzibah Wright, a relative of Hon. Silas Wright, of New York. Their son, John Wesley, was born in Springfield, Vermont, May 18, 1806. His father was a prominent Methodist preacher, and his mother a gifted and devoted Christian woman. The boyhood of John Wesley was spent on a farm; he attended Hamilton Academy in New York one year, but never had a collegiate education. He was admitted to the bar in Tioga County, Pennsylvania, in 1831, and practised his profession in that and the adjoining counties until 1840, when he moved to Williamsport in Lycoming County, where he has resided ever since, except six years at Easton. In 1862 he was elected President Judge of the Third Judicial District, composed of Northampton and Lehigh Counties. In 1867 he resigned, in consequence of ill health, and returned to Williamsport. When leaving the Third District, the bar complimented him in this language: "In point of executive talent, and the correct dispatch of business, he is second to none in the State; for strict integrity and impartiality in the administration of justice, he has no superior; while his judicial decisions for clearness, legal accuracy, and logical force, entitle him to first honors as a jurist. His courteous dignity, urbane bearing, and generous sympathies, moreover, characterize him as a gentleman of great moral worth." Although only nine months on the bench in Allegheny County, he made many friends, and won the respect and confidence of all, both as a man and judge. Judge Maynard was married in 1830 to Miss Sarah Ann Mather, a descendant of Cotton Mather, of Massachusetts, who died in 1832, leaving one daughter. His second wife was a Miss De Pui, by whom he had four sons and three daughters; one of the daughters married Peter Herdic, Esq.

DAVID RITCHIE was the first Associate Law Judge appointed under the Act of April 11, 1862. He was appointed by Governor Curtin, May 22, 1862, and commissioned until the first Monday of December following, when he was succeeded by E. H. Stowe, elected for ten years.

Judge Ritchie was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, August 19, 1812; graduated at Jefferson College in 1829; came to Pittsburgh about 1833; read law with Walter Forward, and was admitted to the bar in 1835. Immediately after his admission he went to Europe and entered the University at Heidelberg, where he remained some two years, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws. Returning to the United States in the fall of 1837, he commenced the practice of law in Pittsburgh, and soon rose to distinction in a lucrative and successful practice. In 1852 he was elected to Congress, and twice re-elected, serving in the 33d, 34th, and 35th Congresses, during President Pierce's administration, and half of President Buchanan's. He died January 24, 1867, unmarried.

Judge Ritchie was a man of marked character. Besides being learned in his profession, he was an accomplished scholar. He was a brilliant conversationalist, witty, entertaining, and instructive. He was honest to the core, and entirely fearless in the discharge of duty. Although but a few months on the bench, he was there long enough to exhibit excellent qualifications for the position.

DISTRICT COURT OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

The District Court of the county was established by Act of 8 April, 1833, with one Judge, having the same jurisdiction as the Common Pleas, except limited to cases where the sum in controversy exceeded one hundred dollars. It was limited to a period of seven years. But by Act of 12 June, 1839, it was continued until abolished by law, and an Associate Judge was added. By this act the jurisdiction of the Common Pleas was limited to cases where the sum in controversy did not exceed one hundred dollars.

ROBERT COOPER GRIER was the first Judge of the District

Court. He was appointed by the Governor and commissioned May 2, 1833. He resigned Aug. 8, 1846, when appointed by President Polk an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Judge Grier was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, March 5, 1794. His father was the Rev. Isaac Grier, who moved to Lycoming County when Robert was a small boy, preached and taught a grammar school there, and afterwards moved to Northumberland County, where he taught an academy, and died in 1815. Robert was the oldest of the family, and, after his father's death, supported his mother and educated his ten brothers and sisters. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1812, taught one year in the college, then was principal of his father's academy for three or four years, was admitted to the bar in 1817, and commenced practice in Bloomsburg, but soon moved to Danville, where he was residing when appointed Judge. He moved to Allegheny City in 1833, where he resided till 1848, and then moved to Philadelphia. He resigned as Judge of the Supreme Court, January 31, 1870, and died September 25, of the same year.

Judge Grier was a fine classical scholar and most able jurist, but rather abrupt and brusque in his manners. He was a man of quick perceptions, decided convictions, and positive opinions, and, like all men of that cast, inclined to be arbitrary and dictatorial. In the trial of a cause, when he believed injustice was attempted, he was most emphatic in his charge, not unfrequently arguing the cause to the jury as an advocate. His contempt for hypocrisy and cant, his love of the right and hatred of the wrong, with his stern, decided character, made him sometimes appear on the District bench despotic. But he was seldom wrong in his convictions or opinions. Men of great intellectual abilities are generally headstrong and determined; weak men are the trimmers and seekers after popular favor.

On one occasion, on the trial of an ejectment suit, when the jury brought in a verdict contrary to his charge, he remarked to them that it took thirteen men to steal a man's

farm, and immediately set aside the verdict. Wm. M. Darlington, Esq., has furnished me the following anecdote:—

One Saturday morning, in 1840, he was present in Judge Grier's court, when there came up for argument a case in which the great showman, P. T. Barnum, was a party. Barnum and one Lindsay had been partners in the show business, but quarrelled and separated. Lindsay had got a negro boy, which he called "Master Diamond," and represented him as a perfect prodigy in dancing and singing. He had posted up flaming hand-bills through the country, describing his prodigy and announcing the evenings for his performances. Barnum got a smart white boy, blacked him, and went along Lindsay's route a few days in advance, exhibiting the "genuine" Master Diamond, thus reaping the fruits of Lindsay's labors, without any expense for advertising. Lindsay met him in Pittsburgh, sued him for ten thousand dollars damages, and had him arrested on a *capias*, and thrown into jail. The argument before Judge Grier was on the rule for his discharge from prison on common bail. John D. Mahon was attorney for Lindsay, and George F. Gilmore for Barnum. After Gilmore had read the plaintiff's affidavit, and was proceeding to read that of the defendant, the Judge exclaimed, "Stop, I've heard enough! such a case! What does it amount to? One vagabond gets a live bear" (drawling out the word), "goes about the country gathering all the idlers and gaping idiots to pay their money to see a bear dance. Another vagabond procures a bear's skin, stuffs it with straw, and tramps about exhibiting it. Vagabond No. 1 says to vagabond No. 2, 'you have no right to do that, the harvest is mine, for I was first in the field to gather all the fools' money!' And because vagabond No. 2 got the money, vagabond No. 1 sues him for ten thousand dollars' damages! Rule absolute; prisoner discharged; cryer, adjourn the Court!" And as the Judge walked down the steps, he remarked to Mr. Darlington, "Did you ever hear of such a case? I'll teach Mahon not to bring such a suit in *my* Court."

HOPEWELL HEPBURN succeeded Charles Shaler as Associate

Judge, and R. C. Grier as President Judge, of the District Court. He was born in Northumberland County, Pa., Oct. 28, 1799. In his youth he attended the Academy taught by Mr. Grier, where their acquaintance began, which probably led to his appointment as Judge Grier's Associate. He graduated at Princeton College; read law with his brother, Samuel Hepburn, at Milton, Pa., and was admitted to the bar at Easton in 1822 or 1823. He practised law at Easton until appointed Associate Judge of the District Court, Sept. 17, 1844. When Judge Grier was advanced to the Supreme Court of the United States, he was commissioned as President Judge, August 13, 1846. He held that position until November 3, 1851, when he resigned.

The first election of Judges in this State was in October, 1851, under the amended Constitution of 1850. Judge Hepburn had been on the bench of the District Court for seven years. He had given entire satisfaction to the people and bar by his promptness in the dispatch of business, his fidelity to duty, his integrity, learning, and legal ability. His qualifications and fitness for the position were acknowledged by all. But he was a Democrat. The office had become elective. Party leaders immediately drew party lines. The Democrats nominated Hepburn, the Whigs Walter Forward; and the Whigs, having a majority, elected Forward. The inevitable tendency to carry politics into an elective judiciary was seen also in the case of Chief Justice Gibson. He had been thirty-seven years on the bench of the Supreme Court, eleven years as Associate Justice, and twenty-six years as Chief Justice, and was universally acknowledged to be a jurist of transcendent ability. Yet he could not get the nomination of the Whig party of the State.

After Judge Hepburn retired from the bench, he practised law at Pittsburgh for a few years, then withdrew from the practice, accepting the Presidency of the Allegheny Bank, which he held for three years, but his health failing, he removed to Philadelphia, and died there February 14, 1863.

WALTER FORWARD succeeded Judge Hepburn, and was the first President Judge of the District Court elected by the

people. He was commissioned November 7, 1851, and held the office till his death, November 24, 1852.

Walter Forward was born in Connecticut in 1786. When he was fourteen years of age his father moved to the then far West, located on a tract of land in Ohio, and began to clear the forest and erect a log cabin. He worked with his father three years on the farm, the last year teaching a night school, by which he got the means to purchase a few books, among them an old copy of Blackstone, that started in his mind the notion of being a lawyer. In the spring of 1803, at the age of seventeen, he told his father he was going to Pittsburgh to read law. He started on foot, with a small bundle of clothes hung on a stick over his shoulder, and only a dollar or so in his pocket. On the road he picked up a horseshoe and put it in his bundle. When he arrived in Allegheny he had no money to pay his ferriage across the river, but the ferryman took the horseshoe in payment. He knew no person or lawyer in Pittsburgh, but had heard of Henry Baldwin. Walking along Market Street, reading the signs to find Mr. Baldwin's office, a man, in the act of mounting a horse, inquired what he was looking for. On being informed of his object and purpose, the man—it was Henry Baldwin just starting to attend Court at Kittanning—gave him the key of his office, and told him to occupy it and read Blackstone till his return. Such was the introduction of the future Secretary of the Treasury to the future Judge of the Supreme Court.

While the young, uncouth stranger was thus sitting and reading in the office alone, a well-dressed, well-educated, and talented young man entered and tackled the rustic stranger in argument, but was soon worsted, as he afterwards candidly admitted. It was H. M. Brackenridge. The acquaintance thus formed ripened into a life-long intimacy. As a further illustration of young Forward's straitened circumstances at that time, Mr. Brackenridge says: "We took a walk one Saturday afternoon, and descended into the deep romantic glens east of Grant's Hill. We took a shower bath under my favorite cascade, after which my companion washed *the garment* unknown to the luxury of Greeks and Romans (his

shirt) and laid it in a sunny spot to dry ; while seated on a rock we 'reasoned high of fate, foreknowledge.'"¹

Mr. Baldwin at that time was interested in a Republican newspaper called the *Tree of Liberty*, of which Mr. Forward became the editor in 1806, when nineteen years of age. What he received for his services as contributor and editor of that paper supported him till he was admitted to the bar in 1808. He soon rose to distinction at the bar as a man of rare intellectual endowments and an eloquent advocate. In 1822 he was elected to Congress, and again in 1824. In 1824 and 1828 he supported John Quincy Adams for President in opposition to General Jackson. In 1837 he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, and bore a conspicuous part in its deliberations ; in 1841 was appointed by President Harrison first Controller of the Treasury ; in September of that year was appointed by President Tyler Secretary of the Treasury ; retiring from that office in March, 1845, he resumed the practice of law in Pittsburgh ; in 1849 was appointed by President Taylor Chargé d'Affaires to the Court of Denmark ; and resigned in 1851 when elected President Judge of the District Court.

Judge Forward came to the bar when such men as James Ross, Henry Baldwin, Wm. Wilkins, John Woods, Steele Sample, Sidney Mountain, were the leaders ; yet in a few years he stood their peer in all respects, and was employed in every important cause. His arguments to the court or jury were never long or tedious ; always brief, but directly to the point, and masterly in their clear logic and forcible presentation. In a celebrated case, where the opposite counsel had occupied days in their argument, Mr. Forward spoke less than two hours, and at the conclusion of his argument Chief-Justice Gibson adjourned the court, with the remark that "the law was not devoid of luxuries when the Judges had an opportunity of listening to such an argument as that." Yet the heads of that argument were written in the kitchen, while his wife was preparing their meal—an incident illustrating

¹ Brackenridge's *Recollections of the West*, p. 82.

the strong social affections of the heart, as well as the greatness of intellect.¹

Judge Forward was a great man intellectually, morally, and socially. And, like all truly great men, he was modest and unassuming, candid and sincere, not envious or jealous, rejoicing at the success of others, and always ready to give a kind word or helping hand to those starting in life. The religious element was strong in his character, resulting in a life remarkably exemplary, pure, and spotless. He was exceptionally domestic in his habits, devotedly attached to his home, and delighted in social enjoyments. His conversational powers were of the highest order. Like Chief-Justice Marshall and Chief-Justice Gibson, he was passionately fond of music, and was a good performer on the violin. His "bump" of order, however, was not largely developed. His office was filled with books and papers, lying about on tables and chairs mingled with letters, essays, music, and musical instruments, while the corners of the room were stacked with guns, hunting accoutrements, and farming implements, covered with dust; for he would scarcely allow a servant to "put things to rights," for fear he could not lay his hand on what he wanted.

Judge Forward was on the bench only one year. Like Lord Eldon, he was sometimes called the "doubter," because he was slow in deciding an important question. Weak men jump to a conclusion, for their vision cannot reach beyond the case in hand. A great man looks beyond, to see how the principle will apply to other cases. He is careful that a hasty decision shall not establish a precedent to work injustice in the future. The last case Judge Forward tried was an important will case which took several days. He walked in from his country home to the court-house, on Monday, Nov. 24, 1852. It was a cold, damp day. The court-room was very uncomfortable, and he had a chill just before charging the jury. The jury retired in the afternoon, and he went to

¹ I am indebted to Marshall Swartzwelder, Esq., for many interesting facts concerning Mr. Forward. He was a law partner of Mr. F. for several years.

his lodgings. Before the jury had agreed upon their verdict Walter Forward was dead. Perhaps no man ever died in the county more sincerely lamented, or more beloved and esteemed by the people. He was admired for his great intellectual abilities, and loved for his great moral excellence. And Walter Forward loved the people; not as a demagogue or office-seeker, but as a man and patriot. His highest ambition was to be a *useful man*.

PETER C. SHANNON succeeded Judge Forward. He was appointed by Governor Bigler, Nov. 27, 1852, until the first Monday of December, 1853. Mr. Shannon was born in Ireland, came to this country when quite young, read law, and was admitted to the bar in Pittsburgh in 1846. He was quite young when appointed Judge, but during the year he was on the bench acquitted himself very creditably. He was the Democratic candidate for Judge in the fall of 1853, but was defeated by Moses Hampton. After retiring from the bench he practised law in Pittsburgh until 1869, when he was appointed Judge of the United States Court in Dakota, and moved to that Territory, where he has continued to reside.

Judge Shannon was a man of fine literary taste, of good social qualities, and personally quite popular. He was a most effective campaign speaker, and on two occasions the Democratic candidate for Congress. During the war of the Rebellion he took a decided stand and active part in supporting the Government.

MOSES HAMPTON succeeded P. C. Shannon. He was elected in October, 1853; commissioned November 19, 1853, for ten years from first Monday of December, 1853; was re-elected, for a second term of ten years, in October, 1863; served the full term, and died June 24, 1878.

Judge Hampton was born in Beaver County, Pa., October 28, 1803. In 1812 his father moved to Trumbull County, Ohio, and commenced farming, living in a log cabin, and carrying on his trade of a blacksmith. In his boyhood, the Judge helped his father on the farm and also in the blacksmith shop. At the age of seventeen he entered an academy in

Burton, Ohio, where he spent a year, acquiring a knowledge of the English branches, and commencing the study of Greek and Latin, supporting himself by his own labor. He then started for Washington College, travelling on foot from his home in Ohio to Washington, Pa., and prosecuted his studies under the direction of Rev. Dr. Wylie, graduating in 1826. He then accepted the situation as Principal of La Fayette Academy, Uniontown, Pa., where he remained two years, in the mean time reading law with John M. Austin, and was admitted to the bar in 1829. He went from Uniontown to Somerset, where he commenced practising law. He was appointed Prothonotary of the county by Governor Ritner, and held the office one year, but resigned the office, and, in 1838, moved to Pittsburgh. He at once entered the front rank of the profession, and very soon acquired a large practice. In 1846 he was elected to Congress, and was re-elected in 1848. During his terms in Congress he maintained a high standing, and was placed on two of the most important committees. It was through his efforts that a marine hospital was established at Pittsburgh, and an appropriation obtained for a new post-office. And after his election to the bench it was through his influence and efforts that the county workhouse was established.

In his younger days Judge Hampton was an ardent Whig, taking an active part in the election of Governor Ritner in 1835; of President Harrison in 1840, and in the Presidential campaigns of 1844 and 1848. As a campaign speaker he was immensely popular, having few equals in the State. As a Judge he was distinguished for his propriety and dignity on the bench, for close attention to the business of the court, for eminent fairness to suitors and counsel, for a high sense of honor and justice, for quick and clear perceptions, calmness of judgment, an extensive knowledge of the law, and the clearness and logical force of his opinions. Quiet, reserved, and gentlemanly in his manners; tender in his feelings; kind and benevolent in all the impulses of his heart; and an exemplary Christian in public and private life. He joined the Presbyterian Church when seventeen years of age,

lived nearly threescore years in her communion, and at the time of his decease was one of the oldest ruling Elders of the denomination.

ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURT.

Trevanion B. Dallas was appointed June 22, 1839; died, 1841. Charles Shaler, May 6, 1841; resigned May 20, 1844. Hopewell Hepburn, September 17, 1844; appointed President Judge in 1846.

WALTER H. LOWRIE was appointed Associate Judge August 20, 1846, and held the office until the fall of 1851, when he was elected one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. The five Judges elected at that time were required, by the law putting in operation the elective judiciary, to cast lots for their terms, to serve, respectively, three, six, nine, twelve, and fifteen years. Judge Lowrie drew the twelve-year term, which expired in 1863. After retiring from the Supreme Bench he practised law in Pittsburgh for a few years, and then moved to Philadelphia. While living there, in 1870, he was elected President Judge of Crawford County, and moved to Meadville. He died suddenly of heart disease, November 14, 1876, was brought to Pittsburgh, and interred in Allegheny Cemetery.

Judge Lowrie was the son of Matthew B. Lowrie, Esq., of Pittsburgh; was born in 1806, educated at the Western University, and admitted to the bar Aug. 4, 1829. Before his elevation to the bench he had acquired quite an extensive practice. He never took an active part in politics, but devoted himself to his profession and literary pursuits. He was a good Greek, Latin, and Hebrew scholar. His reading was extensive, especially in the fields of theology and metaphysics. He became a member of the Presbyterian Church in early life, and in 1835 was ordained an Elder of the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh. Nearly all his life he was a teacher in the Sabbath-school, teaching Bible classes, generally of adults. He was devoted to that work, always preparing his lessons most thoroughly. He was also quite a voluminous

writer of moral essays, "Sunday Readings," and "Lay Sermons" for the daily and weekly newspapers, and more elaborate articles for the quarterlies, the *Princeton Review*, and others.

Judge Lowrie was married in 1829 to Rachel Thompson, by whom he had three children, two sons and one daughter. His widow is still living, residing with her son, Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, D.D., of Trenton, N. J. The other son, James A. Lowrie, Esq., is practising law in Denver, Colorado.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS was elected Assistant Judge of the District Court in October, 1851, and commissioned November 7, 1851, for ten years, re-elected in 1861, and resigned October 28, 1868, when elected to the Supreme Court. He died February 19, 1877.

Judge Williams was born in New London County, Conn., January 21, 1816. He was of the old New England stock, being a lineal descendant of Robert Williams, who came from England and settled in Roxbury, Mass., in 1632. After the usual common school and academic courses, he entered Amherst College in the fall of 1833, and graduated in 1837. In his college days he took high rank as a scholar and debater. After graduation he was Principal of Southwick Academy for two years; then started West, intending to make St. Louis his home. In February, 1839, he arrived in Pittsburgh, and meeting his classmate, the late C. B. M. Smith, Esq., who was then conducting a select school, he was induced to stay here. He taught the classics in the school, and also read law with Walter H. Lowrie. He was admitted to the bar in 1841, and his preceptor immediately took him into partnership, as the law firm of Lowrie & Williams. When Mr. Lowrie was appointed Judge, in 1845, he formed a partnership with Wm. M. Shinn, as Williams & Shinn, which continued until the fall of 1851, when Mr. Williams was elected Associate Judge of the District Court. In 1867 he was the Republican candidate for the Supreme Bench, and was defeated by Judge Sharswood, but the next year was appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Strong, and was elected, in 1869, for a term of fifteen years, running several thousand votes ahead of his ticket.

Judge Williams united with the third Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh in 1840 ; was ordained an elder in 1858; was a member of the General Assembly in 1859, 1865, 1866, 1867; was elected a corporate member of the Board for Foreign Missions in 1869, and was a member of the Committee for the union of the Old and New Schools in 1870. In 1852 Amherst College conferred upon him the degree of A.M., and in 1866 the degree of LL.D. He was married in 1846 to Lucy J. Stone, of Salem, N. J., and at his decease left her surviving, with five children, three sons and two daughters.

Judge Williams had a clear, logical mind, a breadth and grasp of intellect that could seize and master the most complicated case in all its details. As a lawyer he always prepared his cases most thoroughly, and hence, at the trial, was never surprised by any sudden move of his adversary. He was remarkably careful and accurate. He would spend half a day going over an intricate calculation, or a long, complicated account, to correct an error of two cents. As a Judge, his strong, vigorous intellect grappled at once with the main features of the case and the principles of law involved. Wisely cautious in forming a judgment, when the conclusion was reached he expressed it in plain, direct language, sustained by a force of logic and authority which seldom left any doubt of its correctness.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.

The United States District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania was established by Act of Congress of 20th May, 1818, and JONATHAN HOGE WALKER was appointed Judge by President Monroe. He held the first Court at Pittsburgh, December 7, 1818.

Judge Walker was born in East Pennsboro' Township, Cumberland County, Pa., in 1756. He was of English descent. His grandfather, William Walker, was a Captain under the Duke of Marlborough in Queen Anne's wars. His mother was a daughter of John Hoge, of Hogestown, in Cumberland County. He graduated at Dickinson College in

1787, read law with Stephen Duncan, whose daughter he married, and moved to Northumberland County. March 1, 1806, he was appointed President Judge of the Fourth Judicial District, composed of Centre, Huntingdon, Mifflin, and Bedford counties, and presided in those courts for twelve years. In 1810 he moved to Bedford; in 1819, to Pittsburgh. He died in January, 1824, in Natchez, Mississippi, while on a visit to his eldest son, Duncan S. Walker, who was residing there.

While Judge Walker was on the Bench of the United States District Court, his second son read law, and commenced practice in Pittsburgh in 1821. After his father's death, in 1826, he moved to Natchez. This was Robert J. Walker, who subsequently became a distinguished statesman and politician.

Judge Walker was a very large man, considerably over six feet high; a good scholar and able Judge. On his leaving the Fourth Judicial District in 1818, he published a farewell address to the people of the district, abounding with the kindest feelings and with excellent thoughts on the duties and responsibilities of a Judge. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and in several expeditions against the Indians in Western Pennsylvania and west of the Ohio. This was one reason he gave for desiring to move west of the mountains.

Judge Walker was succeeded by William Wilkins, who held the office until 1831, when he resigned, being elected to the United States Senate.

THOMAS IRWIN succeeded Judge Wilkins. He was appointed, in 1831, by President Jackson, and held the office until 1859, when he resigned and retired to private life. He was born in Philadelphia, February 22, 1784. His father, Col. Matthew Irwin, was a distinguished soldier of the Revolutionary War, and one of the Philadelphia patriots of that trying period who brought relief to the famishing army at Valley Forge, subscribing himself \$5000 for that purpose. His mother was a daughter of Benjamin Mifflin, whose ancestor came to Pennsylvania at an early period. Thomas Mifflin,

the first elected Governor of Pennsylvania, was a relative of Judge Irwin, after whom he was named. The Mifflins were known as the "Fighting Quakers," from the active part they took in the Revolutionary War.

Judge Irwin received a fair education at Franklin College, Lancaster, but, in consequence of his father having become deeply involved by endorsements for friends, he was compelled to quit college, at the age of nineteen, to aid in supporting his mother, who was left without means, a widow, with six children.

In 1808, he moved to Louisiana, and commenced the practice of law, but ill-health caused him to return to Pennsylvania in 1811. He then located in Uniontown, Fayette County, and devoted himself to the practice of his profession. He was elected to the State Legislature from that county in 1824 and 1826, and was elected to Congress in 1828. He was the Jackson candidate for re-election in 1830, but was defeated. When Judge Wilkins resigned the judgeship in 1831, President Jackson appointed him as Wilkins's successor.

Judge Irwin was married in 1812 to Miss Walker, of Uniontown, by whom he had twelve children; only four, however, lived to their majority. His eldest daughter was married to Col. Samuel W. Black. He died at his residence in Allegheny City, May 14, 1870, in his eighty-seventh year. His widow survived him eight years. Both now sleep, side by side, in Allegheny Cemetery.

Judge Irwin was an active Democrat, but, after his elevation to the bench, took no part in politics.

During his long period on the bench, twenty-eight years, he discharged his official duties with promptness and fidelity. His numerous written opinions exhibit ability and great industry. One of his opinions, on a question arising under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, excited wide-spread interest, and gave him a national reputation.

WILSON McCANDLESS succeeded Judge Irwin; appointed by President Buchanan February 8, 1859. He resigned, and retired to private life, July 24, 1876, and died at his residence in Pittsburgh June 30, 1882.

Judge McCandless was born at Noblestown, in Allegheny County, July 10, 1810; was educated at the Western University, read law with George Selden, Esq., and was admitted to the bar June 19, 1831. He was in partnership in the practice of law, for some time, with W. W. Fetterman, and afterwards, for many years, with his brother-in-law, Wm. B. McClure. He was married, in 1834, to Sarah Collins, and had three children, one son and two daughters; one daughter, Margaret D., was married to R. H. Emerson, and died in 1872; his son, Stephen C., is Clerk of the United States District Court.

Judge McCandless was a remarkable man. He was a natural orator; with a robust form and commanding *personnel*, he had a clear, musical voice, and fine flow of language, quick, brilliant, witty, and admirable in repartee. He was often called on by his fellow citizens as the speaker for great public occasions, and on such occasions his addresses sparkled with the rarest gems of oratory. Few men equalled him in power before a jury in a criminal case. As the champion of the Democracy of Western Pennsylvania, his voice was always heard in the thickest of the fight, cheering his comrades on to victory, or rallying them in defeat for another battle. He never held a political office, but was frequently in State and National Conventions, helping to choose the standard bearers of his party, and then entered the campaign with all his energies to secure their election. In private life, he was genial, sympathetic, sprightly, witty, and humorous. On the bench he maintained the dignity of his station with such unaffected urbanity that all the bar respected and loved him.

WINTHROP W. KETCHAM succeeded Judge McCandless. He was born in Wilkesbarre, Pa., June 29, 1820. His father was a painter and cabinet-maker, and in his boyhood young Ketcham assisted his father in these occupations, but generally carried a book in his pocket, and spent most of the dinner-hour reading. His evenings were devoted to improving his education, reciting to a friend, who took a lively interest in him. When Wyoming Seminary was started in 1843, he became a teacher in it, and continued there until 1847. In

1848 and 1849 he was a teacher in Girard College, Phila. Jan. 8, 1850, he was admitted to the bar in Wilkesbarre. In 1855 elected Prothonotary of Luzerne County for three years. In 1858 elected to the Legislature, and in 1859 elected State Senator for three years. In 1864 appointed by President Lincoln Solicitor of the U. S. Court of Claims, and resigned in 1866. Was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1860, at Baltimore in 1864, and a Presidential elector in 1868. Elected to Congress in 1874, and in July, 1876, appointed Judge to succeed Judge McCandless. On Saturday, Dec. 6, 1879, he held court in this city, in his usual good health, and returned to his room at the St. Charles hotel. At 5 P. M. he was stricken with apoplexy, and died at 11.50 P. M., his wife and only son at his bedside, with the physicians and friends who had been hastily summoned. He died universally lamented and respected.

Judge Ketcham was a man of far more than ordinary ability. He worked his way up from the common walks of life to a most honorable position, by his own efforts, unaided by wealth or influential friends. He was a self-made man. At every step in his upward career he multiplied his friends without ever losing one. In every station he proved himself a true, honest, upright man, and acquitted himself with honor.

Judge Ketcham was succeeded by Marcus W. Acheson, the present incumbent.

MAYOR'S COURT OF PITTSBURGH.

The borough of Pittsburgh was incorporated as a city, by Act of 18 March, 1816. The Act created a Mayor's Court, composed of the Mayor, a Recorder, and twelve Aldermen. The Recorder and Aldermen were appointed by the Governor during good behavior, and the Mayor to be elected annually by the City Councils from the Aldermen. The Mayor's Court had jurisdiction to try forgeries, perjuries, larcenies, assaults and batteries, riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, and generally all offences committed in the city, cognizable in a Court of Quarter Sessions; besides all violations of city ordinances.

The causes were regularly tried before a jury. The Mayor presided in the court, but the Recorder was the law judge or legal officer of the court. The Mayor or Recorder and any three of the Aldermen could hold the court. The Recorder was also vested with civil jurisdiction, the same as the Aldermen. He was to receive a salary to be paid by the city.

Charles Wilkins, son of Gen. John Wilkins, was the first Recorder. He was admitted to the bar in 1807, appointed Recorder in 1816, and died in 1818. Charles Shaler was Recorder from 1818 to 1821. He was succeeded by Ephraim Pentland, who was Prothonotary of the county from 1807 to 1821. Pentland came to Pittsburgh in 1801 or 1802; he had been a printer and editor; he was a short, heavy-set man, very fond of jokes, and a noted character. He died in 1839. He was succeeded by H. H. Van Amringe, who was admitted to the bar in 1837, and appointed Recorder in 1839. He held the office only a few months, for the Mayor's Court was abolished by Act of 12 June, 1839. Van Amringe came here from Chester County. He was an excellent lawyer and courteous gentleman, but erratic in his religious notions.

LIST OF JUDGES.

*Judges of the Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court,
prior to the Constitution of 1790.*

When appointed.

1788, Oct.	9.	GEO. WALLACE, President.
"	"	JOHN METZGAR, Associate.
"	"	MICHAEL HILLMAN, Associate.
"	"	ROBERT RITCHIE, Associate.

These were the Judges until August 17, 1791, when the courts were reorganized under the Constitution of 1790.

The following were the Justices of the Peace, entitled to sit in the Quarter Sessions, but not in the Common Pleas or Orphans' Court.

When appointed.

- 1788, Sept. 26. JAMES BRYSON.
 " " 27. SAMUEL JONES.
 " Nov. 21. JOHN JOHNSON.
 " " " ABRAHAM KIRKPATRICK.
 " " " RICHARD BUTLER.
 " " " WILLIAM TILTON.
 " " 25. JOHN WILKINS, father of John, Jr., and William.
 1789, May 21. HENRY NESBY.

Associate Judges, under the Constitution of 1790.

Laymen appointed during good behavior, until 1851, and then elected for a term of five years.

When appointed.

- 1791, Aug. 17. GEO. WALLACE. Resigned in 1798, and reappointed.
 " " JOHN WILKINS, Jr. Resigned Feb. 26, 1796.
 " " " JOHN McDOWELL. Died in 1812.
 " " " JOHN GIBSON. Died in 1800.
 1796, Feb. 26. GEO. THOMPSON. In place of John Wilkins, Jr.
 1800, July 17. JOHN B. C. LUCAS. In place of Gen. John Gibson.
 1812, July 24. FRANCIS MCCLURE. Resigned Dec. 22, 1838.
 1814, June 3. GEO. ROBINSON. Died in 1818.
 1818, Sept. 2. JAMES RIDDLE. Resigned Dec. 25, 1838.
 1838, Dec. 27. WILLIAM HAYS. Resigned April 11, 1840.
 " " 31. HUGH DAVIS. Resigned in 1840.
 1840, Mar. 20. WM. PORTER. Commission annulled by decision of S. Ct.,
 and reappointed Feb. 17, 1843.
 " April 16. JOHN M. SNOWDEN. Recommissioned March 31, 1841.
 1845, " 9. JOHN ANDERSON. Declined.
 " " 17. WM. G. HAWKINS. Declined.
 " May 8. WM. KERR. Recommissioned March 14, 1846.
 1848, Feb. 28. SAMUEL JONES. Resigned May 12, 1851.
 1851, Mar. 18. WM. BOGGS. Recommissioned Nov. 10, 1851.
 " June 10. THOMAS L. McMILLAN. Recommissioned Nov. 10, 1851.
 Died 1852.
 1852, April 27. PATRICK McKENNA. Until Dec. 1, 1852.
 " Nov. 29. GABRIEL ADAMS. Commissioned for five years.
 1856, " 12. JOHN E. PARKE. " " "
 1857, " 17. GABRIEL ADAMS. " " "
 1861, " 13. JOHN BROWN. " " "

John Brown was the last layman commissioned as Judge. The law was changed, requiring two Associate Law Judges to be elected.

President Judges of the Common Pleas, etc.

Appointed by the Governor, during good behavior, until after the Constitutional Amendment of 1850; then elected for a term of ten years.

When appointed.

- 1791, Aug. 17. ALEXANDER ADDISON. Impeached and removed 1803.
 1803, April 30. SAMUEL ROBERTS. Died Dec. 13, 1820.
 1820, Dec. 18. WILLIAM WILKINS. Resigned May 25, 1824.
 1824, June 5. CHARLES SHALER. Resigned May 4, 1835.
 1835, May 15. TREVANION B. DALLAS. Resigned June 24, 1839.
 1839, July 1. BENJAMIN PATTON, Jr. Resigned in 1850.
 1850, Jan. 31. WM. B. MCCLURE. Elected in 1851, and commissioned for ten years. Re-elected in 1861, and commissioned for ten years. Died in 1861.
 1862, " 4. JAMES P. STERRETT. Appointed in place of W. B. McClure, deceased. Elected in 1862, and commissioned Nov. 4, 1862, for ten years. Re-elected in 1872, and commissioned Nov. 10, 1872, for ten years. Resigned in 1877, when appointed to the Supreme Court. E. H. STOWE then became President Judge, and was re-elected in 1882 for ten years.

Associate Law Judges of the Common Pleas.

When appointed.

- 1859, April 16. JOHN W. MAYNARD. Until first Monday of December, 1859.
 " Nov. 8. THOS MELLON. Elected and commissioned for ten years.
 1862, May 22. DAVID RITCHIE. Commissioned until first Monday in December, 1862.
 " Nov. 4. EDWIN H. STOWE. Elected and commissioned for ten years.
 1869, " 26. FREDERICK H. COLLIER. Elected and commissioned for ten years.
 1872, " 6. E. H. STOWE. Re-elected and commissioned for ten years.
 1877, March. CHARLES S. FETTERMAN. Appointed until first Monday in December, 1877.
 1877, Nov. JOHN H. BAILEY. Elected and commissioned for ten years.
 1879, Nov. FRED. H. COLLIER. Re-elected and commissioned for ten years.

President Judges of the District Court.

When appointed.

- 1833, May 2. ROBERT C. GRIER. Resigned Aug. 8, 1846.
1846, Aug. 13. HOPEWELL HEPBURN. Recommissioned Feb. 17, 1847.
Resigned Nov. 3, 1851.
1851, Nov. 3. WALTER FORWARD. Elected and commissioned for ten years. Died in 1852.
1852, " 27. P. C. SHANNON. Appointed till first Monday in December, 1853.
1853, " 19. MOSES HAMPTON. Elected and commissioned for ten years.
1863, " 3. " " Re-elected " " "
1873, " THOMAS EWING. Elected and commissioned for ten years.

Associate Law Judges of the District Court.

When appointed.

- 1839, June 22. TREVANION B. DALLAS. Died 1841.
1841, May 6. CHARLES SHALER. Resigned May 20, 1844.
1844, Sept. 17. HOPEWELL HEPBURN. Appointed President in 1846.
1846, Aug. 20. WALTER H. LOWRIE. Recommissioned April 17, 1847.
Elected to the Supreme Court in 1851.
1851, Nov. 7. HENRY W. WILLIAMS. Re-elected in 1861. Elected to Supreme Court in 1868. Died 1877.
1868, " 10. JOHN M. KIRKPATRICK. Appointed till first Monday of December, 1869, and elected and commissioned Nov. 23, 1869, for ten years. Re-elected in 1879, and commissioned for ten years.
1873, " J. W. F. WHITE. Elected and commissioned for ten years.

By the Constitution of 1873 the District Court was abolished, and became Common Pleas No. 2.

BRITISH VIEWS OF AMERICAN TRADE AND MANUFACTURES DURING THE REVOLUTION.

BY WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

THE following extracts, taken from nine different articles published in the *London Chronicle* during the Revolutionary War in the first part of the year 1778, have a particular bearing on a subject now agitating the political world of America. They show how eager the English were for the absorption of this continent as a market for their goods then, as they were in former years, and are to-day, and how dangerous they considered us as a rival in manufactures. Some of these statements concerning what course the United States would pursue seem actually prophetic, having been more than fulfilled. The journal in which they were published, one of the first of the day, was very liberal in taking the part of the colonists, and permitting free discussion on the subject. Its correspondents seem to have been well informed as to this country, more so than many of those in the English press of our time some twenty years since. Many other instances might be given, from its pages, of the great loss their manufacturers sustained by the Revolution, and their earnest desire for a reconciliation as a return to this source of national wealth.

In the *London Chronicle*, Jan. 17, 1778, appears a letter in answer to one who desired "Lord Chatham to be placed at the helm of the State," as one who "could conduct the political bark through the storm that now agitates and has almost overwhelmed it":—

"Could his lordship then, if at the head of the ministry, persuade the Americans to renounce their claim to an independent State, and acknowledge their subjection to the British legislature? Could he persuade them to continue, or rather to restore, to us their trade and commerce, to the utter exclusion of all other nations? Could he persuade them to return to their former manner of life, and to confine

their sole or at least their chief attention to agriculture, and not apply to manufactures, or, to use his own emphatic phrase, not even to make a horse-shoe?"¹

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This is replied to Jan. 20, 1778, as follows:—

"Your correspondent's second question, 'whether Lord Chatham can persuade the Americans to continue, or rather to restore to us their trade and commerce, to the utter exclusion of all other nations,' admits nearly of the same answer as the first. At the commencement of these troubles, nay, after the battles of Concord and Lexington, and, if I do not mistake, even that of Bunker's Hill, the Americans gave us the option, either of enjoying their whole trade, or of recovering from them a tax, and that, too, imposed by the British parliament. 'Tax us,' said they '(for we even consent to be taxed by you), but then leave us a free and unlimited trade; or, if you will restrain our trade, suffer us to tax ourselves as formerly. But to tax us, and restrain our trade at the same time, is, to use a common comparison, like burning the candle at both ends, and must soon reduce us to such a state of poverty, as will render both our trade and contributions hardly worth our acceptance.' Such was the language, and such the offers of the Americans at the beginning of the war."

The author of this article, which is signed "A Friend to Merit," finishes his argument by saying that he does not know whether they (the Americans) hold the same views still, but thinks, could they treat with a minister like Lord Chatham, in whom they have confidence, a reconciliation might be effected.

In another article (Jan. 24, 1778) the same writer says:—

"There are five principal stages in the progress of mankind from the rudest state of barbarism to the highest state of politeness. Their first employment is hunting and fishing; their second pasturage, their third agriculture, their fourth manufactures, and their fifth trade and commerce. The Americans, at least the greatest part of them, are in the third of these stages; and beyond it they are not likely to advance for a considerable time, for this very obvious reason, that being possessed of an immense tract of country, and that, too, fertile in the highest degree, they will naturally employ

¹ Signed, "A Friend to real, not to pretended Merit."

themselves in cultivating the soil, before they begin to think of manufacturing its produce. For I believe there is not a single instance in the history of mankind, where a people, so circumstanced, have not pursued this conduct.

"All political writers agree, that trade has flourished chiefly in small republics, confined in point of territory, and the inhabitants of which, not being able to find employment in, nor procure substance by, pasturage and agriculture, were obliged to turn their thoughts first to manufactures, and afterwards to commerce; and that, if ever trade has flourished in large kingdoms, it has been after the country was well cultivated and well peopled; in a word, after there was such an overplus of inhabitants, beyond what is necessary for cultivating the soil, as was sufficient for forming large towns, where trade and manufactures can only be carried on to advantage. Lord Chatham, therefore, has no occasion to exert his influence in persuading the Americans to return to a course of life, to which, by their situation, they are naturally directed.

"True it is that the Americans, for the present, have reversed the prediction of the prophet, and have turned the plow-shares into swords, and their pruning hooks into spears; but they have not yet turned them into the anvil and hammer. But let an end be put to the present calamitous war, and they will restore their steel and iron to their former peaceable uses with much greater pleasure than they converted them into weapons of destruction; they will return to, and long continue in, the occupation of husbandmen. Not but that if the war is continued, and the Americans should be able to establish their independence, they may become a trading and commercial people much sooner than they would otherwise have done; but this must be ascribed, not to the natural course of things, but to the pernicious policy of certain persons."

In the same paper for Jan. 29, 1778, is the synopsis of a speech made in the Guildhall, Bristol, Eng., by George Danbury, Esq., at a meeting presided over by the Mayor, in which the speaker confirms the opinion of the foregoing writer, when he says:—

"That the war in which we are now engaged is in truth a commercial war, we shall all sooner or later be experimentally convinced.

"Though the right of taxation might be the original, and still continues to be held forth as the ostensible ground upon

which our unhappy divisions are founded, yet who, that has seriously turned his thoughts upon the subject, does not know that the great bone of contention between this country and America is the act of navigation, the regular enforcing of which is absolutely necessary to our existence as a commercial people?"

Another writer, under date of Feb. 28, 1778, signing himself "Politicus," shows the length of time it takes to establish certain manufactures, and says:—

"If a man must employ several years in learning a trade, it is natural to conclude that some hundreds of years must necessarily elapse before a nation can excel in any particular manufacture, for, as to a nation's excelling all others in every manufacture, there is not, I believe, an instance to be found in history. Let us, therefore, no longer alarm ourselves with the imaginary fears of America's rivalling England in trade and manufactures. If ever that happens, it must be after the expiration of some centuries; and that points to a period so remote, that, against the events of it no human sagacity can provide."

Another writer, signing himself "Manufacturer," taking up this last sentence, desiring to controvert it, says, March 10, 1778, among other things:—

"It is well known that manufactories are already established in some of the colonies, that they have many of our artists, and it is their boast that they can procure the best workmen from England, as they can afford to give them better wages; which, with the common rate of labour there, being more than double what it is here, and provision in common not half our price, to which we may now add taxes here and freedom there, these together must do our business.

"Numbers of our blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers, and manufacturers, etc., have been indented and sent to America for many years. Our traders lose their labour, and the State its revenue. Are we to suppose they lose their art in going over, or that they are to be restrained in using their abilities when there? Hence, what can prevent their making a swift progress in the arts?

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"What danger may there be in sending an army of manufacturers into America! May not Manchester, Birmingham, with other towns, repent when the arts are flown?"

A correspondent, "Observer," in the same issue, replies to some of the foregoing writers, that they have forgotten one argument

"of the utmost importance, and that is the rapidity with which rising States, and particularly the British Colonies in America, increase in population. In Great Britain, and most European countries, the people are not supposed to double their number in less than five hundred years. But in the British Colonies in North America they are said to double in twenty, or at most in twenty-five years. Nor is this so much owing to the continual importation of new inhabitants from the different countries of Europe, as to the direct multiplication of species in America itself."

The writer also discusses the labor question, giving some interesting statistics of wages:—

"Many people are apt to think, that in every country the price of labour must always be in proportion to the general wealth of the State. But this opinion, though extremely common, is very ill founded. It is not in the richest countries, but in the most thriving, or those which are growing rich the fastest, that the wages of labour are highest. England is certainly a richer country than any part of North America, yet the wages of labour are much higher in North America than in any part of England. In the province of New York, before the present troubles began, common labourers earned three shillings and sixpence currency, that is, two shillings sterling a day; ship-carpenters ten shillings and sixpence currency, with a pint of rum worth sixpence sterling, that is, in all, six shillings and sixpence sterling; house-carpenters and bricklayers, eight shillings currency, that is, four shillings and sixpence sterling. These prices are all above the London price; and wages were no doubt as high in the other colonies as they were in New York."

"Politicus," replying to "A Manufacturer," March 17, 1778, shows that the success of Great Britain is owing to "the spirit of manufacturing" having become the "general spirit of the nation," when he says:—

"I own, indeed, that there is a remarkable difference between the situation of America, supplied as it is with a vast number of good workmen from the several countries of Europe, and that of a nation emerging, by its own native

efforts, from a state of barbarism, and rising into the rank of a trading and manufacturing people. But it is not enough that a few, or even a greater number of people, understand manufactures; the spirit of manufacturing must become the general spirit of the nation, and be incorporated, as it were, into their very essence. Knowledge may be soon acquired; but it requires a long time before personal, and a still longer before national, habits are formed."

There is much truth in the assertion of the foregoing writers as to the length of time which it takes to acquire a knowledge of and establish manufactures. Bishop, in his valuable *History of American Manufactures*, shows that this knowledge has been gradually acquired, and greatly advanced by the patriotic adherence of our citizens to the Non-importation Resolutions of 1765, established on a firmer basis by the Revolution, hastened by the quickening influences of steam and electricity. We owe our success, however, to the national wisdom in sustaining the principles of our ancestors by resisting all encroachments upon our manufactures.

The policy of Great Britain in regard to America is the same to-day as it was in 1778, though the methods of accomplishing it have changed. A nation so thoroughly infused with the spirit of trade has but one end in view. "From the Past," said the wise Confucius, "learn the Future."

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 100.)

YEATES—SMITH—CONYNGHAM.

151. JASPER YEATES⁵, son of John and Elizabeth (Sidbotham) Yeates, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 9, 1745. He studied at the College of Philadelphia, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1761, and afterwards that of Master of Arts. He was admitted to the bar in 1765, and became one of the most distinguished lawyers of that period, with a larger practice than any other in the interior of Pennsylvania. He took up his residence in Lancaster, where he married, December 30, 1767, Sarah, eldest daughter of Colonel James Burd* by his wife Sarah, daughter of Edward and Sarah (Plumley) Shippen,† of Lancaster. Mrs. Yeates was born in Philadelphia, January 1, 1748-9. Mr. Yeates sided with the American Colonies in the war with Great Britain,

* Son of Edward Burd, of Ormiston, near Edinburgh, Scotland, and his wife Jane Halliburton, daughter of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh. He emigrated to Pennsylvania, and was commissioned Colonel of a Regiment of that Province. He kept a journal during the building of Fort Augusta at Shamokin in 1756-7, which has been published in *Pennsylvania Archives*. Second Series, vol. ii. pp. 743 *et seq.* During the American Revolution he espoused the cause of the Colonies, and in 1775 became Colonel of the Second Battalion of Pennsylvania Troops, but resigned the position the following year. He resided at "Tinian," in Dauphin County, Pa., where he died in 1793.

† Sister of Edward Shippen, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and of Colonel Joseph Shippen, whose daughter, Mary Shippen, married Samuel Swift (362), whose grandson, the late John Shippen, of Pottsville, Pa., married Margaret McCall Swift, and whose grandson, Evans Wallis Shippen, married Catharine Yeates McElwee, all three descendants of Jöran Kyn, the last being a great-granddaughter of Jasper and Sarah (Burd) Yeates. (See PENNA. MAG., vol. vi. p. 332, and *The Provincial Councilors of Pennsylvania*, by Charles P. Keith, under "Edward Shippen.")

and was Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of Lancaster County in 1776. During the summer of that year he made a journey to Western Pennsylvania, and paid a visit to the scene of Braddock's defeat, of which he wrote an interesting account in a letter, afterwards printed.* He was one of the Delegates from Lancaster County to the Convention of Pennsylvania which ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1787, being one of the Committee of three persons (the others being Thomas McKean and James Wilson) who reported the form of the ratification adopted by the Convention. March 21, 1791, he was commissioned a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, a position which he occupied with honor for the remainder of his life. August 8, 1794, in company with James Ross and William Bradford, he was appointed by President Washington a Commissioner to confer with inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania "in order to quiet and extinguish" the Whiskey Insurrection, a duty which was discharged by them in a most satisfactory manner.† In 1805, with his wife's uncle, Chief-Justice Edward Shippen, and Judge Thomas Smith, he was tried and acquitted on an Impeachment before the Senate of the Commonwealth, made in consequence of their imposition of a fine and imprisonment on a certain citizen for contempt of Court.‡ Judge Yeates preserved notes of judicial proceedings in which he took part, and prepared them for the press before his death. They were printed, immediately after his decease, under the title of *Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania: with some select Cases at Nisi Prius, and in the Circuit Courts,*§ beginning with the

* Published in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. vi. pp. 104-5, and republished in *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. ii. pp. 740 *et seq.*

† For papers relating to this subject, see *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. iv.

‡ See *Report of the Trial and Acquittal of Edward Shippen, Esquire, Chief-Justice, and Jasper Yeates and Thomas Smith, Esquires, Assistant Justices, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, on an Impeachment before the Senate of the Commonwealth, January, 1805*, by William Hamilton, Editor of *The Lancaster Journal* (Lancaster).

§ Vol. i., Philada., 1817; vols. ii. and iii., *ibid.*, 1818; vol. iv., *ibid.*, 1819.

April Term of 1791, and closing with the September Term of the Western District of 1808, connecting the series of Reports from Dallas to Binney. In the advertisement of the work by Judge Yeates's son-in-law, Charles Smith, mention is made of "the industry and abilities, as well as the accuracy and fidelity, of the Author," as "well known to the gentlemen of the bar, by whom he had the happiness to be highly esteemed." Judge Yeates died at Lancaster, March 14, 1817. He is buried in St. James's (Protestant Episcopal) Churchyard, of that place, under a pyramidal tombstone with this epitaph: "He fulfilled the various duties of life with fidelity. His integrity was inflexible. As a Judge he was most learned and eminent, and in the exercise of his publick functions he deservedly obtained the confidence of his fellow citizens, and he left behind him a name which will only perish with the judicial records of his country." In a notice of Mr. Yeates in Alexander Harris's *Biographical History of Lancaster County* it is said: "He was possessed of a clear and vigorous mind, and his opinions were bold. As a Judge, he commanded the highest respect and deference. His decisions from the bench were clear, decisive, and strongly indicative of a profound knowledge of the constitution and laws of his country. As a man of business, he was one of the most methodical. With him everything had its time and place. This trait was observable in all his transactions, whether of a domestic or public nature. He was kind and affectionate, of a cheerful and contented disposition, and correct and engaging in his deportment. In all the social relations he was truly amiable."* Mrs. Yeates survived her husband, dying at Lancaster, October 25, 1829. She is buried in St. James's Churchyard, under a pyramidal monument, with the inscription: "Adorned with all the charities of life, in manners mild, benevolent, and polished, she was beloved by all who knew

* A portrait of Judge Yeates is in the possession of the family. Many MS. letters written by and to him are in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Several are printed in *Penna. Archives*, and in Mr. Balch's *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*.

her. Pious and sincere in her religious duties, and confiding in her Redeemer's love, she departed full of years and honour. Her surviving children have erected this testimonial of their reverence and gratitude." Mr. and Mrs. Yeates had ten children, all born in Lancaster, Pa.:

375. MARY, b. March 13, 1770. She was m. at Lancaster, March 3, 1791, to Charles Smith, son of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., Provost of the College of Philadelphia,* by his wife Rebecca, daughter of William Moore, of "Moore Hall," Chester Co., Pa.† Mr. Smith was b. in Philadelphia, March 4, 1765. "His early education was under the care of his father, in Philadelphia, and subsequently at Washington College, Maryland, where he graduated at the commencement held on the 14th day of May, 1783, delivering the valedictory oration on that occasion."‡ He studied law with his eldest brother, William Moore Smith, at Easton, Northampton Co., Pa., and was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia in June, 1786. He pursued the practice of his profession for several years at Sunbury, Northumberland Co., Pa. He was a delegate to the Convention which formed the Constitution of Pennsylvania in 1790, a Member of the House of Representatives of the State in 1806, 1807, and 1808, and State Senator in 1816. In 1805 he was elected a Member of the American Philosophical Society. He supplied copious and valuable notes to a new edition of the *Laws of Pennsylvania*, published, by authority of the Legislature, at Philadelphia, in 1810-12. In 1819 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. March 27, of the same year, he was appointed President Judge for the Ninth Judicial District of Pennsylvania, composed of the counties of Cumberland, Franklin,

* Some account of Dr. Smith and his descendants, accompanied by his portrait, is given in the PENNA. MAG., vol. iv. pp. 373 *et seq.* For an interesting biography of him see *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, by his great-grandson, Horace Wemyss Smith (Philadelphia, 1880).

† Son of John Moore, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia from 1703 to 1732. For a notice of William Moore, see *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, by Samuel W. Pennypacker, pp. 229 *et seq.* (Philadelphia, 1883); and the *Life of Dr. Smith*, just cited, vol. ii. pp. 458 *et seq.* A "genealogical account" of his descendants is given in the latter work, vol. ii. pp. 541 *et seq.* John Cadwalader, grandson of his great-grandson, General Thomas Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, also married a descendant of Jöran Kyn.

‡ Account of the Hon. Charles Smith, in the *Life of his father*, above mentioned, vol. ii. pp. 570-1, q. v. A notice of Judge Smith appears in Harris's *Biographical History of Lancaster County*.

and Adams; and April 28, 1820, he was commissioned President Judge of the District Court of the City and County of Lancaster, which office he held for several years, living at a residence built by him near that town, named "Hardwicke." He afterwards removed, with his family, to Baltimore, Md., and finally returned to Philadelphia. Here he d., at his home, No. 12 Clinton Square, March 18, 1836, and was bur. in Epiphany (Protestant Episcopal) Churchyard. Mrs. Smith d. at Belmont, August 27, of the same year. They left issue.*

376. JOHN, b. June 29, 1772. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the College of Philadelphia in 1792. He m. Eliza, daughter of Daniel Buckley, an ironmaster of Lancaster County, Pa., and a Member of the House of Representatives of the State between 1794 and 1800, by his wife Sarah Brooke.† Mr. Yeates d. s. p. at Lancaster, January 7, 1844, and is bur. in St. James's (Protestant Episcopal) Churchyard, in that city. Mrs. Yeates d. in Philadelphia County in December, 1849.

377. JASPER, b. August 30, 1774; d. at Lancaster, December 24, 1774.

378. SARAH, b. December 4, 1775; d. at Lancaster, November 12, 1776.

379. ELIZABETH, b. April 4, 1778. She was m. at Lancaster, May 2, 1808, to Redmond Conyngham, son of David Hayfield Conyngham, and grandson of Redmond Conyngham, Esquire, of Letterkenny, Ireland, who emigrated to Philadelphia, and became a partner in the mercantile house of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., afterwards Conyngham, Nesbitt, & Co.‡ Mr. Conyngham's mother was Mary, daughter of William

* For whom, besides the article in this MAGAZINE, and the "genealogical account" in the *Life of Dr. Smith*, before referred to, see Keith's *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, under "Edward Shippen," pp. (69) and (70).

† Sister of Matthew Brooke Buckley, who married Mary, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Shippen) Swift, also descended from Jöran Kyn, and of Anna Maria Buckley, who married Mary Swift's uncle, Joseph Galloway Shippen, M.D.

‡ Redmond Conyngham, the emigrant, was for several years Warden and Vestryman of Christ Church, Philadelphia. David Hayfield Conyngham was a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia, and afterwards of the University of Pennsylvania, from 1790 to 1813. A picture of the house in which the latter resided in Germantown is given in the PENNA. MAG., vol. vi., opposite page 18. He was descended from William Conyngham, Bishop of Argyll in 1539, and was of the same lineage, therefore, as the Marquess Conyngham, of Ireland. He was cousin-german to William Conyngham, created Baron Plunket, the eminent Chief-Justice and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and of Captain Gustavus Conyngham, U. S. N. Redmond Conyngham, the younger, was brother to the late Judge John N. Conyngham, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. (See "The Germantown Road and its Associations," by Townsend Ward, PENNA. MAG., *loc. cit.*, and, for a further account of the

and Mary West. Mr. Conyngham was b. at Philadelphia, September 19, 1781. He represented the counties of Luzerne, Northumberland, Union, Columbia, and Susquehanna in the Senate of Pennsylvania in 1820. The same year he "laid out the village named by him Dundaff," in Susquehanna County, "in honour of Lord Dundaff, of Scotland."* He took an interest in historical researches, and in 1826 contributed "Some Extracts from Papers in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, at Harrisburgh, and from other Documents," published in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 321 *et seq.*, and "An Account of the Settlement of the Dunkers at Ephrata, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," printed *ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 133 *et seq.* He d. at Paradise, Pa., June 16, 1846. Mrs. Conyngham d. at Lancaster, August 3, 1867. They are bur. in All Saints (Protestant Episcopal) Churchyard, at Paradise, Lancaster Co., Pa. They left issue.†

380. MARGARET, b. April 24, 1780. She d. unm. at Lancaster, February 1, 1855, and is bur. in St. James's Churchyard.

381. EDWARD SHIPPEN, b. May 17, 1782; d. at Lancaster, December 12, 1782.

382. CATHARINE, b. December 1, 1783. She d. unm. at Lancaster, June 7, 1866, and is bur. in St. James's Churchyard.

383. SARAH, b. December 6, 1786; d. December 7, 1786.

384. EDWARD, b. *eodem partu*; d. December 7, 1786.

family, a work in course of preparation by the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, of Wilkes-Barre, to be entitled *Reminiscences of David Hayfield Conyngham, of the Revolutionary House of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., Philadelphia, 1750-1832.*)

* *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania*, by Emily C. Blackman, p. 392. (Philadelphia, 1873.)

† For whom see Keith's *Provincial Councillors*, p. (68).

(To be continued.)

McMASTER'S HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES.¹

The appearance of this book is the chief event in the literary annals of the day. Few there were, we believe, who, when they first read its title, did not, either mentally or audibly, exclaim: "What, another history of the United States!" "How can such a subject require five volumes for its treatment?" "To what proportions will our historical literature grow, if books are made at this rate?" "Who is John Bach McMaster?" We have watched with interest the change which has taken place, as the reading public have become acquainted with the book. The enthusiasm which it speedily excited overshadowed any attempt to damn it with faint praise, and the popularity it now enjoys equals that which it is customary to award only to works of fiction. That a book of such a character should have passed through three editions in as many months is remarkable, and it is a satisfaction to find that its success is not the result of qualities that will give it but an ephemeral interest. It is, indeed, what its title styles it: "A History of the People of the United States;" not a history of their origin, but a history of their every-day life, told in a most fascinating manner. On his preliminary pages the author says:—

"The subject of my narrative is the history of the people of the United States of America from the close of the war for independence down to the opening of the war between the States. In the course of this narrative much, indeed, must be written of wars, conspiracies, and rebellions; of presidents, of congresses, of embassies, of treaties, of the ambition of political leaders in the senate-house, and of the rise of great parties in the nation. Yet the history of the people shall be the chief theme. At every stage of the splendid progress

¹ A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War, by John Bach McMaster. In five volumes. Volume I. D. Appleton & Co.: New York, 1883.

which separates the America of Washington and Adams from the America in which we live, it shall be my purpose to describe the dress, the occupations, the amusements, the literary canons of the times; to note the changes of manners and morals; to trace the growth of that humane spirit which abolished the punishment for debt, which reformed the discipline of prisons and of jails, and which has in our own time destroyed slavery, and lessened the miseries of dumb brutes. Nor shall it be less my aim to recount the manifold improvements which, in a thousand ways, have multiplied the conveniences of life, and ministered to the happiness of our race; to describe the rise and progress of that long series of mechanical inventions and discoveries which is now the admiration of the world, and our just pride and boast; to tell how, under the benign influence of liberty and peace, there sprang up, in the course of a single century, a prosperity unparalleled in the annals of human affairs; how, from a state of great poverty and feebleness, our country grew rapidly to one of opulence and power; how her agriculture and her manufactures flourished together; how, by a wise system of free education and a free press, knowledge was disseminated, and the arts and sciences advanced; how the ingenuity of her people became fruitful of wonders far more astonishing than any of which the alchemists had ever dreamed."

In carrying out his task some of the author's touches are of a most happy character. In describing the residences of the wealthy citizens of Boston, he speaks of the massive sideboards on which china was displayed. This he says was:—

"Sometimes intermixed with Wedgwood ware, then a new production, whereon blue lovers walked by the side of blue waters, and blue deer lay down to rest in the shade of blue trees. In the corners of the rooms, or on the landing of the stairs stood the high clocks of English make, many of which yet remain to attest the excellence of the manufacture. Some were surmounted by an allegorical representation of Time. Others had a moving disk to illustrate the phases of the moon and show when it was crescent, when in the second quarter, and when full. Still others at the final stroke of every hour, chimed forth a tune which, when the Sabbath came round, was such a one as our grandfathers sang to their hymns in meeting."

After describing the table of a New England farmer, the author continues:—

"If the food of such a man was plain, so were his clothes. Indeed, his wardrobe would, by his descendants, be thought scanty in the extreme. For meeting on a Sabbath and state occasions during the week he had a suit of broadcloth or corduroy which lasted him a lifetime, and was at length bequeathed, little the worse for wear, with his cattle and his farm, to his son. The suit in which his neighbors commonly saw him, the suit in which he followed the plough, tended the cattle, and dozed in the chimney corner while Abigail or Comfort read to him from Edwards's sermons was of home-spun or linsey-woolsey."

Of schools Mr. McMaster writes:—

"With the district school the education of half the lads in the country ended. A few, however, more fortunate, passed thence to a seminary kept by some minister, or to one of the famous academies which were regarded as the feeders of Harvard and of Yale. But those were still days of Puritan austerity, and the boy who quitted his home for school left behind him, too often, peace and happiness. Little Paul at the Blimbers, Smikeat Dotheboys Hall did not have a much harder fate. Indeed, the pedagogue who, in our day, should subject his pupils to the rigid discipline, to the hard fare, to the sermons, the prayers, and the flogging which then fell to the lot of the school-boy, would be held up by the press to universal execration, and might count himself fortunate if he escaped without a prosecution by a society for the prevention of cruelty to children. Masters knew no way of imparting knowledge but by the rod. To set eight hours a day on the hardest of benches, pouring over Cheever's *Accidence*; to puzzle over long words in Dillworth's *Speller*; to commit to memory pages of words in Webster's *American Institute*; to read long chapters in the Bible; to learn by heart Dr. Watts's *Hymns for Children*; to be drilled in the *Assembly Catechism*; to go to bed at sundown, to get up at sunrise, and to live on brown bread and pork, porridge and beans, made up, with morning and evening prayer, the every-day life of the lads at most of the academies and schools of New England."

Rhode Island's position in the Confederation in 1784 is thus drawn:—

"Of the thirteen States, Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations had always been the most lukewarm and discontented, and was now entering on that infamous course which makes it impossible to read her history down to the day when she entered the Union under the Federal Consti-

tution without feelings of indignation and contempt. No State paid its quota more grudgingly. None was so often without representation. None, not even New York, was actuated by so selfish and ungenerous a policy. The vague theories, the wild schemes of finance, of government, and of trade which in other States were stoutly combated by the good sense of the community, seemed, in Rhode Island, to have been adopted by the rabble, and there the voice of the rabble was heard with great respect."

In 1787 he says:—

"It was quite fashionable for men of wealth and leisure to form themselves into societies for the encouragement of whatever they had most at heart. Societies for the encouragement of manufactures, societies for the promotion of agriculture, societies for the furthering of arts and sciences began to spring up in every great city. But the most active among them was at Philadelphia, and the most active of all its members was Tench Coxe. No man deserves better than he to be called the father of American cotton industries. At a time when the plant was rarely seen outside of a flower-garden, when the custom-house officers at Liverpool denied that all America could produce six hundred pounds, he plainly told his countrymen that cotton would one day be the source of their wealth and power. He stood up before the Federal Convention and begged Southern delegates to go home and urge their people to cultivate it. He bitterly opposed the article of Jay's treaty which forbade the export of cotton for twenty-five years. Nor did he to the end of a long and eventful life grow cool in the encouragement of his favorite industry."

The adjournment of Congress in 1784 is thus commented upon:—

"Never, perhaps, since legislative assemblies came into use had there appeared quite so remarkable a body of men as the Continental Congress then, for the first time in its existence, about to take a recess. History indeed preserves the memory of but two which can with any justice be compared with it—the Long Parliament which cut off the head of Charles I., and the National Assembly that cut off the head of Louis XVI. Both the Long Parliament and the National Assembly, like the Continental Congress, seized upon the Government, made themselves for many years the chief power in the State, levied taxes, raised armies, waged wars, concluded treaties, and at last fell from power, overwhelmed

with hatred and contempt. But here the resemblance ends. The memory of the Long Parliament and the National Assembly is bound up with much that is darkest and saddest in the history of England and of France: with the murder of kings; with the confiscation of estates; with civil war; with bills of attainder and acts of proscription; with all the miseries of the prison-house, and all the horrors of the guillotine. The memory of the Continental Congress is bound up with that portion of our national history which we contemplate with feelings of peculiar pride: with the sacrifices and the sufferings, more cruel than the grave, of the eight years of war; with the poverty, the struggles of the six years of peace that preceded the organization of the Federal Government. The republics which the Long Parliament and the National Assembly set up have long since disappeared from the face of the earth. The republic which the Continental Congress set up still endures."

Of Mr. McMaster's ability as a portrait painter the reader can judge from the following:—

"It is impossible to mention the name of George Clinton without calling up the recollection of a man to whose memory a grateful posterity has been more than kind. To believe that he was a really great man, to extol him in terms too exalted to be applied to the founders of the republic, is in our day a common thing. His reputation, indeed, is immense. But when an even-handed justice is meted out, it must be owned that he has been much overrated. That he was a man of force and no mean ability is quite true; but that he was in any sense a statesman is not true. He was, in fact, the most shrewd, the most crafty, the most pushing and successful politician of his time. Quick-sighted, rather than foresighted, he raised himself, despite his humble birth and scanty means, partly by time-serving, partly by the skilful use he made of every chance opportunity, to the high post of Governor of the State of New York, and held it for many years. From the day on which he thus became the most powerful man in the State he toiled persistently to make the State the most powerful member of the Union. He would see her waste lands along the Mohawk turned into gardens. He would see her noble harbor filled with ships. He would have her treasury run over with gold. But his cramped and narrow mind knew no way by which his State could attain to so much prosperity save that by which he himself had climbed to greatness, by selfishness, by cold-heartedness, by

pulling down the rivals that struggled at her side. The course, therefore, pursued by New York, from the November morning when the enemy left her soil to the day when she finally adopted the Constitution, forms the most shameful portion of her annals. There is nothing like it save in the history of Rhode Island. And this course, there can be no doubt, was prescribed by Clinton. While others were striving to give strength and dignity to the Union, he was steadily laboring to break it down. To weaken the power and thwart the wishes of Congress had with him long been a guiding principle, and he now found in the impost a means of doing both."

From the passages we have quoted our readers can judge to some extent how far Mr. McMaster has accomplished the task he set out to perform; of his merits as an historian, and of his ability to write. But one volume of the work has yet appeared. Its first chapter describes the state of the country at the close of the Revolutionary War. This will probably interest a greater number of readers than the succeeding ones, but it is in the latter that the best qualities of the author are shown. In them we find how thoroughly he mastered his subject in its most important points. With great industry he has gathered material illustrating the state of the public mind in various parts of the country, and moulded it into unity. His powers of concentration are great, and consequently the lights and shadows of his pictures are strongly drawn. Questions are traced from their origin until they overshadow all others in importance, and are again superseded by questions which different interests have called into being. The whole presents what seems to be a perfect reflection of the past in which the scenes are rapidly shifting. But through all the changes in the condition of the people are carefully noted, and the steadily increasing demand of the property interests of the community for a stronger government are plainly discernible.

Thus we are told of the weakness of the old confederation; of the petty spirit which espoused the rights of the separate States, and denied Congress the power to make good contracts entered into for the whole country; of the dissatisfaction

which preceded the disbandment of the army; of the flight of Congress from Philadelphia; of the treatment of the Tories; of the conflict of authority at Wyoming; of the condition of the currency; of the low state of trade and commerce; of the introduction of cotton manufactories; of the foreign relations; of the settlement of the country west of the Blue Ridge; of the indifference with which these settlements were treated by the States, who claimed the land on which they were made; of the rise of the lost State of Franklin; of the difficulties attending the control of the Mississippi; of the impost demanded by Congress; of the paper money question; of the rebellion in the New England States against the authority of the Courts; of the trade convention which the Middle States called at Annapolis; of its successor which met at Philadelphia and formed the Federal Constitution. Never, until this book was written, have the people of the United States had the opportunity of reading in a clear succinct form an account of the causes which led to the formation of their government. There is nothing of the Fourth of July orator about Mr. McMaster. He says little of the wisdom and foresight of the framers of the government, and of the moulding of public opinion by individuals. He shows clearly that the Federal Constitution has but a small portion of secret history connected with it; that while the members of the Convention were men of ability, it was the people who demanded their services, and made the government they formed possible. The last two chapters treat of the adoption of the Constitution by the people, and the organization of the government by Washington. Both are full of interest, and augur well for what is to come.

The question naturally arises: Is it possible that a work covering so wide a scope contains no errors? We do not wish to abate by a jot the admiration we have expressed for the book, or to qualify our opinion concerning it as a whole. It is deserving of more than we have said of it, but to some of its statements we take exception. We do not agree with those critics who think that Mr. McMaster has pictured the

state of literature and art too low at the close of the Revolution. Because a few pamphlets and books, written on this side of the Atlantic, are looked upon as antiquarian treasures, and command a high price, it is no evidence of their literary value. Historically they are priceless, but they were not the legitimate predecessors of the works of Irving, of Cooper, of Bryant, and of Longfellow. The state of the fine arts was so low that the elder Peale, who had returned to America just before the war, after studying with West, was compelled to keep a museum to eke out a living. Copley, who left the country in 1774, found for some years ample employment for his brush in Boston, but at times he was obliged to visit New York. West left nothing in America to tempt him to return, unless it was Miss Shewell, and as she accommodately went to England to marry him, he was saved a voyage across the Atlantic. A few pictures of merit were owned by gentlemen of wealth who had purchased them in Europe; but the artistic taste of the Americans did not rise, as a rule, above a desire to have their own features preserved on canvas. The passages to which we object are those which describe the condition of the Middle States. The author does not seem to have met with the authorities which would have enabled him to have performed this part of his work in the same masterly manner in which the other portions are treated. It is evident that his mind has not been filled with his subject. There are some points which should have been touched upon that are ignored; and, at times, his brilliant pen has betrayed him into comparisons that are erroneous. It would be captious to call particular attention to them, however, as they do not materially lessen the value of the work, nor are we altogether prepared to lay the blame for their commitment at the author's door. Our New England brethren have shown a becoming zeal in preserving their history. The assistants and guides to their literature are innumerable, and the general historian when he comes to write regarding it finds his work half done. The citizens of the Southern and Middle States have neglected their history in a corresponding degree. Any one who has not enjoyed special advantages will experience considerable

difficulty in treating it, and will naturally give less space to it, than to a topic which presents an almost inexhaustible source of information. While we permit this state of affairs to continue we must not complain if our history is overshadowed.

The author does not appear to have had any authorities hitherto unknown at his command in preparing this book. Writing of the people he seems to have abjured the use of any information but what they were possessed of. But slight use has been made of manuscript authorities, or of printed correspondence so far as the expressions of opinions are concerned. Local histories and autobiographies have been used to some extent, but the chief authorities cited are the newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets of the day. Mr. McMaster is the first writer who has drawn upon these for data concerning the period of which he treats. It is, we believe, by using just such information that he has been enabled to present a political picture, the truthfulness of which strikes home. Now that he has done the work, we wonder that it was never attempted before. But there are several advantages Mr. McMaster enjoys that few possess. He has the ability to write history in a way that will compare favorably with the work of any historical writer of modern times. His style, as the reader must have seen, is clear and vigorous, and his descriptive powers are of the highest order. He does not hesitate to call a spade a spade, and has the faculty of telling the people what they want to know. With these qualities there is evidently great working power and unflagging industry. That the work will live there can be no doubt, and thousands will learn from it what kind of people their ancestors were. It is a production of which all Americans can feel proud, and we look with interest for the succeeding volumes.

LAPPAWINZO AND TISHCOHAN,

CHIEFS OF THE LENNI LENAPE.

BY WILLIAM J. BUCK.

Portraits of these Indian chiefs were presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Granville Penn in December, 1834, for which purpose he brought them from England. They had probably been long in possession of his family. From the Penn accounts we derive sufficient information to believe that they were painted by Hesselius, a Swedish artist, by order of John or Thomas Penn while in this country. From the circumstance of these being the only existing portraits known of the early Indians once inhabiting this section of Pennsylvania, I have become interested to bring together for the first time some additional facts relating to those sachems.

At a treaty held at Pennsbury, May 9, 1735, with John and Thomas Penn the proprietaries, Lappawinzo distinguished himself as the principal orator. On this occasion Nutimus, Tishcohan, Lesbeconk, and others were present. Another meeting was agreed upon in Philadelphia, which was accordingly held on August 24th and 25th, 1737, in the presence of Thomas Penn, and on the latter day Lappawinzo, Manawkyhickon, Tishcohan, and Nutimus signed the release for the Walking Purchase, witnessed by fourteen whites and twelve Indians. Barefoot Brinston acted as the leading interpreter for the respective parties. According to his portrait, Lappawinzo is represented as a stout Indian of about forty years of age. A few black marks are painted on his forehead and cheeks. His hair is long and brought to the back part of his head, with a blue blanket thrown around him, and a pouch on his breast fastened to his neck. This will answer as a description of this chief, transmitted to us on canvas more than two years before the Walk.

From Edward Marshall's testimony, taken in 1757, we learn that on the night of the first day's Walk they lodged near an Indian town called Hockendocqua, and that early next morning Nicholas Scull, Benjamin Eastburn, and another person went to said settlement and spoke with Lappawinzo, who lived there, to send some other Indians to accompany the walkers for the remainder of the distance; when he replied "that they had got all the best of the land, and they might go to the Devil for the bad; and that he would send no Indians with them." He further stated that about eight weeks after the Walk he was again at the said town, when the same chief said that "they were dissatisfied with the Walk, and that they would go down to Philadelphia the next May, with every one a buckskin, to repay the proprietor for what they had received from him and take their land again." He also complained that the Walk was not fairly performed, and should not go the course fixed on by the proprietors, but should have gone along the Delaware or by the nearest Indian path as the proper direction. Alexander Brown, in his evidence, chiefly corroborates the aforesaid.

It was Lappawinzo that Moses Marshall had reference to in his reminiscences taken down by John Watson, Junior, in a visit to him in 1822, in which "an old Indian said 'no sit down to smoke, no shoot a squirrel, but *lun, lun, lun*, all day long.'" By this it would appear as if he had been pretty well in years. I have been unable to trace him as living to a later period than the year of the Walk. Heckewelder says that his name signifies *going away to gather food*. It would seem by some of the statements as if he had been chiefly instrumental in the selection of John Combush, Neepaheilomon, *alias* Joe Tunean, who could speak English well, and his brother-in-law, Tom, the three young men appointed on the side of the Indians to be present as deputies to see that the Walk was fairly performed for the Delaware nation. James Le Tort, an Indian trader, mentions dealings with Lappawinzo in 1704, if not earlier.

From an affidavit made by William Allen in 1762 we learn that whilst on visits to the Durham iron works (one of

the owners of which he was), after 1727, he became personally acquainted with "Tishecunk, who was always esteemed and reputed to be an honest upright man," and with "Nutimus had always been regarded the chief original owner of the land in and about the Forks of Delaware and adjacent lands above Tohiccon." This, coming from this great land speculator, is pretty good evidence that they had recognized rights there, and that any dissent on the part of either as regards unfair dealings in obtaining said lands must be of some weight. By his own oath, Allen has further implicated himself with the Penns in depriving at least those Indians of a considerable portion of their lands, long before they had obtained any right to them either through purchase or treaty.

By appointment, Tishcohan and Nutimus, in October, 1734, had met John and Thomas Penn at Durham, in relation to a treaty and sale of lands, and also in May, 1735, at Pennsbury; but no particular business was accomplished, except to have the trial walk secretly performed in order to have things in readiness for the signing of the release for the Walking Purchase, which was duly concluded in Philadelphia in the presence of Thomas Penn, William Allen, James Logan, and others, August 25, 1737, and to which Tishcohan, Nutimus, and two other Delaware chiefs affixed their marks. The walk was performed at such speed the 19th and 20th of the following month by Edward Marshall, that Solomon Jennings and James Yates, who were selected his associates by the proprietary party, were compelled to succumb before the termination of it, having made, according to the testimony of several of the witnesses present, *the first thirty miles in six hours*. According to the evidence of Ephraim Goodwin, we learn that at this time Tishcohan was an aged man and lived at the Indian village called Hockendocqua, near which the walkers and company staid over night on their first day's journey.

Like nearly all Indian names, that of Tishcohan has been variously spelled or called, as Teshakomin, Tiscoquam, and Captain John Tishekuunk, perhaps according to the fancies of

the several writers. In his portrait, which is nearly the size of life, Tishcohan is represented with a Roman nose, a large mouth, and several deep wrinkles reaching nearly across his forehead. He appears no bad-looking man, of a stout muscular frame, and about forty-five or fifty years of age, and (what is singular for an Indian) has a bunch of hair growing from his under lip and chin. He has a blue blanket around him, and a squirrel-skin pouch hanging on his breast, fastened by a strap around his neck, in which is stuck a plaster-of-Paris pipe, proving it to be his tobacco-pouch, and that he was a consumer of "the weed." His hair is so long as to be gathered together on the back of his head.

According to Heckewelder, Tishcohan means, in the Delaware language, *he who never blackens himself*. On referring to the likeness, we find the truth of this definition in the absence of those daubs of paint with which many of the Indians were in the practice of disfiguring themselves. We are thus minute because few such opportunities can occur of similar descriptions respecting those who so long dwelt here, and occupied important, if not conspicuous, positions in our early history. We give the following extract from the report of Roberts Vaux, J. Francis Fisher, and Job R. Tyson, constituting the committee (*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. iii. p. 211-12) respecting those portraits: "Of Lappawinzo we have been able to discover no further notice in history. James Logan speaks of him in 1741 as an honest old Indian. Tishcohan seems to have moved to the West, and was met by Frederick Post, when he made his first journey to visit the Indians on the Ohio, in July, 1758. Such is the whole result of the inquiries of this committee, although they have examined all the documents printed and manuscripts within their reach. They have only to regret that they have been able to give so little interest to their report, and that so little has been handed down to us of the history of the only two chiefs of the Lenni Lenape whose portraits have been preserved."

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEDITIONOUS FALSE KÖNIGSMARK IN NEW SWEDEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH BY PROFESSOR G. B. KEEN.

[The following is a translation of an unsigned manuscript, dated 1683, preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm, referred to in a note to Reynolds's translation of Acrelius, p. 116. It is entitled *Berättelse om Uprorsmakaren den falska Königsmark i Nya Sverige*. For many documents concerning the sedition spoken of (which occurred in the summer of 1669), see Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania* and *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. xii.—TRANS.]

In Provost Acrelius's *Beskrifning om de Svenska Församlingars Tilstånd uti Nya Sverige*, p. 123, is introduced what Pastor Rudman noted in the Wicaco Church Book about the rioter among the Swedes, who called himself Königsmark. These are the particulars which I received from the oldest Swedes. This impostor was by birth a Swede, but, for some crime committed by him in England, he was sent to Maryland, to serve there as a slave, for a certain number of years. He ran away from there, however, and came to the Swedes in New Sweden, who were then subject to the English Government. Here he made the Swedes believe he was descended from a great and highly honorable family in Sweden; that his name was Königsmark; that a Swedish fleet of war-ships lay outside of the bay, and were, as soon as they entered, to take the land again from the English; and that he was sent to encourage the Swedes, who lived here, to shake off the foreign yoke, and to fall upon and slay the English, as soon as they had heard that the Swedish fleet had arrived. A great many of the Swedes permitted themselves to be persuaded by this. They concealed the pretended Königsmark for a long time, so that no one else knew anything of him, supplying him with the best meat and drink they had, by which means he fared very well. Moreover, they went to Philadelphia, and bought powder, balls, shot, lead, and so forth, to be

ready at the first signal. Hereupon he caused the Swedes to be summoned to a supper, and after they had been drinking somewhat, exhorted them to free themselves from the yoke, reminding them what they suffered from the English and how the latter, partly by fraud and partly by force, had taken from them one large piece of land after another, and finally asked them whether they held allegiance to the King of Sweden, or to the King of England? A part immediately declared themselves for the King of Sweden; but one of the most honorable of the Swedes, Peter Kock by name, said that, as the country was English and had been surrendered by the King of Sweden to the Crown of England, he deemed it just to hold with the King of England. Thereupon Kock ran out and closed the door again, laying himself against it, that the so-called Königsmark might not slip out, and called for help, to make him prisoner. The impostor laboured with all his might to open the door, Kock endeavouring to prevent him by hurting him in the hand with a knife. Notwithstanding, he effected his escape; wherefore Kock immediately hastened to give information to the English, who then made search for him, and in a short time took him prisoner. The above-named Peter Kock then said to him: "You rascal, tell me what is your name? for we can see well enough that you are no honourable person." The impostor then answered that his true name was Marcus Jacobson. He proved, besides, to be so ignorant that he could neither read nor write. Thereupon he was branded and sent to Barbadoes, where he was sold as a slave. The Swedes, who permitted themselves to be imposed upon by him, were punished by the confiscation of half their property, land, cattle, goods, clothes, and so forth.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 105.)

Oct. 27, 1721.	Tabiner,	John, son of James and Martha.
Dec. 1, 1736.	Tackerbury,	Robert, son of Robert.
Dec. 4, 1736.	"	William, son of Robert.
Dec. 8, 1736.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
Dec. 8, 1736.	"	Mary, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 3, 1752.	Taife,	Thomas.
Nov. 15, 1720.	Talbot,	Margaret, dau. of Benjamin
Mar. 28, 1728.	"	John. [and Susannah.
July 8, 1734.	"	Samuel.
Oct. 11, 1723.	Tallet,	William.
Dec. 13, 1752.	Tallot,	Doreas, wife of William.
July 9, 1757.	"	William.
Sept. 20, 1759.	Tally,	Mary, dau. of Robert.
June 17, 1751.	Tatnal,	Jonathan, son of John.
Oct. 1, 1756.	"	Vashty.
July 21, 1757.	"	Robert.
Aug. 31, 1757.	"	Hannah, dau. of Robert.
July 2, 1759.	Tatnall,	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
Sept. 25, 1726.	Taylor,	John, son of Robert.
Aug. 13, 1727.	"	Edward, son of Robert and
Jan. 5, 1727-8.	"	William. [Jane.
Nov. 16, 1728.	"	Samuel, of Jamaica.
Sept. 26, 1729.	"	Matthew.
Aug. 24, 1730.	"	Thomas, from Liverpool.
May 16, 1731.	"	Anna.
Oct. 21, 1733.	"	Annable, wife of Benjamin.
June 5, 1734.	"	Anne, dau. of Benjamin.
Aug. 24, 1734.	"	Isabella, dau. of Abraham.
Oct. 13, 1734.	"	Edward, son of Thomas.
Dec. 25, 1736.	"	Sarah, dau. of Henry.
June 10, 1745.	"	John.
Sept. 4, 1747.	"	Henry.
Nov. 1, 1751.	"	Jane, dau. of Abraham.
Mar. 6, 1756.	"	Robert.

Aug. 31, 1756.	Taylor,	——— dau. of John.
Sept. 5, 1757.	"	——— son of John.
Aug. 1, 1758.	"	Sarah, dau. of Henry.
July 22, 1759.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Henry.
Feb. 19, 1735-6.	Tbury,	Benjamin, son of Peter.
Mar. 17, 1730-1.	Telles,	Charles.
Dec. 4, 1757.	Templer,	——— wife of Joseph.
Nov. 29, 1716.	Tench,	Mrs. Mary.
Sept. 8, 1728.	Terrell,	Thomas, of Barbadoes.
Mar. 7, 1717-8.	Tharp,	John, son of John and Mary.
Aug. 17, 1712.	Thomas,	John, son of John and
April 23, 1713.	"	John. [Patience.
Dec. 1, 1718.	"	John.
April 13, 1722.	"	Evan.
Jan. 9, 1723-4.	"	Evan.
July 18, 1729.	"	Sarah.
Nov. 22, 1729.	"	William.
Mar. 10, 1730-1.	"	Mark, son of Mark.
Mar. 17, 1730-1.	"	Sarah.
Dec. 11, 1732.	"	Mary, Thomas Sinclair's
April 16, 1733.	"	James. [mother.
May 1, 1734.	"	Sarah, dau. of James and Anne.
Aug. 27, 1735.	"	Hugh, from Scull's.
July 30, 1737.	"	William.
April 25, 1739.	"	Thomas, son of John.
Oct. 12, 1740.	"	William.
June 11, 1743.	"	John.
Sept. 11, 1744.	"	Sarah, dau. of Evan.
Oct. 26, 1744.	"	Evan, son of Evan.
June 4, 1745.	"	Rebecca, wife of Moses.
		Strangers' Ground.
Oct. 9, 1745.	"	William. Swedes' Ground.
July 5, 1751.	"	John.
Jan. 22, 1756.	"	Evan.
Jan. 10, 1757.	"	Matthew.
Sept. 27, 1757.	"	Alexander.
July 21, 1758.	"	Doctor.
April 7, 1722.	Thompson,	John, son of John and Mary.
July 26, 1735.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Jan. 13, 1739-40.	"	John.
Dec. 28, 1740.	"	John.
Jan. 14, 1745-6.	"	Cæsar.
Mar. 30, 1748-9.	"	James, son of James.
Mar. 13, 1750-1.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Sept. 18, 1752.	"	Jane.
Aug. 9, 1756.	"	John.

Dec. 11, 1726.	Thomson,	Anne.
Mar. 30, 1726-7.	"	Thomas.
July 28, 1739.	"	George, son of John.
Dec. 16, 1728.	Thorn,	Mary, dau. of Roger.
Jan. 2, 1734-5.	"	Roger.
Oct. 30, 1740.	"	Sarah.
Oct. 6, 1759.	Thorne,	William, son of William.
Mar. 17, 1753.	Thornhill,	Jane, dau. of John.
Sept. 26, 1727.	Thorp,	Francis.
Jan. 8, 1735-6.	"	Charles.
Mar. 8, 1721-2.	Tiley,	Josiah, son of Nathaniel and
April 30, 1729.	Till,	Thomas, son of John. [Ann.
Mar. 26, 1731.	"	Thomas, son of John.
Mar. 26, 1731.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Feb. 1, 1738-9.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Aug. 13, 1749.	"	Anne, dau. of William.
Aug. 24, 1752.	"	John.
May 23, 1759.	"	Anne, dau. of William.
Jan. 12, 1738-9.	Tilla,	George, son of John.
July 6, 1741.	"	Elizabeth, wife of John.
July 4, 1737.	Tiller,	John, son of James.
Jan. 23, 1720-1.	Tillet,	Simon.
May 27, 1714.	Tilley,	John.
Aug. 14, 1714.	Tilly,	Peter, son of John and Mary.
Oct. 23, 1759.	Tim,	John.
Aug. 19, 1736.	Tin,	Catharine Barbara.
Sept. 17, 1747.	Tisdale,	Elizabeth, wife of Henry.
Mar. 6, 1730-1.	Todd,	John, son of Thomas.
April 20, 1735.	"	Thomas.
Nov. 10, 1759.	"	Emmanuel.
Mar. 28, 1736-7.	Tombs,	John, son of Robert.
Aug. 29, 1711.	Tomlinson,	Matthew.
July 31, 1759.	"	Andrew, son of John.
May 17, 1733.	Tomms,	John.
Nov. 13, 1712.	Toms,	Capt. John.
April 23, 1731.	"	John, son of Robert.
Jan. 14, 1741-2.	"	Richard, son of Robert.
April 28, 1734.	Tomson,	Thomas. Strangers' Ground.
Sept. 22, 1735.	Tongue,	Abraham Bickley, son of
Mar. 25, 1752.	"	Anne. [John.
Sept. 4, 1734.	Torton,	Thomas.
Nov. 20, 1750.	"	William.
Sept. 1, 1735.	Towers,	Mary, dau. of William.
Nov. 14, 1745.	"	James, son of William.
Nov. 17, 1745.	"	William, son of William.
Oct. 14, 1755.	"	William, son of John.

Jan. 8, 1752.	Towerson,	John.
Aug. 19, 1728.	Townsen,	Samuel, son of Thomas. Quakers' Ground.
Feb. 2, 1727-8.	Townsend,	Grace. Quakers' Ground.
Mar. 28, 1739-40.	Towrson,	Mary, wife of Fabricius.
Dec. 16, 1746.	Towson,	Forbes.
Oct. 17, 1715.	Traganey,	Henry.
Dec. 9, 1709.	Trath,	William.
Nov. 12, 1744.	Traverse,	Harry.
Aug. 29, 1711.	Trent,	Thomas, son of William and Thomas. [Mary.
May 17, 1714.	Tresse,	Mary, wife of Thomas.
May 28, 1714.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas and Elizabeth.
Sept. 18, 1717.	"	Hugh, son of Hugh.
Nov. 28, 1718.	"	Margaret, wife of Hugh, Sen.
Mar. 31, 1719-20.	"	Hugh, Jr.
April 3, 1720.	"	Sarah, dau. of Hugh.
May 31, 1720.	"	Hugh, son of ye Widow.
July 7, 1720.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas and Elizabeth.
Aug. 2, 1721.	"	James, son of Thomas and Hugh. [Elizabeth.
June 26, 1727.	"	Margaret, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 20, 1730.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas.
Dec. 4, 1732.	"	Thomas.
Feb. 1, 1736-7.	"	Mary, dau. of Hugh.
Nov. 21, 1739.	"	Hannah, wife of Capt. Hugh.
June 25, 1742.	"	Ambrose.
Aug. 29, 1746.	"	Elizabeth. [Widow.
Sept. 11, 1752.	Tribet,	William, son of William.
May 25, 1741.	Triganey,	Thomas, son of William.
Mar. 15, 1742-3.	Trimble,	Mary.
June 27, 1743.	"	Mary.
June 17, 1758.	"	Frederick.
Dec. 1, 1756.	Tripp,	Diana.
Nov. 29, 1715.	Trippieo,	John.
June 15, 1758.	Trivet,	Catharine, dau. of Capt.
Aug. 6, 1746.	Trop,	Richard.
April 1, 1758.	Trump,	William, son of John.
Aug. 14, 1734.	Tuckey,	Mary, wife of John.
Sept. 28, 1745.	Tuker,	Elizabeth, dau. of Isaac.
Feb. 23, 1748-9.	Tuner,	Peter.
June 22, 1734.	Tunnielift,	Mary, dau. of Peter.
Feb. 18, 1726-7.	Turner,	John, son of John.
Dec. 16, 1730.	"	Anne, wife of Thomas.
May 15, 1733.	"	
Aug. 28, 1736.	"	

Nov. 26, 1739.	Turner,	Hannah, wife of Peter.
May 7, 1741.	"	Mary, dau. of Edward.
Sept. 12, 1745.	"	Joseph, son of Thomas. Strangers' Ground.
Sept. 27, 1745.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Thomas. Strangers' Ground.
Feb. 24, 1746-7.	"	Margaret, wife of Peter.
Aug. 29, 1747.	"	Joseph, son of Peter.
Mar. 18, 1748-9.	"	Mary, wife of John.
Oct. 19, 1749.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Edward.
Dec. 26, 1750.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Sept. 17, 1756.	"	—— son of Morris.
April 28, 1758.	"	John.
Mar. 29, 1712-3.	Tusbery,	James. [Anne.
July 23, 1727.	Tustin,	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas and
Feb. 6, 1726-7.	Tuthill,	Alice, wife of James.
Dec. 31, 1732.	"	John, son of Christopher.
Feb. 12, 1727-8.	Tutthill,	Mr. James.
June 24, 1726.	Twells,	William, son of Thomas.
April 15, 1727.	Twelves,	Edward.
Mar. 6, 1755.	Tygert,	Anne, dau. of John.
Dec. 12, 1727.	Tyle,	Nathaniel. [Anne.
Oct. 25, 1713.	Tyley,	Samuel, son of Nathaniel and
Nov. 16, 1728.	"	Nathaniel, son of Nathaniel.
April 21, 1745.	"	John.
Oct. 8, 1755.	Tyly,	Mary.
Dec. 5, 1748.	Underwood,	Holiday.
Feb. 15, 1757.	Unity,	Jonathan.
Jan. 21, 1741-2.	Usher,	James.
May 30, 1753.	"	Walter.
Mar. 21, 1759.	"	Rose, dau. of Abraham.
April 14, 1727.	Vahanne,	Walter. Strangers' Ground.
Oct. 10, 1727.	Vahon,	Mr. Robert.
Sept. 8, 1754.	Vanchurch,	Elizabeth, dau. of Jacob.
July 4, 1750.	Vanderspeigle,	Abraham, son of William.
Aug. 2, 1752.	"	Margaret Van Veghten, dau. of William.
Feb. 1, 1754.	"	Margaret, wife of William.
Sept. 16, 1736.	Vane,	Susannah, dau. of John.
Sept. 25, 1748.	Vanhist,	Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel.
June 9, 1759.	Vanhost,	Caleb. [Garrett.
Jan. 12, 1737-8.	Van Houghtenbough,	Adrianna, wife of
Aug. 15, 1728.	Vanlace,	William, son of William.
Sept. 26, 1741.	Vanlaw,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.

Sept. 7, 1756.	Vanost,	——— son of Isaac.
May 28, 1741.	Varney,	Elizabeth, wife of Henry.
June 10, 1741.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Henry.
Aug. 30, 1728.	Vassells,	Nicholas. Anligna.
Nov. 30, 1727.	Vaughan,	Mrs. Frances.
May 16, 1728.	"	Evan, son of Evan.
Mar. 20, 1759.	"	Daniel, son of Edward.
June 26, 1748.	Venable,	Anne, wife of Richard.
July 1, 1748.	"	Anne, dau. of Richard.
Jan. 27, 1750-1.	Venables,	Thomas, Esq.
July 3, 1753.	Vernod,	Abraham.
Dec. 21, 1746.	Vidal,	Susannah, wife of Stephen.
Feb. 1, 1755.	Videll,	Stephen.
July 1, 1729.	Vigs,	George.
Feb. 15, 1759.	Vincut,	William.
May 21, 1713.	Voyer,	Ann, dau. of Peter and Judith.
Jan. 17, 1714-5.	"	Judith, wife of Peter.
Sept. 21, 1716.	"	Mary, dau. of Peter and Mary.
Jan. 11, 1726-7.	Wagstaff,	Joseph. Strangers' Ground.
Aug. 15, 1711.	Waid,	Catharine, dau. of William and Ruth.
July 6, 1735.	Waily,	Alexander, son of Alexander.
Oct. 2, 1734.	Waine,	Sarah, dau. of Edward.
April 22, 1740.	"	Edward.
Aug. 7, 1749.	Wallace,	Sarah, dau. of William.
July 10, 1742.	Waldecher,	Conrad, son of Conrad.
May 9, 1747.	"	George, son of Conrad.
June 19, 1749.	Waldecker,	Zachariah, son of Conrad.
Aug. 18, 1741.	Waley,	Joseph. [Christian.
July 21, 1711.	Walker,	Jane, dau. of Richard and William, son of Thomas.
Dec. 31, 1717.	"	Richard, Sen.
Nov. 15, 1726.	"	John.
Mar. 11, 1726-7.	"	John.
Sept. 14, 1728.	"	Catharine, wife of Richard.
Sept. 5, 1736.	"	Mary.
Feb. 7, 1736-7.	"	William.
June 28, 1738.	"	Richard.
Oct. 5, 1742.	"	Sarah, dau. of Capt. Gurney.
Jan. 25, 1750-1.	Wall,	——— dau. of Gurney.
July 10, 1756.	"	——— son of Gurney.
Nov. 4, 1756.	"	Mary, dau. of William, Jr.
June 28, 1747.	Wallace,	Robert.
Aug. 7, 1727.	Wallice,	Olay.
May 21, 1748.	Walter,	William.
Mar. 20, 1726-7.	Wandliss,	

Jan. 27, 1747-8.	Warboys,	Mary, dau. of Robert.
Sept. 19, 1748.	"	Sarah, dau. of Robert.
Aug. 3, 1711.	Ward,	Ralph.
Aug. 23, 1711.	"	Thomas.
April 15, 1718.	"	Anthony, son of Anthony.
Dec. 2, 1721.	"	Mary.
July 18, 1725.	"	Margaret.
Jan. 13, 1727-8.	"	John.
Feb. 7, 1730-1.	"	William, son of Ralph.
Nov. 10, 1737.	"	Edward, son of Ralph.
Dec. 19, 1746.	"	Ralph.
Feb. 28, 1746-7.	"	Daniel, son of Thomas.
Sept. 6, 1751.	"	Anne.
Mar. 24, 1753.	"	Ruth, wife of Thomas.
May 16, 1756.	"	Catharine.
June 24, 1759.	Wardon,	Joseph, son of Joseph.
Feb. 24, 1725-6.	Warner,	Isaac.
Sept. 8, 1728.	"	Robert.
Jan. 15, 1734-5.	"	Joanna.
Sept. 6, 1741.	"	Anne. Widow.
Nov. 17, 1744.	"	John, son of Thomas.
Nov. 26, 1744.	"	Martha, dau. of Thomas.
July 21, 1759.	"	Philip, son of Susannah.
Sept. 23, 1759.	"	Pennil, son of James.
April 2, 1745.	Warpole,	John, son of Robert.
Aug. 28, 1721.	Warren,	John, son of John and Anne.
May 8, 1731.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Oct. 16, 1734.	"	John. From over ye river.
Mar. 9, 1746-7.	"	Mary. [London.
Nov. 17, 1726.	Wass,	James. Apothecary from
July 20, 1738.	Wassell,	Joseph, son of Luke.
Oct. 21, 1743.	Waterman,	Joseph.
Mar. 24, 1747-8.	"	Thomas.
Aug. 17, 1748.	"	Anne.
July 24, 1733.	Waters,	Joseph, son of Joseph.
Aug. 1, 1733.	"	William, son of Joseph.
July 4, 1745.	Wats,	Anne, dau. of Samuel.
Aug. 16, 1736.	Watson,	James, son of George.
Mar. 16, 1740-1.	"	Mary, dau. of George.
Aug. 10, 1741.	"	John.
Sept. 3, 1743.	"	Susannah, dau. of Luke.
Feb. 28, 1743-4.	"	Adam, son of Luke.
April 3, 1748.	"	Luke.
Feb. 17, 1753.	"	Thomas.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.—The following letter, now first printed, has recently been acquired by the Historical Society:—

Bristoll 16, 7^m 1704.

James,

I have writt to thee by J. Martin in the good intent since, I think, the receipt from thee of any originall; Thy last was of y^e 22^d, 4^m. Now meeting with Ed^d Lane & his overseer, bound hence by Ireland to Pennsilvania, I send this in answeare to thy originall of the 26 3^m Pr. virginia fleet. But not a word from my son, or Col. Evans along wth it, but only hear, a month after thine came to hand that there is a Packet at my son aubreys for me from y^e latter, as tishe writes me word hither, where we came yesterday week, from worminghurst I & my wife & Daugh^r Penn & Johnne & Hanna wth our Serv^{ts} but none of my sons Children; and my Daught^r & I returne to morrow. Business of moment calling for me to London. Our frds here wth us, & all relat^s well. So my Sister & hers.

Letters.

1 all thy letters by ships y^t arrived are come to hand, originalls & coppys.

Coll. Evans.

2 I am not a little pleased the people generally are so, may it continue; as he behaves well to mine and my frds honest Interest, he may be sure, if I surrender, he shall not want my good endeavours to continue him. He has Judgem^t temper, & modesty, & I think w^t they call honour; and I hope he gives requisit application. I wish my poor Childe had some of his alloy to his fire & motion.

Returns.

3 No returns as yet from Barbado's, or Jamaica, or Carolina. I like y^e Circuler way by Mader. to Barb. & so to Virg. or Mar. to purchass Bills; but corn sent to the Mader^s. & freight of their best wines hither (in such request they are) would also be a good way, & save time, in y^e Judgem^t of severall men in business here. Which I leave to thee to act as thou seest best. my Commission wth []

4 I hope while you tell y^e people my saveing the final assent to myselfe, is a flourish only, & y^t by Charter from K. C. 2 y^e reserve is voyd in itselfe. you dont mean that I have put it in the powr of an ill Dep^t Go^r. & an assembly y^t may bribe him, to give away my Lands, rents, nomination off officers, fines, &c.: for it were a distraction, & distinction indeed I therefore tell thee plainly, unless they come upon a better foot, and that all such Laws shall be declared voyd, as unjust & agst reason & right, I shall insist upon the validity of the restriction or have a sufficient security. I have given away as well as spent & exhausted myself too much already. this is enough.

J. Momp. [Judge Mompesson.]

5 I am truly sorry for y^e little encouragemt he had. will our people never be wise. this is y^t base fellow D. L. and the foolish & unthankfull people y^t will yet be lead into reproachfull Jealousys of their poor (& almost) Martyrd P. & G E which frds as a church should reprove & prevent or care.

How ever, correspond closely wth J. Mom. as to points of law, for your security in proceedings, mine at least. as to his being of an opinion agst y^e admiralty Jurisdiction in Amer. tis so farr from being a fault or reason of his loss of his Judges place therein, that the Attorney Gen^l has much out-done him. held an oracle at Common Law: but twas the Church fell on Ld. Cl. & Ld. Cor. writt in C Qu^s [Quarry's] favour. besides twas an old dormant commiss. of K. W^s time his church employers y^t want his envy agst us gott fill'd up wth a new date but the ministry is chang'd since then. & measures too, to greater moderatⁿ & so M. Perry assures me he has writt C. Qu of

Lands.

6 Sell upon good Bonds, & to sufficent people for Tishes [Laetitia's] 15000 acres, tis mine by agreemt here with her husbd. however if taken up, tis well, & lett my Son have the other 15000 acres. and let him know yt ye things he sent for by his of y^e 12^m last came last to hand, however, some fishing tackle I orderd him from Portsmouth where the ships lay at his Lett^r coming to hand. the other 20000 acres I reserve for other uses, wth if not taken up, lett it be so in a good place.

Supplys.

7 I am truly sorry to see so much unkindness, it has been ready to tempt me, as divers good ffrds have advis'd me, & relations too, besides them, to sell all to y^e Crown. & lett y^m take their own Course; but I have not yet prevailed wth my selie to come to such a parting resolution; for god was with me in seeking, getting & settling of itt. & there are some y^t have not forsaken their first love to truth & me, whom I would Live & dye with.

Sasqrhanagh Purchassers.

8 I had hoped there was no need of Renewing of Bonds, for y^e Land bought, since those enter'd into were formall and I depend so positively upon y^t Supply, that if I am baffled in it, my disapointments will force me to turn my back and do w^t I am so little wiling to think upon, wherefore gett Bonds where thou canst not gett mony, & for y^t Comfort, that are in likeing of Kg Charles of Spaine, the Duke of Marlborough has beaten france so, as she has not been beaten since y^t great battle wone by Ch. y^e 5th over francis y^e first & so saved y^e emperor: & just now is news come of y^e defeat of their grand ffeet by ad. Rook & ad. Shevill, neer Malaga, destroyd some say 6 of their ships, & chased them into Tolouse: & I have sent by J. Martin y^e Queens lett^r for opening a Trade with the Spanish west Indias, to her american subjects, w^t thou desired & aimed at, in 2 of thy letters, to save us from Sincking & y^e rest of the northern Colonys.

Settlem^{ts} mill Tommes Lott Penusb.

9 I leave it to thy prudence & y^e best advice about building or Planting. but I cant see the harm or charge of Planting some choice ffruit an acre, two or 3. In any place fitt to seat upon. tis always mony, & little expense & cant be raised in a year as a house may. a Nursery should, by grafting stocks, with my best fruit at Pennsberry, be made there to draw out else where. let me know w^t comes of my other Mills, & how this new one at Soholoconk, & if it be 500, or 5000 [?] acres taken up there; also w^t & where Tommes lott lyes, if next y^e house old Ed. Shippen lives in. or y^t he built for Joseph for there is a 25 ffoot one, if not more, y^t my Cosin Markham kept his Colosh or Coach upon—neer Ch. Reeds old house. Pennsberry had to my knowledge 40 acres cleard before I came away not to slight honest Johns labour & less marys I truly esteem them & wish y^m well, but I could be glad y^e whole, & fruit of it would pay his wages too.

John Blakling ffa. Callowhill & R. Sneed & M. Elson.

x Tho I have writt by the oportunity of y^e Pennsylvania Ships, upon this head, yet thine gives occasion to say something of 2 of y^m & I add y^e other 1 too.

John Blakelings interest I have reason to recommend, because my ffather Callowhill buys it for one of my Children, also R. Sneeds, Mary Elsons & Marg. Martindales, and for y^t reason I would pick & choose being my children & my land, I think it cannot be a disallowable Partiality J. Bl. had his in two deeds. 1500 acres each, R. Sneeds thou knowst, & Mar. Martindales is one thousand, her husb. bought 2000 a. by 2 severall deeds, one was disposed of to Jos. or Sam^l cart, and the other my fa^r Call. has bought, and pray secure y^e lotts belonging to it in y^e front 20 ffoott, in high street 20 foot as I take it. If thou canst not do it there, do it where thou canst best do it for advantage. also John Elsons now d [] bly returnd to me by no other relat^e being alive and by my ffather Call^s purchase of y^e widdow twas 500 acres. I ordered y^t lott by y^e church of Eng^s Meeting house. for his citty lott wth I designed for Johnne; being almost directly against the end of his grand fathers lott, lett to T. Roberts. Have an eye to one and tother. also secure y^e Liberty lands belongeing to y^e aforesayd parcelles; in as good a place as thou canst, & together T. ff doubtless can do such a job. whose Bro Rob. & sister his wife give thee abundant thanks for thy discreet management of yt affaire wth him.

Spaniard.

11 I hope ther's no need of more evidence, y^e fellow humbling himselfe, his attorney managing him discreetly & kindly towards us; at least at Present: but there is [illegible]

Laws.

12 I meant a copy to lye by me, the other is wth y^e Attorney Gen^l. & are like to do so till I can redeem them wth a good report at the rate of fifty guineas fee, some have given 100. I resent y^t base part of y^e address to y^e Gov^r as if I undertook to get y^e Laws past they desired me to pass. I did my part at my comeing away. My charters worth 20000 lb. & I wish now I had never past it, since they insinuate as if I undertook for the trifle they gave me, when my hasty goeing for w^t obliged y^t motion was unforeseen, when those Laws & y^t charter receivd their sanction from me. but—

Bills Ed. Lane, Cos. Mark.

13 the Bills are sent back protested as ought to be formerly. Let Ed. Lane have the land Lay'd out he has bought of first Purchassers here, according to Justice. & y^e way to Mahatany carried on in y^e best manner for futurity as well as present; he presses it. I hope thou hast Claims of Cos. Markhams wife y^e beding, scriptore Books, chaires &c: he had of mine, in a civil manner: Pewter ps fancy also

P. Par. Com^s for Counc^l Coyn.

14 Now will P. Parmyter be troublesom I have already writt of that pr. next I think to send a Commis^r for Counc^l the Coyn is reduced to new Eng. wth allowance of pre contracts iff pay'd in a yeaere. By y^e ships at Spitt head goe the Proclam^t this by a Biddeport ship wth Ed. Lane. all here salute thee, wish the well, old and young. I have writt to Gr. O. abt. J. Pike. so wishing true love I rest in great haste, just puting my foot almost into ye Coach for Loudon I conclude

thy reall frd

WM. PENN.

ENCOUNTER BETWEEN DECATUR AND THE CORSAIRS AT TRIPOLI.—The following account of this affair (mentioned in the biography of Stephen Decatur in the *National Portrait Gallery*) was given by Mr. Francis Hopkinson to Mr. William G. Armstrong, by whom it is communicated:—

Frank Hopkinson asked Com. Stewart in regard to Decatur's fight with the Corsairs. Stewart said he came on board the *Syren* (Stewart's vessel) immediately after the fight. Decatur boarded one of the boats and ran the commander through the body with his boarding pike. He boarded the other boat and attempted the same thing to the captain, an immense man, who seized Decatur's pike and took it from him as he would from a child, and rushed at Decatur with it, who advanced to strike off the point with his sword. The sword broke at the handle. Decatur sprang at and seized the captain, who threw him, but Decatur brought him down with him: each had an arm around the other's neck. Decatur had discharged his two pistols. The captain drew a dagger with his right hand to stab him. Decatur drew a pocket-pistol from his vest pocket, held it behind the captain, and pointing it towards himself, fired. It passed through the captain's heart, and grazed Decatur's side. Stewart said, "Why, Steve, you're wounded." Decatur replied, "It's my own blood; it merely grazed my side."

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THOMAS LAWRENCE, PROVINCIAL COUNCILLOR, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA, AND GEORGE AND ROBERT CHARLES.—The following letters (communicated by Miss Martha Morris Lawrence, of Hamburg, Sussex Co., N. J., a descendant of Thomas Lawrence) are addressed to two brothers, George and Robert Charles. They seem to have been on terms of special intimacy with the Lawrence family, of Philadelphia. Mr. George Charles is mentioned in a letter to Mr. Storke as "Head Master of St. Paul's." Mr. Robert Charles was Secretary to Admiral Warren:—

Philad^a 9th, 24th, 1746.

Mr. George Charles.

Dear Sir: The foregoing is copy of my last, to which I refer; and since a fine ship goes from New York, I charge to send this there. Please to tell your good brother, that by this same conveyance goes Mr. James Hamilton, the son of his great persecutor, but if I have any Judgment in Men, he has by no means, or in any shape, his late father's vindictive Disposition. He really proves to be one of the most civilized young Gentlemen bred in this part of the world. I mention this of my own notion, that your brother may not behave too Shy upon the first Interview he may have with him. My son John is attending the Courts Abroad; but I expect him home to-morrow, and he may, I hope, have time enough to pay his Respects to you, by Mr. Hamilton, before he leaves New York. As I have nothing material to Inform, I am, with a regular Esteem, Yours,

T. LAWRENCE.

Philad^a, Aprile 20th, 1748.

Mr. George Charles.

Worthy Sir: This will accompany a Letter from Mr Henry Cruger, one of the Members of the House of Assembly of New York; and to whom your brother is in a particular Manner indebted for the Agency of that Province. This day I am Informed that he is also appointed Secretary of Admirall Warren, and that he was at Portsmouth, ready to proceed on the Intended Expedition formed by the Crowne. He may possibly be absent upon the receipt of the Assembly's Letter and Directions. I make no doubt but you will take care they meet with no Delaye, least it prove Detrimental to him, as I am well assured of your Kindness for your brothers Promotion. I am to say that I have given that Gentleman all the assurance in my Power, that

you will Act on such an occasion consistent with the Expectations from your good brother. As I have had the pleasure to Interest myself of all Matter in this Affair. I am persuaded you will have some Regard to the Hon^r of Your Friend & Humble Serv^t,
T. LAWRENCE.

The following letter to Mr. Robert Charles is very long. We copy only the allusions to public affairs :—

Philad^a, Oct. 24th, 1749.

Mr. Robert Charles.

Our Governour has seemingly Reconcil'd all Parties, and his Behaviour is really extremely good, insomuch that he is generally well beloved, and I verily believe will be an Honor to the Station.

By this conveyance goes Rob^t Hunter Morris, Chief Justice of the Jerseys. What Scheme he is upon is a Secret. It is supposed from the great Intimacy between him & M^r Clinton, and the great Aversion he has to M^r Belcher, that his intention is to Supplant him, or to get the Government if M^r Belcher should Dye, as he is indeed in a very bad State of Health; others say that the Distraction in the Government at New York being (as you must know) come to such an highth that even the Civill Administration is in great Confusion, by means of one or two Turbulent People, is the reason of his going to Inforce M^r Clinton's Representation to the Ministry, in order for some Removalls. Everybody at York & Jersey are in the Dark about it, no doubt you will soon see the Reason, and I make no doubt will keep your helm amidship, few People here if any know your Interest in the Governour, it may be of Service for you to know thus much, and your good sence will easily Discover the Rest.

I am extremely Pleas'd at the Genteel Advancement of your brother. I look upon it as a fair step to a still more Distinguished Station. In all which he has my hearty good wishes, and I hope you will Mention him to me at times in his present Progress.

I refer you to my son John's Letter for some farther advice, In which your good brother was partly so good to be his Friend.

The Inclos'd, for your good sister, you will I hope deliver with my hearty good wishes for her & Mrs. Charles, & Believe me to be, &c.

T. LAWRENCE.

Lei'sterfields, 10th February, 1750.

Mr. Thomas Lawrence.

Dear Sir: I am glad to find by the last Letter you favoured me with, that the Papers I transmitted to you were to your good liking, as there are few whom I would more willingly serve, and none who have a better right to command my service.

As to what you write on the subject of the Bill for the Importation of American Bar-Iron Duty free it is most certainly true that by prohibiting the future Erection of Slitting Mills, &c., those who had such erected before the Act took place, will enjoy a sort of Monoply. This was seen very clearly at the time of passing the Act; when it was proposed to demolish those already erected, upon paying the owner an Equivalent for the Cost of them. But it was urged that no Law had forbid such Mills being built, it was unreasonable by our ex post Facto to deprive People of what might possibly be the means of their subsistence. Besides, this would have established a bad Precedent for America, whose Interest it is some such Mills should remain, rather than all be taken away, and it is believed here that the Integrity of the People on the Continent will always help them to proper Expedients for Relief when it is really wanted.

The Sugar Islands have brought heavy accusations against all the Colonies

of a Contraband Trade with France & Holland, in contempt of the Navigation Acts, and that you openly land foreign Sugars, Rum, & Melons without Pay't of any Duties, in defiance of the Act of Protection which these Islands obtained; they are indeed driving at a scheme of particular Profit, but I fear their accumulated Complaints will produce something injurious to the Northern Colonies, whose Interest cannot suffer without doing, in my opinion, a sensible Injury to the United Interest of Britain.

I find you have melancholy apprehensions about America, if a New French War should break out I own you will have reason for them, if some national spirit is not shown in support of our Rights to Nova Scotia, and some solid measures concerted for bringing all your Colonies to act jointly & with vigour against an Enemy with whom, I fear, we shall be obliged to dispute at last for all our American Possessions. When you have Leisure, I wish you would give me your Calculation of all the present numbers & Strength of the Continent, & what you think those of the French are; that I may compare different accounts upon the important subject. There is nothing talked of here but profound Peace, the Belief of which is very proper, as we are said to be in no Condition for War.

I see Mr Morris but seldom, it is said his Errand hither is about the Partition lines between N. York and Jersey, in which I am his opponent. Some say he comes to ask a Governm't, in which I wish him success, but cannot conceive whereon he builds any hopes of it.

I wish your son joy of his Marriage & Success in his Business. My Wife and Harriot send their hearty good Wishes to you & your Lady, your Daughter & Sons, whose Happiness will give us sincere Pleasure. Why does not my friend Miss Molly visit England? Is she afraid we should keep her here, as we propose to do by Miss Willing who, I assure you, is much taken notice of & commended. My brother is very well, and very often enquires about his American friends. I am ever, My dear Sir, Your faithful & Affectionate, humble servant,

R. CHARLES.

Leicesterfields, Aug. 6th, 1752.

Mr. Thos. Lawrence.

Dear Sir: . . . I returned last night from the country, where my wife & sister were, who are much your servants, and retain a very warm Regard for you & yours; Being called from thence on the afflicting & very unexpected news of my dear good friend Sir Peter Warren's Death at Dublin, on the 29th ult., which fills my Heart with a very real & a very just sorrow, for in him I have lost the kindest friend ever man had, but what is my loss to that of his Family; that of the Publick? America has much reason to bewail him, whose Interest he always espoused with the utmost vigour & resolution. But who is there that ought not to bewail the Loss of one whom Riches & Honours had wrought no change upon, but ever preserved the same amiable, friendly Disposition that endeared him to Mankind. My heart is so full that I can add no more than that I am, Very dear Sir, Yours very faithfully & Affectionately,

R. CHARLES.

AUGUSTINE HERMAN.—The following letter has been received by the editor from Mr. B. FERNOW, the learned keeper of the Historical Records at Albany, and editor of the last two volumes of the *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, who very kindly furnished the tracing of the signature of Herman under the portrait illustrating Mr. Ward's article, pp. 88 *et seq.*, the original of which is attached to a power of attorney given by Herman Dec. 30, 1644:—

Albany, N. Y., June 8, '83.

Dear Sir: I am much obliged to you for remembering me so kindly with two copies of the PENNA. MAG. containing Mr. Ward's paper on Augustine

Hermans. I regret, however, that Mr. Ward followed Lednum in repeating the absurd story of Herman having been sentenced to death and fled in the manner described.

In September, 1659, Herman was sent as one of the Commissioners to Maryland (see Commission, *N. Y. Col. Doc.* xii. p. 261). In the Journal of this Embassy (vol. ii. 88 *et seq.*) he says under Oct. 21: "Sent off Resolved Waldron . . . & set out for Virginia to ascertain the opinion of the Governor," &c. &c. Both the fact that he was selected for this business and the tone of his letter to Stuyvesant (p. 99, vol. ii.) show that in the fall of 1659 he was on the best terms with the Director-General. A letter from Stuyvesant to the Directors in Holland (vol. xii. p. 288) proves that in December, 1659, nothing had as yet occurred to disturb the relations between the two men, and from letters of Wm. Beekman to Stuyvesant, April 6, 1660 (vol. xii. 301), May 12 (p. 309), May 25 (p. 312), we learn that Herman was still in Maryland and Virginia, and in correspondence with the Dutch authorities on the Delaware, and with Stuyvesant (p. 305). During this period he probably selected the site of his plantation, and most likely had been at the Mannhattans and intended to return there (see vol. xii. p. 337), which he could not have done if he had been under sentence of death at New Amsterdam. Besides, the minutes of the Council for the years 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, and 1664 give the proceedings almost from day to day without break, and contain no indication of Herman having been tried.

With many repeated thanks, Yours truly,

B. FERNOW.

Gregory B. Keen, Esq.

In another letter Mr. Fernow states that a seal is attached to a letter from Herman to Vice-Director Beekman, printed in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 337-8, exhibiting "a shield with two arrows crossed under a heart, out of which come three three-leaved clover stalks, and a crest consisting of three three-leaved clover stalks (trefoils)." The same arms are engraved on Herman's Map of Virginia, from which the portrait opposite p. 88 is reproduced.

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILLORS OF PENNSYLVANIA who held office between 1733 and 1776, and Those Earlier Councillors who were some time Chief Magistrates of the Province, and their Descendants. By Charles P. Keith. Philadelphia, 1883. 8vo. pp. xi. (141), 476.

We were happy to announce, on the cover of the last number of the *MAGAZINE*, the publication of this long-promised book, the delay in the appearance of which is both sufficiently explained and amply atoned for by the extraordinary amount of labour which has evidently been bestowed upon the work. "The Provincial Council was," as the author says, "a distinguished body," comprising "the wealthiest, the most experienced in public affairs, or for other reasons the most influential persons, speaking generally, from Cape Henlopen to the Blue Mountains." It is to be regretted that the writer found it impossible to include all the Councillors of the Province from 1681 to 1776, but the selection of the date of 1733 as the first limit of the period embraced within his book is not so arbitrary as it might seem, since those of the earlier Councillors who took the greatest part in public affairs, with few exceptions (such as James Sandelands, Jasper Yeates, and Robert French, spoken of in this *MAGAZINE* among the "Descendants of Jöran Kyn"), were still in office at that time.

The Councillors comprehended are the following: William Markham, Thomas Lloyd, and Edward Shippen, some time Presidents of Council; James Logan, William Logan, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Anthony Palmer, Andrew Hamilton, James Hamilton, Andrew Allen, Henry Brooke, Thomas Græme, Clement Plumsted, Thomas Griffiths, Charles Read, William Till, Robert Strettell, Samuel Hasell, Abraham Taylor, Joseph Turner,

Lawrence Growdon, Richard Peters, Benjamin Shoemaker, Thomas Hopkinson, Ralph Assheton, John Penn, Lynford Lardner, Benjamin Chew, John Mifflin, Thomas Cadwalader, James Tilghman, John Morand, Richard Penn, Thomas Lawrence, Edward Shippen, William Hicks. Biographical sketches of these persons are given as well as of some of the more distinguished of their posterity. The genealogies are intended to include all the descendants of these Councillors to the latest generation. In the female branches will be found, among many others of considerable distinction, the names of Fisher, Smith, Betton, McClenachan, Brown, Emlen, Sergeant, Pepper, Coleman, Schrack, Carpenter, Moore, Firth, Ellet, Chevalier, Kuhn, Livingston, Palairer, Troth, Brownson of La., Beatty, Potts, Camac, Carnegie (Bart.), Elgin (Earl of), Cathcart (the Earls of), Hutton, Devereux, Burton, James, Jones, Strawbridge, Taylor, Morris, Penington, Rawle, Roberts, Coale, of Balt., Carroll, Wilcocks, Ingersoll, Johnston, Meigs, Watmough, Montgomery, McCall, Ringgold, Coxe, Clymer, Dallas, Dale, De Lancey, Dickinson, Elliot, Galloway, Grafton (Duke of), Schley, Gibbons, of N. C., Goldsborough, Hemsley, Knight, Elder, Burd, Melvaine, Lynch, Arnold, Willing, Francis, Bingham, Baring, Swift, Stirling (Bart.), Nepean (Bart.), Erskine (Baron), Portland (Duke of), Meredith, Hare, Powell, Byrd, Carter, Page, Harrison, Howard, Jackson, Wallace, Wharton, Wistar, Yeates, and Bayard.

Besides the genealogical value of this work (the most important of the kind relating to Pennsylvania that has ever appeared), much interesting information is contained in it concerning institutions and events noted in the history of our Province and State, and especially of the city of Philadelphia, relieving the monotony of the orderly succession of names and dates of which family registers necessarily consist. Suffice it to add that the book is well printed on good paper, and is attractively bound.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, by Samuel W. Pennypacker. Philadelphia, Pa., 1883. 8vo. pp. 416.

This work consists of valuable and interesting papers, some of which have already appeared in magazines, and are here corrected and enlarged, and others of which are now published for the first time. Among the former, those on "The Settlement of Germantown, Pa., and the Causes which led to it," "Der Blutige Schau-Platz, oder Martyrer Spiegel, a Noteworthy Book," "Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania," and "Samuel John Atlee," are given in former volumes of the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*. Other articles related to the history of the Mennonites in America (a subject to which the author has given special attention) are the following: "David Rittenhouse, the American Astronomer," an excellent biographical account of that eminent Pennsylvanian, drawn from numerous MS. and printed sources of information; "Christopher Dock, the Pious Schoolmaster on the Skippack, and his Works," including a translation of his essay on "School Management," believed to be "the earliest written and published in America upon the subject of school teaching," and "the only picture we have of the colonial country school;" "Abraham and Dirck op den Graeff," German settlers of Germantown, noted as protesting against the institution of slavery in 1688; and "Zionitischer Weyrauchs Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg," the first book printed in German type in America, viz., at Germantown in 1739. There are also biographical notices of "William Moore, of Moore Hall," "Samuel Richardson, a Councillor, Judge, and Legislator of the Olden Time" (one of those not included in Keith's *Councillors of Pennsylvania*), "Captain Joseph Richardson," "James Abram Garfield," "Henry Armit Brown," and "Charles Frederick Taylor." The book closes with a graphic "record of a term in the military service of the United States in the Gettysburg Campaign of 1863," modestly entitled "Six Weeks in Uniform."

HISTORY OF HARDWICK, MASSACHUSETTS. With a Genealogical Register. By Lucius R. Paige. Boston, 1883. 8vo. pp. xii. 555.—This work comprises the civil, ecclesiastical, literary, and military history of the early home and place of residence of the ancestors of the author, whose portrait forms the frontispiece, and who has been collecting the materials it contains during a long and active life. It is composed in a style which betokens the accuracy of the writer, and it contains information of general as well as of local interest. The genealogical portion of it seems to be not less thorough than it is concise. Allen, Paige, Robinson, Ruggles, and Warner are names of most frequent occurrence.

Queries.

THE EVANS FAMILIES OF GWYNEDD.—I should like to obtain, for use in my intended history of Gwynedd, details respecting any of the descendants of the four brothers Evans (ap Evan), Thomas, Robert, Owen, and Cadwalader, who came from Wales in 1698, and settled at Gwynedd, in Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County. Correspondence on the subject is respectfully solicited.

West Chester, Pa.

HOWARD M. JENKINS.

THE RURAL SOCRATES; or an account of a celebrated Philosophical Farmer, lately living in Switzerland, and known by the name of Kliyogg. Hallowell (District of Maine). Printed by Peter Edes; and sold by the booksellers in the principal towns of the United States. A. D. 1800. 8vo. pp. xii. 203, xiii.—Who is the author or editor of this book?

Replies.

ALEXANDER STEPHEN (vol. iii. p. 237) was the brother of Adam Stephen. The following obituary notice of him appears in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 19, 1768: "On the eight instant died in Frederick County, Virginia, Captain Alexander Stephen, late an Officer of his Majesty's Royal American Regiment. He was a Gentleman of Integrity and Bravery. In General Braddock's Engagement he rescued the Colours of the 44th Regiment from the Enemy, after the fall of Mr. Halket, and received two Wounds in the Action. He distinguished himself at the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec; and under the Command of General Murray, on the Heights of Abraham, the famous 28th of April, in which Engagement he received a dangerous Wound of which he never perfectly recovered."

GOV. PATRICK GORDON (vol. iii. p. 237) was buried in Christ Church Burying Ground at the southeast corner of Fifth and Arch streets, Philadelphia, Aug. 6, 1736. (See "Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia," printed in the *MAGAZINE*.)



Geo. Inman

Lieutenant in H.B.M.'s 23rd Foot.

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GEORGE INMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION.¹

When the disturbencies Commenced at Boston in America that finally terminated in its independence of Brittain, I entered a Volunteer in the service of the Parent Country, contrary to the wishes of my Connections and friends, and in December 1775 attached myself to the Light Company of the 4th or King's own Regiment commanded by my Friend Capt. Evelyn.²

In January 1776, Capt. Evelyn and myself embarked on board the Falcon, ship of war, commanded by my Brother-in-law Capt. Linzee, under orders to attend Sir Henry Clinton in an Expedition to the Southward, the 4th and 44th Light Companys having embarked on Board the Kitty Transport and Sir Henry Clinton with his suit on board the Mercury Frigate, Capt. James Montague. We sailed immediately for the River Cape Fear, North Carolina. The Mercury, Frigate and Kitty Transport stopping at New York and at Norfolk in Virginia. We arrived at Cape Fear in Feb'y and were rec'd by Gov. Martin who was then on board the Cruiser with much satisfaction, as the Emigrants were

¹ From the original, in the possession of Chas. R. Hildeburn.

² With regard to whom see *The Evelyns in America*, by G. D. Scull. (Oxford, 1881.)

then imbodyed in the back Country and were on the march to Wilmington, we endeavor'd to give them some assistance, but without effect, and in March they were defeated and dispersed. Sir Henry Clinton joined us in March with the two Lt. Companys, and transports from Ireland were daily dropping in with 7 Regiments, viz.—the 15th, 28th, 33d, 37th, 46th, 54th, and 57th, under the Command of Lord Cornwallis and Genl. Vaughan, and several ships of warr under Sir Peter Parker; we made several excursions on shore, more by way of exercise to the Troops, than to gain any other advantage than procuring some fresh provisions, weh we found very scarce, and from this Period till our arrival at Staten Island had little else than Salt Pork and Sour Crout; about the last of May we left Cape Fear and arrived off Charlestown, So. Carolina, the 4th June, and that night came on a severe storm, weh obliged us (the Kitty Transport in weh I had been on board off since her arrival in Cape Fear) to slip her cables and put to sea, we run down a schooner with nine men on board, owing to the darkness of the night; we gained our station in ten days after, without Anchors and much damaged, about the last of the month we made an unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's Island. The Shipping being much damaged. In July we with the whole Fleet proceeded for New York and arrived off Staten Island the 1st August, and next day landed and were ordered to the 1st Battalion of Lt Infantry Commanded by Majors Musgrave and Dundas, about the 23d of same month the whole army under Sir Wm. Howe embarked in flatt Boats, crossed ye Narrows and made our landing good at New Utrech, and on the 27th in the Morning abt 2 o'clock, I, with a few men being posted at a Cross Road, intercepted and took an American Patrol of Horse, composed of Five officers belonging to the New York Battallion,¹ after deliver-

¹ To this capture Johnson (*Campaign of 1776*, p. 176 *et seq.*) attributes in a great measure the loss by the Americans of the Battle of Long Island. The credit of the capture is there given to Capt. Evelyn, and as Inman was merely a volunteer acting under his orders, he was perhaps entitled to some share of it. It was doubtless in recognition of this service that Sir Wm. Howe presented Inman with an ensigncy in the 17th Foot.

ing them up to Col. Maxwell who commanded the Rear Guard, I joined the Comp'y with my party about nine, when they were warmly engaged and continued so with various success till near noon, when the Enemy retired to their works, losing many men. I rec'd no other injury than a contusion on my Knee pan, wch for the time was very painfull—a musket shot through my hat and another through my trousers near the hip. The Americans two days after retired to New York, after reducing the Fort at Hell Gate on the 15th Sept. we effected our landing on York Island with little or no loss and that Even'g a Brigade took possession of the City, we advanced to Magoings Pass and the Enemy retired to the works that surrounded fort Washington. The next day the 3d Lt Infantry under Major Johnson¹ of the 28th advancing too near the enemy's lines, they came down in Force, wch nearly bro't on a General engagement, in a few days after, Sir Wm. Howe presented me with a pair of Colors, in the 17th Regt, dated the day of the action on Long Island, wch Regt. I soon after joined. In October part of the Army embarked near Hell Gate and proceeded for New Rochelle near wch my good and gallant friend Capt. Evelyn received his mortal wound he being carried to New York, and after suffering Amputation soon expired, to the great regret of all that knew him as a soldier or friend.

The beginning of Novr. was at the Reduction of Fort Washington soon after crossed the North River to Fort Lee wch was also reduced and proceeded through the Jerseys to Trenton, meeting with little or no opposition, the beginning of Decr. we left Trenton for our own cantonments at Hillsborough and 2 Brigades of Hessian Troops under Col. Rall, marched in to be Quartered there, we Enjoy'd our Winter Quarters but a few days, when Gen'l Washington having crossed the Delaware, came suddenly on Rall's Brigades at Trenton the 24th Decr, and Captured, Killed and dispersed the whole, the British Army was obliged to quit their Quarters and assembled at Prince Town the Americans

¹ Afterwards General Sir Henry Johnson, Baronet. He married Rebecca Franks, of Philadelphia.

still remaining at Trenton and daily receiving from their late success large reinforcements. The Season of the Year being severe, snow on the ground and for Nights having no other Bed than hard frozen Earth or Ice and no other covering than a cloak oftentimes induced me to Reflect on past times when I used to sleep in soft downy Beds and with every comfortable necessary around me, amongst them friends whom I left, and wch perhaps if I had remained might still have enjoy'd.

The advance of the Army having proceeded to Trenton we were ordered on the 3d January 1777 from Prince Town as an Escort to Stores and at sunrise a large Body of the Enemy were discovered on our left wch Col. Mawhood immediately determined to attack, we having the 55th and a party of convalescents with a few of the 17th Dragoons, the enemy proved too powerful for us, the 55th giving way and retired to Prince Town, where the 40th Reg't were posted and both Reg'ts quitted that Town, retiring before the Enemy to Brunswick; we attacked their Centre Column and drove them to their main body, but, they rallying we were obliged to retire, after making such an exertion as we were able to proceed to our Army then lying at Maidenhead. We suffered much, out of 224 Rank and file that marked off the Parade at 5 o'Clock that Morning we sustained a Loss of 101 Rank and file, Killed and wounded and *much* the greater part by the first fire received, I being the only Officer in the Right wing of the Battallion that was not very much injured receiving only a Buck shot through my Cross Belt wch just entered the Pit of my Stomach and made me sick for the moment. We had a very severe march that day and all the following night, passing over the field of Action abt 4 o'Clock that afternoon through Prince Town and with the whole Army to Brunswick where we got on the 4th abt Nine in the Morning. After halting one day to refresh ourselves we proceeded to Amboy where we remained the Winter, but found it irksome and unpleasant Quarters, being out almost every day, wch harrass'd the Garrison much.

In April, about the 23d, we took the Field, encamped in

Front of the lines and in May made an excursion to Hillsborough, but finding Genl. Washington strongly posted on Morris's Heights, the whole Army retired to Amboy, quitting Brunswick and those places we had occupied during the Winter, and in June entirely quitted the Jerseys, crossed over to Staten Island and in a few days embarked on board Transports, and sailed for the Chesapeak, Virginia, and landed the 25th August following at the Head of Elk in that Bay near George Town, Maryland, and after a few skirmishes at Iron Hill &c. we crossed the Forks of the Brandywine on the 11th Sept., turned the Right flank of the Enemy, engaged and totally defeated them—began the attack after 4 in the afternoon and before nine were able to sitt down and refresh ourselves with some cold Pork and Grogg, on the Ground the Enemy had first posted themselves, which we enjoyed much as our march before the attack was better than 18 miles. After remaining on the ground a few days we proceeded to the White Horse near Valley forge where there was a large store of flour &c., and near this place fell in with Genl. Waine's Brigade wch was cut to pieces. Here I found Thomas Randall¹ (who formerly lived with Mr. Gould) badly wounded with Bayonets, he being a Capt. of Artillery in the American Army then attached to Waine's Brigade. We soon after forded the Schuylkill and the Army formed a line at German Town abt Eight or Nine miles from Philadelphia, wch the two Battalions of British Grenadiers took Possession of without any opposition. On the 4th October the Enemy made a heavy attack on the 2nd Light Infantry and Pickets on the Right of the line, wch obliged us to change our Front, however they were obliged to retire without effecting anything more than putting us in some hurry and confussion for the time and we pursued them several

¹ For some account of Capt. Randall, see *Memorials of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts*, by Francis S. Drake, pp. 434-5; also, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw*, p. 38. According to the latter, he was knocked down and stabbed "in eight places," and "his wounds not admitting of his being carried with" the enemy, "they left him at a house near the scene of action."

miles. I being on Picket had several of my men killed and wounded before I was ordered in. The army shortly withdrew to Philadelphia and took up their quarters for the winter, forming strong lines from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, and in these Quarters they made up for the severity of the last Winter, though we often made excursions—to Mansfield, Edgill—and one about Christmas to Darby where we remained for a fortnight procuring forage &c.—and during these excursions we frequently fell in with parties of the Enemy and had some severe skirmishes, particularly at Mansfield, but we could not draw Genl. Washington from his Entrenchments. This year (was) fatal to Burgoyne at Saratoga.

Nothing material occurred in the months of Jan'y Feb'y or March 1778 except frequent excursions in the Jerseys and other places to destroy stores and provide provisions and Forage, and one in particular under Col. Mawhood to Salem in the Jerseys,¹ where several poor Quakers were unintentionally killed, we remained there and in its neighborhood near three weeks and then returned to Philadelphia where I was forming an attachment and was married on St. George's Day the 23rd April. Col. Mawhood having been appointed Aid-de-Camp to the King left us about this time for England and in May Sir Wm. Howe took his departure leaving the Command to Sir Henry Clinton who came from New York for that purpose. On our preparing to quit Philadelphia I procured a Passage for my wife in the "Sukey" (a Brig of my Uncle's) Capt. Brown, for New York, but on being detained in the River, was, owing to her excessive sickness, obliged to send for her, and on the 16th June we evacuated the City, crossed (at) Cooper's ferry, and I had a Coach for the convenience of my wife, my man servant and his wife who was also my servant, attended her, as I could not be so much with her as I could have wished. We proceeded through Mount Holly and met with very little obstruction

¹ On this "excursion" see R. G. Johnson's *Historical Account of the First Settlement of Salem, in West Jersey*, pp. 155 et seq.

from the Enemy, excepting that of their destroying the Bridges we were to pass and filling up the Wells that we might not get water—until we came to Monmouth on whose Heights we took Post on the 26th abt noon, and finding that the Americans intended an attack we halted the 27th, the Enemy in parties making their appearance at every avenue in front of our advance posts, and picked up many of our straglers and among the number a Mr. Nesbit, a Lieut. in our Regt. but he was no great loss to us or an acquisition to them.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 28th Genl. Knyp-hausen took charge of the baggage and stores of the Army and proceeded towards the Neversinks near Sandy Hook, and for the better security of my wife I sent her on with line of Baggage the Army began to quit the heights about 6 o'clock and when we had marched about three miles the Enemy advanced, attacked our Rear; we faced about and formed the line and drove them as we advanced and when the main Body of Americans came up they took a very advantageous post on those heights we had occupied, but did not think proper to engage, the day being exceedingly hot and no water to be got, upwards of 60 British and Hessians troops dropt dead in the Ranks with fatigue. We marched on our Route towards Sandy Hook abt 12 at night without being further molested by the enemy. The next morning abt nine I got up to that part of the baggage where my wife was, she remaining in the Coach since she had left me, the Baggage had been attacked and my dear Mary very narrowly escaped being shot. We, about the 5th July to our great joy arrived safe at New York and soon after met with Capt. and Mrs. Linzee. In a very few days after the Army had quitted the Jerseys and were cantoned on York, Long, and Staten Islands, Count D'Estaing appeared off the Hook with 12 sail of the line, but made no attempt to come into the Hook and after remaining several days bore away for Rhode Island. Sir Henry Clinton appointed me a Lieutenant in the 26th Regt. then encamped at Laurel Hill near Fort Knyphausen, dated the day of engagement at Monmouth. I took for my

wife at Bloomingdale near her Aunt Leake's and after an excursion to the White Plains was taken ill with a fever and ague and soon after my wife and two servants, so that we were greatly distressed.

About this time we received accounts from Philadelphia of the Death of Mrs. Coombe my wife's only sister. In November we took Quarters in New York at one Whiston's formerly of Boston. The ague still continuing in me after Christmas I took lodging at Mrs. Spellings at half a joe a week for the more convenience of my wife and her Mother who we expected from Philadelphia, about this time the Regt was ordered to Staten Island and to remain in hutts made by themselves for the Winter. In October or the beginning of November my Father and Mrs. Inman with Miss Murray came from Boston to Rhode Island to see Capt. and Mrs. Linzee who were stationed there, he being in command of the Pearl Frigate and after remaining a few days returned to Boston, should liked to have been of the party but from (my) situation and illness, was prevented; Linzee soon after was sent to the West Indies.

In January 1779 Mrs. Badger my Wife's Mother, came from Philadelphia to stay with us, on the 26th in the Evening my wife was safely put to bed of a little Boy, whom I called Ralph after my Father. I soon after obtained from the Commandant a house for the convenience of my family and in March I went to Staten Island to join the Regt having recovered of the ague, leaving my Wife in Town, after remaining a few weeks at the Hutts I was removed to the Command of Major André's Company at Dukers ferry, where I found it more comfortable, having fitted up a room for the reception of my wife, who spent part of her time with me, and part with her Mother in Town. I remained in this situation until September when the Regiment was ordered to be drafted and the officers sent to England, but owing to the French Fleet being on the Coast, though the Regt was drafted early in Sept. yet they were not able to embark till about the 20th December. In the intermediate time, the 20th Sept. we, to our great grief lost our sweet in-

fant, who died with a Mortification in his Bowels, he was interred in the Vault of John Leake Esq. Trinity Church Yard, a few days after I obtained leave to go to Rhode Island, to procure an interview with my Father and accordingly we embarked in a Cork Victualler for that Port, but to our great mortification found that the evacuation was so soon to take place that I was disappointed and returned again to New York in a Transport with the Fleet on ye Evacuation. I notwithstanding obtained a flag of Truce and sailed for Rhode Island again in Novr leaving my wife with her Mother and the interview I had with my Father was short and by no means satisfactory, after being tossed about in that Harbour for more than three weeks and twice very near being lost not being allowed to go on shore I left the Harbour and arrived safe at New York the 17th Decr, and then finding the fleet shortly to sail for England had but little time to prepare for the Passage not choosing to go in the transport that was allotted, and on the 21st embarked with my wife on board a merchantman, ourselves the only passengers, leaving my wife's good mother behind. The parting very much affected us, but yet it was unavoidable. The 23d we sailed from Sandy Hook—near two hundred sail under convoy of several frigates, but Christmas eve a most violent gale came on, which dispersed the fleet. About four days after we collected about twenty-eight sail, and that night a second storm attacked us, and we for eight weeks did not meet but with two of the fleet, and them we met separately. In short, the whole of the passage was a continued storm. We arrived to our great joy about the middle of February at Portsmouth and found that many of the fleet had foundered, and that the transport that was allotted for me was also wrecked on the North West coast of Ireland, after being buffeted about without candles for the binnacles for near four weeks after our arrival in February 1780. We remained at Portsmouth three days, and Sir Samuel Hood who was then Commissioner of the Dock Yard (now Lord Hood) sent for us, as soon as he knew of our arrival. We spent part of a day at his house, and the next morning I set off in a post

chaise for London, but paying the post boys well was soon hurled to Kingston, twelve miles from town, dined there and lodged, not choosing to go into town the latter part of the day. Next morning about eleven we put up at the Golden Cross, Charing Cross, and a son of Lady Hood's, to whom she had wrote, called on us and procured us lodgings in Adam Street, Adelphi. Many Americans called on us. We remained in town three weeks, and then set off for Bristol, where I was ordered by Colonel Stuart to recruit. We went to Burrington to see my uncle who proposed us to make his house our home, which kind invitation we most readily accepted. My party came to Bristol in April, and were successful in recruiting. In August we went to Mrs. Brown's, Trinity Street, to board and lodge for a month, and in September made an excursion in a one horse chaise to Watchett in Somersetshire, to see a son of my uncle, who was married there, taking my wife and Miss Inman with me, and my servant Gibson on horseback. We staid there near a fortnight. On our return to Bristol I took lodgings, and remained in town at different lodgings without anything material happening till after Christmas. I cannot forbear mentioning that a family by the name of Freeman at Clifton near Bristol were particularly kind and attentive to me and mine. The old gentleman was a correspondent of my father's, concerned in the copper business. Their attention to us will ever demand our grateful acknowledgments. We met with many American families that were settled here, some of the most intimate were: Thomas Oliver, John Vassals, Lechmere, Sewal, Bob Holbrook, Nat. Coffin, who died soon after, Mrs. Borland, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Fennel, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Coulson, and Mrs. Merchant, our friend Betsy Davis who resided with her aunt Mrs. Vassall. But (with) some of these, by some means or other, a coolness took place, after which my visits to them were more out of form than friendship. In the month of May we received the disagreeable account of the death of my dear Mary's mother, who died at New York about the time of our arriving in Portsmouth Harbour, we then being at our good uncle's. He gave her every consolation that her distressed situation required. In August

of this year R. Temple arrived at Bristol in a flag of truce from Boston with his family, whom I saw and spent an evening with at the White Lyon. Soon after our coming to Burrington Captain and Mrs. Linzee with their little Susan, and Nanny the servant, gave us the meeting at the parsonage, and we spent a few weeks very pleasantly, sometimes at Bath, and sometimes at Bristol. Harry a son of my uncle's who was in the Navy being at home at that time, made one of the party. The day after Christmas I sent off my servant Gibson to join the regiment; being at Shrewsbury with a number of recruits. My taking lodging in Bristol was contrary to the wishes of my good uncle, but having so many old acquaintance in the military line recruiting there, I could not be prevailed on to remain in the country. Nothing more material happened to me during this year (1780) excepting frequent offers to purchase a company at the regulated price, which I was under the mortifying necessity of declining.

In January 1781 I took a small furnished house at Clifton opposite my good and worthy friend Mr. Freeman, who wished me to be as near him as possible, Miss Inman being with us as much as our good uncle could spare her. Nothing material occurred the months of February or March, excepting my being much distressed for a very necessary article which Mr. Freeman was kind enough to assist me with. The fourth of April about eleven in the morning my Mary was safely put to bed of a little boy. Mr. Freeman offering to stand Godfather, and his daughter Mrs. Blissett, Godmother. I could not do less than name him John Freeman after the old gentleman, as a small acknowledgment for the many favours he had conferred on me. My uncle being the other godfather. His birth was registered in the Parish Church of Clifton and at Burrington. My Mary by some means caught a cold which brought on the rheumatism in her legs that she was not able to walk for months after. In May we again removed to my uncles at Burrington, taking a young woman by name Sarah Davis, to attend my wife and child. The change was recommended to Mrs. Inman, however she from that period till August was quite confined, and the

first part of the time to her bed and obliged to be lifted out and in. Our little fellow being very well, and a pretty boy. About the 20th September I took my wife, Free, and the maid in a chaise to Plymouth. We stopped a few days at the London Tavern, Exeter, to see our old friend Mrs. Borland who resided in the city. We dined with her, etc. On our getting to Plymouth our dear sister Mrs. Linzee and her little ones were happy to see us. Captain Linzee being in the West Indies, having the command of the Santa Monica Frigate of 36 guns.

In this place we remained until the 4th December, spending our time very pleasantly. I met here a number of acquaintance in the military and naval line, dined frequently with the regiments that were encamped at Maker Tower, and with General Gray (now Sir Charles Gray). On the 4th December took our departure for Bristol, staid a week at Exeter on our return, our little Freeman not very well, having a breaking out on his face. We stopped at my uncle's, who insisted on our staying with him a little while, (with) which from prudent reasons we readily complied. While at Plymouth, the news arrived of the fate of Lord Cornwallis and the troops at Yorktown, Virginia. After a visit to our friend Mr. Freeman, we returned to our uncle's and spent the Christmas, and commenced the new year, 1782, with him. Nothing of any consequence occurring during the month of January, and in the month February I commenced a kind of Journal,¹ which have continued ever since, making a memorandum of anything particular happening to any part of my family, which may on some future day find amusement in having recourse to, and many misfortunes and disagreeable occurrences I shall find therein. But it has pleased the Almighty Dispenser of events to have thus far given me resolution and firmness to go through, and pray God will still give me sufficient grace to withstand the like misfortunes, that I may have to encounter with hereafter with the same fortitude. God's name be praised.

¹ Extracts from this "Journal" will appear, together with a notice of the writer, in a future number.

FRIENDS IN BURLINGTON.

BY AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

The following pages are an attempt to fix certain recollections of a most worthy body of people settled in what has been a rather remarkable community. Burlington Monthly Meeting of Friends, at least in name, is familiar to many as one of the oldest in America. Its records date back to 1678, prior to any municipal government in the place, and only twenty-seven years after the first body of Friends in the colonies had settled in Massachusetts. The complete records of the meeting are preserved in eleven leather bound folios, the early volumes of which are replete with interest to the antiquarian or the relic hunter. The eloquent oration by Henry Armitt Brown, in 1877, has introduced the passengers of the "Kent." The present sketch is intended to give us a slight glimpse of their later history.

About them seem'd but ruin and decay,
Cheerless, forlorn, a rank autumnal fen
Where no good plant might prosper, or again
Put forth fresh leaves for those that fell away,
Nor could they find a place wherein to pray
For better things. In righteous anger then
They turned; they fled the wilderness of men,
And sought the wilderness of God. And day
Rose upon day, while ever manfully
Westward they battled with the ocean's might,
Strong to endure whatever fate should be;
And watching in the tempest and the night
That one sure Pharos of the soul's dark sea,
The constant beacon of the Inner Light.

March 11, 1883.

F. B. G.

I.

"They were men of present valor, stalwart old iconoclasts,
Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue was the Past's:
But we make their truth our falsehood, thinking that hath made us free,
Hoarding it in mouldy parchments, while our tender spirits flee
The rude grasp of that great Impulse which drew them across the sea."

LOWELL.

James II., while Duke of York, received by a grant from his brother Charles possessions in America that included the

entire territory between the Delaware and Hudson rivers. Previous to that cession the land had been in the hands of the Dutch, from whom the "New Netherlands," including also this tract of wilderness, were conquered by the English. Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, having (1664) purchased this portion from the Duke of York, held it during the many national disputes that followed, and also during the wars in which the "New Netherlands" were retaken by the Dutch, and again restored to the English.

Ten years later (1674) Lord Berkeley, then a very old man, determined to sell his portion of property in America, and made known the fact to those in England desirous of purchasing. Fabulous stories of the American Provinces had reached the ears of the persecuted Quakers, whose sturdy and dauntless evangelists, in preaching and proclaiming their doctrine, had explored even that distant land. Among the names of the travellers may be found those of William Edmundson, and also of George Fox, who (1672), in his journey from the New England States to the South, had passed on horseback through the spot afterward Burlington, and had reported the soil as good, and withal "a most brave country." Hardships at home, coupled with a possible future of comfort and peace away from England, determined two Friends to purchase the land; accordingly the sale was effected to John Fenwick and Edward Billynge for the sum of £1000. The details of a misunderstanding between these two pioneers need not here be repeated. It resulted in a division of the property, one tenth of which was retained by John Fenwick, who ultimately settled on the lower Delaware, at a point which, from the "delightsomeness of the land," he called *Salem*. The remaining nine-tenths, upon the complication of Edward Billynge in business troubles, were placed at his request in the hands of his three principal creditors, William Penn, and Gawen Lawrie, of London, and Nicholas Lucas, of Hertford, the former of whom had previously acted as arbitrator in the dispute between Billynge and Fenwick. Those three men discharged with exemplary care their task of settling the large estate; selling it chiefly

in small portions to enterprising Friends who were ready to try their fortunes in a new country.

In 1676 they had sent a letter¹ "to those proposing to settle in West Jersey," from which the following extracts are taken:—

"DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:

In the pure love and precious fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ, we very dearly salute you. Forasmuch as there was a paper printed several months since, entitled *The description of New-West-Jersey*, in the which our names were mentioned as trustees for one undivided moiety of the said province; and because it is alledged that some, partly on this account, and others apprehending, that the paper by the manner of its expression came from the body of friends, as a religious society of people, and not from particulars, have through these mistakes weakly concluded that the said description in matter and form might be writ, printed and recommended on purpose to prompt and allure people to disettle and transplant themselves, as it's also by some alledged . . . It truly laid hard upon us, to let friends know how the matter stands, which we shall endeavour to do with all clearness and fidelity."

They then proceed to give the transactions of the various owners since the King's grant, and the division of property then existing, with their position of trust, and a statement of their authority, the portions exposed for sale and the quantity of land, etc. They add:—

"And forasmuch as several friends are concerned as creditors, as well as others, and the disposal of so great a part of this country being in our hands, we did in real tenderness and regard as friends, and especially to the poor and necessitous, make friends the first offer. . . . This was the real and honest intent of our hearts, and not to prompt or allure any out of their places, either by the credit our names might have with our people throughout the nation, or by representing the matter otherwise than it is in itself.

"As for the printed paper some time since set forth by the creditors, as a description of that province, we say as to two passages in it, they are not so clearly and safely worded as ought to have been, particularly in serving to limit the *winter* season to so short a time; when on further informa-

¹ *New Jersey Archives*, vol. i. p. 231.

tion, we hear it is some time longer and some time shorter than therein expressed; and the last clause relating to liberty of conscience, we would not have any to think that it is promised or intended to maintain the liberty of the exercise of religion by force and arms: though we shall never consent to any the least violence on conscience, yet it was never designed to encourage any to expect by force of arms to have liberty of conscience fenced against invaders thereof." . . .

(Signed)

WILLIAM PENN.
GAWEN LAWRIE,
NICHOLAS LUCAS.

This is clear evidence of the sincerity with which these Friends desired to guard against any misrepresentation or false understanding.

A recent writer¹ has alluded to the battle of privilege against prerogative as the "key-note to the reign of the first Charles." That it is true also of that of the second, though perhaps in a lesser degree, cannot be denied. History gives us heart-rending details of the sufferings of the Quakers, who came in for a large share of the horrors and trials of that strife; and on whose unprotected and unresisting heads both church and state combined to pour out their vials of wrath. The untold misery of that time causes intense sympathy for them, even at the distance of two centuries; and as if they had not suffered enough woe at the hands of men, they were called to endure greater trials from the terrors of nature. Especially was this true of London. If we consider the destruction of life occasioned by the terrible plague in 1665, when 1177 persons, out of London meeting alone, were buried in Bunhill Fields;² the destruction of property belonging to survivors by the fire which swept over the city in the following year, together with the persecutions so rigorously pursued during the troublous periods of the protectorship and restoration, we cannot wonder at the desire of Friends to escape and seek liberty of conscience in a free

¹ William Stebbing, in *Littell's Living Age* for 1 mo. 10, 1880.

² The name of "Bunhill" is a corruption of *Bonehill*, which was given the place on account of the great number of hasty interments occurring there during the terrors of the plague.—See A. J. C. Hare's *Walks in London*.

land. How great the persecutions were in the early years of the society, and how far the government of England carried out its cruel policy, it is not the object of these pages to relate, further than to note their effect in those things which led to the removal of the small colony from England to the American Province of West Jersey.

Repeated efforts to move the heart of the King had signally failed. That easy-going monarch promised readily, and as readily let the matter slip. While Margaret Fell, afterward the wife of George Fox, lay imprisoned in Lancaster Castle (1664), her two daughters, Mary and Margaret, waited on Charles at Whitehall, and were pleasantly received by him. "The King," writes Mary,¹ "was very loving to me, and said he would take [my mother's case] into consideration, adding, 'they shall not have her estate from her.' He took me by the hand as soon as he came near me." At the very time that the words passed the lips of the King, who was amusing himself by hearing these and many other touching appeals, the Parliament of which he stood so greatly in awe was occupied in passing the Conventicle Act, by which not more than five persons were permitted to worship together otherwise than according to the established ritual of the Church of England. When Friends could not conscientiously comply with the requirements of this law, clergy and parliament united in handing them over to bitter persecution, the details of which form the darkest blot on the history of England at this time.

It is an evidence of the firm principle which actuated the Quakers of that day, that those who had become purchasers of the American lands, and contemplated planting the colony on the Delaware shore, had some hesitation in leaving England, fearing they might be endeavoring to escape too easily from ills which God had called upon them to endure. In the spring of 1677 (26 years after Friends first came to America, settling in Massachusetts), the "goode Shippe Kent," Gregory Marlowe master, sailed from London down

¹ *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, by Maria Webb.

the Thames, having on board 230 Quakers, bound for their new provinces in West Jersey. Of these, half were from London, half from Yorkshire. "The circumstance," says Bowden, "of so large a number of Friends emigrating in a body to America was a subject which attracted public attention. The King participated in this feeling; and meeting the ship whilst yachting on the Thames, 'asked if they were all Quakers, and gave them his blessing.'"

Feelings which naturally must have caused regret on leaving their native land were doubtless mingled with relief in escaping from the dangers of persecution, even if they were exchanging these for the perils and discomforts of a life in the wilderness. Two deaths on the voyage—those of John Wilkinson and William Perkins—gave added trouble to the uncertainties of the time. We are informed the voyage was long and tedious, further retarded at its close by the interference of Governor Andros, agent for the Duke of York in his territory in New York, who demanded evidence of the deed of transfer from his Grace to Lord Berkeley and the Quakers. Having come to an understanding with him¹ (the details of which Bowden fully sets forth in his *History of Friends in America*), they passed between the capes of Delaware, gradually making their way to the meadow land lying below the Assisconk Creek; this was at that time an island. Here they landed (6 mo. O. S. 1677), and, parcelling out² the

¹ See also *New Jersey Archives*, vol. ii. p. 239. Council Minute (New York): "Thomas Olive and Other Passengers of the Ship 'Kent,' ask for, and receive Permission to settle in West Jersey.—At a Councell Augt 4th 1677."

² "The deed for the lands between Rankokas creek and Timber Creek bears date the 10th Sept. 1677; that for the lands between Oldman's Creek and Timber Creek, 27th Sept. 1677; and that from Rankokas Creek to Assanpink, 10th Oct. 1677. By the consideration paid for lands between Oldman's Creek and Timber Creek, a judgment may be formed of the rest. It consisted of 30 matchcoats, 20 guns, 30 kettles, and one great one, 30 pair hose, 20 fathom of duffelds, 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair tobacco tongs, 60 scissors, 60 tinshaw looking-glasses, 120 awl-blades, 120 fish-hooks, 2 grasps red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 Jewsharps, 6 anchors rum."—Smith.

land further obtained by treaty with the Indians, gave one-half—the eastern portion—to the Yorkshire, the other, to the London Friends. Most interesting details of this division of property, together with the names of the “masters of families,” will be found in Smith’s *History of Nova Cæsaria, or New Jersey*. According to him, the settlement received the name of New Beverly, afterward changed to Bridlington, from the town of that name in Yorkshire, whence many of the settlers came. This was subsequently altered to Burlington. Prior to 1676, the site of Burlington was occupied by four Dutch families, one of whom kept an inn.

We can imagine the new aspect of things to these English people, accustomed to the narrow rivers, and green, highly cultivated fields of the mother country. The broad bay which received them must have seemed a noble entrance to their adopted Thames; and, as they pursued its winding course for 120 miles, the wild beauty of the western spring doubtless awakened feelings of thankfulness that their home was to be upon its shores. These were lined with the waving rushes peculiar to low-banked streams, while the occasional high bluffs were crowned with trees, among which many were hailed as old acquaintances. Some, however, were strange; and the water-fowl and fish which abounded are referred to with wonder and delight in the earliest letters extant to the home people. The following (from Smith), written two months after their landing, contains so much interesting matter, and conveys so clear an idea of the impressions of the settlers, that it is here inserted entire:—

“From BURLINGTON, in Delaware River, the 26th of 8 mo. 1677.

DEAR FRIEND:

Through the mercy of God we are safely arrived in New Jersey—my wife and mine are all well, and we have our healths rather better here than we had in England: indeed the country is so good, that I do not see how it can reasonably be found fault with; as far as I perceive, all the things we heard of it in England are very true; and I wish that many people (that are in straits) in England were here. There is good land enough lies void would serve many thou-

sands of families; and we think if they cannot live here, they can hardly live in any place in the world: but we do not desire to persuade any to come but such as are well satisfied in their own minds. A town lot is laid out for us in Burlington, which is a convenient place for trade; it is about one hundred and fifty miles up the river Delaware; the country and air seems to be very agreeable to our bodies, and we have very good stomachs to our victuals. There is plenty of provision in the country: plenty of fish and fowl, and good venison very plentiful, not so dry but is full of gravy, like fat young beef. You that come after us need not fear the trouble that we have had, for now here is land ready divided against you come. The Indians are very loving to us, except here and there one, when they have gotten strong liquors in their heads, which they now greatly love. But for the country, in short, I like it very well; and I do believe that this river of Delaware is as good a river as most in the world. It exceeds the river of Thames by many degrees.

This is a town laid out in twenty proprietaries, and a straight line drawn from the river side up the land which is to be the main street and a market-place about the middle. The Yorkshire ten proprietors are to build on one side, and the London ten the other side: and they have ordered one street to be made along the river side which is not divided with the others, but in small lots by itself, and every one that hath any part in a property is to have his share in it. The town lots for any propriety will be about ten or eleven acres, which is only for a house, orchard, and gardens, and the corn and pasture grounds is to be laid out in great quantities.

I am thy loving friend,

JOHN CRIPS."

That the contrast between their present and former mode of life was great is especially true of many who had been accustomed to the comforts of pleasant English homes, for it was something other than poverty which drove the majority of these Friends to seek freedom from religious restraint in America. The neighborhood of the Raritan in the year 1663 had been settled by a few Puritans from New England. In the following year, according to Bancroft, one or two families of Friends sought refuge near the same place. Except for these, the Jerseys were then totally uncolonized by the English. Fenwick, as we have seen, brought in the "Griffin" the next Quaker colony, the first which could in

reality claim that name among Friends in West Jersey. Numerous settlers between 1663 and 1677 came under care of the provincial officers, they themselves in several instances bringing their families with them. Among the important colonial papers preserved by the New Jersey Historical Society, the following affidavit of a New York resident, as to the number of families in New Jersey on the arrival of Governor Carteret, is not deemed inappropriate in this place.¹ Philip Carteret was a distant relative of Sir George Carteret, and was appointed by him to the governorship in 1665.

Affidavit of Silvester Salisbury.

"Silvester Salisbury of New Yorke Gent. maketh oath that in or about the yeare 1665 ; he being then at New Yorke, there arrived Philip Carteret Esq^r. at New Jersey in America in a Ship called the Philip w^{ch} s^d ship was 100 tuns & had then aboard her about 30 servants & severall goods of great value, proper for the first planting & settling of the Colony of New Jersey & this deponent sayeth that at the time of y^e arrival of the s^d ship there were about four families in New Jersey (except some few at New Sinks that went under the nomen of Quakers) and that y^e s^d Philip Carteret after his arrival there landed y^e s^d servants & goods & applied himselfe to y^e planting and peopling of y^e s^d Colony & that he sent diverse persons into New England & other places to invite people to come & settle there, whereupon & within a years time, or thereabouts severall p^rsons did come wth their families & settled there in severall townes; and this Deponent sayth that he believes there would be few or none have come thither if the s^d Philip Carteret had not settled himselfe as afores^d & brought such goodes & sent such Messengers as afores^d and this Deponent sayeth that y^e s^d Ship remained there about six months, & then went to Virginia, England & other places & about a yeare or more after returned to New Jersey where she remained for several months; and this Deponent sayeth that the s^d Philip Carteret at his arrival did declare & owne that the s^d Ship servants & goods did belong to the Rt. Hon^{ble} S^r George Carteret & were sent by him for the beginning & encouragement of the peopling and planting of the s^d country; and farther sayeth that the s^d S^r George Carteret did send severall other Vessells thither particularly

¹ From *New Jersey Archives*, vol. i. p. 183.

a Ketch whereof Peter Bennet was master Anno 1673 laden with wines and severall other English goods

SILVESTER SALISBURY."

Jurat 4^o die ffeb' 1675 coram me en Cancellar Magester.

JO. COTT.

Indorsed on the back: "A writing of great concernment."

Between the years 1678 and 1681 no less than fourteen hundred persons, in five or six ships, had found their way to these western provinces, settling on the Delaware, either at Salem or Burlington. The general opinion seems to have been that of Mahlon Stacy (later, an influential colonial officer), who, in addressing his brother Revell, speaks thus:—

"This is a most brave place, whatever envy or evil spies may speak against it, I could wish you all here . . . I never repented my coming hither, nor yet remembered thy outery and argument against New Jersey with regret. I live as well to my content, and in as great plenty as ever I did, and in a far more likely way to get an estate. Tho' I hear some have thought I was too large in my former, I affirm it to be true, having seen with my eyes more in this time since than ever as yet I wrote of.

26th 4th mo., 1680.

MAHLON STACY."¹

The names of John Crips and John Stacy appear on the first marriage certificate of Burlington Monthly Meeting, under date 6th of 8 mo., 1678. A rumor detrimental to the fair name of New Jersey as a desirable place of residence having been circulated in England, and reaching the ears of Friends on the Delaware, we find many protestations to the contrary in their letters. John Crips writes to his brother and sister:—

¹ Thomas Olive, an important man in the community as Justice of the Peace and Speaker of the West Jersey Assembly soon after, established, in 1680, a water-mill on his plantation near Rancocas Creek. Mahlon Stacy about the same time built one at Trenton, these two being the only grist-mills in the country for some years. The former inhabitants of West Jersey had either pounded their corn, or ground it in hand mills. Th. Olive died in 1692, much esteemed in his private and public capacities.

"I have received both your letters, wherein I understand your faith concerning this country is much shaken, through several false reports thereof, which may be proved false under the hands of several good Friends, I hope as worthy to be beleived as that reporter . . . and it's really my judgment that those people that cannot be contented with such a country and such land as this is, they are not worthy to come here; and this I can truly tell you, if I were in England with you (and which I should be very glad to see) yet if all I had in the world would but bring me hither, I would freely leave you and my native country and come to New Jersey again. . . . And whereas your letter saith to me 'several have come back from this country to England,' two or three, I suppose; these are lazy, idle persons that have done so; but on the other hand, there are several persons, men of estates, that have been here and gone back to England and sold their estates and returned with their whole families hither again which, methinks, should take many of these scruples out of the way, if nothing else were said or done in praise of this country. . . . As for the musketto fly, we are not troubled with them in this place."

The last-named insect, unfortunately, must have made its appearance later on in the experience of the Quaker settlers; for the "musketto fly" is not a stranger to the present inhabitants of Burlington. During the following winter the ship "Shield," which had ventured (in a previous voyage) into the waters of the upper Delaware, came up the river, and was moored to a buttonwood (or sycamore) that stood, and still stands, on Green Bank.¹ "The river was frozen so hard, that her passengers landed upon it, crossing to the shore on the ice"—a strange reception to the new-comers, with whom such a thing was unknown. While passing Coaquanock, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands, we learn that "part of the tackling struck the trees; whereupon some on board remarked that 'it was a fine spot for a town.'" The colony thus increased gradu-

¹ This venerable tree, or one of the same group to which it belonged (certainly within a few yards of the spot), is still the subject of much speculation. The youth of Burlington shudder before it as the old "witch tree;" and a splendid tradition asserts that Captain Kidd's treasure is buried beneath it! It is a noble old monument to the past.

ally by the coming of other Friends from England, who could not resist the inducements held out in the new country. After the landing of the "Shield's" passengers, during the following winter, one of their number, in writing of the productiveness of the soil, says to those at home: "Some people took their carts a peach-gathering. I could not but smile at the conceit of it. They are a very delicate fruit, and hang almost like our onions that are tied on ropes." Many others allude with gratification to the plenty of fruits and grain they enjoyed; and the general tone of their correspondence bore evidence to satisfaction in their new possessions.

For some time after their landing, the Friends held meetings under the sail of the "Kent," which was turned into a tent for the purpose. Here also, it is said, was solemnized the marriage of James Browne and Honour Clayton. We can fancy these solemn assemblies gathered under the broad shadow of the canvas, with the soft wind of early summer stealing by, and the peaceful Delaware flowing unruffled at their very side! The picture is all the more vivid to us, since we know almost the exact spot at which the ships landed.

II.

"Whose armour is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill."

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

"Since, by the good providence of God, many Friends with their families have transported themselves into this province of West Jersey, the said Friends in these upper parts have found it needful, according to the practice in the place we came from, to suite Monthly Meetings for the well-ordering of the affairs of the church: it was agreed that accordingly it should be done, and accordingly it was done, the 15th of 5 mo. 1678." So runs the earliest minute on record among the valuable manuscripts of Burlington

Monthly Meeting. It will be seen that within a year after their arrival the Friends set to work to establish a meeting "according to" their "custom in the place they came from." The handwriting is beautifully clear, but no intimation is given of the clerk's name. The marriages taking place soon after their landing (there appear to have been thirteen couples in the first three years) necessitated the establishment of a meeting to inquire into clearness, &c. It is evident there was some difficulty in bringing about the proper understanding with London Yearly Meeting in regard to certificates, many arriving without them, in some instances causing great delay in having them properly drawn up and forwarded. Cases are also recorded where false representations were made by new-comers, who were either outlawed by their own meeting in England, or else had no connection with the Society, simply coming to America to escape ignominy at home. They seem to have been summarily dealt with upon the truth coming to light. The second minute under date 18 of 6 mo. 1678 is for a collection of money for the benefit of the poor, and "such other necessary uses as may occur," among which was the proper fencing in of the burial ground. The exact location is not known; Smith alludes to it as having since become a street. The first death¹ in the new town was that of John Kinsey, who was interred in the ground referred to: the second, that of the old Indian King "Ockanickon," a chief among the "Five Nations," and well known in Burlington's earliest history. He became converted to Christianity, and on his death was buried in Friends' ground, many of the Friends attending his funeral. An Indian village bearing his name is known to have existed: but the location

¹ First recorded Death: "John Kinsey alias Kelsey Latte of Hadnam in Hartfortsheere being taken wth a violent feavor & Payne in his Bowles about 8 days Passed out of y^e Body y^e 11th of y^e 8th moth & was Layd in y^e ground y^e 14th of y^e same 1677."

First recorded Birth: "Elizabeth Powel Daughter of Robert & Prudence Powell was Borne in Burlington the 7th Seauenth of the 7th moth 1677 Latte of London Chandlar. Witnesses then p'sent: Ellen Harding, Mary Cripps, Ann Peachee."

at this distance of time is forgotton. Among early minutes are the following:—

1) "At y^e Monthly Meeting in Burlington, y^e 5th day of y^e 7th month, 1678: Friends took into consideration y^e paling in of the burial ground.

Thomas Leeds proposed his intention of taking Margaret Colier to be his wife, desireing y^e approbation of said meeting therein."

2) "At y^e Monthly Meeting at Burlington the 3rd day of y^e 8 mo. 1678.

Thomas Leeds proposed his intention y^e second time of taking Margaret Colier to be his wife and y^e Meeting gave their consent."

Their marriage certificate is the first in the old book of marriages, births, and deaths. It is curious as showing the ancient form of that document, the names of the parties most concerned not being signed. Those whose names do appear are the prominent citizens of the place. On the books of the Meeting are the names of Robert Zane and Alice Alday, the latter said to have been an Indian girl. Frequent mention is made of the presence of savages about the country, sometimes evincing hostile intentions. The peace policy, however, of William Penn, who about this time was gaining their friendship on the west of the river in Pennsylvania, was also pursued by Friends in West Jersey in their negotiations with the various tribes, generally with entire success. The neighboring colony of East Jersey was purchased in 2 mo. 1681, from Lady Elizabeth, widow of Sir Geo. Carteret, and settled by Quakers and Scotch; the governor appointed being the widely know and now famous "Robert Barclay of Urie."¹ All the region of the Jerseys seems to have been growing in popularity and importance during the early years

¹ *New Jersey Archives*, vol. i. p. 366.

"Lease from Elizabeth, Widow of Sir George Carteret, and His Trustees, to the First Twelve Proprietors of East Jersey." Also (same vol. p. 519) an "Agreement Between the Governors of East and West Jersey to Submit the Dividing Line of the Provinces to Arbitration." (Robert Barclay, Governor and (part) Proprietor of East Jersey; Edward Byllynge, Governor and (part) Proprietor of West Jersey.) Dated 14th Sept. 1686.

George Keith was at this time Surveyor-General of the Province of East Jersey, having been chosen by the Scotch Proprietors. His acquaintance

of its settlement. A few hostile French and Indians gave occasional trouble to the colonists, involving some of their young men whose ardent spirits got the better of them. Several received a reprimand for carrying arms for defence during an alarm of threatened attack; which proving false, they had no occasion to use them.

Quarterly and Yearly Meetings were soon established in Burlington, the first annual gathering being on the 28th of 6 mo. 1681, at the house of Thomas Gardiner, where the meeting continued to be held for some time, until the erection of a proper house. Th. Gardiner died in 1694; the exact location of his house is not known. Burlington Monthly Meeting comprised the particular meetings held at Shackamaxon and Chester (Pa.), Rancocas, and Friends settled about the Falls, Hoarkills, and New Castle; also Friends on Long Island, who, in 1681, desired to be considered members of this Monthly Meeting. The Quarterly Meeting was for a long time held at William Biddle's home (frequently written Beedle), probably until about 1711, when, from that date to 1827, it met alternately at Burlington and Chesterfield.

Wm. Biddle's house was at Mount Hope, near what is now Kinkora; and Friends from widely separated sections of country resorted thither. He and his wife Sarah, in 1681, had removed to West Jersey from their home in Bishopsgate Street, London. The Chesterfield meeting-house at the time of the separation passed into other hands, since which time the sole meeting place has been at Burlington. The transactions of the first Quarterly Meeting are recorded with the following preamble:—

with Barclay, of which this appointment is said to have been the consequence, began probably from the fact that in 1683 he was master of a school at Theobalds attended by a son of Robert Barclay. The result of the Arbitration was set forth in the following:—

“Award . . . wee do hereby declare that [the line] shall runn from y^e north side of y^e mouth or Inlett of y^e beach of little Egg Harbor on a streight lyne to Delaware river north north west and fifty minutes more westerly according to naturall position & not according to y^e magnet whose variation is nine degrees westward.

Witness our hands this Eight day of January 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ John Reid William Emley.”

“Whereas, the Yearly Meeting saw it necessary y^t there should be Quarterly Meetings kept in several places in this Province of West New Jersey ; and y^t this Quarterly Meeting of Friends for Burlington and y^e Falls should be held at the house of William Beedle in Mansfield (being pretty near y^e middle of Friends belonging to it) at y^e times hereafter mentioned, viz., upon the last second day of the 9 mo.; last second day of y^e 12 mo.; last second day of y^e 3 mo. and y^e last second day of y^e 6 mo. and to begin at y^e 10th hour, which said conclusion of y^e Yearly Meeting y^e Friends of this meeting are satisfied with.

29 of 9 mo. 1681.”

John Curtiss was their first clerk. The Yearly Meeting at the date before mentioned occupied four days with its business, and was then adjourned to meet in 7 mo. of the following year. It opened under the title “A General Yearly Meeting held for Friends of Pennsylvania, East and West Jerseys, and of the adjacent Provinces.”

In 1680 Burlington Monthly Meeting addressed an epistle to London Yearly Meeting on behalf of Friends removing to Burlington from that place, and requiring certificates. Bowden states this communication to have been the earliest received by London Y. M. from any meeting in America. Although he has given it in full in his interesting *History*, it belongs in this place, as having been entered on the books of Burlington Meeting. The ancient form is retained.

“Dear Friends and Bretheren whom God hath honoured wth his heavenly Presence and crowned with Life & Dominion as some of us have been Eye witnesses (& in our measures p’takers wth you) in these solemn Annual Assemblies in y^e Remembrance of w^{ch} our hearts and souls are Consolated & do bow before y^e Lord wth Reverent acknowledgments to him to whom it belongs forever.

And Dear friends being fully satisfied of yo^r Love care and zeall for y^e Lord & his Truth & yo^r Travill & desire for y^e p motion of it: hath given us Encouragement to address ourselves to you & Request your assistance in these following particulars being sensible of y^e need of itt & believing y^t itt will conduce to y^e honnour of God & benefit of his people for y^e Lord having by an overruling Providence cast our Lots in this remote pt of y^e world, our care & Desire is y^t he may be honoured in us and through us, & his Dear truth.

which we profess may be had in good Repute & Esteem by those y^t are yet Strangers to itt.

Dear friends our first Request to you is y^t in your severall countyes & meetings out of which any may transport themselves into this place, y^t you will be pleased to take care y^t we may have Certificates concerning them for here are severall honest Innocent People y^t brought no Certificates wth them from y^e Respective Monthly Meetings not foreseeing y^e Service of y^m and so never Desired any which for y^e future of such defect do Intreat you y^t are sensible of y^e need of Certificates to put y^m in mind of y^m for in some Cases where Certificates are Required & y^t have none itt occasions a great and tedious delay before they can be had from England besides y^e Hazzard of Letters Miscarrying which is very Necessary to y^e Parties immediately concerned & no wayes gratefull to Us yet in some cases necessity urgeth it or we must Act very Unsafely and particularly in cases of Marriage in which we are often Conceived so if y^e parties y^t come are single & Marriageable att their Coming away we Desire to be Certifyed of their cleanness or uncleanness from other pties & what else you think meet for us to Know, and if they have parents whether they will commit y^m to y^e Care of Friends in Generall in y^e matter or appoint any particular whome they can trust & if any do incline to come that p^o fess truth & yet walk disorderly & so become dishonourable to Truth and y^e p^o fession they have made of it we do desire to be Certified of y^m & it by some other hand (as there is frequent opportunities from London of doing itt) for we are sensible y^t here are severall y^t left no good Savour in y^r native Land from whence they came & it may be probable y^t more of y^t Kind may come thinking to be Absconded in y^s obscure place. but blessed be y^e Lord he hath a p^ople here whom he hath provoked to a Zealous affection for y^e Glory of his name & are desirous y^t y^e hidden things of Easau may be brought to Light & in it be condemned for w^{ch} cause we thus Request your assistance as an advantage & Furtherance to y^t Work for though some have not thought it necessary either to bring Certificates themselves or Require any Concerning others we are not of y^t mind and do leave itt to y^e wise in heart to Judge whence it doth proceed for though we Desire this as an additionall help to us, yet not as some have surmised y^t we wholly build upon it without exercising our own Immediate sence as God shall Guide us some we know y^t have been other wise deserving but have Unadvisedly denied this Impartial right of a certificate & very hardly could obtain itt, merely through y^e dislike of some to y^e undertakings

in their coming hether which we believe to be an injury & though we would not that any should reject any sound advice or council in y^e matter yet we do believe y^t all y^e faithfull ought to be Left to God's Direction in y^e matter most certainly knowing by y^e Shurest Evedence y^t God hath a hand in y^e Removall of some into this Place w^{ch} we desire y^t all y^t are inclined to come heither who know god may be carefull to know before they attempt itt at least their Tryals become unsuportable unto them but if this they know they need not fear for y^e Lord is known by Sea & Land y^e Sheild & Strenth of y^m y^t fear him.

And Dear freinds one thing more we think needfull to Intimate to you to warn & advise all y^t come p fessing truth y^t they be carefull & Circumspect in their passage for itt is well known to some of you y^t such as are imployed in sea affairs are commonly men of y^e Vilest sort & many of y^m use Great Diligence to betray y^e Simple ones which if they can do they triumph in itt & spread it from nation to nation to defame truth theirfore Let all be warned of it especially Young Women that they behave themselves modestly & chastly y^t they may not be corrupted in mind & so drawn to gratify y^e wanton Luxurious inclination of any for many temptations may be mett with some Times through short or Straight allowance for y^e Enlargement of w^{ch} some have complied wth that w^{ch} hath Dishonoured God & greived his people & though we Know y^t true friends are never enabled y^m to submit to any unrighteousness to gratify so mean an End yet all y^e Professors of Truth are not of y^t Growth & for their sakes it is intended y^t all may be preserved & grow in truths Dominion.

So Dear ffriends this wth what further you may apprehend may tend to truths p motion in this Place we desire your assistance which will be very kindly & gladly Received by us who are Desirous of an Amicable Correspondency wth you & do claim a part wth you in y^t holy Body & Eternall Union which y^e bond of Life is y^e Strength of in w^{ch} God preserve you & us who are your fids & Brethren.

Thomas Budd
Will^m Peachee
W^m Brightwen
Tho. Gardiner
Rob^t Stacy
John Hollingshead
Rob^t Powell
Jno. Burton
Sam^l Jennings

Jno. Woolston
Daniell Leeds
John Butcher
Henry Grubb
W^m Butcher
Seth Smith
Water Pumphrey
Tho. Ellis
James Saterthwate.

Several friends not being present at y^e s^d meeting have since as a Testimony of y^r Unity wth y^e thing subscribed their names.

Mahlon Stacy
Tho. Lambert
Jno. Kinsey
Sam^l Cleft
Will^m Cooper
Jno. Shinn
Will^m Biles
Tho. Harding
Will^m Hulings

Rich^d Arnold
Jno. Woolman
Jno. Stacy
Abra. Hulings
Peter Fretwell
Tho. Eves
Jno. Payne
Jno. Crippe.

From our mens monthly meeting in Burlington in West Jersey y^e 7th of y^e 12th mo. 1680.

To our Dear Friends & Brethren of y^e Yearly Meeting of London."

In the next year (1681) the record of Births and Deaths began to be kept, and at the same time we have notice of the establishment of a women's Meeting. That all was not perfect harmony and mutual understanding the records bear evidence, for cases came forward where great falling off from correct habits occurred, over which the meeting had cause to lament. In the main, however, the stern and upright characters of the heads of the meeting kept their testimony to the Truth unharmed; and it is to them and those like them in the early and unsettled condition of the Society that we owe the unbending will and firm recognition of duty that has so strongly characterized the Society. Arbitration was the invariable resort upon any dispute coming to light among Friends; and in very rare instances did the verdict of the arbitrators, who were prominent Elders, fail to give satisfaction to the parties concerned. By this timely and peaceable dealing, many cases were ended which must otherwise have gone to law—a resort which Friends have always desired to avoid.

(To be continued.)

PROFESSOR C. T. ODHNER'S ACCOUNT OF WILLEM
USSELINEX AND THE SOUTH, SHIP, AND WEST
INDIA COMPANIES OF SWEDEN.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR GREGORY B. KEEN.

[The following extract from Professor Odhner's *Sveriges Inre Historia under Drottning Christinas Förmyndare*, pp. 299 *et seq.* (Stockholm, 1865), forms an appropriate introduction to the same writer's invaluable contribution to the history of Swedish colonization on the Delaware translated in this MAGAZINE, vol. iii. pp. 269 *et seq.*, and pp. 395 *et seq.* The authorities on which the statements in it are based, chiefly MSS. in the Royal Archives at Stockholm, are cited in footnotes in the original. Some points, apparently taken from it, appear in a paper entitled *Some Account of William Usselinex and Peter Minuit*, read by the late Joseph J. Mickley before the Historical Society of Delaware in 1874 (Wilmington, 1881).—TRANS.]

After the Swedish South Company, founded by the Dutch Willem Usselinex, by its union with the Ship Company of the Towns, in 1630, was put in a position for active progress, the next problem was to enlist foreign capital in the enterprise. The successes of the Swedes in Germany suggested to Usselinex the thought of employing the resources of this country for that purpose. Gustavus Adolphus embraced the plan with interest, and in October, 1632, at Nüremberg, approved the scheme set forth by Usselinex for the extension of the privileges to the German nation, and constituted him director of the work. These acts were confirmed and published by Axel Oxenstjerna at the meeting at Heilbrunn in April, 1633; and that statesman likewise issued a letter inviting participation in the enterprise from Frankfort the same year. Usselinex also added an explanation of the great excellence and importance of the scheme, written especially for Germany, called *Mercurius Germaniæ*, together with practical instructions for the accomplishment of it. The plan, which was to have been concluded in January, 1634, seems not to have succeeded as was desired, for the subject was taken up again at the meeting at Frankfort in 1634, when the deputies of

the four upper circles confirmed the privilege. Immediately afterwards, however, the battle of Nördlingen put an end to the whole undertaking, and Usselinex went to France, and endeavoured to interest the government of that country in the Swedish Company. In the year 1636 we find the indefatigable schemer in Holland, where he again tried the patience of the government with his prolix views concerning the realization of his cherished South Company. His proposal not being hearkened to here either, in 1639 he sought to bring about an alliance between Sweden, France, and England for the same object, and at the same time directed against Spain. The following year he laboured in behalf of his project in the Hanse Towns, with similar lack of success, and finally, in 1643, was installed as Swedish agent in Holland.

While Usselinex was thus occupying half of Europe with the important business of the Swedish South Company, circumstances brought about a new course of development for it. After the directors of the South Company in Sweden had taken charge of sixteen well-equipped vessels belonging to the Ship Company, they began to send these forth on naval expeditions. The voyages, however, were attended with no better result than the seizure, in 1632, of four of the ships in Spain (as was asserted, through the treachery of the commissary who accompanied them), and the condemnation to arrest, in 1634, of five vessels in Holland, although the latter were promptly set at liberty. The directors were severely censured, the blame falling chiefly on their head man, Abr. Cabeliau. They were accused by the partners before the high court of justice, which pronounced them guilty of negligence; but on the revision of this judgment, and after the taking of fresh testimony in 1635, they were acquitted by the government. They were ordered, however, to finish the account of their administration which had long been solicited by the associates. This demand was repeated by the estates at the *riksdag* in 1635, and at the meeting in 1636; and in 1637 the government appointed certain revisers, and fixed a day for their work: still neither then nor later did any examination take place, and in 1640, and in 1642, on

complaint of the clergy, it was said that the partners should procure the revision as best they could. At the meeting of 1636 the question was also raised, what more should be undertaken with the ten vessels, which constituted the sole remaining property of the Company. At the conference, which C. Fleming held, concerning this subject, with the estates, some urged that the Crown should make good the losses, the clergy desired that the Company should be dissolved and the residue be divided, but the greater number seemed to favour distributing the ships and partners among certain cities, from which trade might be carried on with the vessels. Some of these were also employed the following year for the new expedition to America. In 1640 the government resolved to purchase the ships on behalf of the Crown, but soon afterwards, instead of this, deemed it best, without consulting the partners, to unite the few that remained with the recently formed West India Company, into which the former Ship and South Companies thus entered as associates.

THE REPORT OF GOVERNOR JOHAN PRINTZ, OF
NEW SWEDEN, FOR 1647, AND THE REPLY
OF COUNT AXEL OXENSTJERNA,
CHANCELLOR OF SWEDEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH BY PROFESSOR GREGORY B. KEEN.

REPORT TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WEST INDIA COMPANY IN OLD
SWEDEN, SENT FROM NEW SWEDEN, FEBRUARY 20, 1647.¹

1. From June 20, in the year 1644, when the vessel *Fama* went from hence, to October 1, 1646, when the vessel *Haij*² arrived, two years and four months elapsed; and the whole of this time we received no letters, either from the Kingdom or from Holland. The last vessel was four months on the way, losing her sails, topmasts, and several implements, and being very severely used. The master of the ship, the mate, and all the people, except one man, were sick; so that, according to their report, they would all have been lost, if they had not reached land when they did. Not until the month of December was the vessel in repair, and the people recovered; and, the winter commencing at the same time, they were obliged to stay here until the ice broke up. Now, however, on the day of date, the ship is dispatched with 24,177 pounds³ of tobacco, the whole in 101 casks, of which 6920 pounds were planted in New Sweden, and 17,257 pounds were purchased. May God Almighty grant her a happy passage home!

2. The cargo has been delivered, according to the invoice accompanying it from Peter Trotzig, excepting 8 beams, 1

¹ Translated from copies in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one of which is made from an original in the Archives of Sweden at Stockholm, with the heading in the text, while the other (*verbatim*, if not *literatim* the same) is taken from one preserved among the Archives at Skokloster, the latter being addressed to Peter Brahe, Count of Wysingsborg, a Member of the Royal Council of Sweden.—TRANS.

² Elsewhere called *Gyllene Hajen* (the Golden Shark).—TRANS.

³ Swedish pounds, one of which equals twenty English pounds.—TRANS.

plank, 3 axes, and 14 ells of frieze wanting in the measure; 14 pairs of stockings and 180 ells of frieze were spoiled and destroyed on shipboard; likewise, part of the Norrenberg goods¹ were much rusted, which (except what the Commissary has received to sell amongst the savages) are to be sent to North England² for sale.

3. Concerning the improvements of the country: (1) Fort Elfsborgh has been tolerably well fortified. (2) Fort Christina, which was very much decayed, has been repaired from top to bottom. (3) The Fort in Skylenküll,³ called Kårsholm, is pretty nearly ready. We are filling and working at it every day. So that, if people, ammunition, and other resources were not wanting, we should certainly not only be in a position to maintain ourselves in the said places, but also be enabled to settle and fortify other fine sites. Again, 28 freemen are settled, and part of them provided with oxen and cows, so that they already begin to prosper; but women are wanting. Many more people are willing to settle, but we cannot spare them on account of the places wanting them. The country is very well suited for cultivation; also for whale fishery and wine, if some one was here who understood the business. Mines of silver and gold may possibly be discovered, but nobody here has any knowledge about such things. The Hollanders boast that three years ago they found a gold mine between Manathans⁴ and here, not in any place purchased by us, but nearer to New Sweden than to New Netherland. Hitherto, however, they have not got any gold out of it. There is no appearance here of salt, or of silkworms, because the winter is sometimes so sharp, that I never felt it more severe in the northern parts of Sweden.

4. The people have all the time been in good health; only two men and two small children have died. The reason that so many people died in the year 1643 was that in the commencement of the settlements they had hard work, and but

¹ Probably iron implements manufactured there.—TRANS.

² So New England is called throughout this Report.—TRANS.

³ Or Skyllarkill, according to the other copy—our Schuylkill.—TRANS.

⁴ Manhattan.—TRANS.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It has only been about 150 years old, and in that time it has achieved a great deal of progress. This is due to many factors, including the fact that the United States is a large country with a lot of resources. It also has a lot of people, and this has helped it to develop its economy and its culture.

Another factor is the fact that the United States is a democratic country. This means that the people have a say in how the country is run. This has helped to ensure that the government is responsive to the needs of the people, and it has also helped to ensure that the government is accountable to the people.

There are also many other factors that have helped the United States to achieve its success. For example, the United States has a lot of natural resources, and it has a lot of people who are very hardworking. This has helped the United States to become a powerful country, and it has helped it to become a leader in many fields.

One of the most important factors is the fact that the United States is a country that is open to change. This means that the United States is always looking for ways to improve itself, and it is always willing to try new things. This has helped the United States to stay ahead of the curve, and it has helped it to become a country that is always moving forward.

There are many other factors that have helped the United States to achieve its success, but these are just a few of the most important ones. The United States is a country that has achieved a great deal of progress, and it is a country that is always moving forward. This is due to many factors, including the fact that the United States is a young nation, a democratic country, and a country that is open to change.

little to eat. Afterwards, since board has been given them, besides wages, they have been doing well. Still, all of them wish to be released, except the freemen. And it cannot be otherwise. If the people willingly emigrating should be compelled to stay against their will, no others would desire to come here. The whole number of men, women, boys, girls, and children now living here is 183 souls, according to the annexed roll.¹

5. In the year 1645, November 25, between ten and eleven o'clock, one Swen Wass, a gunner, set Fort New Gottenburg on fire; in a short time all was lamentably burnt down, and not the least thing saved, except the dairy. The people escaped naked and destitute. The winter immediately set in, bitterly cold; the river and all the creeks froze up; and nobody was able to get near us (because New Gottenburg is surrounded by water). The sharpness of the winter lasted until the middle of March; so that, if some rye and corn had not been unthreshed, I myself and all the people with me on the island would have starved to death. But God maintained us with that small quantity of provision until the new harvest. By this sad accident the loss of the Company, testified by the annexed roll, is 4000 *riksdaler*.² The above-mentioned incendiary, Swen Wass, I have caused to be brought to court, and to be tried and sentenced; so I have sent him home in irons, with the vessel, accompanied by the whole record concerning him, submissively committing and referring the execution of the verdict to the pleasure of Her Royal Majesty and the Right Honourable Company.

6. Again, I have caused a church to be built in New Gottenburg, adorning and decorating it according to our Swedish fashion, so far as our limited resources and means would allow. Also in the same place I have rebuilt a storehouse, to keep the provisions in, and all the cargoes which may be sold

¹ No copy of this roll has yet been found, so far as the translator is aware.
—TRANS.

² According to a roll among the Oxenstjerna MSS. in the Royal Archives at Stockholm, Governor Printz estimated his personal loss by this fire at 5584 *rd*.—TRANS.

there on the Company's behalf. Further, to prejudice the trade of the Hollanders, I have built a fine house (called *Wasa*) on the other side of Kårsholm, by the road of the Minquas, so strong that four or five men, well provided with guns, balls, and powder, will be able to defend themselves there against the savages; seven freemen, sturdy fellows, have settled in that place. Again, a quarter of a mile¹ higher up, by the said Minquas' road, I have built another strong house, five freemen settling there. This place I have called *Möndal*, building there a watermill, which runs the whole year, to the great advantage of the country, particularly as the windmill, formerly here, before I came, would never work, and was good for nothing. Now, when the great traders, the Minquas, travel to the Dutch trading place or house, Nassau, they are obliged to pass by those two places, which (please God) hereafter shall be provided with cargoes.

7. Concerning trade, in the year 1644, when the ship *Fama* went from here, there was very little of the cargo left in store; and, as no cargo has been received since, not only has the Right Honourable Company suffered the great damage of losing 8000 or 9000 beavers, which have passed out of our hands, but also the Hollanders have moved the principal traders (the white and black Minquas) to forsake us; and we shall not, without great difficulty, regain them. But, as soon as this vessel arrived I dispatched Commissary Hindrik Hughen, with the Sergeant Gregorius van Dyk and eight soldiers, to the country of the Minquas, five German miles from hence, offering them all sorts of presents, by which means they were induced to negotiate, and we received assurance from them that they would trade with us as before, the more so, as the Commissary promised them a higher price than the Hollanders. Whether they keep their word will be seen in the future.

8. It is of the utmost necessity for us to drive the Dutch from the river, for they oppose us on every side: (1) They destroy our trade everywhere. (2) They strengthen the sav-

¹ The Swedish mile, 6.625 miles English.—TRANS.

ages with guns, shot, and powder, publicly trading with these against the edict of all Christians. (3) They stir up the savages against us, who, but for our prudence, would already have gone too far. (4) They begin to buy land from the savages within our boundaries, which we had purchased already eight years ago, and have the impudence in several places to erect the arms of the West India Company, calling them their arms; moreover, they give New Sweden the name of New Netherland, and dare to build their houses there, as can be learned from the Dutch Governor's letter, here annexed, and by my answer to it; in short, they appropriate to themselves alone every right, hoist high their own flags, and would surely not pay the least attention to Her Majesty's flags and forts, were they not reminded by cannon shot. They must be driven from the river, either by mutual agreement or other means; otherwise they will disturb our whole work. The better to accomplish their intention, some of the Hollanders have entirely quitted the Christians, resorting to the Minquas, behaving with much more unseemliness than the savages themselves. I have several times written to their Governor about all these improprieties, and also caused their arms to be cut down, but it did not make any difference: they see very well that we have a weak settlement; and, with no earnestness on our side, their malice against us increases more and more. And all the people, who are doing this mischief, are merely Dutch freemen, provided with their Governor's passport, and trading on their own account, paying duties therefor, the Company itself not trading at all, and deriving very little advantage from this. As to the English Puritans, who at first gave me a great deal of trouble, I have at last been able, with the authority of Her Majesty, to drive them from hence; and they have not been heard from for a long time, except that one Captain Clerk was sent here last year, from North England, to try to settle some hundred families under Her Majesty's flag, which I, in a civil way, denied, referring the matter to Her Majesty's further resolution.

9. The Commissary's report will show our provisions and

state here in New Sweden. It is a pity that for a long time our traffic has declined, yielding very little profit, while the expenses and the wages are the same. Still, could we get rid of the Hollanders, and be left alone in our trade, by successive cargoes the loss would be repaired in a short time. What profit we may derive from foreign cargoes, besides our own, can be seen in the Commissary's account; I think it may be about 10,000 *riksdaler*.

10. The cattle roll will give information about the two head of cattle which were here before me, and the three I brought with me. It shows they have increased to ten, that the purchased cattle are fourteen oxen and one cow, and that one part is divided amongst the freemen, and the other part is in the use of the company. And, whereas the freemen need cattle as the principal instrument for the cultivation of the land, I intend next May to buy some in Virginia, particularly as the Governor there has written to me, also offering his assistance in other ways.

11. I have caused the barge to be fully constructed, so that the hull is ready and floating on the water; but the completion of the work must be postponed until the arrival of a more skilled carpenter, the young men here declaring they do not know enough to finish it. Again, we want a good engineer, house-carpenter, mason, brickmaker, potter, cooper, skilful gunsmiths, and blacksmiths, a chamois-dresser, tanner, tailor, shoemaker, ropemaker, wheelwright, and executioner; all these are of great necessity here, and, above all, a good number of unmarried women for our unmarried freemen and others, besides a good many families for cultivating the land, able officers and soldiers, as well as cannon and ammunition, for the defence of the forts and the country. And, when the Hollanders and other nations are aware of Her Majesty's royal earnestness in this behalf, I think they will change their minds, because when I came here, four years ago, they immediately abandoned the bad intentions they had formerly exercised against our people, but afterward, seeing our lack of zeal for our affairs, once more they are grown overbearing.

12. The savages in Virginia, New Netherland, and North England have made peace with the Christians, and our own savages have been quiet ever since. Thus, if the Hollanders were not here, we should soon be on good terms with them; but the savages now keep peace amongst themselves, more to the prejudice than to the advantage of the beaver-trade.

13. As before stated the officers, as well as the common soldiers, not yet settled in the country, want to be released; particularly Commissary Hindrik Hugen, whom I myself now, for the third time, have with great difficulty persuaded to stay until the arrival of the next ship; he ought to be replaced by a very able Commissary. Again, the minister Magister Johan Campanius wishes to be dismissed, and we want at least two clergymen in the places already settled. Again, the freemen desire to know something about their privileges, for themselves and their descendants; likewise the criminals, how long they must serve for their crimes; as to all which I humbly asked to be informed more circumstantially in my former Reports of 1643 and 1644.

14. Whereas a letter from Postmaster-General Johan Beijer, dated Stockholm, March 17, 1645, apprises me that the vessels *Calmar Nyckel* and *Fama* had arrived in Holland, and that my Report was lost on the way (if this really be the fact),¹ I only recapitulate herein what goods were sent home in return by the *Fama*, annexing a copy of Captain Peter Pålvelson's receipt for the said goods. These were: 1300 whole beavers, 299 half-beavers, 537 third-parts of beavers, great and small together, 2136 beavers; again, tobacco, 20,467 lbs. in 77 hogsheads; again, my own tobacco, which partly I received in payment from foreigners, and partly I planted myself, 7200 lbs. in 28 hogsheads, sent home to the shareholders in Sweden, that they may either reimburse me at 8 *styfver* per pound, or graciously allow me to sell it elsewhere.

¹ This was probably not the case, since two copies of this Report, dated June 20, 1644, one in Swedish and the other in German, are still extant among papers relating to New Sweden in the Archives of Sweden, and have been printed, in part, at the end of Professor C. T. Odhner's *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning 1637-1642* (Stockholm, 1876).—TRANS.

15. In the 6th point of my above-mentioned Report, sent from here in 1644, I mentioned the necessity of erecting a tradinghouse for various kinds of merchandise, namely, for clothing, shoes, different sorts of stuffs, linen cloth, thread, silk, fine and coarse cloth, divers colours, and drugs for dyeing, buttons, Dutch ribbons, hats, belts, swords, tanned leather, etc. Those goods are very vendible here, and in Virginia and New England, and can be sold at a profit of 100 per cent. The house is also needed for various kinds of provisions, not only for our own people, but also for foreigners. A judicious and faithful man, however, must be put over the whole concern, who may give each of our people what he wants, on account of wages. Thus the people can be paid every month entirely out of the profit, without the Right Honourable Company's diminishing its principal, but perhaps making money, everything here being extremely dear: for example, one barrel of malt (Swedish measure) costs 7 to 8 *riksdaler*, one pound of hops $\frac{1}{2}$ *rdr.*, one pound of pork 10 *styfver*, one barrel of corn 6 *rdr.*, which last could be sown in this country, brewed, baked, and afterwards sold to the people with advantage; for instance, I have paid 54 *rdr.* to the English for one barrel of beef: in short, everything is dear.

16. In the 9th point of my above-mentioned Report I have spoken about the zewandt trade in North England, and said that a trusty man ought to be appointed to purchase zewandt for us there, because it can be had cheap in that country, while here we are obliged to pay to the English and Hollanders a double price in good beavers, and yet we cannot always get it. It is not possible to keep up the Indian trade by means of cargoes only, because the savages always want zewandt besides, this being their money.

Again, I have several times solicited a learned and able man: first, to administer justice and attend to the law business, sometimes very intricate cases occurring, in which it is difficult, and never ought to be, that one and the same person appear in the court as plaintiff as well as judge; and, secondly, to act as secretary, especially in the Latin language, for many times it has happened (as is proved by the annexed

paper) that I have received Latin letters from all parts ; these it would be well to answer in Latin, as really I have attempted to do as best I could, but I wish and submissively entreat, for the future, to be released from such work through the assistance, as above stated, of a competent person.

17. I have caused some waterfalls to be examined suitable as a site for saw-mills, below the dam by the newly built grist-mill, as well as in three other places, where there grows plenty of oak. But we want a man who understands these matters for superintendent of the saw-mill ; also, windlasses and blades for saws. If such saw-mills were erected (which might easily be done), every year we might cut a goodly quantity of planks, besides making compass and pipe timber, which could be very advantageously bartered in the Flemish Islands for wine, which might be either carried to the Kingdom, or sold in Virginia for tobacco. But for this purpose a proper vessel ought to be kept here by the year, which could cruise to the West Indies, and be annually provided with victuals from this country.

18. If we are able to renew our friendly relations with the white and black Minquas (as we are assured and may hope we shall), the trade with these will commence next April, and continue the whole summer until fall. Our present cargo may be sold during that time ; therefore, it will be a matter of necessity, to be provided with new cargoes next November, and about that time we may be able (with God's help) to send home a great many goods in return.

19. In the 14th point of my former Report I submissively asked in what way the extra entertainment of foreign guests coming here shall be paid. We have in such things been as sparing as possible ; however, the amount of the disbursement increases more and more, and the accidental revenues which have been assigned for this use will in no wise suffice.

20. The freemen already settled want to be paid the rest of their wages ; and, whereas their intention is to continue to cultivate the land with that money, I think it advisable to pay them for the good of the country, and as an example for others. But their wives and relations in the old country

should not be allowed to draw any of their wages, unless these can show the account from here, because every day we are obliged to give them more or less, according to their wants, and some are already fully paid.

21. The bookkeeper, Carl Johansson, who chanced to get into a difficulty in Kiexholm, and for that reason was sent over to New Sweden, has been here six years, and has behaved very well the whole time. Three years ago I not only appointed him to take care of the stores, but also trusted him to receive and revise the Commissary's monthly accounts, paying him 10 *riksdaler* per month as wages (to be ratified graciously by the Right Honourable Company), which service he has ever since faithfully performed. Now his submissive demand is, by Her Royal Majesty's and the Right Honourable Company's favour, to be allowed to go home to the Kingdom for a while, with the next ship, to stay as long as it may please Her Royal Majesty, to settle his affairs there. His purpose for the future is to serve Her Royal Majesty and the Right Honourable Company willingly and faithfully, to the best of his ability, so long as he shall live, either here in New Sweden, or wheresoever else he may be assigned to duty.

22. Again, I humbly repeat the 18th point of my last Report, purporting how I for a great while (about twenty-eight years) have been in the service of my dear native country, constantly accompanying her armies to the field, and now have served in New Sweden one year and seven months beyond the time agreed upon, ordering everything so that Her Royal Majesty has obtained a strong footing in this land, and that the work does not require anything but sufficient means, to be continued with greater success. Thus (with God's help) this country will forever be subject to Her Royal Majesty, who sent us here, maintained us among all the surrounding provinces, and brought the trade into good condition, and satisfactory relation with that of our neighbours, insomuch that, if means fail not, all expectations may be fully justified. Wherefore, my humble request to Her Royal Majesty and their Right Honourable Excellencies now is, that I be relieved, if possible, and sent home by the next

ship to my beloved native land. Yet, I in no wise withdraw myself from the service of Her Royal Majesty and my native country, but I am desirous of doing duty on other occasions, seeking approval in nothing but for faithful service of Her Royal Majesty and my country, in accordance with my duty, so long as I shall live. My successor here (with God's help) will see and comprehend the diligence I have applied in everything, agreeably to my obligation.

23. The officers and soldiers here have frequently solicited that a faithful and proper man be sent home to the Kingdom, not only for the purpose of giving an oral account of the whole enterprise here, but also to procure an answer to the individual requests of each. Not thinking it proper to refuse them this, I have deputed for that business the noble and valiant Johan Papegåja, persuaded that he will both humbly deliver a good report to Her Royal Majesty and the Right Honourable Lords, and faithfully and diligently do his best in everything intrusted to him for the good of this work. Given at New Gottenburg, February 20, 1647.

(Signed.) JOHAN PRINTZ.

REPLY OF HIS EXCELLENCY, COUNT AXEL OXENSTJERNA, CHANCELLOR
OF THE KINGDOM, TO THE QUERIES OF THE GOVERNOR OF NEW
SWEDEN, JOHAN PRINTZ, SENT WITH THE LIEUTENANT
PAPEGÅJA, DATED SEPTEMBER 7, 1647.¹

Noble, Honourable, and Valiant Sir Governor:

True and Good Friend,

I cannot forbear kindly to inform you, Sir Governor, that the vessel which was dispatched from hence last year, with a cargo for New Sweden, has returned and arrived here some time since with Lieutenant Papegåja, forwarding a Report from you, Sir Governor, concerning the state of the new country, in form of a Memorial. That you may the better

¹ Translated from a copy of the original (in the Archives of Sweden) in the Library of our Historical Society.—TRANS.

know our intention in several particulars, I have placed the points of your communication before me, and desire, as far as I think necessary, hereby briefly to answer the chief of them.

1. Concerning the demand for more people, good officers and soldiers, ammunition, and means of support for the people, I would fain comply in every respect with the pleasure of the Governor; the time, however, being too short, I am not able to send all that is wanting, although I have done my best, and a great deal of the ammunition is already dispatched. The fall and winter now being so near at hand, I shall exert myself that people, officers, and soldiers may be brought together and transported with the next ship. Means of support for the people at the commencement may be derived from the cargoes and the trade; but they must strive to sustain themselves especially by cultivation of the country, that thus it may be tilled, and the cost not prove so great.

2. As to constant supplying of the country with cargoes for the maintenance of the trade, some neglect may have occurred in this matter recently, in consequence of the intervening of the Danish war; but we shall be careful henceforth that nothing be neglected, only desiring that everything may arrive well and in good time.

3. I am not able to give you, Sir Governor, any advice how to drive the Hollanders from the country. It seems to me best, that you, Sir Governor, by your own zeal and judgment, not by force and violence, oppose and cut off their trade, provided you can accomplish this by good management and in the most gentle way. And when the English wish to put themselves under the protection, jurisdiction, and government of the Crown of Sweden, you, Sir Governor, can modestly turn them away, and as before avoid accepting their offers with all the politeness possible.

4. As to procuring skilled mechanics and sawyers, it has not been possible to get them so hurriedly, but I will bear it in mind to send them next year.

5. As to sending over two clergymen, it seems best, in my judgment, that you, Sir Governor, give a rather higher salary

to the man who is there already, that he may feel inclined to stay there longer. I have written to the Consistorium in Gottenburg, desiring them to procure an able minister, willing to go instantly, at the next opportunity. What my letter may have effected, you will learn, Sir Governor, from Lieutenant Papegāja.

6. "How long the criminals, sent thither for their crimes, shall serve without wages?" I cannot prescribe anything certain in that matter, leaving it to your own discretion. It appears to me, that those who reform, and perform their duty satisfactorily, as you command, may be allowed the same wages as the other free people. But those who go on in the same wrong way as before, and do not exhibit any improvement, may have their punishment increased by you, Sir Governor, or may continue to serve without wages.

7. "How long the noblemen, as well as those who are not noble, who cultivate the land, may enjoy exemption from taxes." Although I have no right alone to determine that matter, I think ten years, or somewhat more, is not too much, until the country is better cultivated, and we can see what will come of it. Wherefore, you, Sir Governor, may safely concede to them freedom for as many years as you see fit, until the further decision of Her Royal Majesty and the determination of the parties interested.

8. "To procure a vessel, to remain constantly in the new country, for use in voyages to the Flemish and Canadian Isles." I will do my best to get this request granted, that the ship may be obtained next year.

9. "To have a storehouse erected for all sorts of commodities." I shall make a note of that, and use my diligence to make a beginning next year.

10. "To obtain an agent or merchant for the country; also that Hindrich Hygens and the bookkeeper, Carl Johansson, may be relieved." My courteous desire is, that you, Sir Governor, should persuade Hindrich Hygens to stay till the arrival of the next vessel, and that you cause Carl Johansson to be transported hither to this country at the first opportunity, for the reasons given me by Lieutenant Pape-

gåja, agreeing with him beforehand, however, that he shall go back again.

11. "To procure a certain ordinance as to what you shall charge our people for the articles sent over in cargoes for trade." I cannot prescribe for you, Sir Governor, any certain rule as to that; I think it reasonable, however, not to charge our people as high as the savages. You may give them such things in payment of wages, and at low prices, as much as they require for their bodily support, but nothing superfluous or to sell again, only for their necessities and not for trade or to the prejudice of the Company.

12. "From whence the daily cost of the entertainment of strangers is to be paid." Being quite alone here, I am not authorized to give you any certain resolution as to this; but I think that, when some expenditures of the kind seem necessary for the honour and profit of the Company, you, Sir Governor, should make out a bill for them, and I shall see that it is paid. Likewise, that the Company may be informed about the condition of the country, I would remind you, Sir Governor, always to send the accounts as formerly, that we may know what goods and merchandise are imported, and how they have been sold, so that the Company may be able to ascertain their profits, and may the better strengthen and promote the work.

13. "That Her Royal Majesty would be pleased graciously to bestow twenty whole farms upon you, Sir Governor, as a reparation of damages, and raise your salary."¹ This matter I shall have recommended in the best manner, and I shall apply my diligence, that both of your requests be granted, to your pleasure and contentment. On my own behalf, as well as on that of the other partners in the Company, I do kindly entreat you, Sir Governor, to allow yourself to be persuaded to stay some time longer in the country, as you are so well experienced in everything, and particularly as to that land,

¹ This petition, it is seen, does not occur in the preceding Report; no doubt, it formed an item in a private letter from Printz to his sovereign, dated the same day, February 20, 1647, the reply to which is translated in *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. iv. p. 315.—TRANS.

and have given the Company good assistance in past times of war. Besides, you have now carried on this work so far, that we may reasonably expect still greater results. God having been pleased to call from hence my late brother and Admiral Flemmingh, on whose administration these affairs depended, I have taken the conduct of them on myself. I desire not only that they may be enduring, but also that they may still further improve hereafter. I wish to assure you, Sir Governor, on my own part as well as for the others interested in the Company, that we both are, and always shall be, ready to do everything that is possible for the good of yourself and your family. Recommending, &c.

(Signed.)

AXEL OXENSTJERNA.

Tidön,¹ September 7, 1647.

¹ Count Oxenstjerna's country seat, on the island of the same name, in Lake Melaren.—TRANS.

A JOURNAL OF THE SOUTHERN EXPEDITION,
1780-1783.

BY WILLIAM SEYMOUR, SERGEANT-MAJOR OF THE
DELAWARE REGIMENT.¹

On the 16th April, 1780, the Maryland Division, with the Delaware Regiment, marched from their quarters near Morristown, in the State of New Jersey, under the command of the Honourable the Baron De Kalb, being bound for Charlestown, South Carolina, in order to reinforce that garrison being besieged by the enemy, having marched by land to Head of Elk 103 miles, when the troops embarked on board for Petersbourg, except the park of Artillery which went by land with a detachment from all the line which went to escort them.

The troops having met at Petersbourg on the 26th May where we remained till the 30th, when we proceeded on our march for Hillsborough, which we reached on the 22d June, being 469 miles since we left Head of Elk.

Here we lay till the 30th, and marched to meet the enemy, who, after they had captured the garrison of Charlestown, were making their way through the country obliging the inhabitants, as they came along, to take the oath of allegiance to the King. In this, indeed, they had not much difficulty, for most part of them joined them, especially the Scotch, who came in every day in great numbers.

The first halt we made from this place was at Buffaloe Ford on Deep River, which we reached on the 19th of this instant, distant from Hillsborough eighty-seven miles. Here Genl. Gates came and took the command of all the Southern Army. At this time we were very much distressed for want of provisions, insomuch that we were obliged to send out parties through the country, to thrash out grain for our

¹ From the original in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A few eccentricities of spelling in the MS. have been corrected.

sustenance; and this availed not much, for what was procured after this manner could scarce keep the troops from starving, which occasioned a vast number of men to desert to the enemy.

On the 27th we marched off this ground, in order to meet the enemy, which at this time lay encamped on the Chiraw Hills, taking the route of Massies Ferry on the Peadea River. The enemy, hearing of our approach, made a movement, and encamped at Rugeley's mill on the main road to Charlestown. At this time we were so much distressed for want of provisions, that we were fourteen days and drew but one half pound of flour. Sometimes we drew half a pound of beef per man, and that so miserably poor that scarce any mortal could make use of it—living chiefly on green apples and peaches, which rendered our situation truly miserable, being in a weak and sickly condition, and surrounded on all sides by our enemies the Tories.

We encamped at Rugeley's mill on the 13th of August, which the Enemy had abandoned on our approach, and retreated into Campden. Here came and joined us a vast number of Militia, in number about 3000 men, from Virginia, North and South Carolina, which seemed to us to be a good omen of success, but proved to be our utter ruin in the end, for, placing too much confidence in them, they at length deceived us and left us in the lurch.

We marched from Buffaloe Ford to this place in eleven days, being distant about 177 miles.

We lay on this ground till the 15th, at night, when the General thought proper to advance and attack the enemy at Campden, 13 miles from Rugeley's mill. We marched off the ground about 8 o'clock at night, the baggage following close in the rear, so confident was the General, and indeed it was every one's opinion, that we should drive the enemy, we being far superior to them in numbers, we having three thousand militia and about thirteen hundred standing troops, and they not exceeding thirteen hundred here. You must observe that instead of rum we had a gill of molasses per man served out to us, which instead of enlivening our spirits, served to

purge us as well as if we had taken jallap, for the men, all the way as we went along, were every moment obliged to fall out of the Ranks to evacuate. The enemy having notice of our approach made a movement to meet us, and having met at Sutton's Tavern, about seven miles from Campden and six from Rugeley's mill, our advance guard and light infantry and that of the enemy meeting together, upon which ensued a very hot fire, in which the infantry and advance picquet suffered very much. Here we were drawn up in order of battle, with the Second Brigade on the right, the militia on the left, and the First Brigade in the centre. The first fire commenced about two o'clock in the morning. We lay in this posture till daybreak, when the enemy, commanded by Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, advanced and attacked us. We advanced at the same time, and began the attack from both cannon and small arms with great alacrity and uncommon bravery, making great havock among them, insomuch that the enemy gave way till, observing that our militia were in great confusion, they having retreated off, the chief part of them without so much as firing a single shot, and great numbers of them threw down their arms and run in to the enemy. This gave them an opportunity of coming round us, the militia having entirely left us at this time. They were quite round us before discovered, upon which we were obliged to retreat and left the enemy entire masters of the field, the enemy's horse making great slaughter among our men as they retreated. As for Col. Armand's horse, they thought upon nothing else but plundering our waggons as they retreated off.¹ This action continued about three-quarters of an hour, in which the brave General de Kalb was killed, with many more brave officers and soldiers. Of the Delaware Regiment were made prisoners Lt.-Col. Vaughan, Major Pat-ten,² and six other officers and seventy private men, with the

¹ Bancroft, in his account of the battle of Camden, says, Armand disliked his orders and was insubordinate. (See *Hist. of U. S.*, Cent. Ed., vol. vi. p. 278.) For a sketch of Armand see the *PENNA. MAG.*, vol. ii. p. 1 *et seq.*

² A descendant of Jöran Kyn, for some account of whom see the following article.

loss of all our cannon and baggage, which fell into the enemy's hands. Here was a most shocking scene to behold, our poor scattered troops everywhere dispersed through the country, and the Tories every day picking them up, taking everything from them which was of any value.

On the 18th August was Genl. Sumter defeated by a party of Horse and Infantry at the head of Fishing Creek, by the negligence of the Brigade Major not posting out a picquet, the men having their arms stacked, when the enemy, unperceived by any, had taken possession of them, where they put every one to the sword who came in their way. Here was another scene of misery to see about one hundred and thirty of our Continental Troops, with two pieces of cannon, who but the day before the action of the sixteenth were detached to Genl. Sumter, with 800 Militia, all killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, besides 36 waggons loaded with rum, stores, etc., which he had but the day before taken from the enemy. We assembled at Salisbury the few that were left, Genl. Smallwood having taken the command of them, this being the first place we made any halt since the action of the sixteenth of August. From here we marched on the 24th under the command of Genl. Smallwood, directing our route for Hillsborough, that being the next place of rendezvous, which we reached with much difficulty on the 6th September, 200 miles from Campden. Here were the men who were left of the First and Second Brigades formed into two battalions, that of the First Brigade commanded by Major Anderson¹ and that of the Second by Major Hardman,² the whole amounting to about 300 men. About this time were retaken 160 of our prisoners by Col. Marion on their way to Charlestown, being escorted by a detachment of British troops and Tories. He came on them at Genl. Sumter's plantation, who rushed on them at the break of day before they had time to form, making them all prisoners of war. Among our prisoners that were retaken were seventy-two of the Delaware Regiment.

¹ Richard Anderson, of the 4th Maryland Regiment, who died in Philadelphia in 1835. (See Drake's *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*)

² Henry Hardman.

Here were formed out of the different corps three companies of Light Infantry, that of the Virginians commanded by Capt. Bruin, that of the First Battalion of Maryland by Captain Brooks, and that of the 2d Maryland, being chiefly of the Delaware Regiment, commanded by Capt. Robt. Kirkwood,¹ whose heroick valour and uncommon and undaunted bravery must needs be recorded in history till after ages.

Here we lay from the 6th September till the 7th October, waiting for clothes, arms and accoutrements.

On the 7th October the Light Infantry, with a party of Riflemen under the command of Genl. Morgan, set out for Salisbury, which we reached on the 15th inst., 100 miles. Here we halted till the 18th, and then marched off, directing our march to New Providence, 15 miles from Charlotte, and fifty-five from Salisbury, without anything of consequence happening.

We encamped at New Providence the 22d ult., the men all in good spirits. Here joined us two battalions of North Carolina Militia under the command of Genl. Davidson. 25th, moved our encampment further to the right, and in a more regular form. At this place Col. Washington,² with a detachment of First and Third Light Dragoons, joined us, which, together with the Light Infantry and three companies of Riflemen, formed the Flying Army.

On the 4th November, 1780, the Horse and Infantry marched towards Campden, to reconnoitre the enemy's lines and procure forage, marching as far as the Hanging Rock, which we reached on the 6th. On the 9th we returned to our encampment at New Providence without anything of consequence happening. One hundred miles.

The tenth of this inst. we had an account that Genl. Sumter had a skirmish with a party of the British on Fishing Creek, obliging them to retreat in great disorder, and killing and wounding many men.

The 11th Genl. Gates with the main army arrived at Charlotte, consisting of about seven hundred men.

¹ Killed at the defeat of St. Clair.

² William Washington.

On the 14th there came in a flag from the British, which the General thought proper to send back without any answer, as he suspected they only came to spy out our encampment.

On the 21st Genl. Sumter had another engagement with a party of the British, consisting of about nine hundred men, near Tiger River, the latter having eighty men killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. Genl. Sumter had two men killed and three wounded.

On the 22d our main army came to this place and encamped about a mile in our front. 27th, the main army marched for Charlotte.

On the 28th our Horse and Infantry marched for Rugeley's mill, leaving our tents standing, and the sick and barefoot men left as a guard. We came before Rugeley's on the first December where Col. Rugely lay, with his Regiment of Tories, in number about two hundred, strongly fortified. Col. Washington with the Light Horse being sent to draw them out, who ordered a party of them to dismount and represent Infantry, they getting a large pine knot, hauling along which served for a piece of cannon, and had the same effect as if it was the best piece in Christendom. This great piece of ordnance was drawn up in full view of the Tories. Col. Washington at the same time sent in a sergeant with a flag demanding the Tories to surrender, upon which Col. Rugely demanded some time to consider, but the sergeant who bore the flag made answer and told him that we had cannon and would put them all to immediate death if they did not give up, upon which the Tories marched out and gave up their fortifications, without so much as firing a single shot, and surrendered themselves up as prisoners of war. On the 2d December we returned towards camp, which we reached on the 4th—one hundred miles. Next day the prisoners were sent to Hillsborough, being escorted by a detachment of Col. Moore's militia of North Carolina.

On the 6th December, 1780, General Greene arrived at Charlotte and took the command of all the Southern Army in the room of General Gates.

On the seventh inst. were brought into camp twelve de-

serters from the First Regiment Light Dragoons, who were making their way home to Virginia.

12th December, 1780, the Tory prisoners who were confined in the provost were sent to Charlotte, there to have their trial.

Col. Washington, with the Light Horse, marched from here on the 13th of this instant towards Hanging Rock.

We lay on this ground from the 22d November till the 17th December, and marched to Charlotte, fifteen miles. Same day General Smallwood set out on his march for Maryland. At this time the troops were in a most shocking condition for the want of clothing, especially shoes, and we having kept open campaign all winter the troops were taking sick very fast. Here the manly fortitude of the troops of the Maryland Line was very great, being obliged to march and do duty barefoot, being all the winter the chief part of them wanting coats and shoes, which they bore with the greatest patience imaginable, for which their praise should never be forgotten; and indeed in all the hardships which they had undergone they never seemed to frown.

General Greene with his troops marched from Charlotte on the 20th December, directing his route towards Chiraw Hills, in order to procure forage and there spend the remainder of the winter.

On the 21st ult. the troops under General Morgan marched from Charlotte, being joined by two companies more of light infantry detached from the Maryland Line, directing our march towards Pacolet River. First day's march from Charlotte we came to Catabo River. Next day we crossed the river at Bizer's ferry. Next day we marched to Cane Creek; next, being the 24th, we were alarmed about two o'clock in the morning by some men on horseback coming to our advance picquet, at which the sentinels challenging and no answer being made, upon which the sentinels fired and afterwards the whole guard, when immediately the whole turned out and continued under arms till daybreak. This day we crossed Broad River, and the next day, being the 25th, we encamped at Pacolet River.

On the 27th the General received intelligence that Colonel Tarleton was advancing in order to surprise us; upon which there were strong picquets erected all round the encampment, putting ourselves in the best posture of defence. The rolls were ordered to be called every two hours, and reports given in by those that were absent. We arrived here in five days since we set out on our march from Charlotte, fifty-eight miles, it being very difficult marching in crossing deep swamps and very steep hills, which rendered our march very unpleasant. The inhabitants along this way live very poor, their plantations uncultivated, and living in mean dwellings. They seem chiefly to be the offspring of the ancient Irish, being very affable and courteous to strangers.

On the 31st December Colonel Washington was detached to Fort William in order to surprise some Tories that lay there; and meeting with a party of them near said place, upon which ensued a smart engagement, the latter having one hundred and sixty men killed dead, and thirty-three made prisoners.

On the first of January, 1781, there was one of the Tories tried and found guilty of desertion to the enemy and piloting the Indians on our army, they making great havoc among them; upon which he was hanged on a tree the same day till he was dead.

On the 4th there was one of Col. Washington's Horse tried and found guilty of desertion to the enemy, when agreeable to his sentence he was shot the same day.

We lay on this ground from the twenty-fifth December, 1780, till the fourteenth January, 1781, and then proceeded on our march further up the river towards the iron works in order to frustrate the designs of the enemy who were coming round us, Colonel Tarleton on one side and Lord Cornwallis on the other. We encamped on the Cowpen Plains on the evening of the sixteenth January, forty-two miles, being joined by some Georgia volunteers and South [Carolina] Militia, to the number of between two and three hundred. Next day being the seventeenth January, we received intelligence a while before day, that Colonel Tarleton

was advancing in our rear in order to give us battle, upon which we were drawn up in order of battle, the men seeming to be all in good spirits and very willing to fight. The militia dismounted and were drawn up in front of the standing troops on the right and left flanks, being advanced about two hundred yards. By this time the enemy advanced and attacked the militia in front, which they stood very well for some time till being overpowered by the superior number of the enemy they retreated, but in very good order, not seeming to be in the least confused. By this time the enemy advanced and attacked our light infantry with both cannon and small arms, where meeting with a very warm reception they then thought to surround our right flank, to prevent which Captain Kirkwood with his company wheeled to the right and attacked their left flank so vigorously that they were soon repulsed, our men advancing on them so very rapidly that they soon gave way. Our left flank advanced at the same time and repulsed their right flank, upon which they retreated off, leaving us entire masters of the field, our men pursuing them for the distance of twelve miles, insomuch that all their infantry was killed, wounded and taken prisoners. This action commenced about seven o'clock in the morning and continued till late in the afternoon.

In the action were killed of the enemy one hundred and ninety men, wounded one hundred and eighty, and taken prisoners one Major, thirteen Captains, fourteen Lieutenants, and nine Ensigns, and five hundred and fifty private men, with two field pieces and four standards of colours. Their heavy baggage would have shared the same fate, if Tarleton, who retreated with his cavalry, had not set fire to it, burning up twenty-six waggons. This victory on our side cannot be attributed to nothing else but Divine Providence, they having thirteen hundred in the field of their best troops, and we not eight hundred of standing troops and militia.

The troops engaged against us were the 7th or Royal English Fuzileers, the First Battalion of the 71st, and the British Legion, horse and foot.

The courage and conduct of the brave General Morgan in

this action is highly commendable, as likewise Colonel Howard,¹ who all the time of the action rode from right to left of the line encouraging the men; and indeed all the officers and men behaved with uncommon and undaunted bravery, but more especially the brave Captain Kirkwood and his company, who that day did wonders, rushing on the enemy without either dread or fear, and being instrumental in taking a great number of prisoners.

Our loss in the action were one Lieutenant wounded, and one Sergeant and thirty-five killed and wounded, of which fourteen were of Captain Kirkwood's Company of the Delaware Regiment.

On the 18th we marched off with the prisoners, directing our course for Salisbury; having crossed the Catabo River on the 23d at Shreve's Ford, and there waited for the prisoners who went another road. On our way hither we had very difficult marching, being very mountainous, the inhabitants, who were chiefly Virginians, living very poor, except one settlement on the other side the Catabo, being excellent good land and inhabited by the Dutch. We remained on this ground till the first February, waiting the motion of the enemy, who this day crossed the river lower down than where we lay, and coming unawares on the militia commanded by Genl. Davidson, on which ensued a smart skirmish in which General Davidson² was killed, and a great many more killed and wounded, upon which the militia retreated off in great disorder.

We marched off this place for Salisbury on the evening of the first February, and continued our march all night in a very unpleasant condition, it having rained incessantly all night, which rendered the roads almost inaccessible.

¹ For bravery at the battle of Cowpens, Congress presented General Morgan and Col. J. Eager Howard with medals, drawings of which will be found in Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, 1st ed., vol. ii. pp. 638-9.

² William Davidson, born in Lancaster Co., Pa., in 1746, his father removing to North Carolina in 1750. He was a brave officer, and was repeatedly wounded in the service of his country. (See Rogers's *Biog. Dict.*)

Next day, being the 2d, we arrived at Salisbury and crossed the River Yatkin, which the enemy approached on the 3d, consisting of about six thousand men, commanded by Lord Cornwallis and General Lesley, in order to facilitate their way to Virginia and relieve General Arnold, who was blocked up in Portsmouth with about fifteen hundred men, so that he could not possibly get off without being taken prisoner with all his army.

On the 4th we received intelligence that the enemy had crossed the river at a shallow ford above where we lay, upon which we marched all that night, taking the road towards Guilford Court House, which we reached on the 6th.

Here General Greene's Army assembled on the 5th from Chiraw Hills, and in a most dismal condition for the want of clothing, especially shoes, being obliged to march, the chief part of them, barefoot from Chiraw Hills. Here however the men were supplied with some shoes, but not half enough.

On the eighth instant we marched from here, General Greene's Army taking one road and the light troops another, being joined the next day by Colonel Lee's¹ horse and infantry. This day we received intelligence that the British Army was advancing very close in our rear, upon which Colonel Lee detached a party of horse to intercept them, who meeting with their vanguard, consisting of an officer and twenty men, which they killed, wounded and made prisoners, all but one man.

We marched from here on the ninth inst., taking the road towards Dan River, which we reached on the fourteenth, after a march of two hundred and fifty miles from the time we left our encampment at Pacolet River. By this time it must be expected that the army, especially the light troops, were very much fatigued both with travelling and want of sleep, for you must understand that we marched for the most part both day and night, the main army of the British being close in our rear, so that we had not scarce time to cook our victuals, their whole attention being on our light troops.

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee, generally known as "Light Horse Harry."

On the fourteenth all our troops assembled at Dan River, Virginia, which we crossed at two different ferries, viz., that of Boyd's and Irvin's.

On the seventeenth our army marched and crossed the Banister River. Here we halted till the 20th, and marched for Hillsborough, which the enemy had taken possession of, there erecting the Royal Standard, where a vast number of the inhabitants joined them, taking the oath of allegiance, and many more they compelled to do the same, forcing them away from their wives and children.

We came before this place on the 25th February (sixty-seven miles) which the enemy had abandoned, directing their course through the Haw Fields. Here they had great numbers of the inhabitants joined them, declaring themselves true friends to Government.

On the fourth of March 1781 we came up with the enemy on the other side the Allamance fifty-six miles from Hillsborough, and having sent down a party of militia to draw them out, we having formed the line of battle at some distance off, the militia meeting with and firing on them, upon which were several shots exchanged on both sides with various successes, when the militia retreated and in regular form, thinking to draw them on, which however they thought proper to decline.

On the night of the sixth instant Captain Kirkwood, with his company of Light Infantry and about forty Riflemen, was detached off in order to surprise Colonel Tarleton, who lay encamped on the other side the Allamance; which having approached at about one o'clock in the morning, and going himself with a guide to reconnoitre their lines, where finding which way their pickets were posted, upon which he ordered the whole to move on, having formed the line of battle. When we came near the sentinels, they challenged very briskly, and no answer being made, upon which they immediately discharged their pieces and ran in to their guard. We took one of the sentinels off his post at the same time and obliged him to show us where the guard lay, upon which we fired very briskly on them. By this time the camp was all alarmed,

Colonel Tarleton retreating in great confusion towards the main army, commanded by Lord Cornwallis, about two miles from this place; when, meeting a party of Tories and mistaking them for our militia, he charged on them very furiously, putting great numbers to the sword. On the other hand, they taking Colonel Tarleton for our horse and infantry, there commenced a smart skirmish, in which great numbers of the Tories were sent to the lower regions. We marched for camp which we reached about daybreak after a very fatiguing journey, having marched all night through deep swamps, morasses and thickets, which rendered our marching unpleasant and tiresome, twenty-six miles.

On the seventh the enemy made a movement and were within a mile of us before discovered, upon which we crossed Reedy Fork and drew up in order of battle, leaving some riflemen on the other side, when the enemy advanced and attacked the militia, who retreated off with precipitation, but, the British not advancing over the river, our troops marched and crossed the Haw River.

On the 12th Colonel Lee's Horse fell in with a party of the British, killing and wounding a great many, taking thirty of them prisoners.

(To be continued.)

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 205.)

HERMAN—BOUCHELLE—ENSOR—SEANNON—PATTEN—MAXWELL—
BROOKS—REES.

153. CATHARINE HERMAN,⁵ daughter of Ephraim Augustine and Isabella (Trent) Herman, was born and brought up on Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, Maryland. She married Peter Bouchelle, son of Doctor Bouchelle, of Bohemia Manor, and his wife Mary Ann, daughter of Samuel Bayard, of Bohemia Manor,* eldest son of Peter Bayard, of New York,

* "The year before his father's death [in 1698] Samuel Bayard removed [from New York] to Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, Maryland, and purchased, in partnership with his brother-in-law, Hendrick Sluyter, one of the four necks of land that originally constituted the Labadie Tract. February 5, 1716, they divided their possessions, Bayard having previously erected on his share what was then, and has ever since been known as the 'Great House,' a large and substantial brick mansion still in good preservation." ("A Memorial of Col. John Bayard," by Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson, in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, second series, vol. v. pp. 139 *et seq.*, which contains an interesting account of this branch of the Bayard family.) Samuel Bayard, as intimated, was cousin-german to Samuel Bayard (son of Nicholas Bayard, of New York), whose granddaughter, Judith Kemble, married Archibald McCall, a descendant of Jöran Kyn already mentioned (134). His son, James Bayard, was the great-grandfather of the late Hon. James Ashton Bayard, United States Senator for Delaware, who married Anne Francis, descended, as elsewhere stated, from Jöran Kyn. And his son, Colonel Peter Bayard, presently referred to in the text, married Susannah Richardson, sister of Sarah Richardson, second wife of Doctor John Finney (52); whose daughter, Elizabeth Bayard, became the wife of the Reverend John Rodgers, uncle to General William Macpherson, who married Margaret, daughter of Lieutenant Joseph and Mary (Keen) Stout (240). (For some points in connection with the genealogy of the Bayard family I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. Charles P. Mallery, of Wilmington, Del., whose former residence on Bohemia Manor enabled him to collect much information concerning that region, still carefully preserved by him for publication at a suitable opportunity.)

and grandson of Samuel Bayard and his wife Anna Stuyvesant, the emigrant ancestor of that family. Mr. Bouchelle thereupon assumed the Christian name of Augustine. Mrs. Bouchelle and her sister Mary Lawson held the Manor as joint tenants for several years. During the life of the former Mr. Bouchelle received the rents from the lessees of the Manor plantations, and kept the accounts incident to transactions between the tenants and the heirs. Catharine Bouchelle died about 1752, and Peter Augustine Bouchelle about 1755. They had two children, born on Bohemia Manor:

385. **MARY.** Her mother dying during her minority, Colonel Peter Bayard and Doctor Bouchelle were appointed guardians for her and her younger sister Ann. After the death of their father the children kept the Manor plantation one year, and then divided it with Mrs. Lawson, their aunt, and Mrs. Catto, their mother's step-mother, who had her dower in it. April 7, 1757, Mary Bouchelle married Joseph Ensor, a merchant, of Baltimore County, Md. Differences arising about this time between the heirs to Bohemia Manor with respect to their rights in the estate, recourse was had to litigation, which resulted in favour of Mr. Ensor, who finally obtained undisturbed possession of one undivided half of the land, which he mortgaged in 1768 to Charles Carroll of Carrollton for £3191.* In 1774 Ensor tried the experiment, already attempted in

* Proceedings were subsequently instituted by Carroll to foreclose this mortgage, and "in 1789," says Johnston (*History of Cecil County, Maryland*, pp. 184-5), "the Legislature of Maryland passed an act empowering the Court of Chancery to appoint two commissioners to act in conjunction with two others to be appointed by the Court of Chancery of Delaware (the Legislature of which State passed a like act in 1790) to divide the Manor between Peter Lawson, Charles Carroll, Joseph Ensor, Esq., his guardian, and Edward Oldham, and Mary, his wife, whose approbation of, and consent to, this method of settling the dispute had been obtained. Stephen Hyland and Tobias Rudolph were appointed by the Court of Maryland, and Isaac Grantham and Robert Armstrong, by the Court of Delaware. These gentlemen caused the Manor to be accurately surveyed, and found that it contained about 20,000 acres. They divided it into four parts, two of which they assigned to Peter Lawson. One-fourth part they gave to Charles Carroll, and the other to Joseph Ensor and Edward and Mary Oldham, to be held by them in severalty, except the share of the Oldhams. These proceedings were ratified and confirmed by the Courts of the respective States, and the litigation, that had lasted for more than half a century, was ended, as was, also, the legal existence of Bohemia Manor, which had con-

the early days of the colony, of building a town at Court House Point, and, to facilitate the execution of his plans, induced Carroll to release twenty-five acres of land at that spot, giving the latter his bond conditioned for the granting of a mortgage on the ground-rents of the town lots, which were to be leased for ninety-nine years, renewable forever, for a yearly rent of not less than forty shillings per acre. The troublous period of the Revolution was, however, not a fit season for such ventures; and his diligent efforts to accomplish his purpose met with no better success than had attended those of his predecessors in similar schemes. Mr. Ensor d. about the close of the war. He left issue.*

386. ANN. After the death of her parents she was brought up by her grandmother Bouchelle, then Mary Holland. She was still living in 1760, when she was represented in a suit in chancery by her brother-in-law, Mr. Ensor, who had been appointed her guardian three years before. She d. s. p.

155. ANNE SHANNON,⁵ daughter of John and Catharine (French) Shannon, inherited, besides her interest in her father's estate, one-half of lands devised by her grandfather, Robert French, to her mother, in tail. She married — Patten, and, after his death, John Maxwell, of Dover Hundred, Kent County on Delaware, described in deeds as "gentleman" and "farmer," who died before November, 1780. She was still living in November, 1787, when she and her son John Patten conveyed their interest in land in Dover Hundred to James Sykes, for life, to pass after his death to John and Mary (Sykes) Wethered, the latter of whom, a few

tinued for a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years. Charles Carroll sold his share in 1793, for £9827 10s., to Joshua Clayton, Richard Bassett, and Edward Oldham, who were then in possession. It contained 3931 acres, and was bounded on the north by Back Creek and embraced a portion or all of that part of the Manor that was in Delaware." The marriage of the daughter of Governor Bassett to the Hon. James Ashton Bayard (father of the late Hon. James Ashton Bayard, and grandfather of United States Senator Thomas Francis Bayard) transferred her share of the Manor to that branch of the family of Jöran Kyn.

* For some account of three of his children see Johnston's *Cecil County*, chap. xii. His daughter Mary alone married and left descendants, her husband being "Colonel Edward Oldham, an officer of great bravery and much distinction, who served in the Continental army, under General Greene, in the campaign in the Carolinas."

days later, released their interest in the same to Mrs. Maxwell, for life, to pass at her death to John Patten. By her first husband, Mr. Patten, Anne Shannon had one child:

387. JOHN, b. about April, 1746. He resided in Dover Hundred, Kent County, devoting himself to agricultural pursuits, until the beginning of the American Revolution. Early in 1776 he was appointed First Lieutenant in Captain Jonathan Caldwell's Company of ninety privates* in the Regiment of the Lower Counties on Delaware commanded by Colonel John Haslet,† and, "in a few days after the news of the Declaration of Independence, was received at Dover, marched to the headquarters of the army, then at New York,"‡ and was at once assigned to the Brigade of Lord Stirling. Lieutenant Patten took part in the Battle of Long Island, in which the regiment was commanded by Major Thomas McDonough, in consequence of the absence of Colonel Haslet and Lieutenant-Colonel Gunning Bedford on a General Court-Martial. The Delaware troops, with those from Maryland under Major Gist (326), and those from Pennsylvania under Colonel Hand (372), Lieutenant-Colonel Cadwalader (336), and other officers, exhibited great bravery, and maintained their position to the last. Lieutenant Patten was also present at the Battle of White Plains, but soon afterwards returned to Dover, to recruit a company of men "to serve during the war," in accordance with the resolution adopted by Congress September 16. His commission as Captain was dated November 30, 1776, when his men were mustered in, constituting the first company of the Delaware Regiment,§ over which David Hall was commissioned Colonel the 5th of the following April.

* The roll of this company is given in *The Revolutionary Soldiers of Delaware*, by William G. Whiteley, pp. 54-55 (Wilmington, Delaware, 1875). According to the tradition in Delaware, says the same authority, p. 53, the soldiers of that State received the name of "Blue Hen's Chickens" from the circumstance that "Captain Caldwell took with his company game chickens, which were from the brood of a blue hen, celebrated in Kent County for their fighting qualities."

† The Major originally elected for this regiment by ballot of Congress, January 19, 1776, was John Macpherson, brother of General William Macpherson, who married Margaret, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Keen) Stout (140), whose untimely death in the storming of Quebec, on the 31st of the previous month, was not then known on the Delaware. A list of the officers of the regiment is given in the work just cited, pp. 11 and 12.

‡ Whiteley, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

§ For the names of the officers of this company, see *ibid.* p. 23. The privates numbered thirty-two.

They joined General Washington in New Jersey in the spring of 1777, and Patten "fought bravely at the Brandywine, and Germantown."* The following detailed account of the subsequent history of his regiment is given by the late Major Caleb P. Bennett, Governor of Delaware, who was commissioned in 1778 First Lieutenant of the seventh company :—" After a very interesting and active campaign, the Maryland division, with the Delaware Regiment attached, retired to winter quarters in Wilmington, under the command of General Smallwood. In May, 1778, we left Wilmington ; and the division, by general orders from headquarters, at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, proceeded to join the main army at that place without delay, as it was presumed the British army was making arrangements to leave Philadelphia and pass over the Delaware to New Jersey, and proceed for New York. A few days after our arrival at the Valley Forge the army took up their line of march for the Delaware. We crossed that river at Correll's Ferry, and continued our march to intercept the British army, which had left the city, and fell in with them in the neighbourhood of Monmouth, where the battle was fought on the 28th of June. That day month we left Wilmington. After the battle was over, the dead buried, etc., the army proceeded to Brunswick, and celebrated the 4th of July, 1778 ; from thence to King's Ferry, on the North River, when we crossed that river, and proceeded to the White Plains, State of New York, where we encamped, and remained until September, when the army dispersed in different directions. We proceeded to West Point, to strengthen that position and the command of General Putnam, where we remained until we were ordered to proceed to winter quarters. The place designated for the army to hut was Bond Brook, New Jersey, where we remained during the winter. In May, 1779, when the army left, they dispersed, some to the State of New York, others to Connecticut, but the greater proportion hovered in the neighbourhood of West Point on the North River : the Delaware Regiment remained in the western part of New Jersey. The army during the ensuing campaign remained inactive ; nothing material occurred during this season other than marching and countermarching from place to place, particularly the Delaware Regiment, until we were ordered to take up our winter quarters at a farm near Morristown, New Jersey, where the army huddled. The winter proved very severe, and the men suffered much from the want of provisions. Supplies could not be obtained from the distant magazines owing

* *Ibid.*, p. 45.

† MS. narrative in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

to the excessive falls of snow that prevented their transportation. We remained in our quarters until April, 1780, [on the 13th of which month] a general order issued from headquarters for the Maryland Division (Delaware included) to take up the line of march under the command of General the Baron De Kalb, and proceed to join the Southern army under the command of General Lincoln, to aid him in his defence of Charleston.* Neither Colonel Hall nor Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Pope accompanying their regiment on this campaign, Major Joseph Vaughan took command of the men, as Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Patten, by virtue of his seniority, was promoted to be Major. "As it was understood," continues Governor Bennett, "there was a superior force of British troops, under the command of General Lord Cornwallis, pressing upon General Lincoln, the division proceeded on by forced marches, by land and water, until we arrived at Petersburg, Virginia. Soon after our arrival we received the intelligence of the fall of Charleston, which had surrendered prisoners of war to the British commander. This circumstance only increased our anxiety, and caused us to continue our pursuit, to aid those troops that were out of the city on its fall, and those on their route to join the American forces, and endeavour to cover their retreat, should we arrive in time. By forced marches we arrived on Deep River in North Carolina, where the Baron De Kalb was superseded in his command by Major-General Gates, who, immediately on taking command, although the army at that time were not in a situation, from the extreme difficulty in obtaining supplies necessary for the present pursuit, ordered us to proceed on our route by forced marches, even in that situation, until our arrival at a striking distance of Camden, South Carolina, where the British army was concentrated. We encamped at Rugelie's Mill, twelve miles from the British post. We remained in this situation but a day or two, to recruit and refresh the army after a long and fatiguing march, when orders were issued to parade at retreat beat, and wait for further orders. It was understood and believed, General Gates meant that evening to move in a direction for Camden, and attack the enemy by surprise in their quarters. Late in the evening our whole force moved in that direction from about equal distance from our position and that of Camden. The advance of the two armies met on the high road, exchanged firing, and both parties fell back on their main bodies. During the night General

* Whiteley, *op. cit.*, who gives, pp. 25-31, a "Muster Roll of the Field, Staff, other officers and privates of the Delaware Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. David Hall, for the month of February, 1780," the latest return of the regiment on file in the office of the Secretary of State.

Gates selected his ground, and formed the line of battle, and waited for the coming day, to meet the enemy in battle array. During the night, it was presumed, the British, with the aid of the disaffected of that country, being perfectly acquainted with the ground, took advantage to reconnoitre our position, and the situation of our forces. At early dawn the enemy made a furious attack on our weakest position, where the militia were posted, being on the left of the front line. After the first fire they gave way and left the field, although they were commanded by officers of the Virginia line, who made every exertion to rally them, but all in vain; they left the field helter-skelter. The attack of the left of the rear line was in the same style, and eventuated in the same way. The Continental Troops, Maryland and Delaware, were left to sustain the heat of the battle, when and where they acquitted themselves like soldiers devoted to their country." In an address, by Mr. William G. Whiteley, delivered before the Historical Society, and afterwards before the Legislature, of Delaware,* speaking of this engagement, it is said: "The Continentals, which were the Maryland regiments and our Delaware Regiment, not fourteen hundred in all, with a single regiment of North Carolinians, were alone, left to oppose the enemy. . . . They held their ground, charging and repelling charges, broken more than once, and borne down by superior numbers, but forming again, and rallying, and fighting bravely to the end. . . . What the bayonets of the enemy's foot could not do, the charge of Tarleton's cavalry did; they broke before it, and what was left of the two Maryland and our Delaware Regiment retreated. The Delaware Regiment went into this fight five hundred strong. Lee, in his memoirs, Green, in the life of his father, Otho Williams, in his account of the battle, and our Sergeant Seymour, in his diary,† all use the same expression, the same language, 'In this battle the regiment of Delaware was nearly annihilated;' and it was, really and truly. Of the five hundred, there remained after the battle . . . four captains, seven subalterns, three staff officers, nineteen non-commissioned officers, eleven musicians, and one hundred and forty-five rank and file, one hundred and eighty-eight in all. Eleven commissioned officers and thirty-six privates were made prisoners, forty-seven altogether, making, including prisoners, a total of two hundred and thirty-five, and leaving a dead roll of two hundred and sixty-five, for a short fight of one hour. Well might the brave De Kalb, with his dying

* The pamphlet so frequently cited, which contains an interesting history of both Colonel Haslet's and Colonel Hall's regiments, accompanied by biographical notices of prominent officers.

† Printed in this and the following number of the *MAGAZINE*.

breath, 'breathe benedictions on his faithful brave divisions.' . . . Among the officers of the Delaware Regiment, who were taken prisoners, were Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan and Major Patten. They held the right, and had pressed the enemy back; but, the flight of the militia relieving that portion of the enemy's line in their front, the opportunity was seized by him to attack them in flank. The capture of these officers shows where the Delaware Regiment was—in the advance. . . . [They] were sent to Charleston, and after a detention of some time were paroled, but, not being exchanged, they did not, as they could not, join their regiment." Thus ended the military career of Major Patten, who returned to his home, known as "Tinhead Court," in St. Jones's Neck, about three miles northeast of Dover; it is described as "an old-fashioned, curb-roofed, frame building," and is "said to have been a resort, in the Major's day, of all the best society of Delaware."* He became a Member of the Society of the Cincinnati in his native State. He was chosen Representative from Delaware in the Third Congress of the United States, but was unseated by Henry Latimer, who contested his right to the place. He was, however, subsequently elected to the Fourth Congress, in whose sessions he took part. Major Patten m., 1st, December 17, 1788, Ann, younger daughter of Colonel John Haslet,† and sister of Joseph Haslet, twice elected Governor of Delaware. She d. s. p., letters of administration on her estate being granted to her husband, July 27, 1790. Major Patten m., 2dly, January 6, 1795, Mary, widow of Vincent Loockerman, the

* *The Life of Samuel Miller, D.D., LL.D., Second Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, at Princeton, New Jersey*, by Samuel Miller, vol. i. p. 76 (Philadelphia, 1869).

† A native of Ireland, who became a Presbyterian minister and afterwards practised medicine in Kent County on Delaware. He was frequently elected to the General Assembly of that State. He was buried in the First Presbyterian Churchyard of Philadelphia under a tombstone with this inscription: "In memory of John Haslet, Esquire, Colonel of the Delaware Regiment, who fell gloriously at the battle of Princeton, in the cause of American Independence, January 3d, 1777. The General Assembly of the State of Delaware, remembering his virtues as a man, his merits as a citizen, and his services as a soldier, have caused this monumental stone, in testimony of their respect, to be placed over his grave, 1783." His remains were afterwards removed to the Presbyterian churchyard at Dover, in accordance with a resolution of the Legislature of Delaware passed February 22, 1841, and were honoured with a new monument, erected by that State. For interesting references to him, see William T. Read's *Life of George Read*, pp. 328 *et seq.*, and Mr. Whiteley's paper above cited.

younger,* and daughter of the Reverend John Miller,† for forty-three years pastor of the Presbyterian Churches of Dover and Duck Creek, by his wife Margaret Millington,‡ b. near Dover, July 26, 1762. Major Patten d. in Dover Hundred, Kent County, December 26, 1800, "aged fifty-four years and eight months." He was bur. in the Presbyterian Churchyard at Dover under a tombstone which bears the following inscription: "In memory of the Honorable John Patten, Esquire, who distinguished himself as a brave and useful Officer, during the Revolutionary War; and afterwards served his Country with honor, at different periods, as a Member of the Americau Congress. Amiable and beloved in social and domestic life. A firm Patriot. An honest Man."§ Mrs. Patten survived her husband until the 13th of the following March, and was bur. beside him with the epitaph: "An affectionate Wife. A tender Mother. An amiable and excellent Woman." In her will she bequeaths to her daughter, Ann Patten, a watch, plate, silver, furniture, etc., embracing "a coverlet, red, green, and white, two handsome chintz counterpanes, eight table cloths, and a dozen knapkins, which were spun and manufactured at Tinhead Court;" and to her son, Joseph Miller Patten, "his father's large picture, gold-headed cane, spectacles, and stockbuckle," and "all his deceased father's private library, including a full set of the Encyclopedia and other books."

* Son of Vincent Loockerman, the elder, great-grandson of Govert Loockermans, a noted merchant of New Amsterdam, great-granduncle of Gertrude Bayard, mother of Judith Kemble, wife of Archibald McCall, son of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall (134).

† A native of Boston, son of John Miller, who emigrated to that city from Scotland in 1710, by his wife Mary Bass, great-granddaughter of Samuel Bass, who settled in New England about 1630, and of John Alden, an immigrant on the "Mayflower," known to New England history and poetry in connection with his attempted courtship of Priscilla Mullins on behalf of his friend, Captain Miles Standish. For some account of Mr. Miller and his ancestry, see *The Life of Samuel Miller* (a brother of Mrs. Patten), vol. i. pp. 13, *et seq.*

‡ Eldest daughter of Allumby Millington, an English captain of a merchantman, who settled in Talbot County, Maryland, by his wife Elizabeth Harris, of Anglo-Irish parentage. Concerning Mrs. Miller, see *ibid.*, pp. 26 and 27.

§ A large portrait of Major Patten, painted by Peale, and two miniature portraits of him, painted by Miss Peale, are in the possession of Major Patten's grandson, the Hon. Leonard E. Wales, President of the Historical Society of Delaware.

By her second husband, John Maxwell, Anne Shannon had four children:

388. WILLIAM. Probably the "First Sergeant William Maxwell" of Captain John Patten's company in Colonel David Hall's Delaware Regiment, who was mustered into service November 30, 1776, and whose name still appears on the roll for February, 1780. November 6, of the latter year, he is described as "of Dover Hundred, Kent County, farmer," when he pays £500 to each of his three sisters for their interest (one-fourth of two-thirds each) in "the clear personal estate" of their father. He d. probably unm., letters of administration on his estate being granted to his half-brother, Major Patten, as "next of kin," March 5, 1787.
389. ANNE. She m. — Maxwell, and d. in Duck Creek Hundred, Kent County, Delaware, leaving all her real and personal estate to her daughter, Priscilla Maxwell, her will bearing date October 28, 1794, and being admitted to probate January 9, 1795.
390. CATHARINE. She m. John Brooks, son of Nicholas Brooks. Mrs. Brooks assigned to her father-in-law her right to administer her husband's estate, February 6, 1790. She d. s. p. in St. Jones's Neck, Kent County, Delaware, and in her will, dated September 25, 1821, and admitted to probate January 1, 1822, bequeaths her property to her nephew, Joseph Miller Patten, and nieces, Ann (Patten) Wales and Catharine Maxwell Rees.
391. MARY. She m. Edward Rees, "of Duck Creek Hundred, Kent County on Delaware, farmer," and had issue. Letters of administration on her estate were granted to her husband May 23, 1797.

(To be continued.)

DANIEL B. SMITH,

THE FIRST CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

Read at the meeting of the Historical Society, May 7, 1883.

BY JAMES J. LEVICK, M.D.

The duty devolves on me this evening of making to this Society the official announcement of the death, at his home in Germantown, March 29, 1883, of DANIEL B. SMITH, in the ninety-second year of his age; one of the earliest members, one of the incorporators, and the first corresponding secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In making this announcement, I shall not attempt to give the full history of a life extending over nearly a century, and yet I cannot forbear offering a few words respecting the career of one to whom this Society owes much, and to whom, from my boyhood, I have been bound by the strong ties of gratitude and affection.

William Smith, born in Bramham, Yorkshire, England, A.D. 1570, where, as freeholders from the crown, his family for many generations lived, has had in his descendants, of whom our venerable fellow member was one, many men conspicuously useful in the communities in which they have lived. We owe to one of them Smith's *History of New Jersey*, a book whose value is well known here. We owe to another, the son-in-law of James Logan, a most valuable collection of historical memoirs of eminent Friends of Philadelphia and of Burlington from the settlement of the Provinces to the year 1770. Another, Samuel J. Smith, of Hickory Grove, has left the well-earned reputation of a poet; several of the family were members of the Legislature of New Jersey, in which province Richard Smith, the grandson of William, so early as the year 1676, purchased 105,000 acres of land for his sons, which they soon after occupied. In our own Historical Society there have been and still are many

useful members who are descendants of William Smith, of Bramham.

Daniel B. Smith, the son of Benjamin and Deborah Morris Smith, the latter the great-granddaughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd, was born July 14, 1792. He received his literary education at Burlington under the care of John Griscom, whose school had acquired a wide-spread reputation, and to whom pupils came even from the distant southern States.

Determining on the study of chemistry and pharmacy, he entered the drug store of John Biddle, a much respected apothecary of Philadelphia, where he remained until of age, and where he subsequently entered into partnership with his former employer. Some years later he associated with him in the same line of business "a young Englishman fresh from the shop of John Bell, of Oxford, London," and the firm of Smith & Hodgson, at Sixth and Arch Streets, became one of the most prominent and successful drug houses of the country. In the year 1821, a number of apothecaries, prominent among whom was Daniel B. Smith, decided that something more than a mere mechanical knowledge of drugs was needed for the education of those engaged in the duty of compounding of medicines.¹ As a result of their frequent conferences and counsels came the College of Apothecaries and the College of Pharmacy. Daniel B. Smith was one of the originators of this college, and was largely instrumental in imparting a scientific character to its teachings. One of its incorporators, he was also for twenty-five years its President. As a result of this undertaking, he lived to see a college whose pupils, in the aggregate, number 6863, representing every State in the Union, and a considerable number

¹ The two men, who appear to have taken the very first steps towards the establishment of a distinct school of pharmacy in Philadelphia, were Peter Lehman and Henry Troth, both of them prominent druggists of this city. Their proposal for such a school met with a hearty response from those engaged in the business, and a meeting was held at Carpenters' Hall, Feb. 23, 1821, Stephen North in the chair, and Peter Williamson acting as secretary. One of the first named on the committee to prepare a plan for such a school of pharmacy was Daniel B. Smith.

from Canada, Cuba, and various parts of Europe. Its journal, published since 1825, is everywhere recognized as high authority on the matters of which it treats, and has been one of the leading agencies in developing the profession of pharmacy in the United States. He lived, indeed, to see pharmacy changed from a mere trade to a learned profession.

To the College of Pharmacy is at least indirectly due the preparation by Drs. Wood and Bache, both of them professors in this College, of the United States Dispensatory, a book of two thousand pages, which has reached its fifteenth edition, and of which more than 125,000 copies have been sold, and which is now, fifty years from its first publication, in daily use in every drug store in the United States. To this work Daniel B. Smith contributed many valuable pages.¹

Although actively engaged in business, Daniel B. Smith was a man of too much mental culture, and too much interested in the welfare of his fellow men to confine his labors to the shop.

In the year 1820 three citizens of Philadelphia, Daniel B. Smith, Thomas Kimber, and Samuel Schober, recognizing the need of a free library for young mechanics and manufacturers, met at the house of one of their number, and there resolved that the establishment of such a library would be likely to promote orderly and virtuous habits, diffuse knowledge, improve the scientific skill of the mechanic and manufacturer, and advance the prosperity and happiness of the community. Out of this meeting came the Apprentices' Library Company of Philadelphia. Daniel B. Smith lived to see, as a result of these efforts of himself and friends, a library containing 22,000 volumes, and books furnished in the aggregate to 77,757 applicants for them, and doubtless read by treble that number.

In the year 1816 a number of gentlemen were impressed with the need in Philadelphia of a safe depository for the

¹ It was originally intended by the authors of the Dispensatory that one-third of the book should be written by Daniel B. Smith. This intention could not be carried out because of other engagements.

earnings of tradesmen, mechanics, laborers, house-servants, and others, where their earnings might not only be secure for them, but where also a generous interest might be paid to the depositors. Among the incorporators of this excellent institution appears the name of Daniel B. Smith. What value the Philadelphia Savings Fund has been to those for whom it was intended, you, gentlemen of the Historical Society, know quite as well as I can tell you. Daniel B. Smith lived to see, as the results of this effort, in which he was deeply interested, the record of 357,263 depositors; of \$93,613,335.57 of deposits, and of interest paid to these hard-working people of \$11,235,649.50.¹

In the year 1826 the appalling statement was made that there were then in prison in the city of Philadelphia "sixty boys, and that in the city of New York, four hundred and eighty persons had lately been arrested under twenty-five years of age, and that a large number, of both sexes, were wandering about without homes, and with no one to care for their souls or bodies." At once the necessity of a refuge for the endangered, an asylum for the erring, a shelter for the tempted, came with force on the community.

A public meeting was held in Philadelphia, Chief-Justice Tilghman presiding, at which it was determined to found a house of refuge, and measures were taken to obtain the requi-

¹ The Philadelphia Savings Fund originated Nov. 20, 1816, with Condé Raguet, Esq., a native of South Carolina, but for many years a well-known citizen of Philadelphia. His attention had been directed to the Savings Banks of Great Britain, and the necessity of something similar here. While thinking over this subject, he met on the street his friends Richard Peters, Clement C. Biddle, and Thomas Hale. With these gentlemen the matter was discussed, and at a meeting held at the office of Colonel Biddle, Nov. 25, 1816, at which were present also John Strawbridge, John C. Stocker, and John McCrea, the subject was more fully considered. It was there agreed to form an association for the purposes named in the text, and on December 2, 1816, the institution was first opened to depositors. Andrew Bayard was chosen as its first President. His successors have been John C. Lowber, Clement C. Biddle, Lewis Waln, and Caleb Cope, Esqs. Among those who were early interested in this association was the late Roberts Vaux.

site funds to carry out the plan. Prominent among these interested citizens, and one of the corporators, was our friend Daniel B. Smith.

How much good that House of Refuge has done in keeping from sin, in rescuing from crime, in saving from hopeless death, no pen of mine can reckon. Only in that last, great day when the books shall be opened, and "another book opened—which is the book of life," can its true value be computed. So far as figures can speak, I may say that in this work, which was very near his heart, Daniel B. Smith lived to see the day when, in the aggregate, fourteen thousand three hundred young persons had received the benefits of this asylum, and at least two-thirds of them, properly instructed and reformed, had been restored to society.¹

While thus engaged in works of charity and philanthropy, Daniel B. Smith was yet true to his literary and scientific tastes. A lover of natural science and especially of botany, he early became a member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, of the American Philosophical Society, and of the Franklin Institute. Other public interests also claimed his attention.

On the second day of December, 1824, a number of gentlemen met at the house of Thomas I. Wharton, favorable to the formation of a society for the purpose of elucidating the history of the State of Pennsylvania, Roberts Vaux in the chair, and George Washington Smith secretary. At this meeting it was determined to form a historical society, and a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws for its government. At the next meeting, December 27, 1824, a list of names of gentlemen desirous of joining the

¹ The first officers of the House of Refuge were (1826): *president*, John Sergeant; *vice-presidents*, Robert Ralston and Roberts Vaux; *treasurer*, John S. Henry; *secretary*, James J. Barclay; *managers*: Thomas Astley, Samuel Bettle, John Cooke, George M. Dallas, Thomas Evans, Philip Garrett, John Goodman, Alexander Henry, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Daniel Knight, John Moore, James Moore, John Paul, Charles Roberts, Daniel B. Smith, Silas E. Weir, George Williams, Thomas Wistar, Bartholomew Wistar, Ambrose White.

society was read, and they accepted as members.¹ The last survivor of these names was our Daniel B. Smith, who was also the first corresponding secretary, and whose name is among the incorporators of the Historical Society. Daniel B. Smith lived to see, as the result of these early efforts of himself and his friends, a historical society numbering nearly a thousand members, a library of nearly seventeen thousand volumes, besides much that is valuable in manuscripts, pamphlets, and pictures illustrative of our early provincial history, the owner of a commodious hall, in which, with the increased facilities thus afforded, there is every reason to believe the objects of the society will be promoted with increased vigor and success.

In the early part of the year 1830, a number of the most intelligent members of the Religious Society of Friends in Philadelphia, who had for a long time felt the disadvantages which the younger members of their society labored under in obtaining a liberal education, met to confer together on the best means of remedying them. A similar conference was held by the Friends of New York City, and the result was seen in the establishment of Haverford School, now Haverford College. The full course of study was to occupy a period of four years, and was to be as full as the most advanced college in the United States. In deference to the prejudices of some of the older Friends, the name of Haverford School was given it, but, as the course was a college course, the legislature of the State authorized some years later the name of Haverford College, and the granting of the usual collegiate degrees.

Most active, from the start, in this good work, was Daniel B. Smith. Present at the first meeting—actively engaged in bringing about this meeting, appointed on the committee to confer with the New York Friends on this subject, the early minutes everywhere show his active useful interest in

¹ Among the earliest members of the Historical Society, his membership dating the same year as that of Daniel B. Smith, although not in the list above referred to, is our honored and venerable fellow member, Dr. Caspar Morris.

this matter. Nor was this all; when success had crowned their efforts, and the school was about to be opened, at the earnest solicitation of the Board of Managers, in accordance with what seemed to him to be a religious duty, but at no little personal sacrifice, he consented to accept and assume the very responsible duties of the chair of mental and moral philosophy and English literature. How fully and faithfully those duties were performed, all of us, whose privilege it was to sit under his teachings, can bear a cordial and emphatic affirmative testimony.¹

I would not in any way detract from the value of the services of others, who in its early career were engaged at Haverford, prominent among whom were the Professors Gummere, father and son, but I am sure I do but speak the sentiment of my school fellows, when I say that Daniel B. Smith was the animating spirit of the place. It was he who moulded the character, shaped the destiny, influenced the future of its students. What Dr. Arnold was to Rugby, Daniel B. Smith was to Haverford. How deeply his pupils recognized this fact was shown nearly forty years later, when, then gray-headed men themselves, they came in such numbers to pay, at his open grave, with filial gratitude and affection, their last tribute to his memory.

Daniel B. Smith always regarded his years at Haverford as among the happiest of his life. Blessed in a remarkable degree in his domestic life, happy in his association with bright intelligent young men (and there is something especially inspiring in such association), conscious, and yet not ostentatiously so, that he was implanting in their young minds and hearts those great principles which could not fail to affect favorably their future, his life at Haverford was a most useful and happy one.

In the instruction given by Daniel B. Smith to his pupils at Haverford was a course of ethical lectures, the literary ability, the extended scope of thought, the sound theology,

¹ Some years later Daniel B. Smith accepted the position of Principal of Haverford School.

and the practical usefulness of which could not well be surpassed.

While these graver subjects occupied much of his thought, there were times when his pen was employed on lighter themes. As illustrating the brightness of his imagination and his familiarity with the Muses, I am almost tempted to quote a little poem written by him for a college paper edited by the students, for which he occasionally wrote, and to which he was always a welcome contributor. It is addressed to the planet Venus, the beautiful evening star, and abounds in graceful poetic imagery.

More than twelve years were pleasantly passed by Daniel B. Smith at Haverford. He lived to see its students, in the aggregate, number more than a thousand, and their college, wherever known, respected. He lived also to see many of his own pupils holding prominent positions in other colleges, occupying posts of usefulness and honor in the community, and ever grateful to him for the care and instruction he had so generously given them.

In the year 1849 Daniel B. Smith removed to Germantown. Here in a circle of intelligent, congenial friends, visited frequently by his grateful pupils, and in the luxury of a large and well-appointed library, the remainder of his life was passed.

Long after he had entered his eightieth year he retained his interest in his beloved botany, and was accustomed, even then, to make excursions in the neighboring country for plants. When, at last, the physical infirmities of extreme age made this impossible, he turned his attention to another branch of natural science, and in the study of conchology found much pleasure and instruction. Nearly a twelvemonth ago he entered on his ninety-second year, and, save some failure of memory, with his mental vigor unimpaired. Spared any lingering illness, he looked forward to the future with humble hope, as he could look back on the past with reverent gratitude. And so, tenderly cared for by two generations of his family, he fell asleep in the full promise of a glad awakening.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF DOCTOR DANIEL COXE,
OF LONDON.

BY G. D. SCULL, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

Doctor Daniel Coxe, of London, well known as a large landed proprietor in the American colonies, was born in 1640 or 1641, and died January 19, 1730, in his ninetieth year.¹ He was the son of Daniel Coxe, of Stoke Newington, Gentleman, who was buried in the church in that town September 3, 1686. On May 12, 1671, Dr. Daniel Coxe married Rebecca, daughter of John Coldham, Esq., of Tooting Graveney, Alderman of London. The eldest son of this marriage was Colonel Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, hereinafter mentioned. For many years Dr. Coxe resided in Aldersgate Street in London. In 1723 he resided in Hoxton. He never visited America. This fact is expressly stated by Oldmixon.²

Dr. Coxe became a doctor of medicine at Cambridge. His name appears on the books of the University as "M.D., *per literas regias*, 1669." He was one of the earliest scientific men to experiment upon animals with the nicotine of tobacco. On May 3, 1665, he read a paper upon that subject before the faculty of Gresham College.³ He was elected and admitted a member of the Royal Society in March, 1664-5. Papers were published by him in the Philosophical Transactions of 1674, viz., *A Discourse on Alcalizates and Fixed Salts*, *A Way of extracting Volatile Salt and Spirit out of Vegetables*, and *The Improvement of Cornwall by Sea Sand*. He possessed a chemical laboratory, and describes one of his experiments in which some very picturesque effects were produced by crystallization. Dr. Coxe was one of the physicians of King

¹ See Musgrave's Manuscript Obituary in the British Museum.

² See *post*.

³ See the second volume of John Ward's Manuscripts in the Additional Manuscripts of the British Museum, No. 6194.

Charles the Second, and also physician to Queen Anne. He was admitted an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, September 30, 1680. In 1677, *A Short Account of the Kingdoms around the Euxine and Caspian Seas* was printed in London, written by an anonymous writer.¹ Bliss, the editor of Anthony à Wood, states that the preface to this work was written by Dr. Daniel Coxe, who, he says, was a "physician of eminence, a man of learning, and an author." In the Sloane Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum there is a note written by Dr. Coxe to Sir Hans Sloane in which he asks the loan of "the four volumes of the seventh and eighth Decades of Herrera, and the Description and Conquest of the Nuevo Regno de Granada."

Between 1692 and 1698 Dr. Daniel Coxe purchased the patent of the province of Carolana, originally granted by Charles the First to his Attorney-General, Sir Robert Heath. Heath's grant covered the territory now comprised in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana, including that part of America which lies between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of latitude, and the rivers San Mattheo and Passo Magno, and stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, with the exception of Saint Augustine and New Mexico.² Sir Robert Heath conveyed the premises, in the 13th year of Charles the First, to Lord Maltravers, afterwards Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who, "at great expense, planted several parts of the country." About the year 1698 Dr. Coxe made energetic attempts, by exploration and otherwise, to revive the dormant title to this territory, as far as certain portions of it, and especially the Mississippi Valley, were concerned. In 1698 Colonel Welch travelled from Charleston in South Carolina to a point on the Mississippi

¹ In 1677 J. Phillips published his translation of the *Six Voyages of John Baptist Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, through Turkey into Persia and India*. The *Short Account* above mentioned and another work were added by Phillips to the volume containing his translation.

² Coxe claimed only the unsettled parts south and west of North and South Carolina on the Gulf of Mexico, and in Mississippi Valley; see *Description of Carolana*, page 1.

near and below Old Kappa, where De Soto discovered that river in 1541.¹

From the journals of different explorations by land and water a small volume was compiled by Colonel Daniel Coxe,² son of Dr. Daniel Coxe, which was published in London in 1722, and is called a *Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane, as also of the great and famous river Meschacebe or Mississippi*. A second edition of this work was published in 1727, and a third in 1741. In his preface the author observes that his treatise is mainly composed from the journals of explorers employed by his father, the then proprietor of Carolana, and from the accounts of other travellers and Indian traders. For this purpose that proprietor had undergone great trouble and expense. For several years, at his own cost, he had maintained a correspondence with the governors and chief Indian traders of the English colonies, and had employed many persons in connection with explorations in the country. In the year 1698 two ships were fitted out by him, well armed and provisioned, not merely for the voyage, but also for building a fortification and settling a colony.³ These two vessels contained thirty French and English gentlemen volunteers, besides sailors and other men of lower rank. One of these two vessels discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, and ascended it more than one hundred miles, and would have perfected a settlement therein, if the captain of the other ship had done his duty. The author remarks: "Here I cannot forbear taking notice that this was the first ship that ever entered that river from the sea, or that perfectly discovered or described its several mouths, in opposition to the boasts and falsities of the French, who, in their printed books and accounts, assume to themselves the honour of both."

¹ See the *Present State of North America*, part first, London, 1754, page 30.

² Concerning him, see *post*.

³ See Bancroft's *History of the United States*, iii. 202; P. Margry's *Origines Françaises*, 1881, ii. 304, 305.

He further adds that, the exploration of the Mississippi and its seven mouths, and of a large portion of the coast of Carolana on the Gulf of Mexico having been effected, Dr. Coxe as proprietor presented a memorial to King William the Third, who approved warmly the design of settling the province. That king at one time expressed his intention of sending at his own cost some six or eight hundred French refugees and Vaudois to unite with English emigrants in making a settlement there. Other persons of means or influence, including Lord Lonsdale, then Lord Privy Seal, offered to aid the undertaking. The deaths of King William and Lord Lonsdale, however, prevented the realization of the project. In the following reign Dr. Coxe proposed reviving the enterprise, but was compelled to desist therefrom by the wars then existing. On December 21, 1699, the Lords of Trade reported that the Attorney-General had given an opinion in favour of the validity of Dr. Coxe's title to the patent of the province of Carolana.¹

May 2, 1698, Sir William Waller, Knight, Oliver Marquis de la Muce, and the Sieur Charles de Sailly purchased of Dr. Daniel Coxe, in London, five hundred thousand acres of the above-described grant situate "on the west side of the river Spiritu Sancto, which empties itself into the Bay of Apalache at the North East, and the Gulph of Mexico, which shall be purchased by the Proprietary of the Indian natives, to have and to hold the said tract of land to them, Sir William Waller, etc. etc., and if they shall take up five hundred thousand acres more, they shall have power so to do, provided it be taken up within the space of seven years ensuing from the date hereof, paying quit rents for the same. Sir William Waller, etc. etc., shall enjoy the said lands seven years, paying only a ripe ear of Indian corn in the season, and, from the expiration of the said seven years, five shillings sterling money of England, or the value thereof in other coin, as a quit rent for every five hundred acres of land so taken up and purchased by the Proprietary aforesaid. It is further agreed that it shall be a condition that, within two years

¹ *Description of Carolana*, preface, pp. 109-122.

from this date, at least two hundred families of Protestant colonists shall be planted in the colony or else this contract becomes void."¹

King William the Third advanced three thousand pounds to defray the charges of sending over to Virginia at least five hundred French Protestants, and, it would appear, delegated to Dr. Daniel Coxe the supervision of such emigration.²

The first ship, with two hundred French under the charge of the Marquis de la Muce and the Sieur Charles de Sailly, sailed from London in April, 1700. On the arrival in Virginia, they were sent to a place called Manikintown on the James River, where it was understood that everything was to be put in readiness by them for the reception of the refugees arriving by the succeeding ships. A second ship followed with one hundred and sixty-nine refugees, under the charge of Monsieur de Joux, who had been specially ordained as a minister of the gospel by the bishop of London before leaving that city. This vessel was the *Peter and Paul*, galley of London, Daniel Perreau, commander, which arrived at Jamestown November 20, 1700. A third ship, the *Nassau*, under the charge of Monsieur Latine, minister, carried one hundred and ninety-one souls, French, Swiss, Gene-

¹ See manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

² See papers in the Bodleian Library relating to the French emigration to Virginia in 1700. "From an account of money laid out of the contribution. To Doctor Coxe, in part of the passage of our people, £71, of which Mr. Schult has paid £22.10, and Mr. Rambonnet £18.10, and so remains paid £30." An account of "what contribution the French refugees have received:" of "Mr. Schult and Maille £65, viz., £22.10 to Dr. Coxe and £42.10 in tools and other goods taken with them to Florida and Caroliua;" of "Mr. Rambonnet £25, viz., £18.10 to Dr. Coxe in Canary wine, and the rest in other goods taken away to Carolina." See minutes of the Council held at Hon. Mr. Auditor Byrd's (James City), November 14, 1700: "Monsieur de Sailly is requested to lay before the Council copies of all the transactions betwixt him and Doctor Coxe relating to the aforesaid French refugees." Thirty-five of the French refugees signed a petition to Governor Francis Nicholson (see *post.*) in which they say: "His Majesty, for the encouragement of the design to settle a colony of French refugees in Virginia, hath given £3000 sterling to defray the charges of 500 in crossing the seas and to relieve their necessities."

vois, German, and Flemish. The Nassau was chartered by five merchants of London, viz., M. Jageau, J. Bellet, M. Penaudin, Peter Bouvet, and John Hamilton. When Monsieur de Joux and his party arrived at Manakintown, they "found half of the first party lay sick at the Falls, languishing under misery and want, notwithstanding the considerable supplies that the Sieurs de Saily and de la Muce had received." So dissatisfied were de Joux and his party with their reception, that he embodied their numerous complaints and grievances in a long petition to Governor Francis Nicholson, which was signed by thirty-five of the emigrants. They felt much aggrieved "by the hardheartedness of Sieur de Saily," and speak of him as one "whose conduct was odious and insupportable," and say that he had "no bread nor sustenance for them, and would give them no allotment of land unless they would swear an oath of fidelity to such particular persons as he had made Justices of the Peace." Anticipating the presentation of this petition, De la Muce wrote to the governor February 15, 1700-1, as follows: "Here enclosed is a copy of the list of refugees given to the miller, as it has been sent unto me by Messrs. de Joux and Phillipe under their hands, but there is no corn, and Monsieur de Saily, lying here sick since he came from Westopher, and having already provided all what he could, can't supply them any longer, so I don't know what to do, unless some care be taken to send some corn up. I heard also that your Excellency hath our indentures of the lands we have purchased in Florida, so I desire your Excellency to send it up to me, keeping a copy, if you please, because it cost us a good deal of money, which we expect to recover, or part of it. I wish also that the factious and scandalous petition presented by Monsieur de Joux be delivered to me, if you please, or burnt, to pacify all what is past, avoid complaints and disputes, and to procure peace and love. I desire Colonel Byrd to let me know if I can have accommodation to go to England in one of the ships lying at Westopher. After his answer I shall endeavour to go to Williamsburg to take my leave." Governor Nicholson sent a message to the House of Burgesses

of Virginia concerning the deplorable state of the refugees at Manikintown, and started a subscription in their behalf. A considerable sum was collected and applied to their relief.

Some time before 1700 Dr. Cox conceived the magnificent project of forming a commonwealth within the territory originally granted to Sir Robert Heath. It was proposed to make a stock company, and the business of drawing up the outlines of a charter and by-laws was confided to one James Spooner. This he accordingly did, in a document described by him as the "Draught of a Scheme I drew for Dr. Daniel Cox many years since for the settlement which we called 'the New Empire.'" It contains eleven pages folio, and is without date. It provides for a governor, deputy-governor, and twelve assistant officers. Among the things in the charter, which Mr. Spooner thinks ought to be especially mentioned, is that "one motive of their Majesties' grant was for the promulgation of the gospel amongst the Indians and infidels." There were to be fourteen original proprietors of shares and one thousand associates. The capital stock was to amount to eighty thousand shares at five pounds a share. Of this amount there were "twenty thousand shares to remain with fourteen original proprietors; ten thousand shares to be given to the associates for their encouragement; five thousand to be maiden shares, reserved in the power of the company to be paid out them, from time to time, such shares as shall be thought fit, to such persons of quality, as may be benefactors or serviceable to the company, and for other purposes as the company shall think fit; five thousand to be for rewards for the undertakers for getting subscriptions, as hereafter mentioned, and for other contingent services, etc. etc.; twenty thousand shares to be sold at five pounds a share to raise a stock of one hundred thousand pounds for the carrying on vigorously the affairs of the company; twenty thousand shares to be sold to raise the like sum of one hundred thousand pounds, which is to be for the advantage of the fourteen original proprietors." Spooner likewise proposed that "out of the original proprietors and the associates are to be chosen several committees, viz.:

1. For religion; 2. For law; 3. For trade; 4. For accounts; 5. For poor; 6. For criminals; 7. For charitable uses; 8. For the natives," and he fully considers what shall be the duties of each of these committees. Spooner's letter to Dr. Coxe says: "In answer to your desire, I present you with my thoughts as to the constitution of the New Empire. I am much in the dark, having not done the draught for the intended charter, and having none of the papers relating to this country by me. And, therefore, cannot but guess at many things, and have had but very little time for a matter of this importance, but if all I have proposed be not approved, yet some parts of it may be at least thus far usefull as your remembrancer to put you in mind of what is necessary to make your draught the more complete and perfect."¹

Dr. Coxe seems to have been an ardent churchman. He was proposed for membership of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at a meeting held in London June 3, 1699. A letter of his, dated August 5, 1692, addressed to the Rev. Thomas Bridges in Bermuda, encouraging him to establish himself in West Jersey, is printed in the *Archives of New Jersey*.²

The name of Daniel Coxe is found among those of the promoters of a company who petitioned for a charter "for naval stores to be made and produced in New England." The incorporators had petitioned first King James the Second and afterwards King William, and renewed their application in 1702. In August of that year it was referred to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. A charter was granted in the first year of Queen Anne.³

Before Dr. Coxe's purchase of the patent of Carolana, he was well known in connection with the colonies of West Jersey and East Jersey. In 1684 he acquired an interest in West Jersey, and in 1686 one in East Jersey. After the death of Governor Billinge in January, 1687, he purchased of his family their landed property in West Jersey, together

¹ See manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.

² II. 95, 96.

³ See the papers of Henry Newman, agent for the colony of New Hampshire, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

with the right of government in the province under the grant of the Duke of York to Billinge. Dr. Coxe, in consequence, became governor of West Jersey. Shortly after, on September 5, 1687, he addressed a letter to the colony detailing the circumstances connected with the transaction, and explaining his views as to the future. At that time, according to Smith, he owned twenty-two of the one hundred proprietary shares of West Jersey.¹ On September 5, 1688, Governor Barclay, of East Jersey, and Governor Coxe, of West Jersey, made in London an agreement concerning the settlement of the dividing line between the two colonies. In 1688 important purchases of lands were made from the Indians of West Jersey. Dr. Coxe's connection therewith will appear from a document which is for the first time printed at the end of this paper. Gabriel Thomas remarks that Governor Coxe greatly encouraged and promoted the town of Burlington, where a "great ship" was built for him, and where his agents and deputy-governors resided.

Dr. Coxe resolved in 1690, Oldmixon informs us,² to proceed to West Jersey, and made every preparation to embark at Plymouth. At the last moment, however, he yielded to the opposition of his relatives and friends, and was dissuaded from his purpose. Oldmixon thinks that he would have recurred to his project of going to West Jersey, had he not "sold the best part of his propriety to Sir Thomas Lane and others." The sale thus referred to by Oldmixon was made in March, 1692, and included the right of government in the province of West Jersey. The purchasers were a company, consisting chiefly of London merchants, which became known as the West Jersey Society.³

A descriptive inventory of Dr. Coxe's landed property, drawn up probably in the year 1688, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It has never been printed, and is

¹ Smith's *History of New Jersey*, 190, 191, 192, 196; Mulford's *History of New Jersey*, 248-252, 264-267; Gabriel Thomas's *History of West Jersey*, 16, 18.

² Oldmixon, first and second editions, under New Jersey.

³ The deeds relating to the transaction are in part printed in the second volume of the *New Jersey Archives*.

now appended to this paper. It is supposed to have passed, after Dr. Coxe's death, into the hands of the brothers Rawlinson, the indefatigable collectors of manuscripts, and to have been by them bequeathed to the Bodleian Library.

Daniel Coxe,¹ previously mentioned as the eldest son of Dr. Daniel Coxe, was born shortly before August 31, 1673, on which date his baptism is registered in the Church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in London. When twenty-eight years of age he came to America, where he became well known as Colonel Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey. He took a prominent part in the public affairs of that colony, and was at different times Member of the Royal Council, Speaker of the Assembly, and Judge of the Supreme Court. He was also Provincial Grand Master of the Free Masons of the Middle Colonies. The date of this appointment was 1730, a fact which, Hough remarks, shows him to have been the earliest Masonic grand master in North America. In 1707 Colonel Coxe married Sarah, daughter of John Eckley, of Philadelphia. Their posterity are now residents of several States of the Union. Colonel Coxe died at Trenton in New Jersey April 25, 1739, and was buried in St. Mary's Church in Burlington. He made several prolonged visits to England after first coming to America, and while sojourning in London in 1722 published the *Description of Carolana* previously mentioned. In this work the author proposes what is probably the earliest printed plan of political union for the American colonies. The Coxe title to Carolana continued to exist until 1769. In that year Colonel Coxe's children and grandchildren surrendered the charter of Carolana to the British Government, and received in compensation a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land in the colony of New York. The township of Carolana and other patents of land were located in New York under this grant.²

¹ See biographical notices in Field's *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, 132-137, and Hough's *Masonry in New Jersey*, pages vi.-xii. See also Smith, 427; Mulford, 318; *N. J. Archives*, iii. 25, 44; Watson's *Annals*, i. 50; *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, i. 174, 230; ii. 197.

² See Duer's *Life of Stirling*, 88-93; Jones's *Annals of Oneida County*, N. Y., 59; New York Book of Patents, xv. 197-204.

MS. ENDORSED BY DR. COXE: "DR. DANIEL COXE HIS ACCOUNT
OF NEW JERSEY."

From the Rawlinson Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England.

The province of New Cesaria or new Jersey is extended in Latitude from 38 Degrees 55 Minutes unto 41 degrees 40 minutes the Breadth in some places 90 miles in none lesse than 40.

The Quantity of my land in East and West Jersey amonnts unto about Eight hundred thousand acres according unto the calculation hath bin made partly by persons upon the place whoe have travers'd it all, and partly by diverse here skilled in the Mathematick and Surveying.

My land in the County of Merimack scituated upon the greate River of Merrimack and the greate Lake of Winepesiocko amounts unto about Two hundred thousand acres, together one million of acres.

I have Leased about Tenn thousand acres for one hundred pounds per Annum and they are to purchase the fee simple within three yeares paying Tenn pounds for every hundred acres. The land lately Leased is raised to Twelve pounds per hundred acres, and I never sold any under Tenn pounds per hundred. Greate Numbers come yearly from Bermudas, New England, New Yorke, Long Island, pensilvania and other parts of America to purchase lands and many hundred ffamilyes from the before menconed places are there already seated.

Besides the money may bee raised by sale of lands the purchasers will bee Intituled to the following Benefits.

1. The Hereditary or perpetuall Governm^t of West Jersey which Containes almost foure Millions of acres and planted by a Numerous Industrious people. I have refused a Thousand Guineas for this only.

2. I have at the Expence of above Three thousand pounds settled a Towne and Established a ffishing for Whales which are very numerous about Cape may both within the Bay and without all along the sea coast which I am assured if well mannaged will bring in above 4000£ per Annum all charges Defrayed.

3. Upon diverse greate Bancks within the greate Bay which is 60 Miles deep 30 Miles Broad at certaine Seasons resort infinite numbers of Excellent cod ffish, Basse, and other sorts and prodigious numbers of Sturgeons with which diverse shippes might bee yearly ffreighted for the Islands of Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. and for a Trade with the Streights, Spaine and Portugall.

4. Because the only thing which hath hindred our setting up this ffishery was want of salt wee have lately sent over diverse ffrenchmen skillfull in makeing salt by the sun in pitts or pans whoe assure us there are many convenient places upon the Coast over against the places of ffishing where millions of Bushells may bee made at the Expence of 4 pence per Bushell.

5. Wee have Excellent Timber for fforemasts and yards of shippes above a Thousand Tunn in burthen, Timber to build shippes good as any in y^e

world greate plenty and admirable situacons of which I have lately made diverse Tryalls. There is excellent Timber for boards, spars, Milposts, clapboards, pikestaves and other Lumber for ye plantacons, Rivers for saw mills, the most proper land in the world for hemp for cordage, Store of y^e pitch pine to make pitch and Tarr. I have been profered 200.£ per Annum onely for 7 yeares to have y^e sole liberty of cutting masts upon my Land and wood for Lumber without any expence on my parte.

6. Excellent land for rape seed, Linseed, and flax and good Iron workes. In severall parts of y^e Country multitude of wild Grapes of which very good wine made of some sorts and y^e worst affords Store of good Brandy. It is beleived by judicious p'sons ffrench vigneron & others y^t some sorts of them improved by cultivating would p'duce as good wine as any in y^e world.

7. I have erected a pottery att Burlington for white and Chiney ware a greate quantity to y^e value of 1200.£ have beene already made and vended in y^e country neighbour Colonies and y^e Islands of Barbadoes & Jamaica where they are in great request. I have two houses and Kills with all necessary implem^{ts}, diverse workemen, and other serv^{ts}. Have Expended thereon about 2000.£.

8. I have intirely and soly in my possion a greate Tract of Land abound-ing wth rich Mines and Mineralls of diverse sorts excellently scituated for workeing viz^t water for mills & water carriage, the particulars too many & too considerable to bee yett made publicke.

9. I have made greate discoveries towards y^e greate Lake whence come above 100.000 Bevers every year to y^e ffrench Canada and English at New Yorke, Jersey, pensilvania. I have contracted ffreinshipp with diverse petty Kings in y^e way to and upon y^e s^d greate Lake and doubt not to bring y^e greatest parte of y^e s^d Traffick for ffurs into y^t part of y^e Country where I am settled and by my patent I am intituled to y^e said Trade Exclusive of others.

10. I can Exclude y^e Inhabitants of Pensilvania from this ffurr trade by a grant I with diverse others have from Mr Penn of one hundred fifty thousand acres w^{ch} I will procure to be transferred to y^e purchasers of my land paying ffive hundred pounds downe & 100.£ per annum quitt rent.

11. Lastly y^e two provinces of East and west Jersey wth pensilvania which is onely seperated from them by y^e river. take of fifty thousand pounds worth of English Comodities giveing in returne beefe, porke, wheate, flower, meale, biskett, pease, horses, ffurs, oyle, &c. y^e provisions sell very well in Barbadoes, the Leewards Islands & Jamaica where they have in returne peices of Eight, sugar, Cottons, Indigo, Ginger &c. By a Magazine or Storehouse in Delaware River for European Comodities & for such as you receive in Exchange, a Circular trade may bee driven for greate profit which by modest Computation may amount unto above Tenn thousand pounds per annum nor is there need of Ensurance. Wee have never lost goeing thither or returning for England or in y^e Trade from thence to y^e plantacons & Returnes one Single shipp out of above 300 have beene im-

ployed within twelve yeares there being neither Roek or Shole in any of y^e menconed Navigations nor any Danger upon y^e coast within the greate Bay or River or within some hundreds of miles of our Coast either towards y^e North or South.

I have either att Cape May or Burlington four stout Negroes. Att the same Cape May a vessell of 30 or fforty Tunns begann many Months agoe and I suppose now finished. I built last yeare an Excellent good Sailour & yett strong built shipp of an 130 Tunns w^{ch} is now engaged in a circular Trade & comes from y^e Barbadoes with y^e next shipping. I soul'd her to divers Merchants for y^e first cost with Interest. I ordered a shipp of the same magnitude to bee built upon the lanching of the former.

I have a plantacon att Cape May made by a very skilfull ffrench Gardiner who is there resident hee hath planted some thousand ffuit Trees of divers and y^e best sorts could bee procured.

I p^hased from y^e Indians divers yeares agoe a Tract of admirable good Land conteyneing ab^t 70.000 acres. 15.000 of y^e best in West Jersey (y^e line dividing the two provinces passing through itt), I have taken upp and part thereof is in the Lease, & 30.000 in East Jersey some of w^{ch} is likewise lett. Whosoever takes upp any of y^e remainder must pay mee the share of Indian purchase. I have mortgaged the 15.000 acres in West Jersey & my Interest in the Indian purchase (w^{ch} amounts to ab^t 200£) for 700£ Sterling money here in England. besides y^e twenty proprieties I can att p^rsent make good, theire will p^rbably come to my share 7 or 8 proprieties or 100 parts being partly proprieties not sold or mortgaged for small sumes or in Trust all w^{ch} belonging to Billing I have p^hased from his heires and have p^d all Excepting an Annuity of 30£ per Annum for a life. I have besides the fore menconed a right unto three of the Tenn Burlington proprieties or Yorkshire Tenth unless they redeeme itt by y^e paym^t of 300£ Sterling mony with divers yeares Interest. I am likewise entituled unto Tenn Lotts in the Townshipp of Gloucester and as many in y^e Townshipp of Dorsett or Egg harbour. I doe conjecture I have 100£ per annum or more in Lease att Cape may and in Budd's Indian purchase where they have gen^rally as I am Informed planted and built, they have in their Leases a Liberty to buy y^e fee within the space of three yeares.

Divers p^rsons are indebted unto mee and I to others yett I doe beleive upon the Ballance there is not ffifty pounds difference. I will quitt them to the purchasers or take upon my selfe w^{ch} unto them shall seeme most expedient. I had almost forgott to mencon a proposall hath been lately made mee of selling unto the undertakers for the building of St. Paul's, Ceeder Trees for the roof & inword work where wood is Employed. By unanimous relacon of divers who have Examined these Trees there cannot bee found better in America, I might add, the world for both purposes.

ffive of the tenn proprieties in Salem Tenth or County are Mortgaged unto mee for about 100£ principall Interest and charges but about a moyety of the said proprieties were sould before mortgage. The remainder is Tenn times the value that is due to mee.

*An Account of ye quantity Scituation & Vallue of my Land
In America.*

In West Jersey Twenty Proprieties each supposed to contain thirty thousand acres. Twenty thousand being for each propriety already surveyed and y^e rest is to bee added when upon a Gen'all survey wee can certainly Learue what number of acres the whole p'vince containes, w^{ch} will bee soone efected by comparing particular surveys wth that little remains unsurveyed for p'forming w^{ch} I have given particular Instructions.

Ten of these proprieties are extended a Long y^e sea w^{thout} y^e Bay towards Egg harbour and forty or fifty miles w^{thin} y^e Bay towards Cohanzeys amounting unto Two hundred Thousand acres Plantable Land besides greate allowances for Wasts, Barrans, Roads &c. This secures to mee the Whale ffishing w^{thin} & w^{thout} y^e Bay. In order to y^e Establishm^t whereof I have Expended betweene two thousand & Three thousand pounds Sterling mony and whereunto I am solely entitled and doubt not to make thereof five hundred pounds per annum cleare of all Charges.

Besides there is Contained as followeth w^{thin} this tract of land greate numbers of p'digious greate Trees for Masts & yards boards and Lumber for y^e Isle Lands w^{ch} will bring in if Leased w^{thout} any Lands 200£ per annum some have offered to take Leases for 7 yeares soe that these proprietyes having cost me as followeth

	£
Bought of Edward Billing 2 Pro ^s	800
Billing & Saldler.... 2 Pro ^s	800
Benj. Bartlett 5 Pro ^s	2000
Humphrey Madge... 1 Pro.....	400
Intrest of 4000£ for foure yeares.....	960
Survey and Indian Purchase.....	600
The Whale ffishing.....	2000
Besides In ^t of y ^e 2660£ for Two yeares	

7560

I have Tenn Proprieties more in y^e upper part of y^e Country whereof I have taken up above One hundred thousand acres and itt is Gen'ally afirmed unto mee that there is not one hundred acres in all that Tract w^{ch} is not most Excellent Land. I have Lett a considerable quantity for 10 shillings every hundred acres wth Interest for y^e mony untill paid w^{ch} is Tenn pound, some att y^e Expiracon of Two others Three yeares and my last Letters acquaint mee they have raised itt to Twelve pound every hundred acres and hope to advance itt. this Tract of Land lyes for ye space of thirty miles upon y^e River of Delaware besides 4 Rivers running through itt att five or six miles distance & Empty themselves into y^e great River. This vallued att twelve pence per acre amounts to five thousand pounds, itt being surveyed and y^e Indian purchas payed w^{thout} reckoning above one hundred thousand acres of Land w^{ch} upon y^e division of y^e Country is to bee added thereunto.

Adjoining unto this tract is another w^{ch} wee call the Minnisinke Province. This was given mee by an agreemt betweene both provinces, itt contains betweene 3 and 400.000 acres but a greate part of itt mountainous yett admirable Land between and round the said Mountainous tract soe that although halfe bee not good Plantable Land yett y^e number and goodness of y^e mines and mettalls of Lead & Copper &c and diverse usefull mineralls doe abundantly Compensate that defect. This Tract then dispised but now Enjoyed Cost mee 1500£ in y^e country with Interest and charges payed heare for the proprietors accounts to above 2000£. But itt is by mee valued att 5000£, itt lyes forty Miles w^{thout} Interupcon upon y^e greate River Delaware admirably scituated for Trade wth the Indians for furs the upper part being w^{thin} six dayes easy Journey of y^e greate Lake from whence most of y^e fures are carryed to Canada and brought to New York, Jersey, Pensilvania and Maryland. I have beene att greate Expence to make friendshipp wth the Indians, discover y^e passages to the Lakes and open'd a way for a vast trade thereunto. I have in East Jersey w^{ch} is supposed to contain 1.500.000 acres, two proprieties and a halfe being above a tenth part of y^e whole and have taken upp (viz^t) Surveyed and payed y^e Indian purchase 50.000. acres of Excellent Land admirably scituated viz^t.

	acres		acres.
att Barnagate Meadow	1000	upon Doctors River	5 000
upon Milstone River	7500	upon Wicketouck p ^r	5 000
upon Crosswicks Creeke	1500	Tho ^s Budds Indian } purchas }	30.000
Totall	50.000 acres.		

These cost mee first purchase above a Thousand pound but I have since expended in Indian purchase, survey &c above 300£ besides y^e Interest of my Mony.

Besides Tenn Lotts att Amboy vallued att 12£ per Lott. Wee have as I remember 600£ per annum in quitt Rents for Land sold distinct from the fore menconed 50.000 acres of w^{ch} upon dividend a tenth part Comes to mee. Besides my tenth of all other Lands hereafter to bee sold or leased wee sell land ordinarily scituated for Tenn pound per hundred acres, well scituated from 20£ to 30£.

Some of these proprieties were formerly sold att 900£ per proprietie and one of our p^{rsent} proprietors who hath taken up Land in most places togeather wth me to y^e quantity of 16.000 acres, assured me he hath refused 800£ Sterling for his proprietie soe that I cannot vallue mine att lesse than 2000£. I have about six thousand acres of admirable Land most meadow in Long Island w^{ch} altho itt cost me but 200£ Sterling here in England, the two p^{rs}ons being then greatly stright'ned for mony is vallued on y^e place att 600£ and I am assured I may have soe much for itt. I have in y^e Townshipp of Herlam near New Yorke a curious little farme but being one of the freemen, have the right of y^e Comon wth Tenn tymes y^e vallue of y^e Land already laid out. I vallue both att. . . . 700£.

12: *Mar. 16. Car. 2^d.*—By letters patents y^e King grants to James, Duke of Yorke his heires and Assignes diverse lands and Territoryes in America, not by any of y^e Names given in by Dr Coxe at y^e yearly Rent of forty beaver skins &c and alsoe power to Governe by such Laws in Capitalls and Civills as hee and they shall establish soe y^t such Laws and proceedings bee not contrary to y^e Lawes of England but as neere as may bee agreeable to y^e Lawes, statutes and Governm^{ts} of England saveing to y^e Crowne all appeals and alsoe power to make and name and to alter Governor's officers and Ministers &c and to make ordinary fformes of Governm^t &c and to p^rmitt any p^rsons to possesse Lands &c and power by force of armes as well by sea as land to repulse, resist and Expell all such persons as without the speciall Licence of y^e Duke his heires or Assignes shall attempt to Inhabit within y^e s^d Territoryes.

6 *Aug^t 32 Carl 2^d.* By Indenture reciteing y^t by y^e Letters patents above menconed y^e King had granted to y^e Duke and his heires and assignes (among others) y^e Lands and Territories then to bee called New Cesaria or New Jersey and writeing severall other Deeds whereby a moiety of y^e p^rmises divided and called west New Jersey came to William Pen, Gawen Lawry, Nich^s Lucas, John Edridge and Edm. Warner, in Trust as to 90 hundredth pt^s y^e whole in a 100 pt^s to be divided for Edw. Billing in ffee and as to y^e other 10 hundred parts in trust for John Eldridge and Edm.

*Note, the Trustees
Pen &c have the
Legall estate &
Billing the
powers only.*

Warner in ffee. The Duke grants to Pen, Lawry, Lucas, Edridge & Warner, West new Jersey in ffee upon y^e Trusts afores^d and grants to Ew^d Billing & his heires y^e same powers, authorities, Jurisdiccions, Governm^{ts} &c. which had beene granted to y^e Duke.

14 *mar. 35. Carl. 2.* By Indenture reciteing y^e Kings grant ut supra & The Duke of Yorke Grants and confirmes to Billing and three and twenty others and their heires and assignes East New Jersey and all y^e powers Jurisdiccions, right of Government &c.

19 *Feb. 3. Ja. 2.* By Indenture reciting the p^rmises and that Billing was dead and had left 2 daughters his only children and heires viz^t Gratia Bartlet y^e wife of Benj Bartlet and Loveday Billing and y^t y^e powers relating to west new Jersey were vested in Benj^a Bartlet, Gratia his wife and Loveday Billing some or one of them & reciting y^t Dr Dan^l Coxe had

*gr^e. y^e Conveyance
to Dr Coxe.
Note a Feme
Covert grants
without fine.*

purchased sev^rall proprietyes or shares of west new Jersey y^e s^d Benj B and Gratia his wife and Loveday Billing for a Competent sume grt and assigne all y^e powers, Jurisdiccions &c before menconed to be granted to Billing unto Dr Coxe, his heires and assignes.

King Charles y^e second makes a Grant of y^e New Netherlands given in a Treaty by the Dutch in Exchange for Serenam with an Ample patent for Soyle and Governm^t.

The Duke of York Grants y^e Moiety of this province then called New Yorke unto y^e Lord Barkley and S^r George Carteret who named it New Cesaria or New Jersey and since it is Comonly called New Jersey.

They divided the province into two parts y^e one called East Jersey which came by agreem^t to s^r George Cartaret y^e other West Jersey belonging to y^e L^d Barkley. S^r George Carteret Conveyes his moiety of East Jersey to twelve proprietors.

The Lord Barkley his moiety of West Jersey to Edward Byllynge and because there was some dispute whether y^e Duke of Yorke had conveyed wth y^e soyle all his rights & powers of Governm^t, Edw^d Byllynge and the proprietors of East Jersey obtained a new Grant from y^e Duke of York, therein declaring he did invest them wth all his rights & power of Governm^t. Adding att y^e Request of the proprietors of East Jersey 12 proprietors to y^e former 12 soe y^t they were in all 24 proprietors and have soe continued ever since most resident in greate Brittain choosing every 3 yeare a Govern^r out of their number and manage all their affaires, give ord^rs for sale of Lands Instructions for Governm^t here in England to a Deputy Govern^r whome they likewise intrust with convenient powers for Governm^t in y^e province and have continued this course divers yeares wth out Interupcon.

Edward Byllyng dies, his heires Convey his land unsold with all his powers of Governm^t to Daniell Coxe who hath exercised four yeares.

The Authority granted by y^e s^d patent is now in the actuall possession thereof wthout y^e least dispute or Interruption from the Crowne or private person.

Quere 1. Whether Daniell Coxe Cannot Convey with his land his Rights of Governm^t to a certaine number of Twenty four more or lesse.

Quere 2d. Whether it will bee more advantagious for purchasers to take y^e Grant of y^e said D^r Coxe which is y^e most Ample of any yett granted or to obtaine a new Grant from y^e King in way of a Corporacon who will never bee able to obtaine diverse priviledges in the Auntient patent, ministers of State haveing declared against such greate powers.

Quere 3d. Whether if y^e Ministers should Dispute our rights of Governm^t and endeavour to seize it for y^e King they cann have any Legall pretence or Authority soe to doe y^e parliament viz^t y^e house of Comons haveing declared all such Licenses Illegall & void by vertue of which Declaracon wee entred againe upon our Governm^t being by y^e late King disseized a few months before his abdicacon and y^e said house of Comons by Bill had Confirmed y^e Charters of New England and Jersey but being suddenly Dissolved it did not passe y^e house of Lords.

1. I conceive D^r. Coxe may grant his land wth his rights of Governm^t to w^t number of p^rsons hee pleaseth, there being noe restriccon in y^e foregoing Grant either Exprest or implied.

2. I see noe cause for y^r obtaining a new grant from y^e Crowne & thinke it more advantage to a purchas^r to take y^e Doctors Grant alone than otherwise.

3. This being in effect y^e King's owne purchase of a Tract of Land out of y^e Dominions of Greate Britain & Ireland He might alter or impose w^t lawes hee thought meet therefore if y^e Kings Grantee his heires or assignes

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young country, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a country of many races and many languages, and that its history is a history of the struggle for unity and harmony. The third is the fact that the United States is a country of many religions, and that its history is a history of the struggle for freedom of religion. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a country of many political systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for democracy. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a country of many economic systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for economic freedom. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a country of many social systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for social justice. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a country of many cultural systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for cultural identity. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a country of many geographical systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for territorial integrity. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a country of many historical systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for historical truth. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a country of many future systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a better future.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young country, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a country of many races and many languages, and that its history is a history of the struggle for unity and harmony. The third is the fact that the United States is a country of many religions, and that its history is a history of the struggle for freedom of religion. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a country of many political systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for democracy. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a country of many economic systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for economic freedom. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a country of many social systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for social justice. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a country of many cultural systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for cultural identity. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a country of many geographical systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for territorial integrity. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a country of many historical systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for historical truth. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a country of many future systems, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a better future.

pursue y^e powers granted as neere as Convenience will permitt and introduce or establish no other Religion than Christian I thinke y^e Crowne cannot seize it.

*Proposalls made by Daniell Coxe proprietary and Governour of
ye provinces of East and West Jersey in America.*

The above menconed Daniell Coxe being resolved to sell his interest in Land and Governm^t of the Collonies of East and West Jersey the land Amounting by a moderate Calculacon unto one million of acres whereof above 400.000 are surveyed and the Indian purchase paid, the remainder surveyed but not all y^e Indian purchase p^d which the said Daniell Coxe will att his owne Expence effect.

Besides the purchase of y^e land many thousand pounds have beene Expended upon the establishing a whale fishing which will bring for y^e future very greate profit to y^e und^takers with a small expence. Itt is believed a thousand pounds per ann^m cleere of all charges. the said Daniell Coxe hath likewise at Burlington two houses & Kill with all necessary materials & implem^{ts} with diverse servants who have made a greate progresse in a pottery of white and China ware above 1200£ worth being already made & vended in the Country neighbour plantacons & the Islands of Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c & well managed will probably bee very advantagious to y^e undertakers. D. Coxe having Expended thereon to bring it to perfeccion all most 2000£.

Further diverse Tracts of Land belonging unto D. Coxe are Excellently accomodated with Timber for building ships, Timber for y^e plantacons, masts & yards for greater ships of which greate benefitt may bee made being neer great navigable rivers & furnished with divers small ones fitt for saw mills whereof one or two are already erected.

Besides the said D. Coxe hath y^e greatest assurance imaginable that y^e upper parte of y^e Country wherein 2 parts of 3 of his land is scituated abounds with very rich mines of lead, Copper & other mettals & mineralls needlesse to be here menconed and that neer navigable Rivers.

Besides 2 ffarmes one at y^e towne of Harlem in New Yorke Island, the other neere Huntingdon in long Island, containing both betweene six and seaven thousand acres of choice land admirably scituated for Trade and Navigacon both having a good and numerous neighbourhood being both in the Government of new Yorke neere East Jersey. The premises will bee sold together with the Hereditary Governm^t of west Jersey for which I have refused a Thousand Guineas, and above a tenth parte of y^e Governm^t in East Jersey w^{ch} were valued by Indifferent p^{sons} att 12.000£ Sterling though they eost y^e said D Coxe almost double will bee sold for 20.000£ Sterling in manner following.

1. The whole is to be divided into 400 shares each share to be valued at fifty pounds and every share intitles y^e purchaser to one vote and soe proportionably in y^e managem^t of y^e Trade unto and Governm^t of y^e lands before recited excepting w^t is hereafter Excepted.

2. Whosoever subscribes for 20 Shares shall bee stiled a grand proprietor of course immediately & thence forwards wthout new eleccion or Confirmacon one of y^e Comittee of y^e proprietors for Governm^t of y^e Country, improving y^e land and working y^e mines for y^e good of y^e Communication as likewise of y^e Committee of trade from England and in y^e provinces wth Indians. English & others & to continue in such stacon so long as hee is intituled unto 10 shares when his interests fall short of that number to bee in equall Condicon with others in like circumstances.

3. Whoesoever subscribes for 10 shares is always of course to be wthout further eleccion or Confirmacon one of y^e Committee for Trade so long as hee keepes 5 shares then to be on equall termes with others.

4. A Governour & Deputy Governour are to be Annually chosen or confirmed by the purchasers or proprietors having votes according to y^e number of shares.

5. Att the same time y^e purchasers or proprietors are y^e first meeting to elect and every other meeting after add soe many Assistants to y^e Comm^{tee} of grand proprietors soe many as will make their number 20 and soe many to y^e originall proprietors for trade w^{ch} are such as have 10 shares soe many Assistants as will make them 30.

6th If any p^{son} hereafter by purchase attaine to 20 Shares hee shall bee of course a grand proprietor. If 10 of course one of y^e Committee for trade to take his place y^e next Annuall meeting and not sooner wthout consent of y^e majority of y^e said Committee or of a Generall Court.

7. Out of y^e Grand Comm^{tee} of proprietors 5 shall bee deputed to Concert affaires wth y^e proprietors of East Jersey whensoever there is occasion abo^{ut} y^e Governm^t of y^e said province according unto their present Laudable Custome & Constitution whereby every one possessing halfe a propriety is admitted to all publick consultacons with a right of voting. 8. As every share hath a vote soe shall every propieto^r receive their Dividends out of y^e profit & pay towards all charges agreed upon by y^e respective Committees according unto their particular proporcons. The p^{sent} proprietor of these lands demands this priviledge y^t he may have the liberty any time wthin 12 months if hee thinkes fitt to put in any sume of money not Exceeding 2000£ and thereupon be Entitled unto 40 Shares paying his proporcon towards all publicke charges from y^e sale of y^e p^{mi}ses by him unto y^e Society of purchasers or proprietors.

Being desired by diverse who designe to purchase y^t I would propose a scheme, I present y^m wth what preceeds not as if they were to be concluded by it but to approve or reject or substitute thereunto or subtract therefrom as they shall see Convenient.

For a copy of the following document, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Judge John Clement, of Haddonfield, N. J., who states that "the original manuscript being torn, and the writing often defaced, the words inclosed in brackets are conjecturally supplied."

Proceedings of the Commissioners.

The 8th day of y^e twelveth month 16[87]

The deputy Govenor and Commissioners being then met at y^e house of [Henry] Grubb in Burlington, proposed to Govenor Coxe's agent to joyn y^e Proprietors [and] Commissioners in making as large a purchase from y^e Indian natives [as can be] had on y^e behalf of y^e Govenor and proprietors of this Province. The [same] to be done with all convenient speed: to y^e intent y^e same purchase be made to y^e best advantage to y^e Govenor and proprietors. And that y^e land (being soe purchased and cleared of y^e Indians) may then accommodate those who are shortly expected from England.

Alsoe it being proposed by y^e Govenors agent that a general warrant be granted to y^e Deputy Govenor and Com^{rs} for y^e surveying of y^e [said] lands belonging to y^e first settlements for twelve proprieties.

of this province for y^e Govenor. To which y^e Deputy Govenor [and] they are very ready and desirous to accommodate y^e Govenor therein: And alsoe may preserve themselves as clear of violating those laws [which] they are obliged by y^e laws of y^e Province to observe. And [alsoe they much] desire they may first see the deeds or authentique coppys [to follow] what had been y^e methods of their predecessors in such [cases] whereupon warrant was issued forth calling y^e [Proprietors together] that their minds may be further known therein.

The 13th of y^e 12th month 1687. Upon several proposals of y^e Govenors agent on behalf of y^e [Govenor Daniel Coxe Esquire].

To y^e Deputy Govenor and Councill and y^e Comm^{rs} with petition to [forward] to y^e Surveyor General for taking up y^e Govenors shares of land of y^e first dividnt or settlem^{ts} for twelve proprieties through y^e Country. His making a particular purchase from y^e Indians. The proprietors were thereupon called together to give their answer [and did] conclude and agree as follows. That foreasmuch as y^e proposalls of y^e Govenors agent y^e day and year above said came before y^e proprietors which being by them well con[sidered] and found to be contrary to y^e former rules and methods for taking [up] land. Yet they being desirous to accommodate y^e Govenor [as well as] those many families from England here hath given inform[ation and] are upon their remove into this Province. And alsoe upon y^e [expectations] and hopes of y^e great advantage that will accrue to y^e Prov[ince] in poepleing y^e same.

The proprietors agree that y^e Go[venor] may take up y^e shares of land belonging to him for y^e [first] dividnt of twelve proprieties, y^e same to be taken up [as follows] one half thereof between Cohanzey and Beare-gate no[t exceeding] two places or tracts, and the other half to be taken up [above] the falls on any lands not before taken up and s[urveyed not] exceeding two places or tracts [] at soe [] the [] satisfied that y^e [] not [] his purchase of y^e same land particularly by himself.

Alsoe y^e proprietors agree and appoint y^e Court to assign a Warrant to y^e General surveyor to survey and lay out y^e lands as above said for y^e use of y^e Govenor when y^e same shall be purchased of y^e Indians. Y^e agreement aforesaid subscribed by y^e proprietors underwritten.

Andrew Robeson. Thomas Gardiner. John Dayes. William Royden. John Hugg. Bernard Devonish. John Pancoast. Elias ffar. Thomas Barton. Freedom Lippincott. Isaac Marriott. William Cooper. John Shinn. James Atkinson. Thomas Sharp. Thomas Farnsworth. Percival Toole. William Beard. William Bates. John Kay. Thomas Thackara. John Reading. William Albertson. Thomas Mathews. Joshua Humphries. Nathaniel Cripps. Anthony Elton.

Copy of y^e Warrant to y^e Surveyor General.

In persuance of y^e Agreement of y^e Proprietors mett at Burlington in y^e Province aforesaid y^e 13th day of y^e 12th month ealled ffebruary instant. you are hereby required to lay out and survey to and for Daniel Coxe Esquire Govenor of y^e said Province his severall shares and parcels of land to him belonging as his first dividnt for 12 proprieties in y^e Province aforesaid: the one moietie or halfe part thereof to be taken up between Cohanzey and Beare-gate in y^e said Province not exceeding two traets or places, and y^e other moietie or half part thereof above y^e falls in y^e said Province on any land not before taken up and surveyed. not exceeding two traets or places. The same land to be soe taken up and surveyed as aforesaid being: first to be purchased and cleared from y^e Indian natives. and make return thereof and of the bearings and boundings thereof at y^e next quarterly court of sessions to be held at Burlington for y^e jurisdiction thereof: to y^e intent y^e same may be then published and recorded by order of Court.

And for soe doing this shall be yo^r sufficient Warrant

Given unde o^r hands at Burlington y^e 13th day of y^e 12th month ealled ffebruary Anno 1687.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Concluded from page 227.)

July 14, 1759.	Watson,	John, son of Samuel.
Dec. 9, 1709.	Watterman,	Thomas.
Oct. 7, 1716.	Watts,	John.
Aug. 26, 1747.	"	Samuel.
Oct. 10, 1749.	"	Charles, son of Charles.
July 4, 1737.	Wayfrench,	Susannah, wife of George.
June 30, 1737.	Wayne,	Gabriel, son of Gabriel.
Dec. 5, 1759.	"	Jacob, son of Abraham.
Feb. 15, 1754.	Web,	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
June 26, 1730.	Webster,	Robert. Barbadoes.
Aug. 20, 1746.	Weildy,	Hannah. An orphan.
Feb. 12, 1713-4.	Welch,	George.
July 15, 1721.	Welden,	Grace, dau. of John and Mary.
Aug. 28, 1747.	Weldon,	Mary, wife of William.
Sept. 20, 1748.	"	Andrew, son of William.
Sept. 25, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
July 7, 1755.	"	Mary.
Sept. 29, 1759.	Welldon,	John.
Mar. 21, 1726-7.	Wells,	Mary, wife of Henry.
Mar. 24, 1730-1.	"	Mary, dau. of George.
June 6, 1732.	"	George, son of George.
Oct. 31, 1732	"	Arthur. Presbyterian Ground.
Jan. 18, 1733-4.	"	Captain Henry.
Nov. 26, 1746.	"	Jehosheba, wife of George.
Jan. 25, 1747-8.	"	William, son of Thomas.
April 29, 1750.	"	George.
Oct. 7, 1750.	"	Thomas.
April 14, 1753.	"	Sarah, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 3, 1753.	"	Elizabeth.
Aug. 27, 1759.	"	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
Dec. 21, 1759.	"	Sarah.
Oct. 23, 1750.	Welshman,	William.
Sept. 5, 1730.	Wessels,	Edward, son of John.
Dec. 31, 1712.	West,	Capt. John.
Aug. 26, 1730.	"	Eleanor.

Dec. 22, 1736.	West,	Caleb, son of William.
Jan. 13, 1736-7.	"	Mary, dau. of Richard.
Nov. 14, 1746.	"	Richard.
Aug. 4, 1753.	"	James.
Oct. 12, 1757.	"	William.
Feb. 27, 1720-1.	Weston,	Thomas.
Dec. 31, 1729.	"	Martha, dau. of Peregrine.
May 24, 1720.	Westward,	Thomas.
Feb. 14, 1734-5.	Wey,	Anne. Widow.
July 31, 1733.	Weyn,	Jacob, son of Jacob.
June 5, 1737.	Whatley,	Joseph.
Aug. 12, 1749.	Wheat,	Mary.
Mar. 25, 1752.	Wheatly,	John.
May 28, 1722.	Wheldon,	Debora.
April 14, 1731.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Aug. 11, 1734.	"	John, son of John.
Aug. 23, 1743.	"	John.
Mar. 7, 1755.	"	Margaret, dau. of Mary.
Feb. 27, 1730-1.	Whelin,	Hannah.
Jan. 3, 1732-3.	Whey,	Anne, wife of James.
Oct. 18, 1754.	Whiley,	Hannah, dau. of James.
Sept. 19, 1749.	Whitby,	Mary, dau. of Charlelote.
April 9, 1726.	White,	Capt. Thomas. Drowned.
Oct. 9, 1727.	"	Thomas, son of Robert.
Jan. 8, 1728-9.	"	Giles. Strangers' Ground.
July 24, 1731.	"	Margaret.
April 27, 1732.	"	Sarah, dau. of Philip.
Jan. 5, 1736-7.	"	Jane, dau. of Robert.
Feb. 15, 1736-7.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Susannah.
Dec. 3, 1745.	"	Martha, dau. of John.
Dec. 4, 1745.	"	Susannah, dau. of John.
April 25, 1746.	"	Robert.
July 21, 1746.	"	Jane, wife of John.
Sept. 26, 1749.	"	William, son of John.
Dec. 14, 1751.	"	Anne, dau. of Townsend.
Oct. 4, 1754.	"	Robert.
Nov. 22, 1754.	"	Philip.
May 9, 1755.	"	John.
Oct. 5, 1756.	"	—— son of Thomas Blanch.
Sept. 5, 1757.	"	John, son of John.
July 21, 1758.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Aug. 8, 1758.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
Sept. 12, 1758.	"	Jacob, son of John.
July 19, 1759.	"	Martha, dau. of John.
Oct. 17, 1759.	"	Thomas, son of William.
June 16, 1743.	Whitebread,	Mary, dau. of William.

June 29, 1744.	Whitehand,	Ann, dau. of Joseph.
June 13, 1717.	Whitehead,	William, son of Oliver and Frances.
July 31, 1741.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 15, 1742.	"	Jane, wife of Robert.
Sept. 23, 1759.	"	William, son of Robert.
Oct. 31, 1756.	Whitelock,	——— dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 23, 1758.	"	Thomas.
July 12, 1743.	Whitely,	Mary, wife of Anthony.
Nov. 19, 1732.	Whitmore,	George, of Bristoll.
July 25, 1743.	Whitten,	Mary, dau. of James.
Aug. 18, 1713.	Whittingham,	John, son of William and Mary.
June 11, 1716.	"	Mary, wife of William.
June 9, 1744.	Whitton,	James, son of James.
Oct. 1, 1748.	"	Sarah, wife of James.
Oct. 13, 1748.	"	Sarah, dau. of James.
Aug. 3, 1759.	"	James, son of James.
July 15, 1756.	Whitwood,	Abraham.
Mar. 19, 1759.	Widgery,	Ann, dau. of John.
July 17, 1758.	Wigley,	George, son of John.
Nov. 28, 1746.	Wilcocks,	Benjamin, son of Capt. John.
Aug. 31, 1714.	Wilcox,	Marah, dau. of William and Mary.
Sept. 3, 1740.	"	Thomas, son of John.
June 28, 1756.	"	——— son of Robert.
Sept. 17, 1727.	Wild,	Thomas, son of Benjamin. Buried over ye river.
Aug. 26, 1744.	Willey,	Mary, wife of Copeman.
Aug. 3, 1727.	Wildman,	William.
July 22, 1740.	Wiley,	Sabras, dau. of Alexander.
May 17, 1741.	"	Mary, wife of Alexander.
Dec. 9, 1741.	"	Alexander.
Aug. 1, 1742.	"	Alexander, son of Alexander.
Jan. 16, 1715-6.	Wilkinson,	Elizabeth. An orphan.
May 14, 1722.	"	Mary.
Feb. 21, 1732-3.	"	Gabriel.
Aug. 15, 1734.	"	Gabriel, son of Gabriel.
Feb. 26, 1736-7.	"	Anthony, son of Anthony.
Dec. 4, 1738.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Gabriel.
June 7, 1740.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Aug. 15, 1747.	"	Gabriel, son of Gabriel.
Nov. 22, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
July 18, 1750.	"	Gabriel.
Dec. 26, 1750.	"	James.
May 11, 1751.	"	Thomas.

May 29, 1751.	Wilkinson,	Mary, dau. of Brian.
Aug. 31, 1757.	"	Jane, wife of John.
Dec. 12, 1759.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Aug. 23, 1723.	Willard,	—— child of John.
Dec. 8, 1736.	"	Michael, son of Benjamin.
Aug. 25, 1746.	"	Judith, dau. of Richard.
June 27, 1714.	Willcox,	Love, dau. of Daniel and Mary.
Feb. 1, 1718-9	"	Marcy, wife of Daniel.
Dec. 1, 1745.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Capt. John.
Sept. 10, 1750.	William,	Mary.
July 17, 1709.	Williams,	James.
Oct. 18, 1710.	"	John, son of John and Mary.
Nov. 6, 1714.	"	Roger.
July 19, 1723.	"	Henry.
Jan. 25, 1726-7.	"	John. Strangers' Ground.
Aug. 6, 1727.	"	Amy, wife of John. Quakers'
Nov. 1, 1730.	"	Sarah. [Ground.
Feb. 25, 1730-1.	"	Mary, dau. of Charles.
June 15, 1732.	"	George, son of Charles.
Dec. 26, 1732.	"	John.
May 6, 1733.	"	John.
Sept. 26, 1738.	"	Charles, son of Adam.
May 4, 1739.	"	Sarah, dau. of Elizabeth.
June 25, 1739.	"	Anne, dau. of Charles.
Oct. 3, 1740.	"	Charles.
Sept. 6, 1743.	"	Benjamin, son of Charles.
Oct. 11, 1743.	"	Jacob. Swedes' Church.
Nov. 15, 1743.	"	John.
Feb. 14, 1744-5.	"	William, son of Thomas.
June 26, 1745.	"	Mark.
Mar. 9, 1746-7.	"	John, son of Edward.
Oct. 1, 1747.	"	Hannah, dau. of Edward.
Oct. 2, 1747.	"	Elizabeth.
July 31, 1748.	"	John, son of John.
May 26, 1749.	"	John.
Jan. 23, 1752.	"	Priscilla.
June 20, 1755.	"	—— son of William.
Nov. 14, 1755.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Dec. 7, 1755.	"	Sarah, dau. of Samuel.
Sept. 9, 1756.	"	William.
Dec. 17, 1756.	"	—— son of John.
Aug. 11, 1757.	"	—— son of Charles.
July 30, 1758.	"	John, son of Charles.
Sept. 2, 1758.	"	William, son of William.
Oct. 9, 1758.	"	Sarah.

Mar. 1, 1759.	Williams,	——— son of William.
April 30, 1759.	"	Abraham, son of Abraham.
July 19, 1759.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Charles.
Aug. 1, 1759.	"	Samuel.
Nov. 14, 1729.	Williamson,	John. [Ground.
May 22, 1733.	"	John, son of William. Swedes'
Aug. 6, 1733.	"	William, son of William. Swedes' Ground.
Dec. 12, 1738.	"	John, son of Henry.
Aug. 27, 1746.	"	Martha, dau. of Henry.
June 1, 1752.	"	William, son of Henry.
July 7, 1756.	"	——— son of William.
Aug. 26, 1734.	Williard,	Sarah, dau. of Benjamin. Over ye river.
July 5, 1750.	Willing,	Joseph, son of Charles.
Dec. 2, 1754.	"	Charles, Esquire.
Feb. 3, 1756.	Willington,	Ann. [Elizabeth.
June 28, 1714.	Willis,	Thomas, son of Richard and Elizabeth, wife of Richard.
Jan. 23, 1718-9.	"	Lydia, dau. of Thomas.
Dec. 27, 1738.	"	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 24, 1741.	"	Thomas.
June 30, 1742.	"	Eloner, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 2, 1742.	"	Mary.
Aug. 12, 1727.	Williss,	Sarah, wife of Saul.
April 3, 1751.	Willoughby,	Joseph.
Jan. 18, 1752.	Wills,	Mr. Thomas.
Oct. 7, 1717.	Willson,	Marcy, dau. of Marcy.
July 22, 1718.	"	Zachariah, son of Solomon.
Aug. 18, 1746.	Wiloughby,	John.
June 7, 1717.	Wilson,	Joseph, son of Henry.
April 12, 1731.	"	Samuel.
Oct. 26, 1738.	"	John.
Nov. 18, 1743.	"	Thomas.
Sept. 23, 1746.	"	Hugh.
Dec. 15, 1746.	"	Mary, dau. of John, deceased.
July 29, 1747.	"	James.
Aug. 9, 1747.	"	David.
Mar. 27, 1754.	"	Mary.
Nov. 6, 1756.	"	James.
Sept. 2, 1758.	"	Edward.
Nov. 1, 1734.	Windbull,	Mary, dau. of John.
May 10, 1748.	Windridge,	Anne, wife of Edward.
Aug. 16, 1748.	Windsor,	John.
Sept. 10, 1748.	Winicles,	Paul, son of the widow.
June 11, 1749.	Winkle,	James, of Kent Co., Gent.
Nov. 27, 1726.	Wirral,	

Jan. 24, 1710-1.	Wiseman,	Oliver.
Oct. 1, 1736.	Wisenger,	Daniel, son of Daniel.
Oct. 7, 1753.	Witterens,	Francis. [Mary.
July 11, 1710.	Wittingham,	William, son of William and
Aug. 19, 1713.	Wivell,	Mary, dau. of William and Mary.
Sept. 29, 1711.	Wollis,	Anne, wife of Robert.
Jan. 20, 1736-7.	Wood,	George, son of John.
Mar. 12, 1736-7.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Daniel.
Oct. 3, 1742.	"	George, son of John.
Nov. 15, 1743.	"	Mary, wife of Francis.
July 29, 1746.	"	Mary, dau. of Joanna, widow.
Sept. 10, 1749.	"	Susannah, dau. of Joseph.
July 30, 1750.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
June 29, 1756.	"	Abraham.
Aug. 20, 1756.	"	—— dau. of John.
Sept. 3, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
April 12, 1731.	Wooddrop,	Hannah, dau. of Alexander.
Oct. 2, 1736.	Woodfield,	William, son of Thomas.
Oct. 19, 1736.	"	—— son of Thomas.
Dec. 8, 1738.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
July 24, 1743.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 25, 1747.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Sept. 6, 1746.	Woodley,	Jonathan. [Anne.
Aug. 16, 1722.	Woodrop,	William, son of Alexander and
Aug. 6, 1742.	"	Ann, wife of Alexander.
Nov. 9, 1742.	"	Alexander.
June 9, 1734.	Woodrope,	Francis Alexander, son of Alexander.
Aug. 27, 1747.	Woodward,	Mary, wife of Joseph.
Jan. 7, 1735-6.	Woolard,	Benjamin.
Jan. 12, 1735-6.	"	James, son of Benjamin.
Oct. 23, 1742.	Woolf,	Thomas.
Jan. 22, 1753.	Worrel,	Hannah, wife of James.
July 21, 1754.	"	William, son of James.
Feb. 28, 1758.	"	Mary, wife of James.
Oct. 2, 1722.	Worrell,	Peter.
Jan. 2, 1732-3.	"	Thomas.
Feb. 3, 1732-3.	"	Susanna.
July 17, 1752.	"	James, son of James.
Sept. 6, 1750.	Wragg,	Reed.
April 3, 1731.	Wrath,	Rachel, dau. of William.
Oct. 12, 1733.	"	Sarah, dau. of William.
June 9, 1736.	"	Peter.
Aug. 29, 1736.	"	Leah, dau. of William.
July 20, 1738.	"	Robert, son of William.

Nov. 4, 1726.	Wright,	Moses, son of Moses and
July 28, 1731.	"	Robert. [Susannah.
June 15, 1735.	"	Anne, dau. of William.
Aug. 23, 1736.	"	William.
Aug. 21, 1747.	"	Samuel, son of Edward.
May 12, 1748.	"	William.
June 2, 1748.	"	Kendrick, wife of Henry.
Jan. 17, 1750-1.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Edward.
May 5, 1752.	"	William.
May 12, 1758.	Write,	Mary, wife of Edward.
June 1, 1757.	Yard,	John, son of John.
June 25, 1758.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Sept. 14, 1759.	"	—— son of John.
Sept. 17, 1753.	Yeates,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Nov. 10, 1737.	Yeaton,	Elizabeth, dau. of Randolph.
Jan. 22, 1737-8.	"	James, son of Randolph.
April 2, 1744.	"	Jane, wife of Randall.
Oct. 11, 1756.	Yeats,	—— wife of Joseph.
July 11, 1750.	Yeo,	Mary, dau. of William.
Aug. 3, 1752.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
April 27, 1756.	"	—— son of William.
Dec. 17, 1728.	Yeomans,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Dec. 9, 1742.	York,	Margaret, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 4, 1752.	"	David, son of Thomas.
Nov. 30, 1758.	Yorke,	—— dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 6, 1726.	Young,	Elizabeth, dau. of William and Joanna.
Sept. 28, 1728.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
July 1, 1729.	"	Edward.
July 11, 1739.	"	Thomas, son of John.
July 9, 1746.	"	Luey, dau. of John.
Oct. 31, 1750.	"	Chas., son of John.
Oct. 28, 1752.	"	Rebecca, dau. of John.
Dec. 26, 1752.	"	Anne.
July 12, 1757.	"	—— dau. of John.
Jan. 30, 1759.	"	Jane, wife of James.
Mar. 19, 1759.	"	Jane, dau. of James.
June 12, 1755.	Youngh,	—— son of James.
Nov. 8, 1731.	Yourel,	Patrick.
April 2, 1736.	Zachrider,	Henry, son of Christian.
May 17, 1746.	Zenger,	John.

ADDENDA.

(Additions in Roman type, corrections in italics.)

April 21, 1717.	Ashton,	——— <i>dau. of Jonathan and Hannah.</i>
Sept. 3, 1728.	Assheton,	Solomon, son of John.
Nov. 15, 1759.	Bane,	——— son of Abraham.
June 21, 1743.	Bard,	Harriot Elizabeth, dau. of Peter.
Oct. 28, 1759.	Battle,	Hannah, dau. of French.
July 31, 1742.	Bright,	Mary, wife of Anthony.
Aug. 14, 1728.	Brooks,	John, son of John.
Oct. 17, 1739.	Brown,	Charity.
Oct. 25, 1747.	Bywater,	Elizabeth, dau. of Jervis.
Sept. 9, 1729.	Crossley,	Jane.
Dec. 5, 1756.	Dalby,	——— son of Daniel.
July 15, 1735.	Davies,	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
June 22, 1711.	Elwood,	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas and John.
May 28, 1732.	Gutteridge,	[Elizabeth.
Aug. 23, 1711.	Hare,	Mary, dau. of Francis and Mary.
Sept. 18, 1711.	"	Sarah, dau. of Francis and Thomas.
Aug. 22, 1713.	Harris,	[Mary.
Jan. 25, 1736-7.	"	Rachel, dau. of John.
Sept. 30, 1759.	Higgins,	Samuel, son of John.
Nov. 19, 1734.	Hughes,	<i>Patience.</i>
June 21, 1754.	Jacobs,	Susannah, dau. of James.
Aug. 2, 1758.	"	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
July 13, 1733.	Jones,	Mary, wife of Francis.
Sept. 14, 1712.	Karrott,	Joseph.
Aug. 3, 1735.	King,	Hannah, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 18, 1753.	Lawrence,	States, son of Thomas, Junior.
July 4, 1737.	Lock,	Mary. Widow.
Sept. 20, 1758.	Lord,	Theodorus.
Oct. 8, 1747.	Lowrie,	Martha, dau. of Robert.
Oct. 1, 1748.	"	Joseph, son of Robert.
Oct. 26, 1758.	Lowry,	Ann.
Mar. 18, 1733.	McGee,	John, son of George.
Dec. 11, 1753.	Par,	Samuel, son of William.
July 17, 1740.	Parry,	Phœbe, wife of Obadiah.
Aug. 31, 1730.	Pine,	Mary.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

CHARLES VARLO AND NEW ALBION.—The publication of the Latin original of Plowden's Charter of New Albion in the last number of the *MAGAZINE* has attracted fresh attention to the subject of that grant, and we are indebted to Mr. William Kelby, Librarian of the Historical Society of New York, for transcripts from Charles Varlo's *Nature Displayed*, and *Floating Ideas of Nature*, works sufficiently rare to justify the republication of the extracts. The same gentleman has also sent us a kindred item from *The Massachusetts Centinel*. For a further account of this rather obscure point in American colonial history, the reader is referred to a "Note on New Albion," by the editor, in vol. iii. of Mr. Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, soon to appear.

(From *The Massachusetts Centinel*, August 14, 1784.)

As a paper in the style of a Proclamation and signed Albion, has lately made its appearance in Philadelphia, and excited the curiosity of the Publick—we may perhaps stand excused for inserting the following advertisement, copied from the *London Evening Post* of the 22d of January last.

To Be Lett.

In the finest part of America, on leases of lives renewable for ever, in such sized Farms as may be agreed on, the Estates of the Earl Palatine of Albion, consisting of Long Island, together with 120 miles square on the continent, one side of which joins the sea from Sandy-Hook to Cape May, called New Albion. This Province is not one of the thirteen included in the articles of Peace between the Congress and England. The lands are good, and will be let very cheap to industrious tenants. The Charter, and conditions of letting the lands, etc., are printed in a pamphlet, price one shilling, sold by Mr. Reynell, printer, No. 11 Piccadilly, London. Letters post paid, and signed with real names, directed for E. P. at the said printers, will be answered to the purpose, by the Agent to the Earl of Albion.

(From *Nature Displayed*, by Charles Varlo, London, 1794, page 142 *et seq.*)

One Edward Plowden, Esq., member of the Assembly for Maryland, farms his own estate, being about fifteen hundred acres. * * * * * This very gentleman is one of the offspring of Sir Edward Plowden, Earl of Albion, Lord Chief Governor, Prince Palatine, and Proprietor of New Albion, (now corruptly called East and West Jerseys,) which is 120 miles square. This province was discovered and settled with five hundred men, by the said Sir Edward Plowden, for which, King Charles I. in the tenth year of his reign, granted him a charter, which is now enrolled in the City of Dublin, where Sir Edward Plowden chose to have it registered, being a Peer of Ireland: however, it was very unlucky for the family, as this immense estate is likely to be lost by it, as the Earl of Albion gave the province of New Albion to his second son. Edward Plowden accordingly, with his lady and two children, went over as governor, to enjoy his property; but they had not been long there, before the Indians came down on them, and killed the governor, Lord Albion, his lady, and family, except the two sons, and they

ARTICLE BY DR. J. H. HARRIS

1918

The following is a summary of the article by Dr. J. H. Harris, published in the Journal of the American Medical Association, 1918, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 1-10. The article is entitled "The Problem of the Control of the Epidemic of Influenza." The author discusses the various theories of the origin and spread of the epidemic, and the measures that have been taken to control it. He also discusses the importance of the control of the epidemic, and the need for a more effective system of control.

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being so young that they retained nothing but the name; the copy of the charter the governor took over, with other records, was burned by the Indians; consequently the province lay vacant without a governor or owner. for many years, as the next heirs to the estate could not find where the original charter was enrolled, not suspecting it to be in Ireland.

Thus it lay till Charles II. came to the Crown, and then, tyrant-like, secretly, without consent of parliament, made another grant to his brother the Duke of York; from which grant most of the inhabitants hold the lands to this day, tho' they all know that their titles cannot be good while the first charter is subsisting; it is a proverb in that country, that the lawyers at New York and Philadelphia have fed upon the bad titles of the Jerseys, as few people of eminence but knew that there was another charter subsisting somewhere, as many local grants from it are registered both in Burlington and Philadelphia; as also pamphlets wrote in early days, setting forth every particular of this province, which are preserved in the libraries of Burlington and Philadelphia. It is likewise fully set forth in Smith's History of New Jersey.

In 1772, an accident discovered to us, that the real charter was registered in Dublin. A just copy in Latin was procured under the hand of Mr. Perry, which was translated into English, printed and distributed among the inhabitants of New Albion, which has opened their eyes so much, that no one doubts the justness of the claim: However, as it is held under another grant, tho' false, it will be a doubtful case to recover, as it must be tried in the same province, where both judge and jurymen would be self-interested; but a suit may perhaps commence shortly against the crown of England to recover damages, as it is supposed to be as much answerable for the misconduct of its predecessors, as a private subject of Great Britain would be to recover damages in such a case; and every one knows, that if an estate be sold twice over, the second title cannot be good, consequently must fall to the ground, and be null and void to all intents and purposes.

I having a right to one-third part of the large province, induced me to undertake such a long voyage at so late a period of life, hoping to recover it, and having room, I thought it not amiss to convey this extraordinary proceeding of Charles II. down to posterity, in order to bear record how the true heirs, who not only spent their fortune, but blood also, to christianize this country, were robbed of it, as no king has a right to break a charter, without consent of parliament.

(From *Floating Ideas of Nature*, by Charles Varlo, London, 1796, vol. ii. p. 9 *et seq.*)

To His Royal Highness, Prince of Wales.

Royal Sir, As this address will convey to your royal ear, what is not commonly met with in the journey through life, I beg to add the following motto, it being suitable to the subject:

Deviating from truth, by thee, O man,
Counteracts grand nature's plan.

As truth, royal sir, is the brightest jewel in a mason's breast, I shall adhere strictly to it in relating an act of oppression which was committed by a crowned head, long before the present royal family came to the throne, and only known to myself, by which I have suffered severely.

Till I met with this snake in the grass, before the American War, I was easy in affluence, and my children classed among the first fortunes, but strange reverse of fate has now decreed it otherwise. In 1772, I resided in London, where I published a treatise, entitled "Political Schemes," which, if some hints therein set forth had been put in execution, perhaps America

might yet have been subject to the crown of England; my many observations in politics so convinced me in this, that lest the then ministry should not purchase the books, I presented many among them, gratis, lest they might escape their notice; at the same time, I presented one to your royal father.

Before the American War, I purchased the third part of a charter granted by King Charles the First, of a province therein, called New Albion, but now corruptedly known by the name of East and West Jersey, being one of the best settled provinces in America; in consequence of which I spared no pains nor expense to secure my property, by registering my title-deeds under the great seal of London; I also sent printed copies of the Charter to be distributed among the inhabitants of said province.

In May, 1784, I broke up housekeeping in Sloane-Square, where I then resided, and with my family embarked for America, invested with proper power as Governor to the Province of New Albion; not doubting the enjoyment of my property—but on my arrival, I found it settled on a false grant; In consequence of which, I took every step, possible, to recover the estate by law in chancery, a court of which is held in said province, but in vain, because judge and jury were land-owners therein, consequently parties concerned; therefore, after much trouble and expence, I returned to Europe, and went immediately to search the records for the false Charter alluded to, and to my great surprize, found it the first on the rolls in chancery (Chancery Lane,) granted by King Charles the Second to his brother, Duke of York.

A clearer piece of fraud and oppression can scarcely be conceived, than appears on the face of said charter; for he therein says, “though there may be another grant subsisting, this shall stand good,” etc.; consequently he knew there was a prior grant, besides said charter was secretly conveyed without consent of parliament, which is well known to be contrary to the constitutional laws of England.

Indeed, Royal Sir, this was a very oppressive act, as it was the destruction of many families who settled there, at great expence and labour in improving the land, erecting buildings, etc., as appears by the leases granted from the original Charter of King Charles the First, now my property, and in which the leasees were bound down upon the following conditions: viz.—

First 5000 acres was granted to Lord Monson to settle it with	50 men.
1000 do. to Lord Sherrard	100 do.
1000 do. to Sir T. Dandy	100 do.
5000 do. to Mr. Heltonhead	50 do.
5000 do. to Mr. Heltonhead's brother	50 do.
4000 do. to Mr. Bowls	40 do.
5000 do. to Capt. Claybourn	50 do.
5000 do. to Mr. Muskery	50 do.

Thus, Royal Sir, you see the facts are indisputable, as may appear on perusal of the Latin Charter of Charles the First, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, properly authenticated, from under the stamp of the Chancery in Dublin, with other documents, registered in London, and which may be inspected at pleasure. The sufferers by this wrong step of Charles the Second, has been many, but none so great as myself, not so much from the first purchase, as by the consequences attending it. I have taken every step in my power to extricate myself; I have presented petitions to your royal father, but received no answer—I then applied to Mr. Rose at the Treasury, who paid the money granted to loyal American sufferers, supposing I had as much right to redress as Mr. Pen, or any other man, but Mr. Rose's answer was, that I could not be redressed, without another act for money took place, as all the cash granted was paid away; but this was at

that time unknown to me, I being then in America, striving to recover my property; so that by many years waiting, attendance, etc. I may exclaim with the poet:

Were I to curse the man I hate,
Attendance and dependance should be his fate.

Being thus explicit, Royal Sir, I have no more to add but my prayers, that you may have the remembrance of a mason, the obligation of which, none but a mason knows.

I never before communicated this oppressive act of King Charles the Second to any one, but shall now take it as a royal favour if your Highness will please to make it wholly known to his Majesty, humbly hoping he may order some restitution for the heavy losses I have had in perusing an unconstitutional act, arising from a crowned head.

I am Your Royal Highness's
Dutiful and most obedient

Humble Servant

No. 2, Southampton Row,
New Road, Paddington.

C. VARLO.

N. B. King Charles the Second's grant to his brother, Duke of York, may be inspected the first on the rolls in chancery. My grant by King Charles the First, is in the chancery of Dublin; and my name and title to it, is registered in Guildhall, London, under the city arms and seal, signed by the Lord-Mayor.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES BIDDLE: Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, 1745-1821. (Privately printed.) Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Co. 1883.

Charles Biddle, whose autobiography is before us, was the son of William Biddle, a direct descendant of one of the same name, an early settler in West Jersey, and Mary Scull, his wife. At the age of fourteen, he made a voyage to St. Lucas, in Spain, and from that time until he reached middle life he followed the sea. In his recollections of his early experience as a sailor, particularly those which relate to his voyages to the West Indies, we have a picture of what the merchant marine of this country was in colonial days. The truthfulness, which permeates these pages, is as evident as that which gives such a charm to Dana's *Two Years before the Mast*, while the incidents which enliven them are of more than passing interest.

Upon the breaking out of the Revolution, Biddle went to France to purchase powder and arms for Congress. After his return to Philadelphia he joined Captain Cowperthwaite's company of Quaker Light Infantry, volunteered to serve in an attempt which was made to capture the British man-of-war "Roebuck," and took part in the Jersey campaign in the summer of 1776. In the same year he heard the Declaration of Independence read in the State House yard, and in September sailed for Port au Prince in the brig "Greyhound," which was captured. Biddle was taken to Jamaica, where he suffered an imprisonment of several months, the severity of which was no doubt increased on account of an attempt to escape. He was back in Philadelphia in time to witness the excitement caused by the battle of Brandywine. In 1778 he married Miss Hannah Shepard, of Beaufort, North Carolina, and for a while resided there. He served as a member from Carteret County in the Assembly of North Carolina, and, upon being introduced to the Speaker, created a laugh against himself, by acknowledging that he did not know what county he represented, supposing that Beaufort was situated in a county of the same name. In 1780 Mr. Biddle returned to Pennsylvania and settled at Reading. In November, 1781, he sailed in a Letter of Marque for St. Thomas. On his voyage home his vessel was captured when

off the capes of Delaware, and he was sent a prisoner to New York. After he was exchanged he made a number of voyages with varied success.

In 1785 he was chosen Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, Dr. Franklin being its President. The latter part of the autobiography is replete with anecdotes of persons with whom the author came in contact and accounts of events which occurred under his eye. Captain Biddle was active in promoting many objects of public importance, one of which was a company for the insurance of lives and granting annuities, none such existing in the State. The limited knowledge then possessed by the public regarding such institutions is shown in the following speech of a German member of the Legislature against the bill: "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I am against this bill, and I will tell you for what. If you pass this bill, old McKean [the Governor] will get his life insured, and so we shall never get rid of him." "This was not to be got over," wrote Mr. Biddle, and the bill was lost. Since that day our legislators, even from the German counties, have become more familiar with life insurance methods, and have learned that in some cases, at least, they do not conduce to the preservation of life.

The writer gives us an excellent idea of the condition of our country and particularly of our State at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, very much in the same vein as Graydon (who was a friend of Captain Biddle's) does, in his *Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania*. The portion, however, which will probably attract the widest attention is that which treats of Burr's trial and of his duel with Hamilton. Mr. Biddle was a man of stroug and independent character. While quite young he refused an advantageous offer to command a vessel, the owners of which intended to use her in the slave trade at a time when that calling was not severely reprobated, and during the Revolution, while a staunch patriot, never allowed himself to feel the least resentment against any American who espoused the cause of the Crown. The violent treatment of tories he strongly opposed. When the duel between Burr and Hamilton occurred, Biddle, who was acquainted with both, wrote at once to Mr. Pendleton, the second of General Hamilton, and asked if everything in connection with the meeting had been conducted in a proper manner on the part of Colonel Burr. Receiving an answer in the affirmative, he then wrote to Burr, inviting him to make his house his home until the excitement which the duel occasioned, and which Mr. Biddle believed to be of a political nature, should have subsided. In 1806 Burr, while visiting Mr. Biddle, told him of a plan to establish a settlement of military men on the Mississippi, in which he and a number of gentlemen were interested. The Spaniards there, he argued, were ripe for a revolt, and the fortunes of all engaged in the enterprise would be insured. Mr. Biddle told him that such a scheme, if carried into effect, would involve the country in a war with Spain, and refused to listen to his arguments. After Burr, Wilkinson, and Truxton had become bitter enemies, Mr. Biddle's relations with each continued, and the letters, now published for the first time, which relate to the duel and to Burr's trial, form an interesting appendix to the volume.

Another appendix is devoted to a genealogical account of the descendants of William Biddle, the West Jersey settler. An elder brother of Charles Biddle was Edward, a member of the Continental Congress (see *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, vol. i. p. 100.). A younger brother was the gallant Captain Nicholas Biddle, whose sad fate on the "Randolph," when only 27 years of age, is familiar to all versed in our Revolutionary history. Commodore James Biddle, who distinguished himself during the war of 1812, was son of Charles Biddle; another son was Nicholas, president of the United States Bank; another, Charles, whose diplomatic attainments secured for his coun-

try valuable results; another, Thomas, who rose to the rank of major in the war of 1812; John, another son, served on the Canadian frontier, and attained the same rank; he was a Member of Congress from Michigan, and was president of the first Constitutional Convention of that State; Richard, the youngest son of Charles, was an eminent member of the Pittsburgh bar, and author of the *Life of Sebastian Cabot*. F. D. S.

THE WEITZEL MEMORIAL. Historical and Genealogical Record of the Descendants of Paul Weitzel, of Lancaster, Pa. Including brief sketches of the families of Allen, Byers, Bailey, Crawford, Davis, Hayden, M'Cormick, Stone, White, and others. By Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1883. 8vo. pp. 81.—This pamphlet embraces five generations of descendants of Paul and Charlotte Weitzel, Germans who settled in Lancaster, Pa., about the middle of the last century. It includes over 200 individuals, chiefly inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of many of whom good biographical notices are given. Among the latter may be mentioned Lieut.-Col. Casper Weitzel, Judge John Weitzel, Colonel Jacob Weitzel, Col. Hugh White, Judge George Crawford, Judge Robert Gray White, Judge Allison White, and John Alphonsa Byers.

GENEALOGY OF WILLIAM SMITH OF WRIGHTSTOWN, BUCKS COUNTY, PA. By Josiah B. Smith, of Newtown, Pa., 1883. 8vo. pp. vii. 113.—This book comprises a short biographical sketch of William Smith, who came to Pennsylvania from Yorkshire, England, in 1684, and a genealogical account of his descendants to the present time, numbering 2100 persons, most of whom resided in our Commonwealth.

Queries.

GUEST—POWEL—PASCHALL.—Information is wanted in regard to George Guest and his wife Alice, who came to Philadelphia soon after its settlement, viz., the date of their arrival and the place from whence they came, also the names of their children, one of whom, Phebe, married Anthony Morris in 1704. Also in regard to Samuel Powel and his wife Abigail, who were early settlers in Philadelphia, viz., the date of their arrival and the place from whence they came, also the names of their children, one of whom, Sarah, married Anthony Morris in 1730. Also in regard to Thomas Paschall and his wife Margaret, who settled in or near Philadelphia at a very early date, viz., the time of their arrival and the place from whence they came, also the names of their children. W. H. J.

HAWKS—WARD.—Can any one give information concerning the maiden name of Mrs. Elizabeth Hawks, wife of John Hawks, an early settler in Deerfield, Mass? Was she Elizabeth Ward? Nathaniel Ward, of Hartford, a gentleman of good standing in the colony of Connecticut, and one of the first settlers of Hadley, Mass., where he was made freeman, 26th March, 1661, married Jane, widow of John Hopkins, of Hartford, Ct. He died childless, naming in his will, dated 27th May, 1664, and proved the following September, his kinsman Wm. Markham, kinswoman "Elizabeth Hawks," and others. He was buried 1st June, 1664. The second child of John and Elizabeth Hawks was named Nathaniel, born 16th Feb. 1645, died young. Elizabeth, N. J., Aug. 13, 1883. B.

CASSELL—BUZBY.—Information is wanted of Sarah Cassell and her descendants. She was the daughter of Roger and Elizabeth (Buzby) Shelley, and married Daniel Cassell in 1731. In 1769 she was a widow living in Philadelphia.

Also in regard to William and Sarah Buzby, of Oxford, Chester County, Pa., and their descendants. The above Elizabeth Shelley was their daughter, but I know of no other descendant. C. L. B.

Replies.

MILES'S MANUSCRIPTS (vol. vii. p. 113).—The extracts referred to in this query, and the journal in *Pa. Archives*, second series, vol. i. page 519, are from a manuscript autobiography in the handwriting of Col. Samuel Miles, dated April 4, 1804, now in the possession of F. Potts Green, of Bellefonte, a great-grandson of Col. Miles. All of a public nature was published in the 1st and 2d vols. of *Archives*, and the whole autobiography in the *American Historical Record* (1873), vol. ii. pp. 49, 114.

In 1772 Col. Miles took up nine thousand acres of land embracing nearly all the arable land of what is now Miles Township, Centre County, Pa., and soon after the Revolution sold and leased it to German farmers from Dauphin, Lebanon, and Northumberland counties, and made a market for them by establishing, in connection with Col. John Patton, Centre Furnace, in New College Township, and Harmony Forge, on Spring Creek, between Bellefonte and Milesburg, in connection with James Harris. Centre Furnace has been abandoned for many years, but Harmony Forge, now known as McCoy and Linn's Iron Works, one of the most important of our charcoal iron works, remains a monument of Col. Miles's early enterprise in that direction; and the substantial wealthy community of Brush Valley (Miles Township) and the village of Milesburg will ever remain enduring memorials of his successful projects for the early settlement of Centre County.

Col. Miles never resided in Centre County, but his sons, John Miles and General Joseph Miles, came to Bald Eagle Valley in 1792 with their uncles James and Richard; and their descendants are numerous and highly respectable. John Miles had four sons, all prominent ministers of the Baptist Church. Col. Samuel Miles died at his country seat at Cheltenham, Montgomery County, Dec. 29, 1805. In 1783, he was one of the Judges of the High Court of Errors and Appeals; in 1790, Mayor of Philadelphia. A neat biographical sketch of Col. Miles, written by Joseph Lapsley Wilson, appeared in the *History of the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry*, Nov. 17, 1874, of which body Col. Miles was Captain from 1786 to 1791.

Bellefonte, Pa.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

AUTHORSHIP OF "THE RURAL SOCRATES" (Vol. VII. p. 236).—The author of the original work was Jean Gaspard Hirzel. W. B. B.

Since by the good Providence of god many friends
with their Families have transported them selves thix
into this Province of West New Jersey the said friends in
those upper parts have found it needfull according to our
practice in the place wee came from to settle Monthly
Meetings for the well ordering the Affairs of y^e Church
it was agreed that accordingly it should be done and
Accordingly it was done the 15th of y^e 5th Moth 1698

THE
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VOL. VII.

1883.

No. 4.

FRIENDS IN BURLINGTON.

BY ANELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

(Continued from page 237.)

III.

"Unsung"

"By poets, and by senators unpraised."

COWPER.

About this time, when the "masters of families" and those with them had their properties fairly under successful cultivation, and had overcome the first difficulties incidental to settling a wilderness, the question of building a meeting-house began to be considered. The meeting had out-grown the capacity of any private house. The amount of subscription raised during the next five months was £132 16s.,¹ and Francis Collings was contractor for the new building.

"5 of 12 mo. 1682. Friends took it into consideration of what service it might be to visit such Friends y^t are newly come over and are unsettled to advise w^h them and understand what their intent is, either to take up land or follow some other imploy and to y^e utmost endeavor to assist them in their intention.

It is ordered that a meeting-house be built according to a draught of six square building of forty foot square from out

¹ For list of subscribers and amounts paid by each, see p. 47, Book A, Burl. Mo. Mtg.

to out for which he is to have 160£, which y^e meeting engageth to see y^e Persons paid that shall disburst y^e same to Francis Collings."

There is a note in the minute of 2/11, 1684, "when the meeting engageth to pay the under money lent out of the first money received to buy boards for the meeting-house." This was later on. During its rather slow building, Friends met in private houses. In this interval they issued several documents of advice to their members, and were also in frequent communication with London. The minute of 5th of 9th mo. 1682, advises those who do not require them to guard against the admission of servants into their houses, especially such as do not "profess the same truth with us." The next contains the following:—

"Friends; to you who may be concerned this is written for y^e Truth's sake by way of advice from y^e Generall Meeting, that male and female both old and young who make mention of y^e name of y^e Lord, may all take heed that they be not found in, nor wearing of, Superfluity of Apparel nor Immoderate nor unseemly taking of Tobacco, also selling of needless things whereby any may take offence justly: but y^t we may be found to be kept within y^e bounds of moderation, & within y^e limits of y^e Spirit of Truth & may be known to be governed by y^e Truth in all Concearns. So shall we be to the Glory of God & y^e comfort of one another, which is y^e desire of

Your Friends & Brethren."¹

An entry showing the influence and importance of Wm. Penn's testimony against war occurs soon after and runs as follows:—

¹ The advice of Dublin Friends to those in America in 1681 had been more straight than this. They were admonished to refrain from the use of "costly attire, foolish Dresses, and new Fashions, ruffling Periwigs, needless Buttons, wide Skirts and long flap-sleeved coats," to "keep up their testimony against Stip'd and Flower'd Stuffs," and to avoid adorning their kitchens "with flourishing needless Pewter and Brass." "Let all young Men and others in Riding to or going from Meetings or other occasions refrain from Galloping and Riding after an aiery flurting manner, but let your moderation and gravity appear," &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON,
ABRAHAM FULLER,
AMOS STRETTELL.

Dublin Half-year's meeting,

9th, 10th & 11th of 9 mo. 1681.

"In behalf of Truth and y^e Blessed Name of y^e Lord y^e which we make a profession of, thought meet to write to our friends of the Monthly Meeting of Upland and Marcus Hook y^t they, together with Wm. Penn, would be pleased to give this meeting an account Concerning y^e report of y^e preparation for War, which God in his mercy hath given us a testimony against, y^t we may know what satisfaction they can give y^e Meeting therein, Samuel Jennings & Robert Stacy to draw up a paper to y^e Meeting concerning it."

It does not appear whether the report was read. There follows close upon this, mention of a letter received from George Fox; and Christopher Taylor and Samuel Jennings were appointed to draw up a paper in answer to it; it was "concerning the state of your meeting, and how many ye have and in what order." The reply was written "and left with Samuel Jennings to send it safe to G. F., and was directed to John Brighthurst at y^e Book in Gracious Street,"¹ London.

Subsequently, several other epistles from Geo. Fox were received. Three of the original documents are still preserved, dated respectively, 1675, 1677, 1682. (The copy of the first was sent to America after being circulated in England for two years, and was full of general advice.) The three were addressed to Thos. Olive, Wm. Peachy, and Wm. Cooper, "to be dispurst abroad among Friends." They were to those in America, with messages for Barbadoes and West Jersey. The immense labors of Geo. Fox may be better conceived when we recollect that reports of the condition of meetings throughout the entire extent of the Society were sent him; in each case eliciting a special reply of advice or approval.

The meeting at Burlington and in the immediate neighborhood grew so rapidly at this time that the government of church affairs began to be an important power, vested in the hands of Friends who were aware of the grave duty resting upon them, and to whose careful supervision the entries bear abundant witness. Among other things, the publication by Daniel Leeds of an "Allmanack" containing various state-

¹ Gracious Street, now Grace Church Street.—Hare.

ments evincing, as they thought, a "froward spirit," drew from those in authority, a remonstrance which ended in Leeds making an acknowledgment for the matter published. Soon after we find "John Day is ordered to speak to D. L. that he send nothing to the press before it be perused by this meeting." This was an early testimony against "pernicious reading."

"At our men's monthly meeting held at Thomas Gardiner's" (1685).

"Peter Woolcott was willing to make graves, and to look to y^e Fences of y^e burying-ground, and Friends are willing to see him paid an old English shilling for such mens or womens graves y^t may not be paid for by y^e persons y^t employ him."

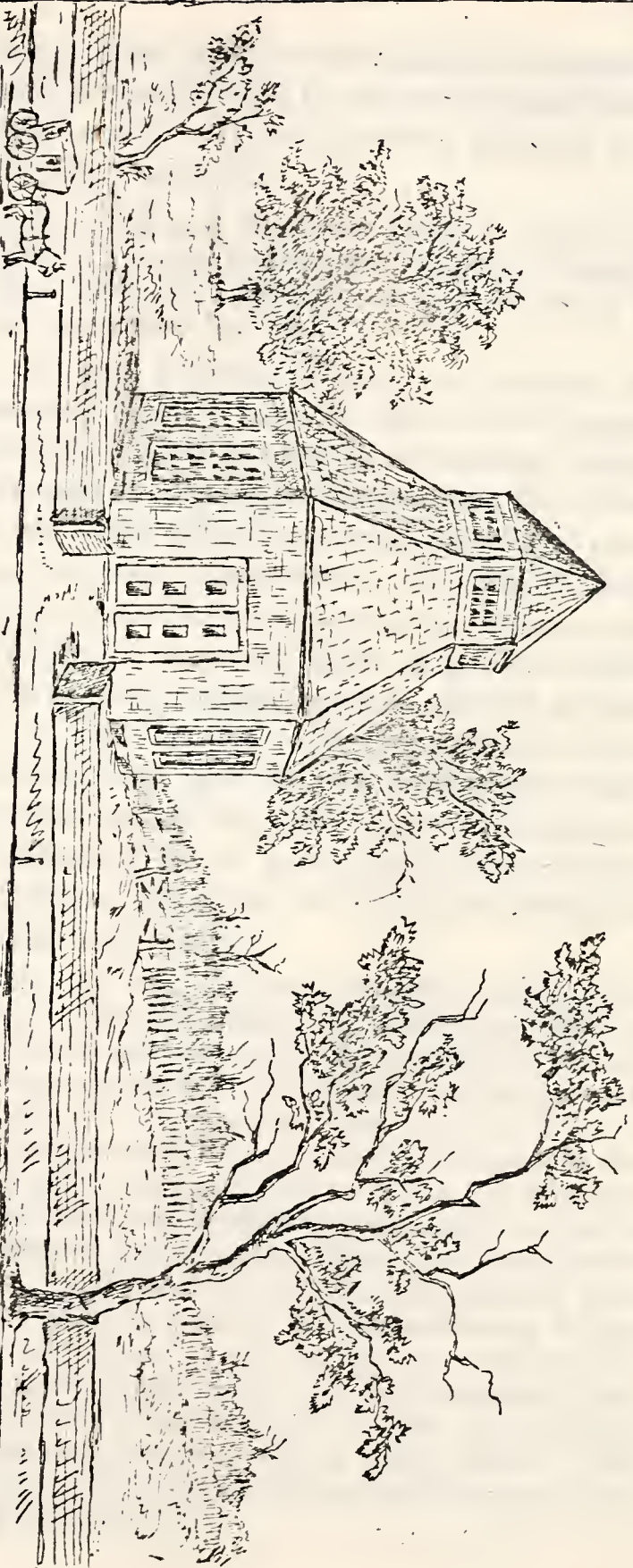
Just about the same date is an order for a hearse "or carriage to be built for the use of such as are to be laid in y^e ground." Bernard Davenish, in 1689, and James Satterthwaite, in 1695, succeeded to the position of sexton. Peter Woolcott, for his service in "opening and shutting y^e Door," received 15s. quarterly.

The cause of some delay in completing the meeting-house creates an involuntary smile, the contractor's private enterprise of his own in getting married for the second time having absorbed his attention. The meeting "thought fit that John Budd should oversee the working of the meeting-house which belongs to Francis Collings to be performed." On F. Collings's marriage with Mary Gosling, the building proceeded without further hindrance, and in 1691 (6 of 2 mo.) the minute states:—

"This day it is ordered that our First day meetings at Burlington shall begin in the morning at the 9th hour, and at the 2^d hour in the afternoon; and be held both morning and evening in the meeting-house."

The accompanying picture of this hexagonal structure is from a drawing presented to the artist, a native of Burlington, by Samuel Emlen. The court for a short time held session in

Amelia M. Sumner
83



Friend's Meeting House, Burlington, N. H.

1683-1787.

this building; but in 3 mo, 1691, it was ordered that Bernard Davenish "should not suffer the Court to be kept in our meeting house any more." At the Quarterly Meeting held at Wm. Biddle's, 3 of 9 mo. 1691,

"It was thought good and therefore ordered that what marriages for time to come shall pass Friends' Monthly Meeting and have unity and consent of Friends, shall be solemnized at the usual meeting place."

A charge of 9s. due Anthony Weston is recorded for "colouring y^e meeting house." At this time Friends appear to have become finally settled in their new building, which, however, was not capable of being warmed during the winter season until the new brick addition was put up several years later, when proper heating arrangements were made. During inclement weather, when it was impossible for delicate persons to sit in a cold room, they met again at private houses. Foot-stoves, which are now almost forgotten, or kept as heir-looms only, were then the constant companions of our ancestors, and all that rendered their stay in meetings possible. The next few minutes record, five years later, the erection of the "new meeting house;" which was in reality the addition just referred to, forming part of the old hexagonal house and built back of it, the roofs joining.

"3 mo. 4th 1696. It was proposed at this meeting the building of a winter meeting house. It was agreed that it should be done as followeth, viz.: a Brick house of Brick and half thick after it is raised a foot and a half from the ground, which is to be done with good sound stone and the wall to be built of equal height with the old meeting-house and the roof to be covered with cedar and join on the other roof, the breadth to be equal with one of the old house and the length 30 feet. To be plastered with lime and Hair, and lined below with slit deal 4 ft. high from the seats—with 2 good pine floors, one of them to be grooved. Divers necessary things omitted here are left to be agreed for by the workmen by Samuel Jennings, Robt. Hudson, Jr., Jno. Hollingshead, Tho. Raper, Sam^l Furnis, and Henry Grubb, whom this meeting appoints to take care of the same and to agree with a workman or workmen, any 4 of the 6 mentioned agreeing provided they all be consulted about it."

"9 mo. 1696. Whereas the former subscriptions concerning the building of the winter meeting house falling short, it is ordered that Henry Grubb and Christopher Wetherill do get subscriptions for defraying the charge that remains."

"3 of 3 mo. 1697. Whereas there is a gate made at the west end of the burying ground by James Satterthwaite, it is ordered that Friends dwelling on the back side of the town shall have the use of said gate in meeting time, they paying the charges of the iron-work and making the said gate."

This occupied the same relative position as the present Wood St. entrance, although not on precisely the same spot, and was a part of the old wood fence. 14 of 3 mo. 1698, "posts and rails" were ordered to be put before the meeting house ground. 10 of 4 mo. 1698, the "new burying ground" was ordered fenced.

There occurs about this time notice of John Tomlinson and wife and the people from their plantation being "visited because not attending meeting." Reason given: "they were offended at women's speaking in public, but for the future they should be more diligent."

The Quarterly Meeting minutes of a rather earlier date than the above (31 of 12 mo. 1686) record the interesting fact of a meeting with the Indians:—

"Tho. Budd and Robt. Stacy are appt'd to give the Indians timely notice that Friends intend to visit them on the account of Truth, and also to desire the Indian interpreters to be there at that time to interpret between them and Friends."

29 of 6th mo. 1693, the same minutes record:—

"Women Friends acquaint this meeting of several Friends that are under sufferings in New England and in great distress by reason of y^e Indians by whom they are in danger to be killed if they stir abroad to work for food."

Burlington promptly responded. These two meetings, it will be remembered, were held at Wm. Biddle's house. Meetings "for the instruction of Youth" were held from 1697 to 1793 four times yearly, viz.: Chesterfield, 9 mo.; Burlington, 12 mo.; Chesterfield, 3 mo.; Burlington, 6 mo.

In the *Archives* of New Jersey¹ the following interesting census of West Jersey in 1699 is given, with a note subjoined by Wm. Dockwra,² who presented the statement to the Lords of Trade on the 21 of 8 mo. 1701. The tenor of his remarks will show that no love was lost by the Provincial Government for the Quakers. The almanac quoted from by Dockwra is that of our friend Daniel Leeds, whose publications, as we have seen, had been suppressed by his meeting.

“Account of the Inhabitants of West New Jersey, as taken in the year 1699. Presented to the Board by Mr Dockwra.

Daniel Leeds in his Almanack for the year 1701 in the page of Nov^{br} gives the following acct.

In Sep^{br} 1699 The Freeholders in West Jersey were computed as follows

Burlington County	302
Gloster County	134
Salem County	326
Cape May County	070
In all	832
Whereof Quakers	266
In all more Christians	566

NOTE.—The Quakers are more numerous in Burlington County than in all the other Countys. Salem County has two to one for Gloster and 58 over. Tho the Quakers will have the latter double the number in the Assembly to that of Salem; Contrary to Justice and Equity. Wherefore Salem will not Send Members till they have equall with Gloster, They paying double the Tax and more than Gloster.”

The Monthly Meeting records of 4 of 2 mo. 1698 state that “Isaac Mariott is appointed with Benjamin Wheat to provide a pine table for the use of this meeting against the next meeting.” This pine table is still in use; it is of an unusually graceful shape and finish. Originally the clerk’s

¹ Vol. ii. p. 305.

² William Dockwra was Receiver-General of the Province in 1688. In 1686 one thousand acres of land had been granted him under the title “Merchant of the Parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, London.” He has been somewhat famous as having started the penny post in that city. His death occurred in 1717.

desk, it is now employed to receive the marriage certificate signatures, and is a cherished relic.

"3 of 1 mo. 1700. This meeting orders y^e Receiver of y^e Collections to pay Jno. Day 3lb 3.. 2.. it being the Remainder of Bridget Guy's Interest money during her life, taking up the bond & bring it to next meeting."

There is reason to suppose that Bridget Guy originally owned at least a portion of the land where the meeting-house stood. Her name occurs occasionally in such a connexion as the above, she evidently having some claim on the meeting for money due her. The minutes do not make any direct statement to that effect, but confirm the impression of some of the present members that Bridget Guy was an original owner of the property. Richard Guy, whose widow she was, came over in Fenwicke's colony and settled at Salem, removing in 1690 to Burlington, where they both died.

The Friends scattered about in neighboring villages gradually built for themselves meeting-houses, and established Particular and Preparative Meetings, with the permission and aid of Burlington Monthly Meeting. The dates of their erection are given as follows:—

Springfield, 1694; completed 1699; "on the hither side of Mattocopany Bridge" (Copeney now, 1881).

Rancocas, 1702 New meeting house, 1722.

Mt. Holly, called first Bridgetown	{	1st	"	"	1715.
		2d	"	"	1762.
		3d	"	"	1837.

Shrewsbury 1722.

Trenton (originally Trent-town) 1741.

Crosswicks 1713.

Mount Holly's meeting-house of 1762 was built of the materials from the first "old meeting house and stable out town," being removed to the centre of the village, which had grown up at a short distance from the original home.

28 of 6 mo. 1699, Burlington and Chesterfield appoint a suitable Friend to accompany travelling Friends to East Jersey and New York, "this provision to be constant." (From Quarterly Mtg. Rec.)

We are now come to the end of an eventful 23 years, and of the 17th century. The persecuted Quakers were become an independent and prosperous community of Friends. The exchange of Old England for Young America had brought them many more blessings than it had deprived them of. Civil and religious¹ liberty were enjoyed, and they had fairly entered on Burlington's most prosperous epoch, when, in the next four years, that place was to become an important centre of trade,² sending its vessels to Calcutta and the West Indies. Indeed, for a very short time, Burlington enjoyed more commerce than her younger sister, Philadelphia, which, however, soon sprang into flourishing existence, and cast into the shade the town twenty miles above. The 18th century was in the main prosperous and peaceful until the war of the Revolution threw confusion among the quiet dwellers on the Delaware, and disturbed the community to its foundations.

Of course by this time many had arrived who were not Friends

¹ "Item, That noe person qualified as aforesaid within the said Province at any time shall be any waies molested punished disquieted or called in Question for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of Religious concernements, who doe not actually disturbe the civill Peace of the said Province, but that all and every such person and persons may from time to time and at all times truly and fully have and enjoy his and their Judgments and Conciences in matters of Religion throughout all the said Province: They behaving themselves peaceably and quietly and not using this liberty to Licentiousness, nor to the civill injury or outward disturbance of others, any Law, Statute or clause conteyned or to be conteined usage or custome of this Realme of England to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."—From the "Concessions and Agreements of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Cesarea or New Jersey to and with all and every the Adventurers and all such as shall plant or settle there." (*New Jersey Archives*, First series, vol. i. p. 30.)

² "IV. That the Port of Perth-Amboy, in East Jersey, and the Ports of Burlington and Cohanzie in West Jersey, may be established Ports of these respective Provinces for ever: and that no Ships bound to any of these Places shall be obliged to enter at any other port: nor any Ships to be laden there shall be obliged to clear at any other port."—From Memorial to the King by the Proprietors of the Jerseys, relative to the Surrender of their Governments to the Crown. (*New Jersey Archives*, vol. ii. p. 405.)

—chiefly of the Church of England. The parish of St. Mary's was established by the Rev. John Talbot, the corner-stone of the old church, founded by Queen Anne, being laid 25, 4 mo. 1763; the building is still in excellent preservation. Some intercourse existed between the members of the two denominations, but the "steeple-house" was regarded as a dangerous attraction by the older Friends. With these, and the later establishment of other churches, we have nothing to do directly. Our story confines itself entirely to the doings of Friends, and their life and work in the old town. Of one of the English clergy, the first rector Talbot, mentioned above, we must, however, speak further, since the Friends had considerable trouble at his hands. This man was very bitter in his denunciations of the Quakers, calling them in a report to the Secretary of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts" "these anti-christians who are worse than the Turks." The town at the time comprised few out the two sects, of which much the larger portion were Friends. The clergy viewed them with an intolerance truly surprising, considering the harmlessness of their conduct. This was further evidenced by their declining to appear in a public meeting held in the town-house (3rd of 11 mo., O. S., 1702) to answer the hot attacks made against their doctrines by the above-named gentlemen and George Keith. This latter was originally a member of Friends. In 1691 he caused a controversy among them by an attack on their doctrine, in which¹ he alleged that those Friends who were in office in Philadelphia had executed laws against malefactors in a manner inconsistent with their tenets, and also affirmed that Friends preached more allegory than practical Christianity. 4 mo. (O. S.) 1692 he was disowned by Phila. Mo. Mtg. of Friends. A number were drawn off in sympathy with him. Afterward joining the Church of England, he was returned by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, as their first American missionary, and helped the Rev. John Talbot in attacking Friends. These men

¹ Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. p. 363.

were too fresh from scenes of Quaker persecution in England not to feel an antagonism to their growing prosperity in the Jerseys; and, although good and Christian men in other respects, they shared that intolerant spirit common to the age which found an outlet in most unrestrained language, wherein the name of Quaker was made symbolical of everything heretic, heathen, and unchristian. Their preaching was said to have been "of cursing and Lyes, poisoning the souls of the people with damnable errors and heresies." An instance, quoted from a late church history,¹ will serve to show the meek and unresisting spirit which distinguished the Friends of that day. Although they were immovable in defence of law and justice, as was shown by their determination in resisting the oppression of Lord Cornbury and others, they were willing rather to suffer than give offence.

"Mr. Sharpe was very jealous to bring y^e Quakers to stand a tryal: he carried one of y^e 'Bombs' [an attack published at the time] into their meeting and read a new challenge I had sent them to answer what they had printed: but all in vain. Samuel Jennings stood up and said, 'Friends, let's call upon God.' Then they went to prayer, and so their meeting broke up." (Letter from J. Talbot to G. Keith, dated New York, Oct. 20, 1705.)

Later (1713) the General Assembly, with Col. Robert Hunter, Governor of the Province, passed an act,

"That the solemn affirmation and Declaration of the People called Quakers shall be accepted and taken instead of an oath in the usual form, and for qualifying and enabling the said people to act as Jurors, and to execute any office of trust and profit in this Province."

This occasioned a petition of remonstrance to "Her Majesty [Queen Anne], to prevent the giving her Royal Assent to so mischievous an Act"—a petition, however, of no avail; and the churchmen were forced to be "disgraced" by seeing Friends in the Jury-boxes and Law Courts.

¹ *History of the Church in Burlington*, by Dr. Hills, 1876.

IV.

“ The victory is most sure
For him, who, seeking Faith by Virtue, strives
To yield entire submission to the law
Of Conscience.”

WORDSWORTH.

The name of Samuel Jennings has been frequently mentioned. Those familiar with State history will have made his acquaintance before. He was very influential, not only because at one time Governor of the Province, but also in a private way among the citizens, and in the meetings of Friends. His coming to America was occasioned by Edward Byllinge claiming the right to govern West Jersey after having sold a large portion of the land. The Friends who were the actual owners, not caring at the time to cause a contest, submitted quietly, and Samuel Jennings came out as his deputy from his home (“Coleshill”) in Buckinghamshire, 3 mo. 1680.¹ The remainder of his life was spent in Burlington, at his residence “Greenhill,” a short distance from the town; his office stood near the corner of Pearl and Main streets. We shall have occasion to refer to it again. His death occurred in 1709, before which Friends had become independent of any deputy in his capacity. His will, after providing for his family, leaves a bequest to a very eminent member of the Society in England; it runs:—

“I give and bequeath unto my long-acquainted, worthy and endeared friend, Thomas Ellwood, of Hungerhill near Amer-sham in y^e county of Bucks, in Great Britain, the sum of twenty pounds sterling money, to be paid out of my effects there to buy him a gelding, or otherwise, as he shall think fit.”

Horses are also left to the trustees. The witnesses are Thomas Gardiner, Thos. Rapier, and Daniel Smith. Richard Hill, at one time Mayor of Philadelphia, is a trustee. Isaac

¹ See letter of Saml. Jennings to Wm. Penn on the arrival of the former in the Delaware.—Smith's *History*, p. 124.

Pennington, Samuel Jennings's eldest grandson, was grandson also of Isaac Pennington, half-brother of Gulielma Maria Springett, wife of Wm. Penn. The three families of Pennington, Stevenson, and Smith now represent the Jennings (or Jenings) family.¹

There is much interesting matter yet to be gathered concerning the oldest Burlington families. These have only been in part published in the very entertaining histories of the *Hill Family*, by John Jay Smith, and the *Burlington Smiths*, by R. Morris Smith. The Journals also of Grellet and Woolman, with other biographical sketches, have made us familiar with the various important events in the lives of their subjects. This account, therefore, because not meaning to serve as a complete record of individuals, does not pretend to go into much detail, or family history, beyond what is immediately required. It aims rather to consider Burlington Meeting as a whole, and to present its doings. The inhabitants of the Quaker part of the community are already in a certain degree familiar to the local reader. Main facts are all that claim attention here, beyond such anecdotes as are unfamiliar, or may best illustrate character.

Let us for a moment imagine ourselves among those going to attend service at 8 o'clock (the hour for worship at this time on First Day eve), in the early years of the last century. Drab is, at least, with the men, the universal color. "Small clothes," low, silver-buckled shoes, broad-brim hat, and heavy cane, constitute the style of dress. Their wives come in short-waisted gowns, coal-scuttle bonnets, elbow-sleeves, fitting tightly to the arm, and mits reaching far enough up to join the sleeves. Handkerchiefs as white as snow are folded across the breast, and quiet and demure the tones in which greetings are exchanged as they enter the meeting-house yard. An occasional carriage, much on the pattern of a chest on wheels, with venetian doors, and drawn by a friendly-looking horse, discharges its freight at the gate. More frequently, the

¹ R. M. Smith, in *Burlington Smiths*. For official acts of Samuel Jennings see *New Jersey Archives*; also, Smith's *History*.

country Friends arrive on horseback, the wife on a pillion behind her husband, who shakes his head, as some youth, in whom young blood will stir itself, canters gaily past. The gate on the main street in front of the hexagonal meeting house was the spot at which those who did not walk were obliged to dismount. A row of stables stood along the north wall; there was no side-entrance until the erection of the present building in 1784. Friends, as we have seen, were obliged to travel long distances. There is a notice of ten men from Burlington and ten from Salem having shortly before been appointed to clear a public road at the people's expense.¹

Frequent mention occurs in the minutes of "our meeting house on Broad St." This was an ordinary dwelling, purchased and used by Friends as a meeting-house. It stood on a lot situated just above Stacy, on the north side of Broad Street, adjoining that on which the Baptist church now stands. References are confusing in the various minutes. A piece of ground next above was afterward (1784) bought by Friends, and the whole sold (1792), when it became needful to erect a new school-house for the Preparative Meeting.² In regard to Main Street, there is a reference to the "great" or "new" meeting house in 6 mo. 5, 1706, when the floor was ordered mended, and a committee appointed to "get convenient seats in gallery for the Yearly Meeting, and also get a little gallery for the public women friends made before the General Meeting." This hexagonal structure stood probably some feet below the present house, and back of it. In digging a recent grave the workmen disclosed portion of a thick foundation wall, near the brick one on the north side of the graveyard; this is supposed to have been part of the original meeting-house. The magnificent twin sycamores (or button-woods) which are known to be fully two hundred years old, and are yet standing in a green old age just behind the present house, stood then with their branches close to the quaint little steep-roofed, six-sided affair, which in our eyes, at this

¹ Smith.

² See page 373.

later date, will suggest a "steeple house" in spite of ourselves. Friends had not quite freed themselves from the idea that a house for God's worship must have a higher roof than those about it. Hence the first meeting-house in Burlington boasted a superstructure that, whether they called it "observatory," "ventilator," or "chimney," must at least to the "world's people" have suggested a steeple.

"Ye 7 of y^e 7 mo. 1701. This meeting taking into consideration y^e late Riott of breaking up y^e prison doors in y^e doing of which were severall y^t goos under y^e denomination of Quakers, whereby a scandal is brought upon our Holy Profession, therefore y^e meeting orders y^e Friends appointed by y^e particular meeting to inspect into disorders y^t they speak to every ofender they know y^t belongs to their meeting in order y^t they give satisfaction to y^e Governor and Friends."

This was in consequence of a riot caused by some dissatisfied people who, refusing to pay the taxes levied by the Government, and paid by the majority of loyal citizens, created a disturbance on the 18th of 3 mo. (1701), when some eighty rioters forced open the prison doors, and rescued two of their number, who were under confinement for refusing to find surety for their good behavior in future. The number of Quakers in the town, in a petition to King William III., is referred to as being the reason that the disturbance was not more promptly suppressed—"many of the Inhabitants of that Towne are such whose Religious Perswasions will not suffer them to bear Armes."¹

Here follows an extract from the Quarterly Meeting minutes which is of much historical interest. It will explain itself. The following acknowledgment was sent, as appears, to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, then belonging to Burlington Quarter:—

"At y^e Quarterly Meeting of Friends held at the house of William Beedle y^e 22 of y^e 12 mo. 1702.
This day a paper of acknowledgment signed by James Logan was read in this meeting & was thought convenient to be recorded here.

¹ *New Jersey Archives*, vol. ii. p. 379.

To Friends of the Monthly Meeting met at Philadelphia, this 25 of y^e 10 mo. 1702. Whereas, upon provocation given by Daniel Cooper of West Jersey injuriously (as was judged) to our proprietary's right and contrary to authority, invading in the 5 mo. last one of the reed Islands of Delaware over against this city, I undertook to go over to y^e said Island to divert him from proceeding in his design accompanied with the Sheriffe of Philadelphia who hearing of an opposition designed, took with him some other persons with fire-arms for the greater awe of such as should attempt to oppose. And whereas occasion has been, or may be, taken from the said arms being carried in my company to reflect not only upon me as concerned for the Proprietary but also upon the profession of God's truth owned by and amongst us, I do therefore in a true sense of the inconveniences that have naturally ensued from the said action and its contrariety to the said Profession heartily regret my complying with or being in any wise concerned in that method which ministers such occasion and do in sincerity declare that could I have foreseen the ill consequences of it I should have by no means have engaged in it. Hoping and earnestly desiring that it may Please God the author of all good counsel and direction so to enlighten my understanding by his spirit that I may avoid not only all such occasions, but all others that by being contrary to his divine will may minister offence for the future.

JAMES LOGAN."

The records of Burlington Monthly Meeting, 6 of 8 mo. 1703, contain this statement:—

"John Humphiers complains on John Woolman for not making up his fence whereby he is damaged on cretuers [creatures] on his corn. John Woolman promises to make up his fence as soon as conveniently he can, and to pay what damages his neighbors shall award him."

This John Woolman was an ancestor of the famous minister of that name.

In the following year, all public meeting-houses were ordered recorded in the archives of the Province. They were carefully named by the meetings where they were owned, and on the 28 of 6 mo., same year, a full account of deceased Friends since the settlement of Burlington was forwarded to the Yearly Meeting, whose minutes, however, fail to give

the list. It seems that the Yearly Meeting of London requested those in America to forward the names of deceased Friends, and the action of Burlington Yearly Meeting was in response to that request.

23 of 11 mo. 1704. "Friends: whereas I was charged in the face of the meeting by Restore Lippincott that I pulled off my hat when John Langstaff was buried is not true. I have many witnesses to the contrary. . . . Thomas Atkinson."

Further on we find (6 of 6 mo. 1705):—

"Whereas some time since there was a paper sent in by Tho. Atkinson that Restore Lippincott charged him falsely in the face of the meeting with pulling off his hat att the time of John Langstaff's funeral whilst the priest was speaking for which at our last meeting some Friends were to speak to Restore Lippincott to be at our last Monthly Meeting to answer to itt for himself, and he making it appear by several evidences to be true, it is this meeting's Judgment that Restore Lippincott did not accuse Tho. Atkinson falsely."

In 1704-5 Friends held their meetings for Springfield at the house of Restore Lippincott during the cold weather, the meeting considering the "badness of the way" in going to the usual house.

11 mo. 24, 1704 (adjourned from previous day). Four young men (Joseph Endecote, Wm. Petty, Jr., Richard Eayre, and Jacob Lamb) make an acknowledgment for carrying arms, upon a rumor reaching them that the French were at Cohacksink: they proved to be Spanish and Indian runaways from a vessel on the river. The young men declared,

"That it seemed best for those that had guns, to take them, not with a design to hurt, much less to kill, man, woman or child; but we thought that if we could meet these runaways, the sight of the guns might fear them."

"From our Monthly Meeting held at Burlington y^e 1st of y^e 11 mo. 1704, and continued by adjournment til y^e 25 of y^e same.

To all captains and other military officers concerned—
whereas:

For Burlington.

Peter Tretwell,
 Tho. Gardiner,
 Tho. Raper,
 William Gabitas,
 Sam'l Furniss,
 Isaac Mariott,
 Peter Hearon,
 Daniel Smith,
 Thos. Scattergood,
 Tho. Smith, Jr.
 John Smith,
 Francis Smith,
 Natth. Pope,

John Carlyle,
 Sam'l Lovett,
 Joshua Tomkins,
 Richard Cowgill,
 Henry Wilson,
 James Sarterthwaite,
 Isaac De Cou,
 Nathan Allen,
 Benj. Furniss,
 Edward Hardman,
 Jonathau Lovett,
 Barnet Laine,
 Tho. Wetherill,

Robt. Tullis,
 Jno. Petty,
 Tho. Framton,
 Sam'l Mariot,
 John Barten,
 Solomon Smith
 Benj. Woolcott,
 Tho. Fenton,
 Tho. Chipman,
 George Parker,
 Sam'l Smith,
 Joseph Smith.

For Wellingborrou.

John Fenimore,
 Robt. Lucass,
 Richard Fenimore,
 John Simons,
 Tho. Lippincott,

Samuel Eves,
 Benj. Eves,
 Isaac Evans,
 John Harvey,
 Daniel Eves,

Tho. Eves,
 Natt. Paine,
 Joseph Fenimore,
 Charles French.

For Northampton.

John Antrim,
 William Stevenson,
 Natt. Cripps,
 Henry Burr,
 Robert Harvey,
 Josiah Southwick,
 Joseph Parker,
 Edward Gaskill,
 John Antrim, Jr.
 John Powell,
 Josiah Gaskill,
 Sam'l Lippincott,
 Richard Browne,
 Tho. Briant, Sen.,
 James Lippincott,

James Antrim, Jr.
 Isaac Horner,
 Tho. Briant, Jr.
 Tho. Garwood,
 Richard Eayre,
 Tho. Furniss,
 James Shinn,
 Matthew Worick,
 Thos. Bishop,
 John Wills,
 Joshua Humphries,
 John Woolman,
 William Haines,
 John Harvey, Shoemaker,
 Tho. Stoaks, Jun.

Richard Pearce,
 Joseph Endecott,
 Sam'l Gaskill,
 Restore Lippincott,
 Sam'l Lippincott,
 Wm. Parker,
 William Petty,
 Joseph Davenish,
 Tho. Haines,
 Robert Hunt,
 Jacob Lamb,
 Zach. Roswell,
 James Buchanan,

For Mancefield.

John Brown,
 William Pancoast,
 James Antrim,
 Edward Barton,
 Robert Ganeton,
 Robert Smith,
 Joseph Jones,

Michael Buffin,
 Jonathan Woolston,
 Daniel Hall,
 Sam'l Gibson,
 James Jilkes,
 John Smith,

Isaac Gibbs,
 Sam'l Woolstone,
 Benj. Scattergood,
 Joshua Smith,
 William Foster,
 Edward Baulton.

For Chester and Eversham.

John Hollinshead,	John Eves,	Tho. Paine,
William Hollinshead,	John Hackny,	William Hackny.
John Gosling,	Anthony Fryer,	

Did att our last Monthly Meeting appear declaring that they were of y^e Society of y^e people called Quakers & that for conscience sake they could not bear nor use arms to y^e destruction of y^e lives of men, and being willing to receive y^e benefit of y^e favor expressed to y^e said People in an Act of Assembly lately made & published att Burlington entituled an Act for settling the Militia of this Province; pursuant to the requirings of y^e said Act, they do request of us that we would certifie that they were of the People called Quakers: and though most of them were well known to us, yet that we might act with more care and caution therein, we did appoint certain persons to make particular enquiry into their Behaviour & uppon such Enquiry made, we do not find any Reason to Deny them their request as aforesaid.

These are therefore to certifiye that the persons above named are of y^e Society of y^e People called Quakers, & were so at y^e time of y^e making of y^e said act.

Signed in, & by order of, y^o said meeting.

For Burlington, by

John Brown,	Joshua Humphrey,	Tho. Eves,
Sam'l Furniss,	Samuel Jennings,	John Butcher.

For Springfield, by

Samuel Jennings,	Peter Fretwell,	John Brown,
Joshua Humphrey,	Thomas Eves,	Thos. Gardiner.

For Willingborrou, by

Samuel Jennings,	Dan'l Smith,	Joshua Humphrey,
Tho. Gardiner,	Peter Fretwell,	Tho. Raper.

For Northampton, by

Sam'l Jennings,	Tho. Eves,	Tho. Raper.
Peter Fretwell,	Tho. Gardiner,	Daniel Smith.

For Mancefield, by

Sam'l Jennings,	Tho. Eves,	Tho. Raper,
Peter Fretwell,	Tho. Gardiner,	Joshua Humphrey.

For Chester and Eversham, by

Sam'l Jennings,	John Brown,	Joshua Humphrey,
Tho. Gardiner,	Peter Fretwell,	John Butcher."

The above minute appears without further explanation than that which it contains in itself. There must have been ample cause for such action in the condition of the Province and the occasional presence of the much-dreaded French. As it was, more than one Friend was obliged to confess having "taken up arms" for one cause or another.

We now come to the first mention of a school kept in Burlington. It occurs in minute of 7th of 11 mo. 1705:—

"It is the request of some Friends of Burlington to this meeting that they may have the privilege of allowing a school to be kept in this meeting-house in Burlington, which request is answered by this meeting."

There is no evidence of the master's name, nor where the majority of scholars came from, though there was evidently a large number of families in Burlington; in fact, as before stated, it was almost altogether a Quaker settlement.

In 1706 several young men "hear the priest."

In 1709 Jonathan Lovett determines to join the church, and is "sprinkled."

In 1711 (17 of 3 mo.) money was raised to help Boston Friends build their meeting house. Friends from each particular meeting were appointed to receive subscriptions, and the same was ordered forwarded to Samuel Carpenter, 6 of 6 mo.

In 1711 there began to be a movement toward changing the Yearly Meeting to Philadelphia, which, with its growing prosperity, numbered many Friends among its inhabitants and claimed the right of holding the annual assembly within its own limits. The time had not yet come however, and the record speaks for itself:—

"At our Monthly Meeting y^e 7th of the 11 mo. 1711. The minute of the Yearly Meeting was read at this meeting in Relation to Removing of y^e Yearly Meeting to Philadelphia, which this meeting are all in general against, but would have it kept in its common course as it hath been used & in y^e same plans and y^e same time both as to worship & Business & with the same authority as formerly."

1 mo. 5, 1716-17, a minute states that a subscription paper was started at that meeting to build a new house for the ser-

vice of the Yearly Meeting. The Committee appointed continued a year and nine months, when, 4 of 9 mo. 1717, the amount raised was reported in the following list, chiefly valuable as showing the comparative size of the meetings:—

	£	s.	d.
Burlington	84	8	9
Springfield	21	4	0
Northampton	10	10	0
Mount Holly	10	14	0
	<u>£126</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>

There is no very clear statement of the fact that a meeting house was finally built at that time, but the following minute from the Quarterly Meeting of 2 mo. 27, 1792, would seem to have been so interpreted by Bowden. Sixteen years before (in 1700) the Monthly Meeting records speak of a meeting house on Broad Street, which we incline to believe was not originally built by Friends, but adapted to their use.¹ The minute is as follows:—

“In respect to the Meeting house and Ground on the North side of Broad Street, in Burlington.

We find that Thomas Wetherill by Deed dated the 16th of the 3^d Month 1716, in Consideration of the Sum of Ten Pounds, conveyed to Four Friends the said Lot, being 60 Feet square to hold &c without pointing out any particular use.

And it appears by a report last Quarter, that in 1779, liberty was given to the Preparative Meeting of Burlington to repair the House on the said Lot for the use of a School to be kept up by them conformable with the Recommendation of the Yearly Meeting; and in 1780, further liberty was given to make two Lodging Rooms in the chamber; all of which has been done by that Preparative Meeting at a very considerable Expence, and used to accommodate a School-Master.

Committee to investigate { JOHN HOSKINS,
DANL SMITH,
JOHN COX, JUNR.”

During this time, it must be remembered, the inclination was varying in regard to a permanent transfer of the Yearly

¹ See page 366.

Meeting to Philadelphia. This was finally done in 9 mo. 1760; for many years before, it was held at the two places alternately. From 1685 until 1760—a period of 75 years—this had continued uninterruptedly. The change from 6th to 9th month took place in 1755; from this to the 4th month (which is the present time) in 1798.

1 of 2 mo. 1723, a subscription paper was started to aid Friends who had suffered “great loss by fire in Bristol.”

23, 11 mo. 1725, a charitable contribution was recommended for John Hanson, whose wife, four children, and servant were taken captives by Indians in New England. £11. 4s. were collected toward their ransom.

4 of 9 mo. 1728, William Foster was disowned for “killing his neighbor’s tame deer, concealing the fact, and putting it to his own use.”

Friends were also at the same time desired to examine into the “remarkable passages of our Friend Tho. Wilson, who travelled among us in Truth’s service.”

In 1723 it was “considered how the little meeting house might be enlarged,” the book of discipline was ordered distributed, and “read twice yearly” (in meetings). A General Meeting for worship was held Yearly at Egg Harbor. Established in 1726, it was for some years held regularly at that place.

There was an astonishing number of marriages during these early years of the Monthly Meeting. The minutes are monotonous in their continuous recital of couples who went through the trying ordeal of “passing meeting” twice before they could accomplish their object. They were required to inform the meeting of their intention on the first of these occasions, and on the second to declare themselves “still of the same mind,” and desire Friends’ consent. The second of these appearances is now no longer required, and the information may be given in writing.

The Quarterly Meeting minutes state that in 1729 a Petition was sent to the Assembly concerning the bad effect of Fairs, and desiring a remedy. These Fairs were among the

important occurrences in Burlington's annual history.¹ They were held four times a year in the town, when people from far and near not only came to do their purchasing of what wearing apparel they did not make themselves, and of household articles, but to learn the news. There was comparing of notes about Provincial matters, and the Governor's administration; the crops and trade; the compounding of recipes, and preparation of "simples;" who was born, and who dead; whose son had taken up arms and was "training;" and whose daughter had married out of meeting and joined the "world's people." So great an affair was this annual trading-time, that, when Monthly Meeting fell on that day, for a number of years it was invariably adjourned until the Fair was over; the young Friends were particularly enjoined to observe great discretion in regard to behavior and apparel, remembering the Profession which they made as Quakers before the world. The first minute in regard to the matter is under an early date:—

"At our Mens Monthly Meeting held att our Meeting House Burlington, y^e 4th of y^e 8 mo. 1697. Ordered at this meeting that our next Monthly Meeting be deferred one week longer than the usual Day because the fair falling on that Day the Meeting should be."

Later, 1 of 9 mo. 1714:—

"And' by reson the publick faire being this day and many friends having much business so as they cannot well attend the Meeting. It was thought necessary to ajorn y^e said Meeting to the next second day following being the 8th day of this Instant."

¹ " . . . that the Proprietors of West Jersey may hold . . . Markets in every Week, for ever on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at Burlington in West Jersey, and four Fairs in every Year, these to begin the [] Monday in the Months of [] and each Fair to continue Six Days."—"Memorial" to the King, dated "August 12th, 1701."—*N. J. Archives*, vol. ii. p. 406.

The Proprietaries in 1683 instructed Gawen Lawrie to appoint Fairs "as soon as may be," and in the year 1686 "Wednesday in the week" was made market day by the Assembly. The semi-annual Fairs were held in 5th and 10th months. In 1718 there were two market days in the year, a custom continued in a general way until the Revolution.

•

The Quarterly Meeting of Burlington having desired information of Philadelphia on the subject, that Yearly Meeting advises none of its members, in marrying, "to approach nearer in kindred than what is agreed on and restricted by the church of England, as appears published in print in a table inserted in divers Bibles."

"Att our Monthly Meeting at Burlington y^e 7th of y^e 12th mo. 1731. The Friends appointed to attend the Quarterly Meeting are Daniel Smith Matthew Champion and Thomas Scattergood Edward Bartin, William Coate and Nathaniel Cripps, which Friends are to report y^e state of this Meeting: that Friends are in love & unity and that meetings are generally kept to and the Discipline is put in practice in good degree. And as to the ministry, those that appear amongst us in publick are generally well received, Their Testimony being sound & edifying & are in love and Unity one with another & diligent in attending meetings."

At this date, and for many years after, as many as thirty or thirty-five Representatives were usually sent from Burlington Quarterly Meeting to attend the Yearly Meeting.

(To be continued.)



The first of these is the fact that the
 government has been unable to
 secure the necessary funds to
 carry out its policy. This is due
 to the fact that the government
 has been unable to secure the
 necessary funds to carry out its
 policy.

The second of these is the fact that
 the government has been unable to
 secure the necessary funds to
 carry out its policy. This is due
 to the fact that the government
 has been unable to secure the
 necessary funds to carry out its
 policy.

The third of these is the fact that
 the government has been unable to
 secure the necessary funds to
 carry out its policy. This is due
 to the fact that the government
 has been unable to secure the
 necessary funds to carry out its
 policy.

A JOURNAL OF THE SOUTHERN EXPEDITION,
1780-1783.

BY WILLIAM SEYMOUR, SERGEANT-MAJOR OF THE
DELAWARE REGIMENT.

(Concluded from page 298.)

On the 14th we encamped near Guilford Court House, after a march of about one hundred and ninety miles in about seven days' time, nor have we been all this time more than ten or twelve miles from said Court House.

This part of the country is very thickly inhabited; the land indeed is not very productive, yielding corn and some grain. Along the Haw River you may see some good settlements, especially the Haw Fields, which abound very plenteously with fine corn fields, wheat, rye, oats and barley. The inhabitants here and about Guilford Court House are chiefly Irish, being very courteous, humane, and affable to strangers, as likewise are the inhabitants of the counties of Mecklinbourg and Roan, over the River Yatin, the latter being remarkable for being true friends to their country on this present critical occasion, which no other parts about here can boast of. The inhabitants from here to the River Yatin are chiefly high Dutch and very great Tories and enemies to their country.

On the fifteenth in the morning the British Army, commanded by Lord Cornwallis and General Lesley, advanced in order to give us battle, upon which General Greene drew up his army at Guilford Court House and waited the motion of the enemy, Colonel Washington's horse and infantry being posted on the right flank of the army. Colonel Lee, with his horse and infantry and a detachment of riflemen, went to observe their motion, and meeting with their vanguard, upon which there commenced a smart skirmish, in which Colonel Lee's detachment did wonders, obliging the enemy to give way in three different attacks, driving them into their main army,

in which they killed and wounded a great number. By this time their main army advanced and began a brisk cannonade. Our cannon at the same time began to play, which continued for the space of a quarter of an hour without intermission, at which time the small arms on both sides began, in which our riflemen and musquetry behaved with great bravery, killing and wounding great numbers of the enemy. Colonel Washington's Light Infantry on the right flank was attacked by three British regiments, in which they behaved with almost incredible bravery, obliging the enemy to retreat in three different attacks, the last of which they pursued them up a very steep hill, almost inaccessible, till observing the enemy, who lay concealed in ambush, rise up, and pouring in a very heavy fire on them, in which they were obliged to retreat, having suffered very much by the last fire of the enemy. By this time General Greene drew off the army, as did likewise Lord Cornwallis his, they both having retreated off the field at one and the same time, neither parties not knowing to which the honour of the field belonged. Lord Cornwallis, however, afterwards confessed that General Greene had the honour of the field, and likewise the best of the battle, if he did but know it. Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, in this action deserved the highest praise, who meeting with the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, and charged them so furiously that they either killed or wounded almost every man in the regiment, charging through them and breaking their ranks three or four different times.

This action began about nine o'clock in the morning and continued about the space of an hour and a half, in which the enemy lost in killed and wounded fifteen hundred men, our loss not exceeding one hundred and fifty in killed and wounded, of which twenty-seven belonged to Col. Washington's Light Infantry, of which Captain Kirkwood had the command.

Among the number of our killed and wounded were Major Anderson, of the Maryland Line, Captain Wallace, of the Virginia Line, and Captain Hoffman, Washington's Infantry, killed; Lieutenant Vaughan, Infantry, wounded. General Greene marched with the army this day about ten miles,

where he lay for some time, in order to give some rest to the troops, which they stood in great need of, being very much fatigued with marching.

On the twentieth March Lord Cornwallis marched towards Wilmington, North Carolina, and General Greene marched, in order, if possible, to intercept him and harass his rear, thinking thereby to take a great number of prisoners. But this availed him not much, for Lord Cornwallis, with his army, made such precipitate and forced marches, that it was a thing impossible to overhaul them, he leaving the sick and wounded behind with a flag, keeping his rear so close that we could not pick up not so much as one of his stragglers.

On the twenty-fifth instant was tried and found guilty one Solomon Slocum, of the Second Maryland Battalion, for desertion to the enemy, joining with them, and coming in as a spy into our camp; when agreeable to his sentence he was hanged on a tree by the roadside in full view of all who passed by.

On the twentieth March our army encamped on Deep River at Ramsey's Mill after a march of a hundred and twenty miles. On our march hither we came through a very barren part of the country, the inhabitants being for the most part Tories, which rendered our march the more unpleasant. Here the enemy built a bridge over the river, which they left standing, they not having time to pull it down, so close did we pursue them.

From this place was Colonel Lee despatched with his Horse and Infantry, Captain Oldham,¹ of the Fourth Maryland Regiment, with his company, and one six-pounder.

¹ Capt. Edward Oldham. He married a descendant of Jöran Kyn; see p. 301. "To the name of Captain Oldham," says Henry Lee, in his edition of his father's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, p. 243 (1827), "too much praise cannot be given. He was engaged in almost every action in the South, and was uniformly distinguished for gallantry and good conduct. With the exception of Kirkwood, of Delaware, and Rudolph, of the Legion Infantry, he was probably entitled to more credit than any officer of his rank in Greene's army—a distinction which must place him high on the rolls of fame. In the celebrated charge on the British at Eutaw, of thirty-six men, which he led, all but eight were killed or wounded; yet he forced the enemy." See, also, Scharf's *History of Maryland*, vol. ii. p. 421.

From here he marched towards the Santec River, in order to take some fortifications which the British had erected there.

On the 30th Colonel Washington, with his Horse and Infantry, marched towards Wilcox's Iron Works, in order to have the troop horses shod, which at this time they stood in great need of.

On the third of April, 1781, we encamped on one Mr. Cheek's plantation, after a march of two thousand four hundred and fifty-six miles since we left our quarters at Morristown.

General Greene finding it impracticable to follow Lord Cornwallis any farther, and seeing he could not come up with him, he therefore bent his course towards Campden, marching over the same ground which our army went the last summer along with General Gates. This is a poor barren part of the country. The inhabitants are chiefly of a Scotch extraction, living in mean cottages, and are much disaffected, being great enemies to their country.

On the nineteenth April, 1781, we encamped before Campden, after a march of one hundred and sixty-four miles. We took this day eleven of the enemy prisoners, who were straggling through the country.

The same night Captain Kirkwood, being detached off with his infantry, in order to take post before Campden, accordingly having arrived there about ten o'clock, drove in their picquets and took his post near the town till morning.

Next day, being the twentieth, General Greene with the main army arrived, and encamped before Campden.

On the twenty-first the horse and infantry under Colonel Washington marched to the Wateree, there destroying a house and fortification, marched towards camp and brought away three hundred and fifty horses and cattle belonging to the enemy.

On the twenty-second we moved our encampment quite round Campden, the horse and infantry being sent about three miles down the Wateree there to procure forage, which having done, we returned to camp without anything of consequence happening.

The same day happened a skirmish between a detachment of Colonel Campbell's Regiment and a picquet of the enemy's at a mill near Campden, in which the enemy were obliged to abandon their post. Of our men were slightly wounded one Lieutenant and one private. Of the enemy were four killed and five wounded.

The twenty-third we moved our encampment to the same ground from whence we came the day before.

On the twenty-fifth the enemy made a sally out of Campden and were down on our picquet before discovered. At this time our men were, for the chief part, some washing their clothes, and some were out in the country on passes. The first that discovered the enemy were a small picquet belonging to the light infantry, under the command of Captain Kirkwood. As soon as the sentinels discovered them, they fired on them, and gave the alarm; upon which the light infantry immediately turned out and engaged them very vigorously for some time, but, being overpowered by the superiority of their numbers, they retreated about two hundred yards across the main road, where the main picquet of our army was formed, and, falling in with them, renewed the fire with so much alacrity and undaunted bravery, that they put the enemy to a stand for some time, till, being overpowered by the superior number of the enemy, they were obliged to retreat, not being able any longer to withstand them, having all this time engaged the main army of the enemy.

By this time our main army was drawn up, and engaged them with both cannon and small arms, in which Captain Singleton, of the Train, very much signalized himself in levelling his pieces so well and playing with such impetuosity, that they put the enemy in great confusion, having killed and dangerously wounded great numbers of them as they crossed the main road; as did likewise Colonel Washington with his cavalry, who, falling in with their rear, killed and wounded a great number of them, making two hundred and fifty of them prisoners.

Our main army, being in some confusion by this time by the enemy taking them in flank, retreated off, leaving the

enemy masters of the field of battle, which, however, they very dearly bought, they having three hundred and fifty killed and wounded in the field, our loss not exceeding two hundred in killed, wounded and prisoners.

Lord Rawdon retreated with his army in to Campden, and General Greene with his army retreated about four miles.

In this action the light infantry under Captain Robert Kirkwood was returned many thanks by the General for their gallant behaviour; as did likewise Captain Benson,¹ of the Maryland Line, who signalized himself in this action, having fought the whole time along with the light infantry.

On the 26th Colonel Washington's horse and a detachment from the line went to reconnoitre the lines. The 27th were parties sent to bury our dead. Same day the army marched and encamped at Rugeley's mill. Ten miles.

On the 29th, at night, happened an alarm occasioned by a waggon coming out of Campden with one of our captains, wounded, which our light horse took for cannon; upon which our infantry and a party of horse were sent to observe their motion, when, meeting with said waggon, we discovered the mistake and returned to camp. Six miles.

On the first May, 1781, there were five of our men executed, who were deserters from our army, who were taken prisoners in the late action.

On the third we marched from this place and crossed the Wateree without anything of consequence happening. Marched this day eleven miles.

On the fourth we marched six miles from this place. The horse and infantry marched to the Wateree, there destroyed a house and fortification, and returned to camp. Sixteen miles. On the seventh we moved our encampment nine miles.

On the eighth the enemy made a movement out of Campden and were within a little distance of us before discovered, when immediately our horse and infantry was formed in front and waited their motion, the main army having re-

¹ Perry Benson, of Talbot County, Md.

treated to an advantageous piece of ground, but, the enemy not advancing, we kept our own ground.

On the 10th our infantry and a detachment from the Maryland Line, with some horse, were sent to surprise some Tories, and, marching twenty-six miles without meeting them, the infantry went to Campden, which the enemy had evacuated. Eleven miles.

We marched from Campden the 12th, leaving a guard to destroy the works, and proceeded on our march for Ninety-Six, marching the first day to Reynolds's Mills. Thirteenth, marched about eighteen miles. Fifteenth, marched eighteen miles. Sixteenth, marched six miles and encamped at Captain Howell's. On the seventeenth were executed five of our deserters who were taken in Fort Friday by Colonel Lee.

On the eighteenth marched and crossed Broad River and encamped on the other side, fifteen miles. On the nineteenth marched twenty-five miles. This day were executed three more of our deserters, who were taken in the late fort. Next day, being the twentieth, we marched seventeen miles.

On the twenty-first of May we took and killed about twelve Tories. Marched sixteen miles. Next day, being the twenty-second, we crossed at Island Ford, and encamped before Ninety-Six. Nine miles. This day we took and killed eleven of the Tories in their encampment. We were employed this night and the next day in making breast-works and batteries before the town. On the twenty fourth we opened our batteries before the town.

On the twenty-fifth we had an account that Colonel Lee had taken two more of the enemy's forts at Augusta. We lay before this garrison from the twenty-second of May till the twentieth of June, when, on the eighteenth, we had a general attack upon the town, taking Holmes's Fort with the redoubt therein, thereby occasioning them to lose the use of their springs. The garrison must have surrendered had not Lord Rawdon with his army come, upon which we were obliged to raise the siege.

First day's march from Ninety-Six we marched about

fourteen miles towards Charlotte. Next day, being the twenty-first, we marched about eight miles. The twenty-second marched sixteen miles. The next day, twenty-third, marched fifteen miles, and crossed the Innerree. Twenty-fourth. Marched this day twenty-one miles and crossed the Tiger and Broad River. From here the main army went one way, and Colonel Lee's horse and infantry and Colonel Washington's infantry marched another, marching along Broad River through a Dutch settlement, being all Tories.

We marched along this settlement seventy-seven miles, and joined our own horse on the other side Broad River at White's farm. Next day we marched to Captain Howell's, sixteen miles, which we reached on the third of July, 1781. On the fourth we marched nine miles. On the fifth we crossed the Congaree at McCord's Ferry, and, being mounted on horses at Colonel Thompson's, we marched that night to Brown's Mill, thirty-two miles. Next day, being the sixth, we marched to Thompson's farm on the Santee, thirteen miles. On the seventh we crossed the Congaree, at which an express came and we were countermarched back to Brown's Mill, twenty-five miles. On the eighth, marched twenty-five miles. We lay this night on Doughtey's farm. On the ninth marched ten miles, Colonel Middleton's. On the tenth we marched seven miles. This night we joined the main army at Beaver Creek. Next day, being the eleventh, we marched towards Orangeburg, which we reached on the twelfth, and sent parties of horse and foot to draw them out; but, they not coming out of their entrenchments, we marched off, directing our course towards McCord's Ferry. Marched this day fifteen miles. Next day we marched eleven miles. We lay this night near Brown's Mill.

On the fourteenth crossed the Congaree at McCord's, and encamped at Simmond's farm, twenty miles. We lay on this ground till the twenty-second, and moved to Dawson's farm, nine miles. Here we lay till the twenty-seventh, and moved to Walden's plantation, six miles. Here were brought in ten prisoners from the enemy, taken near Orangeburg.

On the second of August a party of Colonel Hampton's¹ men had a skirmish with a party of the enemy, killing thirteen of them. Of Colonel Hampton's was slightly wounded one man. On the fourth we marched and crossed the Wateree at Symmond's. Marched this day thirteen miles. On the sixth marched and encamped near Head-Quarters. Seventh, marched and encamped at Captain Richardson's. Ten miles. We lay on this ground till the twenty-fourth, and marched farther up the river, twenty miles. The twenty-fifth; marched this day to Campden, eighteen miles. Twenty-seventh; this day arrived at Captain Howell's on the Congaree River, eighteen miles. Twenty-eighth; this day joined Colonel Washington's horse, five miles, at Mr. Culpeper's on the bank of the river. In the evening were informed, the enemy this morning left Colonel Thompson's on their way to Charlestown. Thirty-first, marched to Howell's Ferry on the Congaree River, thirty-five miles, where our army had crossed. This day the General received information that the enemy had marched from the Centre Swamp on their route for town, which occasioned the horse and Captain Kirkwood's infantry to return to the place they left in the morning. Twelve miles.

On the fourth of September crossed the Congaree River at Culpeper and encamped on Mr. Johnston's farm, fifteen miles. The fifth marched, and encamped with the main army at Everett's Creek, six miles below Colonel Thompson's, fourteen miles. Sixth, marched to Medway Swamp, six miles. Seventh, marched within seven miles of the Eutaw Springs, twenty miles. Eighth; this day our army was in motion before daybreak, resolved to fight the British Army. We marched in the following order of battle, viz.: the South and North Carolina Militia in front and commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, having Colonel Lee's horse and infantry on their left. The second line was composed of North Carolina Regulars, Virginians and Marylanders, with

¹ Colonel Wade Hampton, of S. C., born in 1754, died in 1835. He was a distinguished soldier during the Revolution and the War of 1812, being Colonel and Brigadier-General in the Army of the United States.

two three-pounders and two six-pounders. Colonel Washington's horse and infantry were the corps-de-reserve. In this order we marched down to action. Coming within three miles of the enemy's encampment, we fell in with a foraging party of sixty men, loaded with potatoes, most of whom we either killed, wounded or took prisoners. We met with no farther opposition till we came within one mile of their encampment before discovered, and with their front line began the action, which soon brought the action general. We drove their first and second lines, and took upwards of five hundred prisoners. They took shelter in a large brick house and a hollow way in the rear of the house. At this time our men were so far spent for want of water, and our Continental officers suffering much in the action, rendered it advisable for General Greene to draw off his troops, with the loss of two six-pounders. Major Edmund with a small party of men joined our infantry in the British encampment, keeping up fire for a small space of time; found our army had withdrawn from field made it necessary for us likewise to withdraw. We brought off one of their three-pounders, which was with much difficulty performed through a thick wood for four miles, without the assistance of but one horse. We got to the encamping ground, where we left in the morning, about two in the evening.

Tenth. Received intelligence that the enemy had left Eutaw Springs the evening before, on the road to Monck's Corner. The General pursued them to Mr. Martin's, within twelve miles of the Corner.

Twelfth. Returned as far back as Whistling George's, six miles. Thirteenth, marched to the widow Flood's on Santee River, fourteen miles. Fourteenth, marched with the army on the road leading to Lawrence's Ferry, on the Santee, and separated from them, they being bound to the high hills of Santee, and we for the encampment on Mr. Caldwell's farm at Half Way Swamp, nineteen miles. Fifteenth, marched to Kelly's farm, twenty miles. Sixteenth, marched to Mr. Patrick's farm, thirteen miles. Seventeenth, crossed the Congaree at Mr. Patrick's, and marched to Cul-

peper and from thence to Colonel Goodden's, ten miles. Nineteenth, marched this morning a little after sunrise, joined Colonel Washington's horse, and encamped one mile below them on Mr. Pierce's farm, eleven miles.

October the sixth, marched to Simmons's farm on the Wateree, forty miles.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the action of the Eutaw Springs, the eighth of September, 1781. Five Lieutenant-Colonels killed and wounded, one Major, eighteen Captains, thirty-one Subalterns, forty Sergeants, total, four hundred and thirty in killed, wounded or missing.

Here we lay till the sixth of November, and marched to Gooden's Mill, thirty-seven miles, without anything of consequence happening. About this time our men were taken sick with the fever and ague, insomuch that we had scarce men enough to mount two small guards.

Nothing of consequence happened from this time till we came to Stono Ferry, two hundred miles from Gooden's Mill, which we reached on the twelfth of January, 1782, we having had detachments from the Pennsylvanians¹ and Carolinians joined us, the whole amounting to four hundred men, which, together with Lee's infantry and a detachment from the Maryland Line, amounting to about three hundred men, the whole amounting to about seven hundred men. We came before this place on Saturday, the twelfth, at night, and thought to cross the river on Inos Island at low water, which we might have effected if we had not been too late, the tide making so fast that it was rendered impracticable. On Tuesday, the fifteenth, the infantry of the Delaware Regiment entered the Island, making several prisoners, refugees, the British Army having evacuated the Island.

Sixteenth, we marched to Stono Church, thirteen miles. Seventeenth, moved our encampment about two miles towards Parker's Ferry.

¹ These troops, doubtless, belonged to Wayne's command. It was the intention of Washington that Wayne should join Greene in 1781, but this arrangement was changed on account of the Yorktown campaign, and Wayne did not join the Southern Army until the beginning of the year 1782.

On the fourth of February, 1782, we marched from Drayton's Cowpens and encamped on Warren's plantation, five miles. On the eighth we marched to reconnoitre the enemy's lines, marching within four miles of the quarter house, and returned to our encampment the tenth, without anything of consequence happening, forty miles.

On the twelfth the detachment of Pennsylvanians and Carolinians marched from here and joined their respective regiments, we having remained with Washington's horse and under the direction of Major Caul. We lay here till the thirteenth, and marched about nine miles. Fourteenth, moved our encampment one mile.

Seventeenth, marched and joined Colonel Lee's infantry near Mr. Warren's plantation, eleven miles. Same night we received intelligence that the enemy meant to surprise us, in consequence of which we marched about two miles and lay on our arms a night. Next day, being the eighteenth, we were employed in building huts. Here we lay till the twenty-fourth, and marched and encamped near McQuin's, five miles. Marched since we left our quarters near Morristown five thousand five hundred and three miles.

Here we lay till the third of March, and marched to re-enforce Gen. Marion, who was surrounded by the enemy, marching towards Goose Creek, when we received intelligence that the enemy were returned to Charlestown. We marched back on the sixth, and lay that night near Bacon Bridge, forty-five miles.

On the seventh marched and encamped near Mr. Izard's plantation, five miles. Here we lay till the twelfth, and marched and encamped near Bacon Bridge, five miles.

The sixteenth of March we were joined by a detachment from the main army consisting of two hundred men.

On the seventeenth marched to the enemy's lines, and sent parties to draw them out, but they not advancing, upon which we returned to our encampment, sixteen miles.

On the twenty-fifth moved our encampment from here to Dorchester, two miles.

Here we stayed till the 29th and marched towards Hatley's

Point; marched the first day and passed the Strawberry Ferry, twenty miles. Thirtieth, marched twelve miles. Thirty-first, marched twenty miles. First of April, marched twenty-three miles. Second, marched twenty miles. Third, marched twenty-two miles and encamped at Bacon's Bridge.

On the fourth the detachment under Colonel Moore marched and joined the main army. On the fifth of April the horse and infantry marched down the Ashley River eight miles. April the seventh, marched farther down the river, two miles. We moved from here on the thirteenth, and encamped on Gough's plantation, sixteen miles.

On the sixteenth moved our encampment to Farre's plantation, two miles. Here we lay till the 22d, and marched and encamped at Thomas Warren's plantation, five miles. On Sunday, the 21st instant, happened a skirmish between a party of our cavalry and a scout of the enemy's horse, between Dorchester and the Quarter House. Our horse meeting with about forty of theirs, our men consisting of twenty-four, and charged on them so vigorously that they retreated with precipitation, when another party of the enemy's horse, who lay in ambush, rushed out on our men, and fired on them with carbines, and killed three of our horses and wounded two or three men. One of our men engaged and killed two of the enemy's negro horse, and a third, which happened to be a Major, thought to make his escape by running into a swamp, where he came up with him, and with one blow of his sword severed his head from his body.

On the 22d instant was executed at Head Quarters one of the — Sergeants charged with mutiny, when agreeable to his sentence he was shot. A man named William Peters, who was steward to General Greene and his wife, was confined in the provost under sentence of death for corresponding with the enemy by letters, some of the letters being found about him, which specified that he was to recruit a number of men in our service for the enemy. Little did the General think that one of his own domesticks should prove his utter enemy.¹

¹ "The face of mutiny appeared among us a little time past. I hung a sergeant and sent away five others, among whom was Peters the steward.

On the 27th, at night, our horse and infantry marched, in order to obstruct the enemy, who made a practice of coming out. We lay this night in ambush, waiting the enemy's motion. Next morning we marched ten miles round, and came in on the main road above Dorchester, but, the enemy not stirring out, we returned to our encampment, fifteen miles.

On the 29th moved our encampment three miles. We lay on this ground till the 3d of May, and marched to Drayton's Cowpens. Same evening marched and encamped near McQuin's, seven miles.

On the 29th of April there had like to have happened an accident to General Greene, which would have proved of fatal consequence. A woman living on Ashley River invited him and his lady to dinner to her house, she giving information thereof to the British Commandant at Charlestown, giving him notice of the day on which Gen. Greene, his lady, and two Aides-de-Camp were to be at her house. Upon which a gentleman in town and one who was a friend to his country took notice of their conference, and, coming the day appointed to this woman's house, there found General Greene, his lady, and two Aides-de-Camp, and giving him to understand that he was not safe in that place, for that there was a plot laid for him; upon which he immediately quitted the place, and had not been gone twenty minutes when the house was surrounded by a number of the British Horse, the officer riding up and demanding General Greene, when, to his sad disappointment, he was gone, upon which he immediately went off with his guard, being vexed that he was so sadly disappointed.

On the eleventh of May the horse and infantry, and a detachment from the main army, consisting of two hundred men under the command of Colonel Egleston, marched to the enemy's lines, the horse and infantry marching round, and entered Goose Creek road, Major Egleston's detachment

This decisive step put a stop to it, and you cannot conceive what a change it has made in the temper of the army." (Greene to Gen. O. H. Williams, June 6, 1782. See Reed's *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 470). Cf. *Greene's Life of Greene*, vol. iii. p. 450.

taking the main Charlestown road, and forming a junction about a mile below the Quarter House, where the cavalry went on in front and quite close to the enemy's picquets, in order to draw them on; but, they keeping close in their works, we waited for a considerable time for their coming, after sending several challenges, and daring them to come out. But, finding all our efforts were in vain, we returned towards camp, which we reached on Monday, the 13th, after a march of fifty miles since we left our encampment. We took nine of the enemy prisoners, which were paroled, into town, in order to be exchanged for Colonel Lee's cavalry, which were prisoners in town.

On the eighteenth the horse and infantry marched from McQuin's, and took post on the right flank of the main army; five miles.

On the 24th a detachment of horse and infantry was sent on the enemy's lines, the infantry crossing the Ashley, and lay in ambush for the enemy, the horse marching round by Dorchester, and meeting with a party of the British horse, which they entirely defeated, making twelve prisoners, and returned to camp.

On the 27th another party of our infantry crossed the Ashley in the night, and went to an inn within a mile of Charlestown, and found there three British officers, which they made prisoners, and returned to camp.

On the 5th of June the horse and infantry and a detachment from the main army marched to reconnoitre the enemy's lines, amounting to about three hundred men, and entered the Goose Creek road, where, meeting with nothing to obstruct their passage, returned to camp; thirty miles.

About the 15th of June General Gist,¹ with a detachment from the line consisting of a hundred men, came and took the command of all the horse and infantry, Colonel Laurens having the command and acted under General Gist. The 27th of June our horse and infantry moved further down the Ashley River; three miles.

¹ Mordecai Gist, of the Maryland Line. He married a descendant of Jöran Kyn: for an account of him see the *PENNA. MAG.*, vol. v. p. 459 *et seq.*

The 4th of July, being the day of our Independence declared throughout the United States of America, our army was drawn up and fired a fudijoy [*sic*], which was performed with great dexterity from both cannon and small arms, to the great satisfaction of a vast number of spectators.

On the 7th General Greene, with the main army, marched farther down the Ashley, about eight miles, taking up his quarters at Widow Kettle's, General Marion having taken post at Bacon's Bridge.

On the 19th of July we moved our encampment about two miles. At this time the men were taken sick very fast, so that there were scarce any left to mount the necessary guards about camp.

On the 7th, at night, our horse and infantry marched to Goose Creek, in order to collect forage, which having done, on the eighth we returned to camp without anything of consequence happening, thirty miles.

On the 24th of August, 1782, our horse and infantry marched towards Cumbee Ferry, in order to hinder the enemy from foraging on the Island of Bluefort, and the places adjacent, having arrived at Cumbee on the 25th.

The enemy this time lay in this river with two row gallies, some top-sail schooners, and other small craft, the whole amounting to eighteen sail, and three hundred regular troops and two hundred refugees.

On the 27th of August Colonel Laurens, with a detachment of the Delaware Regiment, engaged the enemy in the river from the main land, and, having stopped them in the river, they then tacked about and landed above where our men were, to the number of three hundred men, our men not exceeding forty in number, where commenced a smart skirmish, in which Colonel Laurens was killed, and several of our men dangerously wounded, upon which our men were obliged to retreat off the field, the enemy being far superior to us in number. The enemy took one howitzer, which we could not possibly get off. The loss of the enemy was thirty-five men in killed and wounded. They retreated to their shipping without attempting to follow our men any farther; neither

could our cavalry come at them, till they had embarked on board and moved off.

On the second of September our men, with a six-pounder, engaged one of the enemy's galleys in the same river, which struck to us, having on board two nine-pounders, and a number of fowls and other provisions, etc.

We returned from this expedition on the 8th of September after a march of one hundred and fifty miles.

On the 11th of September moved our encampment to Turkey Hill, near Stono, to Squire Johnson's plantation, nine miles. From here we marched on the 18th, and encamped on the right of the main army, leaving the sick behind, under the care of Doctor Guilden and Lieutenant Hyatt. Marched this day ten miles.

On the 4th of November a party of our men, under the command of Colonel Kosciusko, fell in with a party of the British Negro Horse, consisting of ten men, of which they killed and wounded all but two men.

The British deserters come in now every day, and may be averaged at thirty per week, and numbers more would come off, but are prevented by the Negro Horse, as they are kept constantly patrolling for that purpose. They all give an account that the British are for evacuating the town. Some are bound for Augustine, some for the Island of Jamaica, some for Halifax, Nova Scotia, and some for Europe.

November 7th, the Maryland and Pennsylvania troops were formed into two Battalions or Regiments, each regiment consisting of six hundred men, rank and file, the eighteen months' men being sent home to their respective States. At the same time the Delaware Regiment had orders to hold themselves in readiness to march home from the Southward on the 16th of November.

On the 16th instant marched from Head-Quarters on Ashley River, and arrived at Camden on the 22d. Here we were detained by orders of General Greene till the 5th of December, when we marched for Salisbury, which we reached on the 10th, two hundred and forty miles from Ashley River.

On the 14th marched from here and came to Paytonsbourg on the 21st, one hundred and thirty miles. We proceeded on our march from here on the 24th, and arrived at Carter's Ferry on James River, on the 30th, ninety-five miles.

Marched from here on the first of January, 1783, and arrived at Georgetown, in the State of Maryland, on the eighth, one hundred and thirty miles.

From here we marched on the 12th, and arrived at Christiana Bridge on the 17th of this instant, after a march of seven hundred and twenty miles since we left our encampment on Ashley River, South Carolina, which was performed with very much difficulty, our men being so very weak after a tedious sickness which prevailed among them all last summer and fall.

THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW SWEDEN.

BY CARL K. S. SPRINCHORN.¹

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR GREGORY B. KEEN.

The history of the little colony of New Sweden belongs to the note-worthy period when the valour of Gustavus II. Adolphus was elevating our heretofore almost unknown land of Sweden to the position of arbiter of the destinies of Europe, and extending her sway and publishing her fame to the antipodes. It does not, to be sure, present a single event or act related to the main work then prosecuted by the Swedes in Europe, so fruitful of results for this part of the globe, still it forms a portion of the annals of our country; and, if the enterprise, we are about to describe, had no great consequences for Sweden, it cannot be devoid of interest, whether considered in connection with the ideas which gave birth to it, or in view of its significance for a land, which has been regarded, for several decades, as one of the most favoured inhabited by our compatriots.

Among the lofty—we may even say, fantastical—projects not seldom noted in the career of King Gustavus, such, for example, as the well-known designs on the crowns of Russia and Poland and the imperial throne of Germany (a natural result, perhaps, of his military success), there are many others; which, whether actually executed or merely entertained, exhibit the far-reaching penetration, and the many-sided statecraft of that ruler and his able officer, Axel Oxenstjerna. While the former tended, doubtless, to the temporary honour and grandeur of Sweden, but were too factitious

¹ *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia. Akademisk Afhandling, som med vederbörligt tillstånd för erhållande af Filosofisk Doktorsgrad vid Lunds Universitet till offentlig granskning framställes af Carl K. S. Sprinchorn, Filosofie Licentiat, Sk. Stockholm, 1878. Hist. Bibliotek. 1878. Pp. 167 et seq. A brief notice of this dissertation appears in THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. ii. p. 465.—TRANS.*

to enjoy a long continuance, on the other hand, the latter, conceived in the interests of peace, with view to the improvement of mankind, and the furthering of trade and commerce—all, either more or less completely, attained their consummation.

Among ideas of the kind described, then in the mode and of great acceptance with many European powers, was that of planting foreign colonies. The new world, recently discovered and constantly assuming vaster proportions in men's eyes, afforded large avenues for increase of material prosperity, and came to be regarded not so much as a field for the slow but sure accumulation of wealth—such a thought being out of keeping with the temper of the times—as a grand treasure-house stored with abundant riches providentially accumulated for the advantage of the good people of Europe. Spain and Holland had so apprehended the matter, and did not yet appreciate the fatal error of their conceptions; and other nations were beginning to share these views, and seeking to enrich themselves in the same manner, obtaining American products at less cost than hitherto by dispensing with the intermediary traffic which had rendered them so dear. The remoteness and poverty of Sweden may, at first, have deterred that country from following this example, but when the victories of her warrior-king extended her limits far within the boundaries of other lands, and brought her into more intimate contact with the great European powers, she naturally conceived the thought of emulating her neighbours in foreign colonization schemes.

We observe this in the magnificent projects devised by the well-known founder of the Dutch West India Company, Willem Usselinx, for adoption by the King of Sweden, disclosed in detail in his *Argonautica Gustaviana*.¹ To further these, Gustavus Adolphus conceded privileges June 14, 1626, to the incorporated "South Company" with exclusive right to trade with foreign lands.² What extravagant expecta-

¹ Printed at Frankfort on the Main, 1633.

² See further on this subject Stjernman. *Ekön. Förordn.*, i. 910, 912, 932; Cronholm, *Sveriges Hist. under Gust. II. Adolf.*, iv. 368 et seq.

tions were entertained, as to the significance and value of this commercial enterprise, are gathered from the following extract from a document, published by order of His Majesty in 1625, touching the new company. Regarding Spain this paper says: "It is well-nigh incredible what immense treasures, wealth, and profits have accrued for the past hundred and thirty years, and are still accruing, to the Spanish nation, from Africa, Asia, and America, so vast that the receipts from America alone yearly amount to 20,000,000 *riksdaler*, or 30,000,000 Swedish dollars, for the most part clear gain both for the king and for his subjects, comprising gold, silver, quicksilver, pearls, emeralds, amber, cochineal, indigo, skins, sugar, ginger, tobacco, all kinds of spices, gums, and valuable woods, not including some millions of ducats, which (besides other outlay) the said king bestows upon his servants as wages, upon governors of provinces, bishoprics, prebendaries, president and lords of council, and many other offices, of which some are worth annually 5000 or 6000, 8000 or 10,000, and several 100,000 *riksdaler*."¹ And in a like exaggerated manner are depicted the large gains of the United Netherlands from their trade. The document also sets forth the presumptively great advantages enjoyed by Sweden over these countries, regarded in a practical aspect. Nor does it fail to indicate the importance of the commercial enterprise in relation to Christian missions among the natives, "heretofore living in abominable heathenish idolatry, and all manner of ungodliness." Individuals of every station were flattered with illusive assurances of great gains appropriate to their circumstances, and so forth.

Political and, above all, economical considerations hindered, however, all execution of these projects, and after the death of Gustavus, both Axel Oxenstjerna and Usselinx, each in his own fashion, endeavoured to interest the German States in the undertaking. Still, notwithstanding all the brilliant speculations of Usselinx in the already-mentioned *Argonautica Gustaviana* and, particularly, the *Mercurius Germaniæ*,

¹ See Stjernman, *op cit.*, i. 914-15 *et seq.*

the plans came to nothing under that extravagant form ; but the general purpose was not abandoned, and the execution of it, in a less ambitious manner, gave rise to the events related in this history of New Sweden.

The preparations then made for planting a Swedish colony in some foreign part of the globe, and the mode of founding such a one on the river Delaware in North America, are fully detailed in Professor Odhner's dissertation, *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning*, 1637-1642.¹ Referring, therefore, to this treatise, we shall briefly extract from it merely the chief points, in consequence of their connection with our subject.

It was during a visit of Axel Oxenstjerna to Holland, in 1635, that the plans of Usselinx seem first to have acquired new life through the intercourse of the chancellor with a merchant of Amsterdam named Samuel Blommaert,² a partner in the Dutch West India Company, and formerly a participant in a private colonization scheme on the east side of the Delaware Bay.³ Another energetic Hollander, Peter Spiring, who had already been engaged in the Swedish service, received a commission from the chancellor to confer with Blommaert on the projected enterprise, the following year, and these persons, together with a third, Peter Minuit, who afterwards carried out their plan, devised the mode of establishing the Swedish colony, whose name, it was agreed, should be NEW SWEDEN.⁴

At the beginning of the year 1637 the destination of the expedition was more definitely determined, viz., a portion

¹ Printed in *Historiskt Bibliotek*, published by C. Silfverstolpe, *ny följd*, i. (A translation of the treatise is given in THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vols. iii. pp. 269-84, 395-411 ; iv. 125.—TRANS.)

² For a note concerning this person, see this MAGAZINE, vol. vi. p. 460.—TRANS.

³ See *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, xii. pp. 16-17. (Albany, 1877.)

⁴ For a letter of Peter Minuit proposing the founding of the colony of New Sweden, see this MAGAZINE, vol. vi. pp. 458 *et seq.*—TRANS.

of the coast of North America not already occupied by the Dutch or English.¹

On this point, of course, Minuit possessed trustworthy information, since formerly, from 1624² to 1632, he had been Governor of the Dutch West India Company's colony of New Netherland, which comprised the territory between and in close proximity to the Hudson and Delaware rivers (called by the Hollanders the North and South rivers), whose chief seat was New Amsterdam, a fort on Manhattan Island. To the north and south of New Netherland lay the English Provinces of New England, Maryland, and Virginia. Minuit's plan was to found the Swedish colony on the Delaware, where the Dutch had planted, at sundry times, three settlements, which he believed, or at least alleged, had by that time come to nought. In this he was deceived, however, and since the circumstance is not without weight for deciding on the Swedish right of possession to the land, and was continually the subject of controversial statements and disputes with the Hollanders, variously related by recent authors, it may not be superfluous to recount, in few words, the events which preceded the arrival of the Swedes within the region.

The Dutch West India Company, incorporated in 1621, two years afterwards equipped an expedition, which sailed

¹ Odbner, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 *et seq.* We think worthy of mention a statement made by both of the oldest Swedish writers on this subject, viz., Thos. Campanius Holm (*Beskrifn. om N. Sverige*, Stockholm, 1702) and Acrelius (*Svenska Församl: s tillstånd i N. Sverige*, Stockholm, 1759), to the effect that the Swedish government obtained, through its Ambassador, Johan Oxenstjerna, from King Charles I. of England in 1634 (Campanius says erroneously 1631) the transfer to themselves of "all pretensions of the English to that country, based on their first discovery of it." The author has vainly searched the Archives of the Kingdom for some confirmation of this assertion in letters and acts relating to the affair, although, on the other hand, he has met with the same declaration in more than one contemporaneous document.

² The date given by Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1850. Brodhead (*History of the State of New York*, vol. i. p. 162) corrects the date of Minuit's arrival at Manhattan to May 4, 1626.—TRANS.

up the river Delaware under Cornelis Mey, and built a little redoubt called Fort Nassau on the eastern bank, in the immediate neighbourhood of what is now known as Gloucester, New Jersey—the truly valid basis of the claim of the Hollanders to the land by right of prior possession. Commercial engagements were entered into with the Indians, and for several years, at least, this place was inhabited by the Dutch.

In 1629 a company of private individuals in Holland, among whom was the formerly mentioned Blommaert, equipped an expedition, which, under the leadership of one of the partners, named de Vries,¹ landed in 1631 on the west shore of Delaware Bay, near Cape Henlopen, and planted a colony there, called “Zwaanendal,” on a tract of land some miles in extent, as well as on one directly opposite on the other side of the river, formally purchased from the Indians.² It is true, the latter speedily destroyed this settlement, and at the same time, also, Fort Nassau was abandoned, but certain circumstances indicate that it must have been reoccupied afterwards, and that there may have been some private settlers here and there, so that at the arrival of the Swedes the region of the Delaware had not been altogether deserted by the Dutch.³

We may add, further, that the English, who lived in the adjacent province of Virginia, also laid claim to the land,⁴ both then and often afterwards;⁵ also that an assault was

¹ Sprinchorn follows Hazard's incorrect statement as to de Vries's leadership of this expedition, which was really conducted by Pieter Heyes, of Edam, in North Holland. De Vries visited the colony (after its destruction) in 1632. (See Brodhead, *op cit.*)—TRANS.

² The land on the east side of the Delaware was not settled, so far as known.—TRANS.

³ The foregoing is taken from Hazard, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 *et seq.* Cf., however, *Doc. Col. Hist. New York*, xii. pp. 16–17, 20, 29.

⁴ They called the river after Lord Delaware, who visited it in 1610; by the Indians it was known as the Poutaxat. (On the alleged visit of Lord Delaware to the river which bears his name, see Brodhead, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 51.—TRANS.)

⁵ Hazard, *op cit.*, pp. 31 *et seq.*

made on Fort Nassau by English colonists from Connecticut in 1635, which, to be sure, miscarried, in consequence, probably, of the fort's having been rebuilt and set in order by the West India Company of Amsterdam, who that year obtained from the individual proprietors the territory purchased by them.¹

In the mean time the Swedes stipulated to plant the emblems of civilization in good earnest on the Delaware. After the three above-named persons had completed the initiatory preparations, and settled the distribution of the expense of the project between the Dutch and Swedish partners, Minuit left Holland for Sweden in February, 1637. The chancellor of the kingdom and Klas Fleming were the chief promoters of the scheme, and they subscribed, with the two other Oxenstjernas in the government, and Spiring, half the cost of outfit.

The first expedition consisted of two vessels, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and *Gripen*, belonging to the United South and Ship Company,² which were equipped by the Grand-Admiral of Sweden, and furnished with a crew and cargo from Holland. After long delay they left Gottenburg in the autumn of 1637, but, meeting with rough treatment in a storm in the North Sea, were obliged to put into a Dutch harbour for repairs and fresh provisions, and at the close of the year again set out for their place of destination. According to Campanius's narrative the emigrants first landed on the west side of Delaware Bay by a little stream (now called Mispillion Creek) at a place they named *Paradis Udden* (Paradise Point), probably, says he, because "land seemed so grateful and agreeable to them."³ Former uncertainty concerning the date of the first arrival of the Swedes on the Delaware is so diminished in Professor Odhner's work, already mentioned, that the period is brought within "March or early in April of 1638." We have it in

¹ Hazard, *op cit.*, p. 39.

² On earlier enterprises of this company, see Prof. C. T. Odhner's *Sveriges Inre Historia under Drottning Christinas Förmyndare*, pp. 299 *et seq.*, translated in this volume of this MAGAZINE, pp. 268 *et seq.*—TRANSL.

³ Campanius Holm, *op cit.*, p. 29.

our power to complement this statement by another:¹ that the event took place at the latest in the middle of March, since on the 29th of that month the Swedes concluded their first purchase of land from the Indians, when, probably, Minit had begun to explore a tributary of the Delaware, situated higher up the river, called Minquas Kil (the present Christiana Creek). Here, on the day named, five chiefs of neighbouring Indian tribes² presented themselves, one of whom, named Mitatsinint, resigned to the Crown of Sweden the land on the west side of the Delaware "from Minquas Kil southward to Boomtiens Hoeck," called on the first Swedish map *Boomtiens Udde* (in the vicinity of the present Bombay Hook); while the rest of the chiefs made over the territory north of this, probably as far as the river Schnykill,³ and delivered a written deed signed with the Indians' marks, and witnessed by the Christians present, the Indians being acceptably recompensed with articles of merchandise.⁴ That this purchase extended as far north as Santickan (or Sanchikan, now Trenton, as Acrelius states), we cannot certainly affirm; no limit to the land towards the interior was ever settled. When the boundaries were determined, posts were erected, cut with Her Majesty's initials.

After this Minit felt safe in beginning to build a little

¹ This is derived from a document found in the Archives of the Kingdom in the summer of 1877. It comprises a renewed patent of land from the Indians, dated 1651, of which more hereafter. See Appendix I.

² They were called by the Swedes *Minquesser* and belonged to the great Iroquois race, which then occupied the land south of the great lakes. Odhner, *op cit.*, p. 13. Consult the map in Bancroft's *History of the United States*, ii. p. 297.

³ In accordance with the patent of 1654, about which more is said further on. See the accompanying map. The Dutch "*kil*" signifies *creek*; "*hoek*," *corner* or *bend* (of the river).

⁴ The money in general use among the natives consisted of white and black beads of stone or shell, polished and strung together, and measured by the yard or fathom. It was called *sewan*. (Odhner, *op. cit.*, p. 33, following Campanius Holm.) The Swedes value "six white beads and three black ones at a stiver, calling the former silver and the latter gold money." (Lindström to the College of Commerce, July 9, 1654, among papers relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.)

redoubt as a centre and starting point for future colonization and the carrying on of trade. The site selected by him was on the northern bank of the recently mentioned Minquas Kil, two English miles from its mouth, consisting of a neck of land formed by the junction of this stream with the Fisk Kil (now Brandywine Creek), at present a part of the city of Wilmington. The fort received the name of Christina, after the young queen of Sweden, which the stream has ever since borne.¹

As lately stated, the Dutch had possession of Fort Nassau on the eastern side of the Delaware, and news of the enterprise of the Swedes was soon transmitted from thence to the Governor at New Amsterdam, at that time Kieft. This officer despatched a protest to Minuit in May, calling to mind the right of the Hollanders to the land, even sealed with blood during the administration of Minuit himself, as Dutch governor.² Minuit, however, gave this admonition no heed. By means of presents he began to induce the Indians to sell him skins; he sent off *Gripen* to Virginia, to barter a portion of her European cargo for one of tobacco (an errand in which, indeed, she failed); and he laid out a small garden, and provided as well as possible for the little garrison in the fort. Besides the profit the colonists expected to derive from trade with the natives, whose chief article of merchandise was fur, they meant to prosecute the cultivation of tobacco, and even had hope, through commerce with the West Indian Islands and possibly by capture of Spanish vessels, of acquiring the metallic treasures the latter were supposed to carry in their voyages from America.³ The little settlement, thus set in order, was placed under the charge of Lieutenant

¹ On the character of the tract, and so forth, see Odhner, *op cit.*, p. 13; Ferris, *The Original Settlements on the Delaware*, Wilmington, 1846, pp. 41 *et seq.*; and *Doc. Col. Hist. New York*, xii. p. 29. (The exact site of Fort Christina was a point of the Brandywine still recognized by the presence of certain rocks —TRANS.)

² *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 19. Acrelius, *op cit.*, p. 12.

³ Blommaert's letter to the chancellor, Novr. 3, 1638, in the Archives of the kingdom.

Måns Kling and one Henrik Huyghen, whose names were long associated with the history of the colony, that of the latter, indeed, until its conquest by the Dutch. Minuit then left New Sweden on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, probably in July, 1638. During a sojourn on the West Indian Island of St. Christopher, to effect the sale of the rest of his cargo, and take in a load of tobacco, while paying a visit to a Dutch ship that happened to be in the harbour, he perished with her in a sudden and violent storm. The *Kalmar Nyckel* fortunately escaped destruction, and in November arrived in Holland. The other vessel, *Gripen*, which had also gone to the West Indies, returned to New Sweden, where she took in a small load of skins, and afterwards set out for Sweden, arriving at Gottenburg in May, 1639.¹

In pursuing their colonization scheme, the Swedish promoters of it now sought to continue in the interest of their own country an enterprise initiated by foreigners, and desired to send forth Swedish settlers to the Delaware. Such persons not offering themselves of their own accord, the government was obliged to authorize the forcing of deserters from the army or other criminals, with their wives and children, to join the colony, where they were to remain at least two years. Difficulty also was experienced in raising the necessary funds. Nevertheless, through the zeal of Fleming (now President of the College of Commerce), Spiring, and Blommaert, the *Kalmar Nyckel* was supplied with a crew in Holland, and taking on board the emigrants, with their families and farming implements, at Gottenburg, sailed from the latter port in the fall of 1639. The commander of this, the second expedition, was a Dutchman in the Swedish service, Captain Cornelis van Vliet, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Peter Hollender Ridder, appointed as Governor over the colony.² The vessel was damaged, this time also, by autumn storms, and had to be repaired in a Dutch harbour, when the captain was discharged for dishonesty and negligence, and

¹ For fuller details, see Odhner, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

² In 1667 he was appointed "*Slottshooppman*," and in 1669 Commandant of the Castle of Viborg. See the Register of the Kingdom.

another¹ was engaged to take his place, with a new crew. In February of the following year the ship set sail, and reached Christina April 17.

How the first settlers fared during this time is not known from any statements of theirs. Letters of Governor Kieft, however, intimate that they succeeded, at least, in appropriating to themselves the trade of the Indians, since he complains they had quite ruined that of the Dutch. In any case the fresh reinforcement from Sweden must certainly have been most opportune.

The new Governor now purchased of the Indians, or, at least, obtained confirmation of their grant of the land above Christina to Sanchikan,² and when some Puritan families came from New England, and settled on the eastern bank of the Delaware, Hollender hastened to buy of an Indian sachem, named Wichusy, a strip of land along the river twelve German miles in length, beginning at Cape May.³ At the same time the Englishmen acquired the same tract from another chieftain, giving rise to controversies too long to recite. In May, 1640, the *Kalmař Nyckel* sailed from New Sweden, this time probably well-laden, and arrived at Gottenburg in July.

Another expedition to New Sweden was planned this year from the province of Utrecht, in Holland. Certain members of the Dutch West India Company, who were at the head of the enterprise, solicited from the Swedish government the privilege of founding a colony on the model of those of the Dutch company known as "patroonships," which was conceded in January, 1640. The settlers were to be under the

¹ Pouwel Jansen.—TRANS.

² This may be inferred from the "Instructions" for Printz, § 5 (printed by Acrelius, *op. cit.*). That the Swedish territory on the west side of the river extended as far south as Cape Henlopen is corroborated by documents which follow, as well as by the Swedish names of creeks in the region indicated.

³ Cf. Odhner, *op. cit.*, p. 23, and transactions between Printz and Winthrop mentioned hereafter. From Printz's "Instructions," § 6, it appears that the land from Cape May to Narraticons Creek was then regarded as Swedish territory. See the accompanying map.

protection of the Crown of Sweden, and to establish themselves, with specified rights and obligations, some miles from Christina, which was effected in November.¹ Since nothing is known of this peculiarly constituted colony, and it is mentioned only once² (in the "Instructions" for Governor Printz in 1642), it seems probable that these Dutch emigrants were soon confounded with the rest.

Meanwhile a new expedition was to go forth from Sweden. Måns Kling, who happened now to be in this country, and Johan Printz, afterwards Governor of the colony, were despatched to enlist emigrants in the mining region and Finland; and the Governors of Örebro and of Värmland and Dal received orders to seize Fins in their districts, who were then continually overrunning Sweden, and by their injury of the forests, and nomadic mode of life, for some years past had caused the authorities much anxiety, and were regarded with aversion by the settled peasantry. At the same time the government took measures to render their colony exclusively Swedish by making it independent of the Dutch partners. This was accomplished by buying out the latter for the sum of 18,000 *gulden*, and conferring on the new South Company the monopoly of the tobacco trade. Goods were purchased in Holland for foreign use, and, when all the needful preparations had been completed, the third expedition set out on the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Charitas*, in 1641, this being the most definite information we can obtain as to its departure and arrival at the Delaware.³

The interest in the new colony was now at its height, and from 1642 we possess more complete, although well-nigh unused, materials for our history. During this year fresh measures were taken for the promotion of the enterprise. On a visit of Spiring to Sweden in the summer, and through his influence, a new company was established, with a capital of

¹ See, more in detail, Odhner, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Hazard, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

² The leader of this expedition, Jost van Bogardt, is mentioned (as "one Bogot") in Beauchamp Plantagenet's *Description of New Albion*.—TRANS.

³ See Odhner, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

36,000 *riksdaler*, in which was merged the old South and Ship Company, which contributed 18,000 *riksdaler*, the Crown, the Chancellor, and others supplying the remaining half. This company bore the name of the West India, American, or New Sweden Company—although generally called the South Company—and the monopoly of the tobacco trade was now transferred to it.

What were the relative parts borne by the Crown and the company in conducting the colony, it is difficult to determine, from lack of sources of information. The former was obliged, however, to pay the salaries of the Governor and other *employés*. From the government (afterwards from the College of Commerce) proceeded all instructions and commands for the direction of the colony, and all purchases of land were made in the name of the Crown; while, on the contrary, the company had the trade in their hands, with a monopoly of the tobacco, and enjoyed certain tracts of land, cultivated by hired freemen for their own benefit, other places being granted by the government to emigrants on the terms customary in Sweden.

Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Printz was selected as Governor of the colony, who for ten years from this date actively, if not always prosperously, directed the settlement. This gentleman had received a liberal education, and subsequently devoted himself to the profession of arms, and participated in the Thirty Years' War, until his military career was suddenly cut short through a misfortune at Chemnitz. Beleaguered by the enemy in this city, he was compelled to capitulate through the cowardice of the burghers and his soldiers, notwithstanding he had lost only ten men to the adversaries' two hundred during a siege of five days.¹ He was court-martialed for this surrender and suspended from the service, but his ennoblement two years afterwards and appointment as Governor of New Sweden seem to prove his culpability could not have been, by any means, so great as Acrelius² and

¹ See Pufendorf, *Drottn. Christinas hist.*, book xii. § 9.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 55, quoting Stjernman, *Matrikel öfver Sveriges Rikes Ridderskap och Adel*, for the year 1754.

later authors, who follow his statements, intimate. Printz's lengthy "Instructions"¹ are dated August 15, 1642. He is enjoined to devote himself sedulously to the cultivation of the land, especially with view to the planting of tobacco, of which it was expected a goodly quantity would be shipped on every vessel returning to Sweden. The raising of cattle, the culling of choice woods, the growth of the grape, the manufacture of salt, the taking of fish, especially whales, the production of silk, etc. etc., were committed to his care; and he was to keep up the fur trade, not allowing any one save the company's commissary to traffic with the Indians. As to his demeanour towards the Dutch and English, injunctions were given, which indicate the self-confidence inspired in the Swedish government by the victories of the Thirty Years' War. He was to regard as territory subject to his direction the whole western side of the Delaware from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls, with the right to as much land as he chose to occupy towards the interior, besides a somewhat smaller tract on the east side of the river (already referred to). Nor was this strange, seeing that the Swedes considered themselves rightful owners of this soil in virtue of their purchase from the natives. In case the Dutch continued their challenges of claims and protests on the subject, and endeavoured to hinder the Swedes from sailing past Fort Nassau, the Governor must arrange to meet them in a suitable manner, and, with gentleness and moderation, indicate to them the lawful purpose of Her Royal Majesty and her subjects to engage in peaceful commerce, and, if this did not succeed, must encounter force with force. If it was found necessary, the Governor should remove farther away the small Dutch colony (previously mentioned) which settled not far from Christina. Still further to assure his dominion, he was to erect a fort capable of closing or commanding the South River. The English families, that seated themselves upon the eastern side of the Delaware, he was to endeavour to draw under the Swedish crown, and if they were not so inclined, to

¹ Printed by Acrelius and other authors.

get rid of them. He must seek to attract the trade of the Indians by underselling the Dutch, and on all occasions "labour to instruct these wild people in the doctrines and worship of the Christian religion, and in other ways bring them to a state of civilization and good government." Finally, he was endowed with extensive authority in the "administration of discipline, justice, and government," and was commanded scrupulously to maintain the Swedish form of religion and education of the young. On the 30th of August the Crown prescribed a budget for New Sweden, and appointed, besides the Governor, a lieutenant, a serjeant, and other officers, with twenty-four "privates;" and, in the civil list, a preacher, secretary, surgeon, provost, and hangman, the entire disbursement amounting to 3020 *riksdaler per annum*. Fleming and Beyer, now postmaster-general, had the chief direction of the whole, and special factors were appointed for the company's service in Gottenburg and Amsterdam.

At length all preparations were completed, and the fourth expedition, consisting of the ships *Fama* and *Svanen*, set sail from Gottenburg November 1, 1642, carrying the Governor and his wife and children, the preacher, Johan Campanius Holm, whom we speak of later, Måns Kling, Knut Liljehöök, and others, among whom were a number of forest-destroying Fins, sent out, as formerly, by their respective Governors. The course pursued was the usual one, through the channel and past the Canary Islands. On the 20th of December they arrived at the West Indian Island of Antigua, where they were kindly received, and where they celebrated Christmas. The following month the vessel reached the mouth of the Delaware Bay, having experienced a violent, long-continued storm (from which they suffered considerable damage), and February 15, 1643, she came up to Fort Christina.¹

Printz succeeded Hollender as Governor, concerning whose administration of the colony nothing can be learned.

Three nations were now competing for the possession of

¹ Campanius Holm, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 *et seq.*

the territory, and the position of the Swedish Governor clearly demanded the utmost energy and circumspection—qualities, it may be, not united in this officer. The following occurrences go to show that he defended the assumed rights of his country certainly with force and resoluteness; but he was a soldier accustomed to the right of might of the Thirty Years' War, and does not seem to have been skilled in any other species of justice. If he had acted with greater prudence and moderation, it is possible the Swedish colony might have enjoyed a more prolonged existence. That he did not even acquire the good opinion of his fellow-colonists we show hereafter. His situation was, however, peculiarly delicate.

We remember, Printz was obliged by his "Instructions" to guard certain territory on both sides of the river as Swedish property, although, so far as we know, neither above Christina on the western shore, nor anywhere on the eastern, had there been planted any Swedish colony. We recollect, also, that a body of English emigrants had settled in 1641 on the eastern bank at Vreckens Kil (now Salem Creek, New Jersey) on land which they had bought, with some other on the western bank, from an Indian sachem. At the beginning of the following year they also took possession of the latter, and certain of them, confiding in their right by purchase, commenced to build on the river Schuylkill nearly opposite Fort Nassau, and to carry on traffic with the natives. The Governor at Manhattan meanwhile protested against their action, and finally despatched two vessels with armed crews to attack them, under the direction of the commander at Fort Nassau, and destroy their settlement, unless it were voluntarily abandoned.¹

The Swedish Governor now laid claim to the same region, and all three competitors were able to support their jurisdiction by bargains with Indian chieftains, a circumstance which indicates the vague views as to the rights of property entertained by the latter, who, it is affirmed, made no scru-

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. pp. 23-24.

ple of selling the same land to different people. Printz's first care was to select a site for a residence, and he determined this should be an island in the river called Tennakong (now Tinnicum), situated about three Swedish miles north of Christina, at the outlet of a little tributary of the Delaware. Here he erected a small fort, to command the passage to Fort Nassau, and built himself a house which he named *Printzhof*, and surrounded it with "an orchard, kitchen-garden, pavilion," etc.¹ In this vicinity most of the Swedish emigrants settled. The whole place from that time received the name of *Nya Göteborg* (New Gottenburg).

In order further to strengthen his dominion over the river, Printz immediately began to look about for a site for another fort, and selected a spot in the tract purchased on the eastern side of the river, two Swedish miles south of Christina, a little below the mouth of Varckens Kil (on an insignificant stream known as Mill Creek). Here he constructed a redoubt, which he provided with a little garrison and some cannon, to command the channel. This place obtained the appellation of Elfsborg (called also Elsingborg, now Elsingborough), and was put under the charge of Sven Schute.² So zealously was the work prosecuted, that the fort was ready for occupancy in October, 1643, and two years afterwards the Dutch officer at Fort Nassau complains that all vessels belonging to the West India Company were compelled to cast anchor at that point and await permission to go farther,³ which (as Acrelius expresses it) "stuck in the Dutchmen's stomachs."⁴

The building of this fort seems to have furnished the first occasion of conflict between the Swedes and their rivals on the Delaware, although, curiously enough, it was not with the Hollanders. The structure lay directly south of the

¹ Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

² For some account of this person see this MAGAZINE, vol. vi. p. 454.—
TRANS.

³ Commandant Hudde's "Report," November, 1645, in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 29.

⁴ Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The writer's statement that the fort was erected in 1651 is incorrect.

English colony at Varekens Kil. According to § 6 of his "Instructions," Printz was required to bring "these English families under the jurisdiction of Her Royal Majesty and the Crown of Sweden," or (better still) "endeavour with good grace to remove them from the place," the choice of conduct to be pursued being left to his discretion. They submitted to Printz's superior force, and their trading-house was burnt by the Swedes, in conjunction with the Dutch, who looked upon the colony with similar disfavour.¹

How they were proceeded against appears from the complaint made by Winthrop, the English Governor in New England, in a letter to Printz.² This states that, though the English were invited by the Swedes to form a settlement, and had purchased land of the Indians, they had nevertheless been hindered in their traffic with the natives; and an agent of the United Colonies of New England,³ named Lamberton, had been compelled to pay twenty *per cent.* as compensation for the privilege of trading on their own territory, and had finally been imprisoned, with his companions, in the Swedish fort, by Governor Printz, who, partly by force and partly by suasion, endeavoured to induce the latter to accuse Lamberton of having paid the Indians to attack and murder the Swedes.

Doubtless for the purpose of proving the legitimacy of his actions, Printz held a court to determine the matter, composed, as their names indicate, of Swedish and Dutch settlers, the latter probably belonging to the colony of Hollanders under Swedish supremacy, already spoken of. The full, though not perfectly intelligible, documents regarding this are found in Dutch in the Archives of the Kingdom, from whence we draw the following in elucidation of Governor Printz's conduct.

¹ Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

² Dated Boston, in Massachusetts, 1643. Correspondence between Printz and Winthrop in Latin, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

³ Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts had formed an alliance for mutual protection. Mr. Lamberton was at that time their agent on the Delaware.

The tribunal assembled on the 10th of July, 1643, at Fort Christina, in the name of Her Royal Majesty, the Queen of Sweden, to take cognizance of the dispute between Governor Johan Printz, plaintiff, and Mr. Lamberton, defendant. The Court was composed of the following persons: "Captain Christian Boy, Captain Mons Clingh, Hendrick Huyghen, Commissary, Jan Jansen, Commissary, Schipper Wessel Evertsen, Schipper Sander Lenertsen, Oloff Stille, Gvert Sievers, Carl Jansen, David Davidsen."

At the trial Lamberton presented two protests from Winthrop. According to one, dated June 22, 1643, the Puritans had bought from certain Indian chiefs (two of whom are named) a tract of land on the west side of the river, embracing the Schuylkill, the extent of which, however, we cannot determine, since the Dutch document gives a number of Indian names of rivers and places not contained on any map. The second protest aims to prove their right to territory on the eastern shore nearly corresponding to the Swedish tract, on which Elfsborg was situated. On being asked, in presence of the court, by what right and on what ground he claimed the land upon the Schuylkill, Lamberton answered that he had bought it two years since from the savages, and had no other "ground" to urge. The court demanding it, Printz produced documents exhibiting the two separate purchases made by the Swedes, during the governorships of Minuit and Hollender, of the western bank of the Delaware from Cape Henlopen to Sanchikan, which were confirmed by H. Huyghen, Måns Kling, and Gregorius van Dyck. With respect to the land on the eastern shore, Lamberton maintained that he had purchased it, long before the arrival of the Swedes, from "a savage prince," who represented the rightful owner, Chief Wichusy, two writings by whom were exhibited by Lamberton in proof of this. On the other hand, Governor Printz was able to show, with the aid of Måns Kling and several other witnesses, that Peter Hollender had bought the same land of this very Wichusy three days before the acquisition of it by Lamberton. Printz

further accused the latter of having, without leave of any one, and notwithstanding repeated prohibitions, carried on traffic with the Indians in the vicinity even of Christina, obtaining a great quantity of beaver skins, which Lamberton was obliged to admit, at the same time offering to pay duty. Finally, according to a charge of Printz and the testimony of several witnesses, Lamberton had been guilty of bribing the Indians to assault and murder the Swedes and Dutch on a certain day, on which also, by their statement, an unusual number of savages had assembled at Christina, but were frightened off without accomplishing their purpose. The court gave their decree upon these subjects, disallowing the Englishmen's claim to the places mentioned, and requiring Lamberton to pay double duty for the beavers bought by him on Swedish territory. With regard to the accusations of murder, the tribunal preferred to act with clemency on this occasion, and pass that matter over.

Winthrop's letter above referred to was answered by Printz, January 12, 1644. In this epistle the latter made a statement of facts in accordance with the proceedings of the court, alleging that Lamberton and the English were the aggressors in the case, and, proclaiming his "freedom from fault before God and the whole world," declared that he had acted agreeably to the commission from Her Royal Majesty, etc. Winthrop's reply is dated January 21, and is couched in friendly phrase, thus closing the controversy for the present.

We have treated this subject somewhat more at length because Hazard¹ gives a representation of the same, grounded on a document in "the Secretary's office at New Haven," in which a certain Thickpenny, in Lamberton's service, reports that the Swedish Governor was guilty of great violence towards the English, arresting Lamberton, and trying, by force and craft, to bribe his people to bring false accusations against him of murderous plots against the Swedes, and so forth.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 73 et seq.

This was, perhaps, the reason that induced Governor Printz to institute an examination, January 16, 1644, of the persons who were mentioned in Thiepkenny's account as having been ill-treated by him. To the queries whether Printz had done them wrong, or sought to drive them from their settlement, or to compel them to swear allegiance to the Crown of Sweden, they answered "No," and two of them strengthened the accusation against Lamberton, charging him with selling gunpowder to the Indians that they might attack the Swedes.

We cannot quite determine the bearing of all this. It seems, however, that Printz seriously endeavoured, by every means, to acquire supremacy over the country; and from his Report of June 11, 1644,¹ it appears that he brought the English at Varekens Kil under the Swedish Crown.

With the Dutch he was apparently on friendly terms,² although secretly they looked upon each other with aversion. Printz thus speaks of this matter in a letter to Per Brahe:³ "Notwithstanding they threaten and menace us without cause, they correspond and deal with us, complying with our requests, and giving us what we ask of them." And, when Winthrop⁴ intimated his design to send some persons to settle the boundary between the colonies, Printz signified in his answer that he had furthered their undertaking in every way, but a subsequent addition made by himself to the copy of the letter transmitted to Sweden advises us that he took care that the Dutch at Fort Nassau brought this voyage to naught, and by discharge of cannon drove away the English vessel, which carried the agents, as it was the

¹ Printed by Odhner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 *et seq.*

² This appears from a letter from Printz to Kieft, dated at Christina, May 30, 1643, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom. Cf. also the Report of 1644, § 8.

³ Dated July 19, 1644. Skokloster Archives.

⁴ In a letter dated at Boston, April 22, 1644, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom. Printz's answer of June 26, *eodem anno, ibid.*

purpose of the latter, says he, "to build a fort above our post at Sanchikan and supply it with men and ordnance to attract to themselves the whole profits of the river."¹

We have already seen how Printz frustrated the attempt of the English to settle on the Schuylkill; this place also gave rise to the following imbroglio with the Dutch. It was a highly important post, since next to Christina this river was the usual route to the interior and the trade of the Indians of the Minquas race who dwelt there.

The Hollanders had early perceived the commercial value of the Schuylkill, and had purchased (in 1633) a tract of land near the mouth of that river, on the north side of which they built a strong little house of defence called Fort Beversrede, where they established a store-house.² Printz, desiring to render himself master of this highway of trade with the natives, towards the end of 1643 began to erect a small fort, with palisades, on an island (no longer distinguished) on the south side near the mouth of the Schuylkill. This was finished some years after, and received the name of *Nya Korsholm*. From that time Printz had the control of that river. About midway between Christina and New Gottenburg a colony was founded, comprising houses and a fort,³ called *Upland*. North of this also several scattered settlements were gradually established.⁴ Printz's zeal was

¹ Compare the different account of this matter given by Hazard. *op. cit.*, p. 79, after English documents. The author here, once for all, observes that he relies for his relation of these affairs chiefly on the Swedish acts in the Archives of the Kingdom, although often containing statements quite opposite to those made in the Dutch and English documents cited by Hazard. It is not to be wondered at, that each of these nations looked at the subject from its own peculiar point of view.

² On this see Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Probably the place had been abandoned, however, until the rebuilding of Fort Nassau. Although the latter is often spoken of, we cannot, with entire certainty, indicate its site.

³ Perhaps it needs to be observed that these "forts" were commonly mere block-houses, intended especially for protection against the Indians. Only Elfsborg and Christina, and (in a less degree) Korsholm and New Gottenburg, corresponded in any sense to our interpretation of that word.

⁴ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 29.

rewarded by his government with the grant of New Gottenburg as a perpetual possession for himself and his heirs forever.¹ Through their Governor's energetic action, the Swedes thus effectually became masters of the river, and the greater part of the neighbouring territory. The renown of the mother-country in Europe at that period gave still greater stability to their enterprise; the Dutch authorities frequently exhorted their subordinate officers to circumspection and a conciliatory temper towards the Swedish colonists. On the other hand, Printz by no means exhibited the same qualities in his conduct; and, if we can trust contemporaneous testimony, he even did not disdain to disparage his rivals to the Indians, spreading reports of the weakness and fraudulency of the Dutch Company and of their evil designs against them.²

Printz was prudent enough to keep on a good footing with the savages (a relation, indeed, which characterized the Swedish colony during the whole of its existence), notwithstanding, if he had had sufficient force, he might, for his part, have felt no hesitation in following the system of extermination that marked the intercourse of the whites with the aborigines.³ This was all the better now, as the latter were waging a bloody war of revenge against the Dutch, in consequence of a massacre perpetrated on one of their tribes by Governor Kieft.⁴ The credit enjoyed with the natives by the Swedes was, indeed, so great that, when, in the spring of 1644, some of that nation were murdered by the savages,

¹ It passed to his daughter, married to Johan Papegoja, and often afterwards is spoken of as her property. The name Printztorp, which also occurs a couple of times, appears, however, to have been applied to a place on the main land. See Rising's Report, Appendix 3. Hazard, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 339. (See also Benjamin H. Smith's *Atlas of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, on page viii. of which is given a translation of Printz's patent for New Gottenburg.—TRANS.)

² See *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. pp. 34, 40, 44-45, etc.

³ See Printz's Report of 1644, § 8.

⁴ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 563 *et seq.*

sachems presented themselves before Printz to offer compensation and sue for peace.

As to their own condition, it may be said, in the beginning the Swedish colonists had great difficulties to contend with, not being able even to produce their daily bread, with which, therefore, they were provided partly at the cost of the company. The novelty of the climate and the various privations suffered caused the death of many persons (during 1643 no fewer than twenty-five), according to the Dutch account reducing the number of men in 1645 to eighty or ninety.¹ The situation of the survivors, however, rapidly improved; tobacco was diligently cultivated, and the raising of corn and breeding of cattle were duly promoted by the Governor.

We have already mentioned the indefinite or, at least, unknown relations subsisting between the Crown and the company, corroborated, as we find, by queries propounded by Governor Printz in his Reports of 1644 and 1647. Almost equal uncertainty prevails about the standing of the colonists. A great number, we observed, were criminals or the like, who did not emigrate of their free will, and were obliged to work on behalf of the Crown or company until they gained their freedom. In subsequent years, however, few such persons were brought over. The "*frimänner*" (peasants) constituted another grade of settlers, to whom the company immediately assigned land, with wages also, as it seems, to cultivate it.² These, with their posterity, gradually came to be regarded as owners of the soil. A third class of inhabitants comprised the soldiers and civil officers in the employment of the Crown or company.

In the spring of 1644 the ship *Fama* arrived from Sweden, having been equipped at the expense of the Crown, and setting sail the previous year, bringing, it is presumed, both

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 30. Compare the list in Printz's Report of 1644, Odhner, *op. cit.*

² Printz's Report of 1647, § 20, in the Archives of the Kingdom. (Translated in this volume of this MAGAZINE, pp. 271 *et seq.*—TRANS.) We shall find more precise regulations further on.

emigrants¹ and merchandise, although we have not found any definite information concerning this, the fifth Swedish expedition to the Delaware.² The vessel was despatched back to Sweden, June 20, 1644, carrying a cargo of 2136 beaver skins, and 20,467 pounds of tobacco for the company, besides 7200 pounds sent over by the Governor to be sold on his own account.³ Possibly on this occasion, as often afterwards, a portion of the tobacco was purchased in Virginia or in the Caribbean Islands. The ship was compelled to enter a Dutch harbour, and the West India Company speedily claimed toll and duty of recognizance, as proprietors of the territory from whence she came. There ensued a long correspondence on this subject between Appelbom, the Swedish minister at the Hague, and the States-General, resulting in the release of the cargo on payment of the customary impost and 8 per cent. recognition duty, but delaying the arrival of the ship at Gottenburg till May, 1645. The question raised as to the right of proprietorship of the colony naturally remained unsettled.⁴

¹ Besides Johan Papegoja, only five are mentioned in a list of persons living in New Sweden, March 1, 1648, viz :

The barber Mr. Hans Janche, from Königsbergh, who "settled in New Sweden, in the service of the Crown, March 31, 1644."

Jan Matsson, gunner, at Fort Elfsborg.

Anders Joensson, soldier, engaged by Papegoja December 1, 1643.

Wolle Lohe, soldier, ditto.

Sven Svensson, a lad.

For the names of many of the emigrants in the four earlier expeditions see this MAGAZINE, vol. iii. pp. 402-3, 409-10, and 462-4.—TRANS.

² In Her Majesty's letter to the Admiralty, dated August 12, 1645, and note to Captain Berendt Hermanson Hopp, dated May 3, *eodem anno*, in the Register of the Admiralty in the Naval Archives, the ships *Kalmar Nyckel* and *Fama* are mentioned as having made the voyage to Virginia under the command of the above-named captain; but in Printz's Report of 1647 the *Fama* only is spoken of, for which reason we merely give that vessel in the text.

³ Printz's Report of 1644; Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Letter from Beyer to Axel Oxenstjerna, dated June 19, 1645, among the Oxenstjerna papers in the Archives of the Kingdom.

⁴ Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

(To be continued.)

INDIAN LAND AND ITS FAIR-PLAY SETTLERS,
1773-1785.

BY JOHN BLAIR LINN.

"Indian land," the scope of the jurisdiction of the "Fair-Play" code, was the part of the present county of Lycoming north of the west branch of the Susquehanna, bounded on the east by Lycoming Creek, and on the west by Pine Creek. Settlements being mainly along the river, its operations and influence upon land titles were confined to the territory now embraced within the present townships of Porter, Piatt, Woodward, and Old Lycoming from Stewberry, now within the city limits of Williamsport, to the mouth of Pine Creek, two miles above Jersey Shore.

The period during which this code had full sway was from the year 1773 to the 1st day of May, 1785, when the land-office was opened for applications within the purchase of October 23, 1784. The deed made by the Indians at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.), November 5, 1768, made "a creek, which is by the Indians called Tiadaghton," the northwestern limit of that purchase. The proprietaries were uncertain whether Tiadaghton meant Pine Creek or Lycoming, and, to prevent controversy, no lands were permitted to be surveyed west of Lycoming Creek. The commissioners appointed to make the next purchase were instructed to inquire of the Indians which creek was meant, but as late as December 21, 1784, before the result of the inquiry was known, the Assembly of Pennsylvania (Dallas's *Laws*, vol. 2, page 233) declared "Lycoming Creek to be the boundary of the purchase, to all legal intents and purposes, until the General Assembly shall otherwise regulate and declare the same." The Indians replied that by Tiadaghton they meant Pine Creek, but the purchase then consummated (October 23, 1784) made the answer of no consequence, divesting, as it

did, the Indian title to all lands in Pennsylvania west of Pine Creek, rendering it unnecessary for the Assembly to legislate further about the line, and ending forever "squatter sovereignty" within the limits of this commonwealth.

Charles Smith,¹ the compiler of Smith's *Laws*, in his admirable *résumé* of the land law of Pennsylvania (vol. 2, page 195, note) says:—

"A set of hardy adventurers seated themselves on this doubtful territory, made improvements, and formed a very considerable population. They formed a mutual compact among themselves, and annually elected a tribunal in rotation of three of the settlers, who were to decide all controversies and settle disputed boundaries. From their decision there was no appeal, and there could be no resistance. The decree was enforced by the whole body, who started up in mass, at the mandate of the court, and the execution and eviction were as sudden and irresistible as the judgment. Every new-comer was obliged to apply to this powerful tribunal, and, upon his solemn engagement to submit in all respects to the law of this land, he was permitted to take possession of some vacant spot. Their decrees were, however, just; and when their settlements were recognized by law, and *fair play* had ceased, their decisions were received in evidence and confirmed by judgments of court."

The code was probably not in writing. J. F. Meginness, in his *History of the West Branch Valley*, has preserved what, thirty years ago, remained in the memory of their descendants, of anecdotes of the Fair-play men, but was unable, after diligent search and inquiry, to obtain a copy of their code. Some of its provisions crop out in the depositions taken in subsequent cases. In that of *Greer v. Tharp*, William King, who came to live in the Indian Country in 1775, says that

¹ Son of Provost Wm. Smith, D.D. For biographical notices of him, see PENNA. MAG., vol. iv. p. 380, and vol. vii. p. 203. He was admitted to the Northumberland bar on examination in 1786, settled at Sunbury, and rose rapidly to eminence at the bar. He was attorney for plaintiff in lease of *Greer v. Tharp*, May session, Nisi Prius, 1799, Northumberland County, before McKean and Shippen. I quote largely from a bundle of depositions taken in that case, which has fallen into my possession.

"there was a law among the Fair-play men by which any man, who absented himself for the space of six weeks, lost his right to his improvement."

Bratton Caldwell says:—

"In May, 1774, I was in company with William Greer and James Greer, and helped to build a cabin on Wm. Greer's place (this was one mile north of the river and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of Lycoming Creek). Greer went into the army in 1776 and was a wagon-master till the fall of 1778. He wrote to me to sell his cattle. I sold his cattle. In July, 1778, the Runaway, John Martin, had come on the land in his absence. The Fair-play men put Greer in possession. If a man went into the army, the Fair-play men protected his property. Greer was not among the Sherman's valley boys [the witness no doubt refers to the early settlers of what is now Perry County, who were forcibly removed in May, 1750]. Greer came back in 1784."

The summary process of ejectment employed by the Fair-play men is clearly described by William King in a deposition taken March 15, 1801, in *Huff v. Satcha*, in the Circuit Court of Lycoming County:—

"In 1775 I came on the land in question. I was informed that Joseph Haines claimed the land. He asked thirty pounds for it, which I would not give. He said he was going to New Jersey, and would leave it in the care of his nephew, Isaiah Sutton. Some time after I heard that Sutton was offering it for sale. I had heard much disputing about the Indian land, and thought I would go up to Sutton's neighbors and inquire if he had any right. I first went to Edmund Huff, then to Thomas Kemplen,¹ Samuel Dougherty,² William McMeans, and Thomas Ferguson, and asked if they would accept me as a neighbor, and whether Isaiah Sutton had any right to the land in question. They told me Joseph Haines had once a right to it but had forfeited his right by the Fair-play law, and advised to purchase. Huff showed me the consentable line between Haines and him. Huff's land lay above Haines's, on the river. I pur-

¹ Captain Thomas Kemplen and his son were killed by the Indians at the mouth of Muncy Creek in March, 1781.

² Captain Samuel Dougherty fell in the attempt to relieve Fort Freeland, July 28, 1779.

chased of Sutton, and was to give him nine pounds for the land.

"I did not come to live on the land for some weeks. One night, at a husking of corn, one Thomas Bond told me I was a fine fellow to be at a husking while a man was taking possession of my plantation. I quit the husking, and Bond and I came over to the place, and went into a cave, the only tenement then on the land, except where Sutton lived, and found some trifling articles in the cave, which we threw out. I went to the men who advised me to go on the land, all except Huff and Kemplen; they advised me to go on, turn him off and beat him if I was able. The next morning I got some of my friends and raised a cabin of some logs which I understood Haines had hauled. When we got it up to the square, we heard a noise of people coming. The first person I saw was Edmund Huff foremost with a keg of whisky, William Paul was next with an axe, and many more. They got on the cabin, raised the Indian yell, and dispossessed me and put William Paul in possession. I and my party went off. Samuel Dougherty followed me and told me to come back and come on terms with Paul, who had money and would not take it from me for nothing. I would not go back but waited for Dougherty who went for Paul. The whole party came and brought the keg along. After some conversation, William Paul agreed to give me thirteen pounds for my right. He pulled out the money, gave it to Huff to keep until I would assign my right. I afterwards signed the conveyance and got my money.

"William Paul went on the land and finished his cabin. Soon after a party bought Robert Arthur and built a cabin near Paul's in which Arthur lived. Paul applied to the Fair-play men who decided in favor of Paul. Arthur would not go off. Paul made a complaint to the company at a muster at Quinashahague¹ that Arthur still lived on the land and would not go off, although the Fair-play men had decided against him. I was one of the officers at that time and we agreed to come and run him off. The most of the company came down as far as Edmund Huff's who kept

¹ Now Linden, in Woodward Township, a few miles west of Williamsport. Quenischaschaki was the name given by the Delawares to the *long reach* in the river above Williamsport. Hence they called the west branch Quenischachgek-hanne, which word has been corrupted into Susquehanna. The town was visited by Moravian missionaries prior to 1754. (Reichel, *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. i. p. 263.)

Stills. We got a keg of whisky and proceeded to Arthur's cabin. He was at home with his rifle in his hand and his wife had a bayonet on a stick, and they threatened death to the first person who would enter the house. The door was shut and Thomas Kemplen, our captain, made a run at the door, burst it open and instantly seized Arthur by the neck. We pulled down the cabin, threw it into the river, lashed two canoes together and put Arthur and his family and his goods into them and sent them down the river. William Paul then lived undisturbed upon the land until the Indians drove us all away. William Paul was then (1778) from home on a militia tour."

Amariah Sutton testified, July 5, 1800, that he came to the plantation on which he then resided in 1770. (He lived on the east bank of Lycoming Creek on the border only of Indian land.) That Joseph Haines, who was his relative, came from New Jersey a few years after, and began to improve on the tract of land at the mouth of Lycoming Creek on the Indian land side, making his home at his, Sutton's, house, that in the course of three years he returned to New Jersey and never came back. "We were all driven off by the Indians in May, 1778."

John Sutton says:—"I came to Lycoming Creek in 1772, went to the Indian land in 1773, and have lived there ever since except during the Runaway. There was a law of the Fair-play men, that if any man left his improvement six weeks without leaving some person to continue his improvement, he lost the right to push his improvement. After the war I was one of the first to come back. I believe that William Tharpe and myself were the two first men who came to the Indian lands. I never understood that William Greer's claim extended as far as where Tharpe now lives [March 13, 1797, date of deposition]; the improvement made by William Greer was near the house in which Greer now lives. A man name Perkins lived on the land in dispute between William Greer and William Tharpe. In the winter of 1775-6, Thomas Kemplen bought out Perkins, and Kemplen sold to James Armstrong, commonly called 'Curly Armstrong.' I saw William King living in the cabin in which Tharpe now lives. I sold my place which adjoined William Tharpe's to John Clark. I came back after the war with the first that came in eighty-three. William Dougherty lived on Tharpe's land, after him Richard Sutton. Sutton lived in the cabin in '84 or '85. I am sure he lived there before Mr. Edmiston came up to survey."

Samuel Edmiston was the deputy surveyor of district No. 17, embracing the Indian land. He made the survey of the William Greer tract, 302 acres, 148 perches, December 4, 1788, on warrant of May 6, 1785. The return of survey calls for John Sutton's land on the east, widow Kemplen and John Clarke's land on the south.

The act passed December 21, 1784, on account of their resolute stand and sufferings during the late war, allowed a right of pre-emption to settlers without the bounds of purchases theretofore made, and the right of pre-emption to their respective possessions was given specially to all and every person or persons and their legal representatives, heretofore settled on the north side of the west branch of the river Susquehanna, between Lycoming Creek on the east and Pine Creek on the west. This ended the rule of Fair-play men, though questions arising under the operation of their code claimed the attention of the Supreme Court for years afterward, and their agreements were ruled to be binding upon themselves. *John Hughes v. Henry Dougherty*, 2 Smith's *Laws*, 196. See Meginness's *History*, pages 165-168, for names of other Fair-play men not mentioned in these depositions, and other interesting facts in regard to them. According to the same historian, page 192, the Fair-play men were among the earliest (in July, 1776) to declare themselves in favor of throwing off all allegiance to the mother country, Great Britain.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF JAMES HOLLYDAY.

BY GEORGE T. HOLLYDAY.

James Hollyday, son of Col. James Hollyday, of Prince George's County, Maryland, and grandson of Col. Thomas Hollyday and his wife, Mary (Truman) Hollyday, was born at "Wye House," the Lloyd homestead in Talbot County, Maryland, November 30, 1722. His father removed to that county prior to 1721, became eminent as a statesman, served several terms in the Lower House of Assembly, and was for many years one of his Lordship's Council, Treasurer of the Eastern Shore (that part of the State which lies east of the Chesapeake), and Naval Officer at the port of Oxford. His mother was Sarah Covington, of Somerset County, Maryland, who first married Col. Edward Lloyd (Governor of the Colony of Maryland, 1701-1704, and 1709-1714), and becoming his widow March 20, 1719, married May 3, 1721, Col. James Hollyday, whom she also survived.

According to tradition, Mrs. Hollyday "was a remarkably beautiful woman," and her portrait, still in the possession of the family, defaced as it is by the ravages of time, gives undeniable truth to the report. The intellect and force of character there denoted were strikingly exemplified in the settlement and management of the estates of both husbands, she having been in each case appointed executrix.

In 1729 Col. Hollyday bought a tract of land beautifully situated on Chester River, in Queen Anne's County, known as "Readbourne," and in 1731 erected the fine mansion house now standing (1883), and occupied by his descendants of the fifth generation. This mansion, built of English brick, was planned and constructed under the supervision of Mrs. Hollyday, she being in correspondence with Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore, in regard to its style of architecture. The family lived at "Wye House" until James, the subject of this sketch, was nine years old, removing to "Readbourne"

when Edward Lloyd, his half-brother, having attained his majority, came as the heir to take possession of his paternal estates.

Mr. Hollyday, Sr., died at "Readbourne" October 8, 1747, and on his tombstone in the burial-ground there is the following inscription, surmounted by the family arms—a demi-lion rampant holding an anchor, and three helmets; motto, "Nulla virtute secundus."

"To the memory of James Hollyday Esqr.

Who departed this life on the

8th of October 1747.

He was many years one of his Lordship's

Council, and in public and private

life always supported the character of a worthy
gentleman and good Christian."

Mrs. Hollyday died in London April 9, 1755, and was buried in the churchyard at West Ham, County Essex, about ten miles from London. Her grave bears the following inscription:—

"Beneath this stone lieth the body of

Mrs. Sarah Hollyday,

late of the Province of Maryland, in America, from whence she came to London in the year 1754, and died the 9th day of April 1755, aged 71 years. She had been the wife of Edward Lloyd (formerly of the aforesaid Province) Esq; and, after his death, of James Hollyday (late of same place) Esq, whom she also survived.

Though a stranger here,
she was known, esteemed, and respected in her
Native Country."

We have no data regarding the early education of the subject of our sketch, but he must have improved the advantages the schools of that day offered, for he commenced early in life to practise law, and was for several terms member of the Assembly prior to 1754, when, in order to perfect himself in his profession, he entered as a student the Middle Temple at London, then the great law school of England.

The exact date of his embarkment is recorded in the issue Sept. 19, 1754, of Green's *Annapolis Gazette*:—

“On Monday or Tuesday last, sailed from below Kent Point, the ship Prince Edward, Capt. Blackburn, for London, with whom went passengers, Madam Sarah Hollyday and her son James Hollyday, Esq., of Queen Anne’s County.”

Both mother and son suffered all the disagreeables of an ocean voyage, and had the misfortune to lose their captain by an illness resulting in his death. The object of Mrs. Hollyday’s visit to England was to embrace once more her only daughter, Rebecca C. Lloyd, whose marriage with Mr. William Anderson, a London merchant, had caused a separation of many years. Her son having no family ties, and moreover unwilling to part with the mother he so loved, took advantage of this opportunity, not only to prove his filial love, but, as before stated, to continue his studies in London under more favorable auspices than those America at that time afforded.

During his residence in London, a period of nearly four years, Mr. Hollyday received many interesting and important letters bearing on the condition of the colonies at that time, some of them from the pen of his half brother, Col. Edward Lloyd (born May 8, 1711, and, after holding many positions of honor and trust, died Jan. 27, 1770), and Thomas Ringgold (born Dec. 15, 1715, died April 1, 1772), two of the most prominent men of the Maryland Colony at that period. Mr. Ringgold was a delegate from Kent County, and conspicuous as one of the commissioners from Maryland to the Stamp Act Congress held in New York City in October, 1765, and the following incident connected with his public career will show the character of the man.

Mr. Zechariah Hood was the person appointed by the British Ministry as Stamp Distributor in Maryland. His appointment gave great dissatisfaction, and McMahon writes: “An incident occurred soon after his arrival (in Annapolis) which made him still more obnoxious to the people of the province. Finding himself the object of general detestation he endeavored to palliate his conduct by the assertion that the office he held had been solicited by a member of the Assembly who had offered a large sum for the bestowment

of it, and that therefore the people ought not to expend their whole fury on him for his acceptance of it. The person pointed at by this slanderous assertion was Thomas Ringgold, who, hearing the rumor, spoke the general sentiment of the people in the following noble and indignant reply. 'I hope,' he says, 'that my conduct has been such both in public and private stations as to induce a general belief that I have the feelings of humanity, am a friend to liberty, and love my country. I should be extremely sorry by an act so truly contemptible to have afforded room for a contrary opinion. I therefore beg the liberty publicly to declare through your paper (*Green's Gazette*) that no consideration should have induced me to have had any hand in the execution of a law tending to the subversion of our dearest rights as freeborn subjects of England, and to the suppression of the freedom of the press.'"

Col. Edward Lloyd writes Nov. 25, 1754:—

"We long looked, and for some time with a great deal of impatience, for a letter from you, as we heard of the misfortune that happened to you by the death of Capt. Blackburn some time before your letter reached us. The concern we had at hearing of both your and my mother's indisposition is not to be abated, until we hear that you have recovered yr health."

Thomas Ringgold, in his letter to Mr. Hollyday, dated Dec. 7, 1754, says:—

"Capt. Blackburn was really much lamented by all his acquaintances. Indeed, there are few men act their part in life so well as he did."

The events in Maryland during the period that Mr. Hollyday was pursuing his studies in London were of a highly interesting and important character, and as the correspondence treats largely of public affairs and the condition of the colony, and furnishes many details of operations during the French war, I quote freely from it.

McMahon records that "the colony during the early years of this struggle, from 1754 to 1758, was in a very distressed

condition," and Col. Lloyd, in a letter to his brother, bearing date Nov. 25, 1754, says:—

"We seem to be in but a bad situation here at present, our crops poor, Trade almost lost, and just on the brink of war in the very heart of our Continent. Our Governor (Horatio Sharp) since you went away has received a Commission which makes him a Lieutenant-Col. in the British Establishment, and 'tis said Commander-in-Chief of all our forces in America. He has gone to Wills's Creek to reconnoitre the troops, and to form schemes how the better to conduct the Spring Campaign, which we live in certain expectation there will be, although we are but a handful of men to the great many which the French can readily raise."

In Maryland and Pennsylvania the want of efficient co-operation in the French war was seriously felt in several of the campaigns. "The requisitions of the Crown for the supply of men and money," says McMahon, "although backed by the entreaties and remonstrances of their respective governors; were in almost every instance disregarded by the Assembly."

Thomas Ringgold writes Dec. 7, 1754:—

"Our Governour has a commission from Home to command in Chief in ye Ohio and is very intent, but the stiff-necked Quakers of Penna. carried the Election again, and still stand out, will not give a farthing. Would they do anything, I believe matters would go on with some spirit, otherwise I fear the French will get too well fixed there next summer to be easily moved. We have report of 5 sail of men of war having arrived at Quebec, if so, it will no doubt be a great addition to their strength. Let us know what is thought of this affair at Home. Will it not bring on a general war and a second ruin to poor Maryland?"

Mr. Ringgold writes Dec. 13, 1754:—

"Your law business is and shall be taken care of so as to give your clients content."

Also March 10, 1755:—

"Our Assembly is[?] called very frequently but do little, they are now sitting, and have voted £10,000, but whether ye bill will pass or not we can't tell. Ye Upper House refused the same on terms in December, and they'll not alter

it. The Lord Baltimore objects to two clauses of our inspection Law, ye one for ye regulation of ye money, ye other for Limitation of officers' fees, neither of which the Assembly will repeal, but obstinately insist on holding both. So I fear we shall lose ye whole, and then what shall we do? bad as times are they must be much worse."

Sept. 27, 1755, Mr. Ringgold writes:—

"I sit down to write now, not because I don't know how to employ my time otherwise, (for tho' I have quitted ye profit of the Law, I have been this summer hurried enough in finishing old affairs), nor because I have a great deal to say, but to show you when a ship is sailing to your door and you have no postage that I will not omit an opportunity of showing you that time or space wears not out ye friendly regard I always had for you. Times have been very difficult with us this season. Tobacco from great destruction in the House, has run short and put us in the loading way under difficulties about loading our ships. Crop notes have been precious things, tho' suppose we must lose by them, and they'd be more so next year, as we shall not have above $\frac{1}{6}$ th of a crop, & very scant of eorn. This you may say is news for a Planter and Merchant, and not fit for ye Temple. To ye great shame of whoever is in fault, our Assembly nor that of Pennsylvania have yet done anything. Ours still split on ye ordinary licenses, and theirs now have voted a gen'l land tax to raise 50 thousand pound which the Governor will not pass unless ye Proprietary's private Estate is exempted, which they cry out is highly unjust and unreasonable. Whilst we are thus contending the northern people are exerting a noble spirit. Col. Johnson at the head of an army of American militia without one regular or officer on ye establishment, is making bold pushes for Crown Point, and the people fly daily to his assistance, so that we expect by this time he has 5000 men at least with him.

Your Brother the Col. [Col. Edward Lloyd] tells me he incloses you ye particulars of what he has done, I therefore need not repeat, but we are in the highest Expectation, as we have taken off all their principal officers we shall soon have a good account of them. It is said only 600 Indians and 200 French defeated Genl. Braddock, who was lost in his abundant security, and by his contempt for ye enemy, and a bad agreement amongst the officers. Tho' notwithstanding our defeat with Braddock, we have yet considering our ships and everything, abundantly the best of the campaign. Col. Washington behaved with great calmness, bravery, and in-

trepidity in Braddock's action, and keeps up his character. He had several horses shot from under him, his cloaths shot to pieces, and came off unhurt."

A letter from Robert Lloyd (first cousin of Col. Lloyd, Mr. Hollyday's half brother), Oct. 20, 1755, says:—

"This will just give you to understand that I am still in motion, and upon the brink of dismal times. We don't make the country through above a fourth part of a crop of Tobacco, scarce corn to support the inhabitants, the stock must shift for themselves, the flax has messed, and the people almost naked and destitute of money and credit. The French and their Indians nibbling on our Frontiers, and no one seems to have resolution enough to set the dogs at them. You'll say this is a wretched situation to wish you back again to, but so it is. Yr assistance will be wanting for the relief of a distressed country, the good of which you know we have all much at heart. Would our grand Lord and Master permit us to furnish the necessary means for our defence. We have offered to give and they have refused 'till now they won't ask or even give us a publick opportunity of either giving or refusing. 'Twas expected on the defeat of Braddock we should have had an Assembly called, and again upon the arrival of packetts by Montgomerie, but I hear nothing of it."

Under date of Dec. 9, 1755, Col. Edward Lloyd writes:—

"We are in a most unhappy situation here being often alarmed and under apprehension that the French and Indians will penetrate far into our country. The horrid cruelties that they have acted on some of ours as well as the Virginia and Pennsylvania back inhabitants, is most shocking and arousing, they impale men and women and even children, and set them up on high by way of scare crows, and mangle the bodies in a most frightful manner as a terror to others. The act of scalping has introduced this. 'Tis amazing that any civilized nation should countenance the practice, it ought to be held as against the laws of all nations. Our armies are all gone into Winter Quarters, although within this month we have been threatened with an attack on our army at Lake George. The report was that 9000 French and Canadians were on their march to attack Gov. Johnson, but this gasconade or boast presently went off in a mere puff. From Nova Scotia Gov. Lawrence has sent home into Maryland 903 of the people, who call themselves neutral French. A copy of

his letter I here enclose you. They have been here this month.

The Gov. being at New York, Mr. Tasker called a Council, the resolution (if it may be called a resolution or advice) you have also here inclosed. As no doubt much will be talked in London of this transaction, you'll form from that and the knowledge you have of the law of nations, form an adequate judgment of the fitness of the measures taken not only by us, but the Council of Nova Scotia. These inhabitants before the treaty of Utrecht were said to be the subjects of the King, as such no allegiance or obedience could be required of them by the King of England, therefore as soon as this place was ceded to the Crown of England, rather than distress or deprive them of the property they had gained on that part of the Continent, his Majesty was most graciously pleased to offer them the most advantageous terms that could be consistent with the British Constitution, *i. e.*, that they should remain in possession of all they had on condition that they would become subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and manifest their allegiance and willingness to the said King, by taking the oath or oaths prescribed to that end.

These were the terms by which these people were to be distinguished as subjects of the King of England. This, however, it is said and well known to be true, they would not condescend or subscribe to. Then in the first place it may well enough be made a question whether that act which they are charged with as being in arms in the French Fort at Bodusejour when it surrendered amounts to a rebellion, it being said that they never had consented to become subjects of the King of England. If the conclusion may be that they cannot be deemed rebels, then they are taken and held as prisoners of war, and this to me seems the proper state to set them in, for it seems that the subjects of the King of England (and I suppose by his command) for breach of treaty committed by these French, invaded and overcame with armed power, and took them as prisoners of war, and retaining them sent them as such into this province to the care of this Government. This Government received them in that state from the Capt. that brought them here, and afterwards sent them into several County's not under the restraint or confinement of any person, but let them at large and to their own liberty. It may be here made a question whether this conduct be prudent or consistent with good policy, for as enemies they came here and as such they must certainly remain, because they are all rigid Roman Catholicks, and so attached to the French king, that sooner than deny his power

over them, they have quitted all that they had in the world. Now then, if it should be asked of us how came you to suffer these enemies to go at large, what can be said in our justification? I fear our, or rather I should say, the President's conduct in this will not bear a legal scrutiny (I was against this I assure you) however I shall be obliged if you'll give me your opinion candidly and as explicitly as your time will permit, and if you should be able to collect Mr. Calvert's opinion of this transaction, pray favor me with it which you may easily do by means of Mr. Anderson or Mr. Hanbury. He sometimes dines at each of their houses where I say you may see him. That they were taken and sent here as prisoners of war there can be no doubt I think, as we cannot devise any other honorable way of depriving those people who were all free born of their liberty. Now it has been made a question whether they could be justly deemed prisoners of war, as no declaration of war has been made since the last treaty of peace. To this may'nt it well be said that as these people have violated the treaties entered into with the Crown of England, either by committing open hostilities or assisting and abetting those that did, I say that they did thereby put themselves against the King, whence the King of England was impliedly acquitted from performing his part of the treaty with them and might renew the war without any proclamation since by that acquittance he became in the same state as to them as he was in before the treaty was concluded. If this be the case then they were brought here as prisoners of war and are liable to be called for upon a cartel. What will our Government say or do, having released them from that just duress or imprisonment which the Government of Nova Scotia put upon them? they are restored or are again in a state of freedom. Query then, can this or any other government restrain them after such liberty granted, or without some new violation or breech of the laws as to put them under confinement, or can they oblige them into servitude? I say my opinion on the President's question was, that these people should be suffered to land, but restrained of their liberty. This advice I still think consistent and most proper, and the measure that ought to have been pursued, for it may well be said that we have as much reason here to be apprehensive of them as enemies, as they at Halifax had. But suppose this was not the case, they ought not to have been released or suffered to be at large by us as they were the King's prisoners, and he alone I think is to order their releasement. The resolution Mr. Tasker, it is said, has taken, is I think unpolitick. He has ordered two of the four vessels

to this shore, one at Oxford with 200, the other at Wicomoco with they tell me, 260 additional, another at Patuxent, and the 4th stays at Annapolis, without any committment to the sheriff, so that they were at large for some time till Collister got many of them on board some vessels, one of which with sixty odd, was ordered by him into this river Wye, and the Capt. instructed to land them on my plantation, for me to do what I pleased with them, and this not only against my consent but in manifest opposition to me, although I had in order to prevent their starving or being too heavy a burthen on the town of Oxford, ordered my storekeeper to pay Mr. Collister five pounds a week for their subsistence at Oxford where I expected they would all be kept under some rule. But he is so far from grateful for this benefaction, that he has sent the above said number, all to 8 or 9 that were left with Matthew Tilghman, and Phil Hambleton, and ordered them to be quartered on me which will subject me to the expense of at least £12 a week, besides making me liable to a great deal of danger by their corrupting mine and other negro slaves on this river, of which there is at least the number 300 that may be called Roman Catholicks, who being by some very late practices and declarations dangerous in themselves, become much more so by the addition of these people. I say dangerous, because some of my slaves have lately said they expected that the French would soon set them free, and Nie Griffin (that was Fitzhugh's overseer) was taken up the other day on information and affidavits, that he had said the negroes would soon be all free men.

If you think my sentiments just in respect to the conduct of our great man (then the greatest), and that these French from the intention of Gov. Lawrence in sending them here ought not to have been suffered at large, be pleased to do me justice, and set me in a true light by saying that I was against this procedure. For this end it is that I have said so much on this head, and you may also say that through necessity and to save them from starving (for the weather is very sharp and the sloop froze up in this river) I pay £5 per week towards the maintenance of 30 odd at Oxford, and expect every hour to be put to an additional expense of £12 a week for the support of them that are here and can't get away, should the river be all froze up which is likely. The Gov. had he been here when they were brought, would have prevented all this uneasiness & expense to private individuals. He, I dare say, wd have had them (the men at least) committed or taken into safe custody, but he was at New York

attending a grand meeting or Congress of the Governors, and is but just come home. With great good will and sincere regard,

Your affectionate Brother,
EDWARD LLOYD.

I am to attend the Gov. as soon as weather permits."

April 30, 1756, Thomas Ringgold writes:—

"Since you think a scrawl from me worth the postage I will drop a line now by way of Bristol. I observe you resolve to stay another year, and I think you judge right, and hope it will answer all your purposes. The attendance of Westminster must be a great advantage, and when at the Temple your studies must be much more entertaining and improving, being abstracted from all family and worldly concerns and use.

Shurely when you hear Murray you are not disappointed, he certainly speaks very well. Your resolution is prudent for another reason, you are out of the continual fears and alarms we undergo here on account of the Indians. We have not yet forgot since the old Indian war of Dorset to exaggerate matters and multiply fears, though we have now much more reason to fear.

Notwithstanding the danger we are in, we are just in the old strain. Courtiers contending for power and proprietary advantages. Patriots warm with zeal, and so I fear they'll continue. They have been sitting ever since the 20th February and nothing done. A bill was sent up to raise 40 thousand pounds several times and returned with negative, and nothing is likely to be done.

The Province is in the same state of defence as when you left it, where the fault lies I can't judge, but I think both sides to blame. I would have our Assembly protest and resolve, and waive all points for the present, raise the money, and make a good militia law, and put ourselves in a good posture of defence. I hope they will raise the money some way or other before they rise. I fear we shall have a bloody war and we have the seat of it. We hear 7 Regiments more are coming over under the general command of Lord Loudon, pray God grant him success and an honorable peace.

We have been much fermented this winter in our Province and Pennsylvania by the Recruiting officers enlisting our servants, which we think a very arbitrary and unjustifiable step, and a great violation of our property. Pray let me know what's thought of it at home. I don't doubt the matter will be represented. As to business in the law, it is

much divided between young & old hands. You can't conceive how scarce Tobacco is. I don't think we shall export 10 Thousand hhd's with both the remains of the old and the new crop. We have a fine prospect for a harvest, and a great appearance of industry in the people, were it not for the calamities of war I should be in hopes of plenty's being restored. As Montgomery will sail soon, I will write more fully. Hope I shall tell you our Assembly has done something, and hope to have the pleasure by and by of acquainting you of the success of our troops. The New England men go out this campaign determined to have Crown Point."

June 5, 1756, Thomas Ringgold says:—

"Montgomery being near sailing, I set down to give you the best testimonial of my kind remembrance of you. I wrote you a short line by way of Bristol lately, wherein I told you I had received y^r Fav^r of the 5th of January, for which I am much obliged. The reflection of y^e Earth Quake and especially at Lisbon, is Terrible. Man! what is he? Why should we think much of ourselves, or the world, when liable to such a variety of woes? I have the pleasure to tell you that I am not a sufferer in the fatal catastrophe, though I believe many at Philadelphia are. I deal chiefly at home, don't haste to get rich, and by that don't Risque much, it seems to me to be the shurer way to get rich, tho' perhaps y^e former may be something longer. I take a view of my affairs once a year, and find them rather better, therefore am content with a little at home, without the slavery of attending County Courts, and can give you a glass of good old Madeira when I once have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Your old Cecil friends much want to see you, and much your assistance, I believe, for from such Lawyers they pray deliverance. Last March Court there was no sitting day. Ye over Elk Justices wou'd not or cou'd not get over. Col. Veazy neglected, and Bayard was not of the Quorum, and so the Court Fell.

The Assembly sitting, the Charles Town people set about a petition for Removal of the Court House to their Town, Ye Head of Elkers to have it there, the Sassafras neckers to continue it still on the ponds of Avon. The pistols flew about, and council was engaged on all sides, and after a debate of a whole day, it is still settled and fixed on the old spott, but Peter Bayard is to build a famous Tavern there, wherein you are to be entertained even with cheese, cakes, and custards, so he promised ye Assembly.

Charles Gordon has lost his wife, poor Ben Pearce is no more, Will Bordley is married to Sally Pearce, Matt Bordley has lost his wife, and we tell Julia she must look out again, and since we are in the family, let me tell you Stephen is Attorney General and Naval Officer of Annapolis. So flys away burning glowing Patriotism! Dulany is at present out, talks of being in the Lower House again. Some say true patriotism or at least a moderate zeal for right, and the good of ye country, keeps him out, others they have not come up to his price. So it goes amongst the great, but I suppose I need not tell you these things, being near ye Fountain you hear how the streams of Honour etc. issue forth. However James let me take the Freedom to tell you one thing, that is that yr Fortune and your personal abilities will be fully sufficient to put you above the paltry dependence waiting on the best of their offices. If they are rode as represented, as mean as my business is, I wou'd not give it with my liberty & Freedom for the very best of them at their pleasure. The solid satisfaction, the self approved consciousness, arising from true and real patriotism, from a life well spent in rectitude and real service of the country, must be worth much more than the mistaken tinsel Honour, attending what we call, our high stations here.

Our Assembly set three months, are now risen, have raised at last, with much to do, forty thousand pounds. 'tis by an excise on strong liqueurs, a land Tax, and many small duties, amongst the rest a Tax of 20 lbs. per annum on old Bachelors! so take care and fix soon after you come in, or you'll be mulcted for your inactivity. Indeed a man who does not marry where there's so many good girls want Husbands as with us, deserves to pay. They splitt about a Militia law, and threw out the bill framed which was a very good one, so that for want of it we shall still be in a very bad posture of defence. But I hope we shall be more quiet than we have been. Our Provinces, publishing large rewards for scalpes, induced wood men to go out, and they have had some skirmishes with the Indians, killed some and drove off the rest, and 'tis said they begin to sue for peace, hope we shall be at peace with them again.

Our forces to the Northward are doing nothing, suppose they are waiting for Lord Loudon. I wish for an honourable peace that's best. If we have a war, believe it will be a bloody one. The King of Prussia seems to be the balance master. I don't understand Politicks, but I don't like his Treaty with us, will not the preventing the Russians from entering Europe make ye French easy on that side, and

enable them to bend all their strength to the sea and against us? I long to see you, as does many of y^r Friends, but I think you quite right in not hurrying away too soon, and doubt not y^r making the best use of y^r time."

Mr. Hollyday remained in London pursuing his studies at the Temple until 1758, when he returned to "Readbourne," his Maryland home in Queen Anne's County. He qualified in the Provincial Courts, and resuming the practice of his profession soon ranked among the first lawyers in the colony. As a statesman he appears to have had the confidence of his constituents, but having a repugnance to holding any position in public life, it was only after earnest solicitations, and during very critical periods in the history of the colony, that he could be induced to serve in any office whatever. When the appeals came he did not hesitate to sacrifice feelings, ease, and comfort, but cheerfully and willingly gave his best energies to the service of his country.

On September 7, 1758, his half brother Col. Lloyd from "Wye House" wrote to him at "Readbourne:"—

"I hear from all quarters that the people of Queen Anne's all agree to choose you one of their representatives. It may be somewhat inconvenient to you to act in that station, yet I hope and believe that you have so much of the spirit of Patriotism in you that you will not refuse your good offices, at this so critical a time to your country."

Mr. Hollyday obeyed the call of his country, and served in the Lower House of Assembly from 1758 to about 1770.

We are informed by his friend Mr. Anderson (a wealthy London banker, and connected with the family by his marriage with Miss Rebecca C. Lloyd), that Mr. Hollyday was appointed by Lord Baltimore one of the Councillors, and a member of the Upper House, and his letter of congratulation written from London on April 29, 1765, reads thus:—

"I wish you joy of your seat in the Council, as Mr. Calvert desires me to keep it secret I don't alter your direction, he behaved very genteelly on the occasion. I doubt not you will write to my Lord, and return him thanks, which many have omitted to do, which is not right. Should you and I live until anything worth while drops, you stand as fair for it as any."

The Assembly convened on September 23, 1765, and the Stamp Act was the first subject that engaged the attention of that body, and on the second day of its session they appointed commissioners to the Stamp Act Congress, to be held in New York, and a committee to draft their instructions. Mr. Hollyday was of that committee, also Thomas Johnson, of Anne Arundel, John Goldsborough, of Talbot, and others. The English Parliament being satisfied that force alone could carry the Stamp Act into effect, it was repealed on March 11, 1766. The spirit of arbitrary power, however, had not yet departed from the colonial policy of England. It slept, soon to awake, and it awoke only to consummate the liberties of the colonists.

"On July 2, 1767," says McMahon, "an Act was passed imposing new duties on paper, glass, in all its varieties, and generally on all articles of most necessary consumption, especially on tea, the duties to take effect after the 20th of November ensuing. As if to impart to it new features of oppression this Act was accompanied by others about the same period, whose objects entitled them to rank as its fellows." The Maryland Assembly was not convened, after the passage of this obnoxious bill, until the 24th of May following, and on the 8th of June of that year (1768) the Lower House appointed a committee "consisting of gentlemen distinguished for their abilities, and attachment to the cause of the colonists, to draft a petition to the King remonstrating against the late impositions, and Mr. Hollyday was one of the number appointed, also Matthew Tilghman, of Talbot County, and Thomas Ringgold, of Kent. Remonstrances and invectives of the most exciting character were let loose upon these Acts from every quarter of the country, which led to a partial rescinding of the duty Act, but still leaving a tax on tea.

The controversy with the mother country, thus mitigated, was renewed with increased vigor in May, 1773, caused by an Act of Parliament allowing the East India Company a drawback upon teas exported to America, which resulted in

war, and terminated in the independence of the colonies and the confederation of sovereign States.

"In 1692," says McMahon, "the Church of England became the established Church of the Colonies, and provision was made for the support of her clergy by the imposition of a poll tax of 40 pounds of Tobacco on the taxable property of each parishioner, to be collected by the sheriff, and paid over to 'those appointed to serve in the sacred ministry of the same.'" And again: "In 1763 an Act was passed reducing the tax to 30 pounds, at which it continued until 1770, when the disagreement of the two Houses (of the Assembly) permitted the Act of 1763 to expire, and that of 1702, which had fixed the tax at 40 pounds, was held to be revived."

The people of Maryland were greatly excited by these measures, called "the Vestry Acts," and Mr. Hollyday, and others equally interested in matters concerning the church, took a prominent part in the discussions arising therefrom, which though purely technical were intensely bitter on both sides. McMahon says: "The abilities of the most distinguished lawyers in the colony were enlisted, and rarely has the discussion of any legal question exhibited more learning and talent. The opinions of Mr. Hollyday and Mr. Dulany sustaining the validity of the Act, and those of Mr. Paca and Mr. Chase in opposition to it, have been preserved, and are remarkable for their ingenious views and profound investigations."

In 1772 Rev. Hugh Neill, Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Queen Anne's County, wrote to Mr. Hollyday in the following words:—

"Sir: Enclosed you have Mr. Cook's opinion delivered to Rev. Mr. McGill. I have had it carefully transcribed for your use. Mr. Dulany is of the opinion that there are not so many respectable authorities on the other side as Mr. Cook imagines. Among the many subsequent laws that have been quoted either in print or elsewhere as a confirmation of the Law of 1702 for the establishment of religion, I find one omitted which I think as cogent as any of them, viz., the law for establishing Charles Town. If a law may be trampled upon

that has been so repeatedly confirmed, interwoven with the Constitution, and under which all the Vestries in the Province for seventy years have acted on, we may bid a final adieu to all Law, as each of the Acts of this Province may undergo the same fate and be abrogated not by the Legislature, but by the voice of clamour and faction. Dear sir, you will pardon me if I tell you that your country calls aloud for your integrity and abilities at the enshewing election. It is to be hoped that you will sacrifice your private tranquillity to the public good, and once more represent the good people of Queen Anne's.

I am with due regard
Your most obedient humble servant,
HUGH NEILL."

To this letter Mr. Hollyday sent on Aug. 1, 1772, the following reply:—

"Sir: Inclosed is my opinion of the two questions upon the Act of 1702. Whether the Act is in force? and whether the Sheriff can execute for the 40 per poll? It has been delayed longer than I expected it would be when I saw you. I had then some business on hand which I was obliged to give the first despatch to, which with the interruptions I have met with prevented my sitting down to the subject until Tuesday last, since when I have been pretty closely employed with it.

My sentiments in point of Law as to the claim of the clergy you have pretty fully in the enclosed. My opinion of the success of a suit agt. a sheriff you already know. I would not undertake to give you any assurance on that Head.

I presume it is not expected that I should send copies of this opinion to Messrs. Keen and Alpin, but that you will of course communicate it to them.

I must not conclude without taking note of the undeserved compliment you are pleased to pay me in the conclusion of your letter, but I desire you will be assured that it is my fixed Resolution to engage no more in the Business of Assembly.

I am sir yr most obedient servt,
JAS. HOLLYDAY."

Mr. Hollyday did not long adhere to his "fixed resolution," for when the oppressions of America roused her virtuous sons to vindicate her injured rights, he was among the first to espouse her cause, and, sacrificing domestic ease and every

home comfort that wealth afforded, he hastened to discharge the important duties of a member of the Convention and Council of Safety, and performed them with credit to himself and honor to his country.

In the Journal of the Conventions of 1774, '75, and '76, we find a record of his services, and learn that Mr. Hollyday was a leading spirit in that galaxy of brilliant minds:—

In July, 1775, Mr. Hollyday was appointed by ballot one of eight persons elected from the Eastern shore of Maryland on the Council of Safety for the Province.

Dec. 29th, 1775, chairman of the Committee (elected by ballot) to prepare a draft of instruction for the deputies representing this Province in Congress.

Jan. 9th, 1776, elected by ballot chairman of a Committee “to prepare and report a scheme for the emission of bills of credit to defray the expenses of defending this Province.”

Jan. 18th, 1776. “It was ordered that James Hollyday, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Gustavus Scott Esqr., revise the Journal and proceedings of this Convention, and direct what part shall be published.”

May 10th, 1776. “Mr. Hollyday was elected by ballot chairman of the Committee to examine the papers laid before the Convention by the Council of Safety, relative to the conduct of the said Samuel Purviance Jr., and report the charge arising thereon.”

May 24th, 1776. “Mr. Hollyday was elected one of that celebrated Committee which politely invited the last Colonial Governor his Excellency Robert Eden Esqr. ‘to vacate,’ and was also chairman of the Committee appointed to consider a memorial from the officers of the battalion of regulars stationed at Annapolis.”

May 25th, 1776. “Mr. Hollyday was elected one of a Committee to prepare a passport for his Excellency Governor Eden, and to draft a letter to the Committee of Safety of Virginia, and received orders to assist Jeremiah Townley Chase in revising the Journal of the proceedings of this Convention.”

June 21st, 1776. “A letter from the President of the Congress together with resolutions of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th of June being laid before the Convention and read, ‘ordered that the same be referred to a Committee to report their opinion thereon,’ and Messrs. Hollyday, S. Chase, T. Johnson, Goldsborough, and Plater were elected by ballot a committee for that purpose.”

July 2d, 1776. On reading a resolution of the Virginia Convention of the 31st May last, Resolved that a Committee be appointed to report proper resolutions in answer to the same, and Mr. Hollyday was one of the five gentlemen appointed.

This record is sufficient proof of the favor and good-will of the people towards Mr. Hollyday, and of their high appreciation of his talents as a statesman, and of his character as "an honorable man," also of their confidence in his ability to act in all these positions of trust.

That he was "not without honor among his own people" we learn from a letter written by his relative, Mr. Michael Earle, to his kinsman, Mr. Ringgold, in which he says (referring to the appointment of a Council of Safety) "I hope Mr. Hollyday will be one that will serve. I wish you could get every man as able."

The following letter declining the office of Chancellor will be read with interest, as giving even greater evidence of the high estimation in which Mr. Hollyday was held, and of his preference for private life:—

"QUEEN ANNE'S Co., 8th April, 1777.

To the Honorable Nicholas Thomas,
Speaker of the House of Delegates,
Annapolis.

Sir: Yesterday evening your letter dated the 3d of the present month was delivered to me little after 6 o'lk. The messenger who brought it informed me that he had been waiting from 10 o'lk at which time I was rode out, and did not return until about 6. I will not conceal from you Sir, that having been told some time ago that the H. of Delegates had been pleased to recommend me for the office of Chancellor, and that it was thought their recommendation would be concurred with by the Senate, I had taken my resolution on the subject before the receipt of your letter. I have ever thought the task of judging to be among the hardest and Severest Duties, and I am the more unqualified for this particular Department as my practice in my profession has been altogether in the Courts of Law. It is my wish to spend the remainder of my days in Retirement from busy life, and in the exercise of such offices of Humanity as the Circle of my own neighbourhood may furnish occasion for, and in this wish

I am not without hopes of being indulged. I really Sir feel that I am every day growing less fit for the discharge of any kind of public Duty. For these reasons I am obliged to decline the acceptance of this very honorable appointment, and desire that it may be considered in the light of an explicit refusal, if this should be thought necessary. If I imagined that under these circumstances my attendance at Annapolis was expected, I would immediately wait upon the Government, tho' my state of health at present is not very good.

I cannot conclude Sir, without expressing my grateful sense of the high distinction shown me by the honorable Bodies who have concurred in, and the obliging manner in which you have been pleased to communicate this appointment.

I am with very true Esteem and Respect

Sir, yr most obedt and very humble Servt

JA. HOLLYDAY.

We learn from a letter written to Mr. Thomas Dockery, of North Carolina, February 11, 1779, that Mr. Hollyday not only retired from public life, but eventually abandoned (doubtless for good reasons) his profession as a lawyer, having "left the wrangling of the Bar and am in no other character than that of a plain Farmer, who is seldom out of sight of the smoke of his own chimney, happy enough, indeed, in this, were I conscious that I deserved the encomiums your partial Friendship has so lavishly bestowed on me."

"Mr. Hollyday never married, and from his letters to his nieces, Mazey and Sally Anderson, we judge that his heart was never touched by *la belle passion*. There is a tradition that he was rarely seen to smile, and but once indulged in immoderate laughter, which greatly alarmed his friends. This great depression of spirits can, in a measure, be accounted for in the irreparable loss of his mother, to whom he was devotedly attached. The affection he bore to his only brother, Harry Hollyday, of 'Ratcliffe Manor,'¹ breathes

¹ Henry Hollyday (born March 9, 1725; died November 11, 1789) was also a member of the Maryland Assembly, and in September, 1765, was appointed by that body one of the committee which drafted the Resolves

in every line we read from his pen, and his brother's children, and those of his half-sister, Mrs. William Anderson, of London, were constant recipients of the favors his great wealth enabled him to offer them. He led a happy bachelor life at 'Readbourne,' keeping open house, and giving a hearty welcome and shelter to any relative who was not so blest as himself in this world's goods."—(*Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine Family of Maryland.*)

The prominent part Mr. Hollyday took in the discussions of the vestry acts leads us to suppose that he was a member in the congregation of St. Paul's, the parish church, and from the record of the past we have every reason to believe that, like St. Barnabas of old, he "was a good man," and that he was "accepted in the Beloved," when, November 5, 1786, "he was gathered to his forefathers" and "entered into life eternal." The following notice of his death appeared in the *Baltimore Advertiser* of November 10, 1786:—

"On Sunday last departed this life in Queen Anne's County, on the Eastern Shore of this State, the Hon. James Hollyday, Esq., a gentleman of distinguished abilities and virtue as a lawyer and a statesman, and of the most amiable and benevolent disposition. He represented Queen Anne's County for many years, with honour to himself and advantage to his country, and was one of the framers of our most excellent Constitution."

giving some solemn and explicit declaration of their feelings against the Stamp Act, such action being rendered peculiarly necessary by the attempts to misrepresent the Maryland people in England. "Pre-eminent amongst all the legislative declarations of the Colonies," says McMahon, "for the lofty and dignified tone of their remonstrances, and for the entire unanimity with which they were adopted, these resolves form one of the proudest portions of our history."

James, son of Henry Hollyday, served in both branches of the Assembly, and was a member of the Maryland Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Since that time each Constitutional Convention of Maryland has included a member of the family, viz., that of 1851, William M. Hollyday (grandson of Henry through his son Henry), that of 1864, George S. Hollyday (grandson of Henry through his son James), and that of 1867, Richard C. Hollyday, brother of William M. Hollyday.

In concluding this sketch of so eminent a man, it becomes not one so closely related as the author to dilate on the merits that justly entitle him to a lengthy tribute, but it may not be amiss to express a wish that many of the name among the rising generation may be found "to emulate his virtues."

WILLIAM PENN.¹

BY THEODORE MCFADDEN.

To the civic celebration of last year we probably owe this contribution to the study of Penn and his times. It no doubt occurred to the editor that an event which excited very general interest in the founder and his work might be profitably used to show what manner of man he was. The earlier biographies are without much interest to the general reader, and his own works are too voluminous and deal too much with subjects purely controversial to be very often read for themselves. Yet it might well be felt that there was matter in them which should not be allowed to perish, and that this was the occasion when attention could be most effectively directed to them.

The book is without preface or introduction, and is the work of a member of the society to which Penn belonged, who abstains from putting his name on the title-page. The modesty thus indicated is one of its characteristics. The editor never appears except to introduce his subject and to furnish the links of his narrative. This is done so simply and naturally, that in the interest excited by the central figure, the reader is apt to forget that it implies very considerable skill. The book is made upon a principle of selection; the extracts from the writings, documents, and letters of Penn being deemed sufficiently copious to afford the reader a complete view of his character and work, as to which the judgment to be formed is, in the main, left to the reader himself.

The editor is, as might be expected, in entire harmony with Penn—he could scarcely be a Friend and be otherwise

¹ *Passages from the Life and Writings of William Penn, collected by the Editor from his published works and correspondence, and from the biographies of Clarkson, Lewis, and Janney, and other reliable sources. For sale at Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, 1882.*

—and this, we think, is an advantage to the more general student, as well as to the book. It has quickened zeal and industry without impairing fidelity. It is pleasant, moreover, in this instance, to have the mild light of two concordant spirits blending into one.

To those, however, who are not of his persuasion, a greater latitude of discussion, if discussion be desired, must be permitted of the material which has been so well furnished. Penn must be considered not merely as the exponent of the doctrines of a sect, nor as having merely traditional claims to honor; but as an historical figure with veritable proportions, and in relation to larger interests and standard measures of judgment. The man, notwithstanding his nearness to ourselves and his perfectly authentic record, or perhaps because of them, is still a myth to many of us; and being, at the same time, the object of devoted admiration to a particular sect, there is especial danger that his actual lineaments may be lost under a veil of idolatry.

His portrait still remains to be painted. We do not in the least propose to paint it here; but a few features have seemed to stand out very clearly as we read this work, and from the light which they afford the whole man may be very fairly viewed. It is fortunate in this case that the picture when thus made will be found to differ in no essential respect from the warmest fancies of enthusiasm.

The rude shock given to Penn's reputation by Macaulay has, we think, spent its force. It is now pretty well understood that this was an instance in which Macaulay could not be just. He hated James II. so much that he hated all who stood in friendly contact with him. Penn was not the only sufferer. No one who occupied similar relations to the king escaped, unless he finally exemplified in some way James's malignity of disposition. Even his mistresses were abused in very unmanly fashion, because they were his mistresses. In a case where his understanding acted freely Macaulay would very readily have admitted that a great tyrant might still inspire warm friendship; that that friendship might produce illusion; that services might be rendered in such a case and

gratitude returned. No more than this is wanting to Penn's vindication where the charges against him came from one who would deny the possibility of its application to James II. Add to this the contempt with which Macaulay regarded the society of which Penn was a member, and which he is never at the smallest pains to conceal, and we abundantly account for a misconception. The Quaker guise, which seems to throw a mantle over Penn, obscures even to us, irrationally so we admit, his real claims to heroism. We can hardly bring ourselves to believe that he is a Lysurgus or a Solon. Yet it is certain, as Montesquieu perceived, that he is as great as they.

The only value of an allusion to Macaulay at this time is the light which his strictures throw upon that which he overlooked, and which, however, is the salient trait in Penn's character. It is what lawyers call a negative pregnant; a denial, that is, which teems with affirmation. The thing he did not see is altogether the most important. He was very well able to perceive that some of Penn's political opinions were in advance of the most advanced of his age; but the method by which Penn attained to those opinions was as a sealed book to the historian. Had he been able or willing to open that book, he would have held the key to the character he disparaged, and he must have hesitated to ascribe vulgar motives to those supposed actions of Penn, the facts as to which have been so effectually set right.

It is plain upon a mere surface view that Penn's was a temperament of extreme activity, that he was endowed with clear intelligence, ready resources of wit and talent, was quite capable of forming and executing comprehensive designs; that in his moral nature there was no taint; that he was pure and loved purity; that, if not absolutely unselfish—he became a husband and a father—he was in the highest degree disinterested. The evidence is complete that with him no personal consideration, it might be said, no mere human motive ever stood for a moment in the way of duty and duty of the highest. The question with him was always, "in what way can I do most good?" His youthful firmness in resisting both severity and allurements,

both domestic and governmental oppression, when the sacrifice of his religious convictions was at stake, illustrates the tenor of his whole career. The story is too well known to be repeated, but the naive manliness he displayed all through those scenes will always be as delightful as the principles for which he suffered will be important.

It is the clearness of all this in a life of no common exigencies which constitutes the special value of its study. He was not a mere enthusiast whose views, nursed in seclusion, might be suspected of receiving support from fanaticism; but he was as well, by habit and character, a man of action who brought his illuminations into contact with the world, and tried them in the crucible of experience. His field was a large one, and with his writings, which are indeed part of his life, makes a very complete whole, than which no better opportunity has been offered for psychological analysis. It is not too much to say that the character of Cromwell, so much labored in these later days, does not afford so good a one. After all that Carlyle and his followers have said and done for their hero, we are still left with a haunting doubt as to the great Protector's character and motives. The passions which agitated that mighty nature disturb the acutest critical vision and leave a sense of something dark and dubious. But Penn requires no book-making for those who read his own explicit record.

As to the writings themselves it may be said in general that they are admirably clear in style, the work, primarily, of a well-educated gentleman, in whom religious zeal has become a dominant motive. Those in vindication of his tenets are less logical than those of Barclay, but have greater beauty of sentiment, speak more as from man to man, and, as may be supposed, manifest more clearly the character of the writer. They abound with keen Socratic thrusts; flashes that seem caught from the world in which he lives to illustrate that to which he aspires; brief, pithy, practical sentences, that by a kind of unforeseen movement dispose of an objection or a difficulty with as much ease and suddenness as did his rapier of the night attack made upon him in the streets of Paris. Apart

from their controversial bias, they would make a very complete and very excellent body of practical divinity. We must be pardoned, however, for thinking that it is when he touches upon a political right or principle that the insight seems deepest and the style freest and firmest. It is in such utterances that all the qualities of the writer are seen at their best. They disclose in a very marked way the intimate connection between personal religion and the rights of conscience, and the development of public liberty so peculiar to the English race.

But the critical character of these productions is of less importance than the clear view which they afford of the principle which lay at the root of Penn's character. That principle was spirituality, and it made him, of course, in his age, a religionist. By what subtle affiliation it led him to choose the doctrines of the Friends would be to inquire too curiously. Such choice is, as often as otherwise, determined by accident. This much may be said that those doctrines, then as now, offered ample scope for the indulgence of the tendency; and it reflects permanent distinction upon the society that the special form of the spiritual character, which produced such striking results, was moulded in its midst, and that it was from association with its apostles that he derived the sense of confidence and the strength which goes with it, so essentially helpful to every man in important undertakings. It is equally certain, however, that had he lived in the time of Francis of Assisi, he would have been his follower, and illustrated his teachings with as much beauty and consistency as he did those of George Fox. Had he lived later, he might have remained in the Church of England, and have found, like Wordsworth, an outlet for his secret yearnings in the spiritual worship of nature. In either case, however, he would have united action to belief. *His* enthusiasm would have inspired both. While going barefoot himself with St. Francis, he would have provided shoes for those who needed them, and would not scorn to wear them. The peasant girls of the lake country, with their "dower of beauty," would have been sent to school. Hence in all his schemes he was a philanthropist as well as a legislator. It

is imperishable that amid all the fervor of new ideas and new institutions which, in his conception, reached forward remotely into posterity, he took thought for the heathen and the savage, by many believed to be the natural enemy of the white man, those negatives of humanity as they may well be termed, and sought to secure, and measurably did secure, their welfare under the government he established.

With this spiritual quality kept in view, we have no difficulty in comprehending his whole frame of thought, not merely as a Christian living in habitual nearness to Deity, but as politician, legislator, ruler, citizen, in every relation, in every act of life. It branches and buds forth in him with a full and vital luxuriance. The spirit which had made him free, made him by its own compulsion, as he esteemed it, desire freedom for every man, freedom too to act and think nobly, and taught him the way to obtain and secure that freedom. It led up his thoughts, in framing schemes of government, to the impossibility of ascribing an abiding force anywhere but to the soul of man with its capacity, actual or potential, of being the seat of the most Holy. Religious toleration and political liberty, therefore, as commonly understood, seemed to him a mere accident, a truism. They followed as a matter of course. They went without argument. It was to realize this conception, to give form and substance to his spiritual dream, as well as for the great practical purpose of affording relief from the persecution from which he and his brethren had suffered, that he spent himself in the effort to found his commonwealth. All the qualities which he manifested in this work and his other life work, his wisdom, sagacity, patience, sweetness of temper, radiate from the same central principle. If in his own personal affairs there seems sometimes a discord, it is no more than occurs in every such life when not wholly freed from the necessity of considering selfish interests. It is the presence, not the absence of the higher attribute, which causes the jar. In more congenial relations it is only better seen. In the seasons of Penn's prosperity it is always supreme, nor less so in the hours of dejection and distress, which came to him as they come to most of us. Even in those long years

of his decline, with faculties weakened by disease and wholly sequestered from the world, the guiding principle did not lose its hold, but demonstrated its reality by reigning as an instinct when reason had almost ceased to exist.

His love of order, his soberness of judgment on all those occasions when undue enthusiasm was to be repressed, or when it was in the least likely to run into practical injustice, his readiness under trying circumstances to select and apply sound maxims, his equal quickness to discern character and to test theory by performance, with the unstudied spontaneous air which always accompanied him, all seem the result of accepted and defined principles of thought in which nothing had been left vague or uncertain. Had he been called on to explain this in words, he would have attributed the whole to that measure of inward light which had been vouchsafed to him. Inward light there was undoubtedly. A spirit did move over the face of those waters. We are not now to question his own interpretation of it.

That with these qualities he should have been a leader in all senses among his own people, and, indeed, apparently foremost in any undertaking to which he gave himself, is not surprising. Nor, on the other hand, that, at a period when enthusiasm ran high, he should at times be opposed and misrepresented. The spiritual fire burnt in him as purely as in any saint in the calendar; but, not setting himself up as a saint (if not despising, at least ignoring fanaticism and asceticism), he incurred, in some instances, the usual penalties, ingratitude and detraction. Besides, he was a new and very striking convert to a new sect, not at first distinguished for its moderation. Indeed it has seemed to us by no means improbable, although in the absence of direct historical evidence we would not be understood as asserting it, that the aspersions, which have survived to our own day, took their rise in his, and among zealots of his own household of faith. It was difficult, no doubt, for an average Friend of those times to understand that one of their number could mingle in the affairs of the courts of Charles and James, no matter for what beneficent purpose, and return from them uncontaminated. Still more difficult for such a person to understand that Penn

should not absolutely abhor Roman Catholics, and that he should be able, up to a certain point, even to clasp hands with them. The law of his larger mind lay a little beyond the ken of his co-workers. That he was able to exhibit a zeal equal to the warmest, and yet retain his good sense on every occasion, is the best proof of the native strength of his understanding.

We are aware that what we have said has, in spite of ourselves, run too much in the usual vein of treatment of American subjects, eulogy rather than analysis. It is hard, indeed, for a Philadelphian, as he walks the pavements and breathes the air of his native city, to displace from his imagination altogether the benignant image of the founder which is identical with his earliest perceptions. Nor do we think in this case that it needs to be so. There is enough in Penn to command our sincerest admiration, and we look in vain for darker shades.

We have said that the author of this opusculè has contented himself, in his extreme modesty, with merely leading the reader to his subject, and allowing it to speak for itself. There are, however, here and there, some bits of excellent writing. In proof of this we subjoin the following description of Penn in his last days. It has a flavor of Penn himself.

“By the inward retirement of soul and withdrawal of mind from outward and earthly influence which he so often called others to know and enjoy for themselves, he had known his spiritual strength to be renewed, his heart enlarged, his mental vision quickened and extended, and his judgment calmed and balanced as in the divine presence; and his spirit had been raised above the influence of human institutions, customs, maxims, and creeds, and from that height a sight had been given him of eternal truth and right, and of God’s own gracious ways, and now, in the failure of mind and body, this blessed communion which he had been drawn into the enjoyment of in his very early years, which had been his stay and rest throughout his active and troubled life, was accorded to him in bountiful measure. His peace was made to flow as a river which finds the last of its course through quiet meadows.”

A JOURNAL OF A CAMPAIGN FROM PHILADELPHIA
TO PAULUS HOOK.

BY ALGERNON ROBERTS, OF LOWER MERION TOWNSHIP,
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PA.

From the Sparks MSS. in Harvard College Library.

August the 16th 1776 the company of associators, commanded by Captain John Young in company with Captain Holstein went on board of a shallop Commanded by one Stroud, and Navigated by him and a man that he cal'd Ned the shallop being one that was used to carry Bran in, which made it extremely disagreeable as will appear in the sequel about three oclock in the afternoon we all got on board being about seventy men including Officers the tide being almost spent and wind contrary we concluded to lay on board that night in order to set off the next tide which would suit the following morning about two oclock to keep the men all on board (who like Lots wife reluctantly look't back) we hove out in the stream but not having an anchor of sufficient weight to ride at we ware obliged to warp her to the warfe at about six fathoms of Cable in this condition we lay for some time the tide ebing and the wind blowing strong down stream we by some unforeseen accident loosed our warp and drifted down to Market Street warf many times in danger of getting foul of other shallops that lay at anchor in the stream in striving to get to the warfe our man Ned fell over bord which was attended with no other consequence than a sound ducking that brought him to his reason which he seemed to have lost by being under the immediate influence of Bacchus who now in council with Neptune seem'd to be plotting our ruin for no sooner had we hawl'd into the warfe than the sky was or'e Cast with clouds which seem'd to fore-bode a severe gust and friten'd the most of the men on shore tho some of us chose to abide the consequence which proved no other than a heavy shower of rain

which was succeeded by a serene morning the tide now flowing I went on shore to collect the men which having almost accomplished we hove off and stood up to Warders warfe whare we came to in order to wait for the officers and the rest of the men's coming on board which caused us to delay that tide to the no small mortification of the commander of the shallop whose impatience now drew the men all on board the tide now suiting we again hove off tho with a contrary wind which caused us to keep constantly tacking from the one shore to the other a very slow way of sailing that made us tired of our voyage tho the day was exceedingly fine and to elevate our misfortunes there came a boat load of watermelons along side which we soon bought up upon which we regail'd ourselves in this manner we continued our voyage till the tide was beginning to ebb we now having got a little above the mouth of Pemepeck dropt anchor and some of us went on shore to refresh ourselves whare we saw a man that was drowned and taken up by the neighbors one of whom was gone for the coroner we waiting till he came back it then being about midnight we went on board whare we lay till about daylight when there arose a squale of wind that caused us to drag anchor and drove us almost on shore but luckily for us the wind abating our anchor brought us to whare we lay till the tide suited when we weighed and stood up tho with a contrary wind which obliged us to keep tacking as heretofore the tide beginning to ebb we again dropt anchor and the most of the men and officers went on shore being now hartily tired of our shallop which stank so of the bran that used to be carryed in its hole that we chose rather to walk than to lay there waiting for the tide we left a gaurd over our baggage who ware to come with the shallop up to Bristol whare we ware to wait for them upon landing we ware much chagrind finding that we had six miles to travel before we reached Bristol and fasting for some time our rations being almost expended not taking more than one days provisions on board being informed that we should get to Trenton in one tide tho to our disappointment we found it would take three tides under

these mortifying scircumstances we traveled to Neshameny ferry where we refreshed ourselves and proceeded for Bristol a small town in Bux County at this time crowded with associators going to the Jerseys which made the fare but very indifferent and that likewise exorbitant after staying here about two hours the shallop coming up many of us went on board again tho some chose rather to travel to Trenton on foot than to take another voyage on board the shallop which was now grown nautious to that degree that we chose to stay on the bare deck that night being within three miles of Trenton Landing whare we arived the next morning about seven oclock to our unspeakable joy being heartily tired of our voyage after unloading our baggage we got a waggon to carry it to Amboy drew rations which we took to a church yard at the upper end of Trenton whare we coock't them it being the first time that we had an opportunity of regularly trying our hands at that buisness and tho not performed in the best order it was an agreeable repast a good stomach supplying the place of sauce after dining all that kept Journals got Journallising on a tomb stone erected to the memory of Joseph Worrel and inscribe with the following incription Viz

This stone is erected not from pomp or Pagentry but from true affection

For other thoughts employ'd the Widdow'd Wife

The best of Husbands lov'd in private life

Bids her with tears to raise this humble stone

Which holds his ashes and expects her own

after contemplating on this and many other Tomb stones we set off for Princetown being twelve miles from Trenton nothing meterial hapning on the road and the weather very fine with a delightfull country made our journey grow much more agreeable than heretofore after traveling in this agreeable manner for about three hours we arived at Prince Town a small village Town the very butifully situated on a very high and seemingly healthy piece of ground commanding an extensive prospect of a beautifull and fertil well inhabited contry which no doubt was the occation of erecting here that famous Collage which is a beautifull stone edifice being about

two hundred feet front and about fifty feet deep making a very beautifull appearance from the post road being divided from it by a large and elegant yard, in this butifull place we lodg'd this night the next morning we set off for Brunswick which is fifteen miles from Prince town the day being extremely hot and the road rather hilly it took us the greatest part of that day in travling that stage nothing metierial happening this day except the exorbitansey of the inkeepers who had grown insolent to that degree that we could scarce refresh ourselves without taking more of the soldier upon us than we then had learn'd to sit gracefully under tho to aleveate our misfortunes under these disagreeable circumstances we found the inhabitants in general very kinde and Hospitable supplying us in as plentious a manner as their circumstances would admit of about four oclock in the afternoon we ariv'd at Brunswick a small town disagreeably situated upon the W side of the Rarinton and surrounded by the adjesent hills in such a manner that it lies undiscoverd till one has almost entered the streets which in wet weather are almost impasable not being paved and the water collecting in them from the houses and adjesent hills as we experienced thare being this night a severe Thunder gust attended with a very heavy shower of rain which raised the Rarinton river in such a manner that it was with great difficulty that we crost the next morning the rapidity of the current joind to the ignorance of the boat men who seem'd a set of the most stupid mortals living drove us a considerable way below the landing where with some difficulty we got our waggon out under a butifull red shelley pricipice which excibited a most romantic appearance there being numbers of butifull cascades thrilling down the craggey rocks occationd by the shower the preceeding night after getting our waggon upon the landing we proceeded to Bonomptown whare we refresh'd ourselves at a moderate rate upon good fare and set off for Amboy where we arived about four oclock in the afternoon got quarters in a small house occupied by a man his wife and four small children which made our quarters some-what disagreeable as may be judged there being but two small rooms

in the house to accomodate 33 of us and the family and they gaining a subsistance by keeping a dram shop but we had Hobsans choice this or none the town being much crowded with soldiers and no tents to be had after unloading our bagage we drew rations cook't them in our manner which was not very elegant tho our appetites ware whet so sharp by long fasting that our supper wanted no other sauce and being very wery we ware not curious about lodgings wrapping ourselves up in our blankets we lay on the floor which was not very clean and sweet our landlady being one of these Philosophers that think all hapiness consists in gratifying our inclinations tho at the expence of many a pair of shoes which she lost in the dirt about the floor which did not appear to be clean'd since the house was built tho as the saying is its an ill wind that blows nobody good this dirt being dry made our lodgings soft and dusty tho not very cleanly a bad circumstance in soldiering in this dirty maner we lay down in order to repose tho not without some apprehensions of an attack as the enemy lay right opposite us on Staten Island (not being above a mile from amboy being only divided by an arm of the sea commonly cald the sound) and had erected a battery from which they had fired upon the town several times tho with little damage and likewise the appearance of two frigates off the lower end of the Island seemd to indecate an attack which occation'd general orders for intrenching which begun about 11 oclock and was carried on with such alecrity that about day bake the intrenchments whare in such fouwardnes as to cover us from the enemyes batereys the next day we got them almost completed which gave us much leasure as our duty was easy we had time to rove about the adjesent country and to contemplate upon its furlorn state which now exibeted an appearance meloncholley beyond description being in a great measure forsaken by its inhabitants and there habitations taken up by the militia from the Jerseys and the adjacent provinces whome necesitey rather than inclination obliged in many places to use the fences for fuel to cook their rations with which laid the pastures and corn fields open whare by the industrious

labour of their owners whare totally destroyed and the country laid waste which will be the case in the neighbourhood of every camp being a natural consequence attending camps whare conveniency and ease are oftener consulted than the welfare of the neighbourhood this being the case as it always will it becomes every lover of his country to use all means in his power to keep the seat of war at as great a distance from his home as possible and not in the unnatural way of many to strive by all means in their power to get them in their neighbourhoods under the false hopes of their being protectors of Liberty and property and promoters of order and morality as they are and ever will be the bane of all those blessings and nothing can make them tollerable but their being neighbours and countrymen who may be expected to use less cruelty and carnage than an opposite army who are to satiate their cruel and averitious appetites at the expence of the defenceless inhabitants whose property they can look upon in no other light than as magazines of their opponents and as such will use them I think this is no exaggeration of the necesery and custom of army and could wish that no one was so credulous as to believe the contrary and would join heart and hand to remove the cause instead of wishing for the effects but to return to our journey on the evening of the 28th we recieved orders to march to Newark and the 29th we set off about day light arived at Elizabeths Town about 12 oclock whare we drew rations cook't them and eat our dinners the afternoon proving rainy we got quarters in the church whare we lay till about 10 oclock when we ware alarmed by a report of the enemys landing down at the point upon which all our men showd the greatest celerity in getting to arms and marching down to the point which is near two miles from the town but before we had all marched it was discovered to be a false alarm and we received orders to go to our quarters and there to lay on our arms that night the nex morning we marched for Newark whare we arived about nine oclock A. M. this afternoon proving rainey likewise we ware obliged to take up our quarters here that night tho not very convenient as the town was

much crowded with militia tho under these circumstances we found this place more agreeable than we expected as the inhabitants behaved with the utmost kindness in their power the next morning we received orders to march to Bergen which was obey'd with much reluctance as we had the most unfavourable accounts of that part of the country which in many parts we found true for we had not marched many miles before we came to a salt marsh that exhibited a frightfull appearance and extended as far as the eye could behold through which we had to pass on a causeway that obliged us to pull off our shoes and stockings and wade through half leg deep in mud and water in this way we traveled about half a mile when we came to a creek called Peseck over which we crost in boats it being near half a mile broad but no sooner had we crost but we had to renew our march through the mud again for about three quarters of a mile when we came to another creek called Hackensack which is near a mile a cross tho when we had crost that creek we found ourselves still in the marsh for near half a mile which confirmed the accounts we had of the country and made us long for the hills of Pensylvania about three oclock we got to Bergen a small ill[?] built in the county of the same name where we experienced many inconveniences that we had as yet been strangers to amongst the rest was swarms of Musketoes which pestered us beyond description in this disagreeable place we lay for 3 days when we received orders to march to paulus hook a neck of land lying between the north river and the sound and being divided by the former from New York after laying here two days many of us got passes and went over to New York being led by mere curiosity as the most of us were strangers and without a guid we could give but a poor description of the City more than to say it seemd to be devested of almost all that makes a City agreeable and the streets barrocaded in such a manner that it gave it a most dreary appearance after wandring through this forlorn city till evening we went down to the warf in order to goe over to pauls hook in which we ware disappointed as the boats ware all over on the other shore this being the

case we took our lodgings up in the city that night and crost the next morning and went up to Bergen whare we lay for 3 days and marched to the Hook again lay there 3 days and marched to Bergen where we lay waiting orders to go home which we received with in expressable joy on the 14th day of September nothing very meterial hapning on our journey home except forced marches which brought us to Philadilphia on the 17th of September about 2 oclock in the morning after a campeign of 4 weeks and 5 days in which we underwent many toils that can be better immagined than expressed.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Concluded from page 303.)

SHANNON — SYKES — WETHERED — RIDGELY — MARTIN — FINNEY — MILLER —
McMULLAN — GARDNER — GOLDSBOROUGH — McCALLMONT — CLAXTON —
MASSEY — THOMAS — HENVIS.

156. MARY SHANNON,⁵ daughter of John and Catharine (French) Shannon, inherited an equal interest in the estates of her parents with her sister Anne. She married James Sykes, "of Kent County on Delaware, Esquire," probably a relative of James Sykes, a Vestryman and Warden of Immanuel Church, New Castle, from 1717 to 1729, and of James Sykes, "of the County of New Castle," who married her cousin Elizabeth (Carpenter) Wright (143). Mr. Sykes was Lieutenant of Captain Cæsar Rodney's Company of Militia from Dover Hundred in the Regiment for Kent County upon Delaware in 1756. He was a "Justice of the Peace and of the County Court, Court of Common Pleas, for the County of Kent," a commission which was reissued to him November 1, 1766, and August 24, 1769. With George Read and Nicholas Van Dyke he was a Delegate from Delaware to the Continental Congress from 1777 to 1778.* December 25, 1779, he was appointed, by Act of Assembly, Trustee of the General Loan Office for Kent County, but declined to accept the office. In 1780 he was Register in Chancery. He is thus spoken of in an "eulogium" of his son, James Sykes, M.D.,†

* A letter from Mr. Sykes to his colleague, George Read, dated "Philadelphia, April 10th, 1777," soon after his arrival in Congress, is given in W. T. Read's *Life of George Read*, pp. 261 *et seq.* It expresses the greatest anxiety that the latter should join him in consequence of his lack of capacity for public discourse.

† Son of James Sykes by a second wife. The "eulogium" cited appears in Huffington's *Delaware Register*, vol. i. pp. 430 *et seq.* Besides attain-

delivered by J. Franklin Vaughan, M.D., before the Medical Society of Delaware: "He held several important and honourable offices in the State, which evinces the standing he possessed in society; and the general satisfaction given by him, in the performance of their duties, is a fair criterion by which to judge of his merit. He was repeatedly chosen as a Member of the Privy Council; and, when the change was about to be effected in the administration of the government of the State, he was appointed one of the Members of the Convention which framed the present Constitution. He attended the first meeting, at which the work was commenced; but previous to the second, when it was finished and adopted, it pleased Providence to remove him from this and all other earthly cares and honours, and, therefore, his name does not appear as one of the signers of that instrument, in the formation of which he had assisted." Mr. Sykes was a member of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held from September 27 to October 7, 1785, October 10 and 11, 1786, and from July 28 to August 8, 1789. Mrs. Sykes died before her husband, who married again. Mr. Sykes died in April, 1792, his will being dated the 2d, and admitted to probate the 16th, of that month. At that time he resided in Dover, Delaware, and owned two plantations of several hundred acres each "in the Forest of Murderkill Hundred," Kent County. Mr. and Mrs. Sykes had one child:

392. MARY, b. about 1752. In her father's will she is spoken of in these terms: "As my daughter Mary will at my decease have in right of her Mother, in addition to what she already possesses, a very considerable Estate, amounting in the whole to much more than any provision I can make for my other children, I give her thirty pounds lawful money of the Delaware State, in token of my affec-

ing distinction in his profession, Doctor Sykes was Presidential Elector for Delaware in 1793, and for nearly fifteen years President of the Senate, and in 1801-2 Acting Governor of that State. His son James Sykes, M.D., was an able surgeon, and his grandson George Sykes was a distinguished soldier, at the time of his death, in 1880, holding the rank of Colonel and Brigadier-General by brevet in the Army of the United States, and Major-General of Volunteers. The family lived at Dover, in the old Chew house, on the green, afterwards the residence of the Hon. John M. Clayton.

tion for her, and it is my desire that she should lay out that money in a piece of plate and keep it in remembrance of me." She m. John Wethered, son of Richard Wethered, of Maryland, by his wife Isabella, daughter of Colonel William Blay, of Blay's Range. Kent County, in the same Province, and grandson of Samuel Wethered, a merchant of London, England, and his wife Dolly, eldest daughter of Sir William Lewin, Knight, Sheriff of London in 1713.* They had issue.†

158. MARY RIDGELY,⁵ daughter of Nicholas and Anne (French) Ridgely, was born at her parents' residence in St. Stephen's Parish, Cecil County, Maryland, January 26, 1730–31. She married Patrick Martin, "of Kent County on Delaware, Gentleman," and lived for several years near Duck Creek. Letters of administration on her estate were granted to her half-brother, Dr. Charles Greenberry Ridgely, May 9, 1758. Mr. Martin survived his wife, letters on his estate being granted to John Clayton, of Kent County, March 14, 1761. They had:

393. A child, who d. in infancy, January 20, 1755.‡

161. DAVID FINNEY,⁵ son of John and Elizabeth (French) Finney, was born in America, but, according to the statement of a descendant, received his higher education in Ireland, and, returning to this country, studied law, and practised his profession at New Castle.§ He witnessed a deed of gift

* For the ancestry of Mr. Wethered, see Hanson's *Old Kent*, and *Genealogical Notes*, by Lawrence Buckley Thomas (Baltimore, 1877). The latter contains an engraving of the coat of arms of the family, which is traced from James Wethered, of Ashlyns, Hertfordshire, England, about A. D. 1400.

† Their son Peregrine Wethered married his cousin, Hannah Medford, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Lathim) Medford (292); their son Samuel Wethered married his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Donaldson and Mary (Syng) Yeates (286); and their granddaughter, Mary Shubrick (daughter of Rear-Admiral William Branford Shubrick, U. S. N., and their daughter Harriet Wethered) married George Clymer, M.D., U. S. N., also a descendant of Jöran Kyn (see note under 317), for whom see Keith's *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, p. (101).

‡ A touching letter written on this occasion by Mr. Martin to his father-in-law is still preserved.

§ Among the students in his office was his cousin-german, Thomas McKean, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Governor of Pennsylvania.

of land from Robert and Dorothy Finney to his uncle, Robert Finney, of Chester County, Pa., in 1744, and in 1752 purchased land in East Nottingham Township, and in 1753 in New London Township, in both of which transactions he is described as "of New Castle, Attorney-at-Law." May 25, 1748, he was commissioned by the Provincial Council Captain of a Company of Associators of New Castle County, and his name appears, December 28, 1757, in a list of members of Captain Richard McWilliams's Company (including Thomas McKean, John Thompson, and George Read, elsewhere mentioned) in Colonel William Armstrong's Regiment of Foot in the same county,* which some of his fellow-townsmen had desired he should command.† October 31, 1764, with his father and other residents of New Castle, he was appointed by Thomas and Richard Penn a Trustee for New Castle Common; and by Act of Assembly passed June 13, 1772, with John Thompson, George Read, Thomas McKean, and George Monro, he was constituted a Trustee of certain portions of the "Market Square" for the use of the inhabitants of New Castle. January 25, 1771, and December 9, 1775, he was commissioned a Justice for the County of New Castle for the trial of negroes; March 8, 1777, a Justice of the Peace; and June 27, 1778, being then Judge of the Supreme Court of Delaware, a Justice of the Superior Court, with powers of gaol delivery, etc. He married Ann, daughter of John Thompson, of County Antrim, Ireland, where, probably, she was born, her father emigrating to America during her childhood. She is spoken of as "a sensible and accomplished woman," and was the sister of John Thompson, of New Castle, who married David Finney's cousin-german, Letitia McKean, sister of Governor Thomas McKean. Judge Finney inherited considerable property from both father and mother, and at one time was reputed the wealthiest citizen of Delaware. "His large estate, however," says a biogra-

* Printed in W. T. Read's *Life of George Read*, pp. 48 and 49.

† See a letter of William Till to Richard Peters, from New Castle, November 4, 1755, *Pa. Archives*, vol. ii. pp. 464-5.

pher,* “was subsequently greatly injured, during our Revolutionary struggle, by the depreciation of the Continental paper, the almost exclusive currency of that day. He and his wife were strong whigs, and the expectation or, at least, the doctrine of the whigs was, that the Continental bills would all finally be redeemed, and that he was a recreant enemy to his country, who did not give them implicit credit. This rule of conduct was adopted by Mr. Finney, and here is one instance of how it worked. He sold a large farm in New Castle County, called ‘Muscle Cripple,’ for \$20,000, and received in payment that currency, the principal part, if not the whole, of which died, afterwards, in his hands. The property was worth the sum in hard money. It was one of the finest farms in the State of Delaware, comprising some five hundred or more acres of excellent land, with convenient buildings, well-watered, etc., and within a convenient distance of New Castle, a healthy, beautiful place, and the seat of justice in the principal county of the State. I remember ‘Muscle Cripple’ well, having spent weeks there as a relative of the family, which at one time occupied it as a residence. Mr. Finney, with his family, removed thence to their mansion house in New Castle, and subsequently to his farm adjacent to that town, where he departed this life at an advanced age. His education was liberal. His bodily health was uninterrupted through life. I have no recollection of his ever having had disease till that which resulted in his death. His understanding was sound, his general deportment kind and cheerful, and his benevolence unbounded. As a husband he was uniformly affectionate, kind, and respectful (in his eyes his wife was hardly capable of doing wrong); and as a father he was affectionate, and indulgent, it may be, to a fault. My aunt survived her husband several years, continuing to reside on the farm where he died to the end of her own pilgrimage. Mrs. Finney was an estimable

* The late Thomas McKean Thompson, nephew of Mrs. David Finney, in a MS. account of the Thompson family, for the extract from which, as well as for other information concerning the descendants of Judge Finney, I am indebted to John D. McKennan, Esq., of Washington, Pa.

woman. Besides the advantages of a good education, she had a large share of practical knowledge, what we call common sense, was cheerful, kind, and benevolent, and was a consistent member of the Presbyterian Church." Judge Finney died from mortification following a sore, caused by a ryebeard getting in his leg, in May, 1806, his will being admitted to probate the 20th of that month. He had six children:

394. JOHN FRENCH. He lived in New Castle, and is the only grandson mentioned in the will of Dr. John Finney, who bequeathed him a "plantation on the north side of the new canal, with marsh adjoining," after the death of his two aunts (whom, however, he did not survive). His will is dated at New Castle, March 27, 1793, and was admitted to probate April 2, 1794. From the fact, that he left all his property to his brothers and sisters, it is inferred he d. unm. or s. p.
395. ELIZABETH. She is mentioned in her grandfather Dr. John Finney's will. She m. (by 1793) James Miller, and d. s. p.
396. ANN. She is mentioned in her grandfather Dr. John Finney's will. She m. (by 1793) William Miller, "of Philadelphia, Esquire," brother of James Miller, who m. her sister. She d. before her father, leaving issue.
397. DAVID THOMPSON, b. in New Castle, January 20, 1773. He was m. by the Rev. James Latta, in Wilmington, Delaware, March 9, 1797, to Mary, daughter of John James, Esquire, of Wilmington, b. in that borough, September 20, 1775. At the division of his father-in-law's estate, in 1801, he and Mrs. Finney were assigned a lot of ground in Wilmington, which was sold by them in 1806 to Colonel Allen McLane, of the same borough. Mr. Finney also inherited all his father's real estate. He lived with his father in New Castle County until 1806, when he removed to the town of Washington, Washington County, Pa., and soon after to West Middletown, in the same county. In 1811 Mr. Finney settled in Coshocton (now Holmes) County, Ohio, but subsequently returned to Washington County, Pa., on account of difficulties with the Indians. After remaining here nearly two years he again went to Ohio, and resided in the present Holmes County for the rest of his life, occupied with agricultural pursuits. He was chosen Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Coshocton County, but only served one term, resigning on account of the great distance (thirty miles) he was obliged to travel, to attend the sessions. He was a Ruling Elder in the first Presbyterian Church organized in that part of Ohio, holding this office until his death, which oc-

curred in Holmes County, November 22, 1863. Mrs. Finney d. in Holmes County, July 13, 1859. They left issue.*

398. WASHINGTON LEE. He studied law and practised his profession in the borough of Wilmington, Delaware. He m. (Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia) December 19, 1797, Christiana, daughter of George Bickham, a merchant, and in 1785 Warden of Philadelphia, by his wife Christiana, formerly wife of Dietrich Rees, of the same city. Mr. Finney d. s. p. in 1804, his will being dated January 26. and admitted to probate March 7, of that year. He devised all his estate to Mrs. Finney, appointing as executors his father-in-law, his brother, David Thompson Finney, and his wife's brother-in-law, Lewis Neill, of Philadelphia. Mrs. Finney survived her husband, and resided for many years in her house, No. 350, afterwards No. 1228 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, where she d. in 1857.

399. SARAH MARIA. She m. (by 1805) her cousin French McMullan (404), and accompanied him to Pennsylvania and down the Ohio River, where they d., leaving one child.

164. ANNA DOROTHEA FINNEY,⁵ daughter of John and Elizabeth (French) Finney, was born in New Castle on Delaware in 1735. She married her cousin-german John Finney, eldest son of William Finney, of New London Township, Chester County, Pa., by his wife, Jane Stephenson.† Mr. Finney was a Ruling Elder in New London Presbyterian Church, and lived for many years in Londonderry Township, Chester County, engaged in agricultural pursuits. He was also a Justice of the Peace. Besides other property, Mrs. Finney was devised by her father a joint interest with her sister, Elizabeth Finney, in his last place of residence in New Castle, at the corner of Wood and Beaver streets; and in 1788 her husband purchased her sister's interest in the same. They sold the house in 1795. Mr. Finney died in Penn

* For most of my information concerning Mr. and Mrs. Finney, I am indebted to their son, the late David T. Finney, of Holmes County, Ohio, their grandson, the Rev. Jonathan Finney, of Red Wing, Minn., and their great-grandson, the Rev. Edwin Brown, of Jefferson City, Mo.

† Brother of Major Walter Finney, of the Army of the Revolution. Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Chester County from 1791 to 1820, whose grandson, the Rev. Ebenezer Dickey Finney, of Belair, Md. (son of the Rev. William Finney, of Churchville, Harford Co., Md.), has kindly furnished me some information concerning the family.

Township, Chester County, in 1814. Mrs. Finney died in 1817. They had one child:

400. JOHN. He m. Jane, daughter of Walter Boothe and his wife Catharine Knox, both of Londonderry, Ireland. About 1825 they removed from Chester County to Western Pennsylvania, where they passed the rest of their lives. Mrs. Finney d. in Pittsburgh, April 16, 1846. Mr. Finney d. at Coal Bluffs, Washington County, Pa., June 9, 1862. They left issue.*

165. ANNE GARDNER,⁵ daughter of James and Mary (French) Gardner, inherited from her father a "plantation called Dundee" in Murderkill Hundred, Kent County on Delaware. She married James McMullan, a merchant who had his "house and stores at the Cross Roads of Duck Creek," now Smyrna, in Kent County. Mr. McMullan survived his wife, his will being dated March 22, 1782, and admitted to probate November 12, 1784. They had, at least, seven children:

401. JAMES. He inherited from his grandfather James Gardner a "water corn mill, plantation and land, part of the land called 'Partnership' on the southwest branch of Duck Creek," in Kent County on Delaware, and, with his brother William Gardner McMullan, a "plantation on the southwest side of the road in Jones's Neck leading from Jones's Bridge towards Delaware Bay." Both of these bequests being conditioned on the assumption by Mr. McMullan of his grandfather's surname, he adopted the name of Gardner in accordance with an Act of Assembly passed June 26, 1784. December 11, of the same year, he made his will, "being weak in body, and about to take a voyage to one of the Islands in the West Indies for the recovery of his health." At that time he resided in Kent County, on what was known as "the mansion farm," which he bequeathed conditionally to his brother Francis McMullan. He also left £50 for "erecting marble tombstones, with proper inscriptions, over the graves of his honoured parents in the burying-ground of the Presbyterian Church near Duck Creek Cross Roads;" and to "Captain Edward Rees† and William Clark, Esquire, £50 for the purpose of inclosing the burying-ground of the said church with a good fence and repairs," etc. He constituted his "respected friend and relation Major John Patten" and Eleazar McComb, Esquire, of Dover, his executors. He appears to have d. unm. soon afterwards, letters testamentary being granted January 21, 1785.

* Facts for which I am indebted to their grandson, Mr. Robert Finney, of Kittanning, Pa.

† Probably the husband of his cousin Mary Maxwell (391), and a relative of William Rees, who married Mr. McMullan's aunt, Martha Gardner (166).

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402. FRANCIS, b. in 1770-1. He inherited from his grandfather James Gardner part of the plantations called "Partnership," subject to the condition of assuming the surname of Gardner, which he took in accordance with an Act of Assembly, passed September 8, 1791. With James Sykes, M.D., and other gentlemen, he was appointed a commissioner under an Act of Assembly "for improving the navigation of Dover river," passed June 19, 1793. Afterwards he removed to Wilmington, Delaware, and d. apparently unm. or s. p., his will being dated January 17, and proved April 25, 1801.
403. WILLIAM GARDNER. He inherited from his grandfather James Gardner part of "Partnership." He d. unm. or s. p. before the date of his brother James McMullan Gardner's will.
404. FRENCH. He inherited a conditional interest with his brother John McMullan in his father's "house and stores at the Cross Roads of Duck Creek." He m. his cousin Sarah Maria Finney (399), and resided in New Castle for some time. About 1806 he accompanied his wife's brother, David Thompson Finney, to Pennsylvania, and settled in Virginia on the Ohio, where he d., leaving one child.
405. MARY, b. in 1774. She m. Howes Goldsborough, son of John Goldsborough, of Four Square, Talbot County, Maryland, by his wife Caroline Goldsborough, grandchildren of Robert Goldsborough, of Ashby,* son of Nicholas Goldsborough, a native of Malcolm Regis, Dorset County, England, who settled in Maryland in 1670.† Mr. Goldsborough was b. November 20, 1771, and d. October 20, 1804. Mrs. Goldsborough d. March 14, 1821. They had issue.
406. MARTHA, b. about 1776. She became the second‡ wife of James McCallmont, M.D., of New Castle, Delaware, b. about 1755. She d. in New Castle, August 22, 1813, aged 37 years. Dr. McCallmont d. in New Castle, October 4, 1824, aged 69 years. They are bur. in the Presbyterian Burying-Ground at New Castle. They had issue.
407. JOHN. He inherited his brother Francis McMullan Gardner's interest in estates in Kent County called "Long Reach" and "Dundee." He m. Anna Maria ———, and d. s. p. in New Castle County, Delaware, about 1809. Mrs. McMullan surviving him.

* By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Nicholas Greenberry, grandfather of Nicholas Ridgely, who m. Anne French, great-granddaughter of Jöran Kyn (51).

† For some account of this family see Hanson's *Old Kent*. Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Robert (cousin-german of Howes) Goldsborough, m. James Sykes, M.D., son of James Sykes who m. Mary Shannon (156).

‡ Doctor McCallmont's first wife was Mary, daughter of George Monro, of New Castle. Their daughter Maria m. Kensey Johns, Chancellor of the State of Delaware, whose daughter Julia m. Charles Hammond, grandson of Howes and Mary (McMullan) Goldsborough (405).

172. JANE CLAXTON,⁵ daughter of James and Mary (Sandelands) Claxton, married (Register of St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church, Philadelphia) December 27, 1773, Ebenezer Massey, son of Wight Massey, of Philadelphia,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Jones, born in Philadelphia, March 12, 1745-6. Mr. Massey was a scrivener by profession, and resided at one time at No. 80 Crown Street, Philadelphia. He was Secretary of the Navy Board of Pennsylvania in 1777, of which his brother Samuel Massey was a member. Mrs. Massey was still living, and, with her husband, dwelling in Philadelphia in 1797, when they sold their interest in land in Chester, Pa., inherited from Mrs. Massey's uncle and aunt, George and Eleanor (Sandelands) Pooley (60), to her cousin Robert Henvis (412). She appears to have died by 1805. Mr. Massey died April 7, 1821.† They had, at least, four children:

- 408. ELIZABETH, b. August 12, 1774. She was constituted principal heir to the estate of her uncle Thomas Massey's widow Sarah, daughter of Francis Rawle, of Philadelphia, in the will of the latter, dated and admitted to probate in June, 1784, with remainder, in case of her death under age and without issue, to "the surviving children or child of Ebenezer Massey and Jane his wife, as tenants in common." She was still unmarried in September, 1793, and d. s. p. between that date and August 12, 1795.
- 409. MARY, b. December 2, 1776. She d. s. p., probably before June 10, 1784, the date of her aunt Mrs. Thomas Massey's will.
- 410. JAMES W. February 6, 1805, he and his brother Thomas assigned to Joseph Carter their interest in the fishery at Tinicum inherited

* Who sailed with his father, Samuel Massey, and mother, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Wight, of Cork, Ireland, from that city for Pennsylvania in October, 1710, and, after being captured by the French and taken to Antigua, arrived in Philadelphia early in 1711. They were members of the Society of Friends, and carried with them certificates from the meeting of Cork, which are printed with other papers of interest in "Some Memoranda of the Massey Family" in *The Friend*, vol. lii. pp. 101-2, and 106-7. Thomas Wight, who died at Cork in 1724, in the 84th year of his age, "was the son of Riee Wight, minister of the town of Bandon, who was the son of Thomas Wight, who was also minister of the same town, who came from Guilford in the County of Surrey." (Reilly's *Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland*.)

† For some information concerning Mr. Massey and his family I am indebted to Louis C. Massey, Esq., of this city.

from David Sandelands (57). October 17, 1811, he and his brother Thomas are described as "the only surviving children of Ebenezer and Jane Massey." At that time he was married to Ann ———, and resided in the Northern Liberties, in Philadelphia County, Pa., where he continued to dwell, at least, till 1833.

411. THOMAS. October 17, 1811, he was married to Mary ———, and lived in the Northern Liberties, in Philadelphia County, Pa., where he still resided in 1840.

177. ANNE THOMAS,⁵ daughter of Oliver and Sarah (Sandelands) Thomas, was probably born at Upland, then known as Chester, Pa., December 29, 1737. She married Robert Henvis, whom she survived. December 10, 1795, then a widow, living at Chester, she united with her brother David Thomas, and her sister Margaret, and her brother-in-law James Hogan, the husband of the latter, in conveying land in Chester, inherited from their mother, to her son Robert Henvis, reserving certain quarries, and her own and Mrs. Hogan's right "to reside in the mansion house." March 10, 1797, still a widow, living in Chester Township, she united with her brother David Thomas, and her son Robert Henvis and Deborah his wife, in selling to Joseph Carter their share of "the fishing place on Tinicum Island" inherited from her uncle David Sandelands. She died September 4, 1820, leaving one child:

412. ROBERT, b. September 21, 1769. At the time of his purchase of land in Chester, as stated above, he is described as "of the Township of Blockley, in the County of Philadelphia, farmer;" while at the period of his sale of his interest in the fishery at Tinicum he is said to be "of the Township of Chester," Delaware County, Pa. May 19, 1797, he acquired from his mother, his uncle David Thomas, and his cousins Mary and Elizabeth Claxton, and Ebenezer and Jane (Claxton) Massey, their interest in land inherited from his great-aunt Eleanor (Sandelands) Pooley. He m., 1st, about 1793, Deborah, daughter of Isaac and Catharine Kite, b. in Blockley Township, Philadelphia County, Pa., November 20, 1762. Mrs. Henvis d. September 17, 1742. Mr. Henvis m., 2dly, Sarah Scott, who survived him. He died in Chester Township, Delaware Co., Pa., February 28, 1859, leaving issue by his first wife.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE TOMBSTONES IN CHRIST CHURCH.—Mr. Edward L. Clark, in his invaluable *Inscriptions in Burial Grounds of Christ Church*, printed in 1864, gave the inscriptions on the stones within the church as recorded by Mr. Kempton, Church Warden, in the Vestry Minutes of 1836. at the time when the stone and brick flooring were covered by a timber floor.

On the removal of this floor in 1882, it was found that more could be made out of the lettering than was gathered in 1836; the work of that year was done perhaps in haste, and with a view to preserve the identity of the family resting-places rather than to literal accuracy. As accuracy is in fact important, as well as adding more interest to the stones, they are now rendered afresh in the hopes of preserving in type what may soon be worn away by the feet of curious and interested visitors to the old church.

They are given as follows, and are numbered agreeably to Mr. Clark's arrangement. A comparison of these with the inscriptions as copied in 1836, and which were the only authority Mr. Clark could find, will testify to the surprising inaccuracy of those.

XXXVIII.

HERE
 LYETH THE BODY OF ∞
 NICHOLAS PEARSE WHO
 DIED THE 27 OF NOVEMB^R
 ∞ ∞ 1709 ∞ ∞
 ALSO
 THE WIFE OF THE
 D HOLAS PEARSE
 D THE 21st OF
 DOM 1713 ∞
 ALSO
 THE WIFE OF ∞
 S TRESSE & SOLE
 OF THE AFORES^D
 1 MARY PEARSE
 D THE 27th OF
 AY AN DOM 1714 ∞

Note.—Mary the wife of Nicholas Pearse was buried 23 September. 1713: and Mary their daughter the wife of Thomas Tresse was buried 28 May, 1714.

XXXIV.

HERE LIES THE BODY
 OF SAMUEL WELSH
 DECEASED JANUARY
 1702 AGED
 YE R

XL.

M. S. FAMILIÆ
 ASSHETON-iensis
 de Salford juxta Manchester
 in V c Lancastrienfi
 STEPHANUS WATTS & FRANCISCA
 Uxor ejus
 RADULPHI & SUSANNÆ ASSHETON
 Filia pientiffima
 hunc lapidem poni
 Voluerunt
 ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXVIII

Note.—Robert Assheton, one of the Provincial Councillors, and kinsman to William Penn, died suddenly at the council table 29 May, 1727, and "was buried after the English manner of people of distinction in much pomp by torch light in Christ Church." Watson's *Annals*, i. 382. His sons William (who predeceased him) and Ralph, who died 20 February, 1746, were also Councillors, and are here buried. The latter's youngest daughter Frances married Stephen Watts. (Keith's *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, 287.)

XLI.

Here lieth
 The Body of
 The Honorable JOHN PENN, Esq^r
 One of the late Proprietaries of
 PENNSYLVANIA
 who died February 9th A D 1795
 Aged 67 years

Note.—His remains were subsequently removed to England. Watson's *Annals*, i. 125. But the Church Records afford no evidence of this.

XLII.

Homo fidæ Memorix requiescit

Jul^e 17 7

decem

Posuere in Marini &
 Pater Tho Kenton de Insula
 Si Christopheri

Note.—Mr. Clark made the suggestion that this was the grave of Rev. Nathaniel Evans who died in 1767, but the stone is more ancient than this date.

XLIII.

M
ROBERTUS JENNEY LL.D.

Quid huic Eccle

hoc ejus sac

Jura

Sub suis

Ci qua

sunt

structa vidit

Similiter parietes junioris Ecclesiæ S. Petri
in Monte sociali sitæ

Tempore ejus constructæ fuerunt

Natus est Armachæ

Coll: S. S. Trinitat. Dublin studuit alumnus

Obiit Die v Mensis Januar Anno Salut MDCCLXII ÆT LXXV

Age Lector

Si puræ Religionis honestæ Veritatis benevoli animi

Exemplum Velis

Hunc Christianæ fidei Vindicem Probitatis Cultorem

Benevolentia studiis

Respice. Sequare, imitare

Juxta hoc etiam Marmor sepulta Jacet

JOANNA ELIZABETHA Prædicti ROBERTI JENNEY Conjux

Qua sex tantummodo Dies post Maritum superstes

Obiit Anno Ætati suæ LXIV

Note.—The Reverend Dr. Jenney was Rector of this Church from 1742 to 1762, and was buried January, 1762. Mrs. Jenney (Jane Elizabeth Falconier) had married first Robert Assheton, who died in 1727; secondly the Reverend Archibald Cummings; and thirdly Dr. Jenney. Her three husbands all lie in this aisle.

XLIV.

Sepultura

tus Curis
oppressus
obiit

Aprilis 19^o

A : D : 1741

Ætat. 50

Note.—The Reverend Archibald Cummings, Rector of the Church from 1726 to 1741, was here buried 22 April, 1741.

XLV.

In Memory of
The Reverend RICHARD PETERS DD
Rector of CHRIST Church & St PETERS
who departed this Life
July the 10th 1776
Aged 72 Years

XLVI.

In Memory
of
THOMAS VENABLES Esq^r
Who
Departed this Life
January 26th 1731
And of
REBECCA his Wife
Who
Departed this Life
February 10th 1784
Aged 78 Years

XLVII.

Under this Stone lies ANN HOCKLEY who will
ever be remembered with true Esteem by all
who knew her for her good Sense. Sprightly
Conversation, Strict Virtue. Sincere
Friendship and unaffected Piety her Sickness
was one continued Exercise of Devotion
being a painfull consumptive Disorder which
removed her from hence ye 28th day of June
1745 at the Age of 24 years singing in
most devout strains and making melody unto
the Lord in her very last Moments.

XLVIII.

Under this Stone lies interrred
the Body of JOHN KNIGHT, Esq^r
of the Island of *Jamaica*;
who died in this *City*
the 23^d Day of *July* 1753
in the 36th year of his age:
He was the only surviving Son
of *James Knight, Esq^r*
and grandson of *Doctor Knight*
Both of the said *Island*

XLIX.

SACRED
to the Memory of
The Honorable RICHARD WORSAM Esq.
One of his Majesty's Council
For the Island of Barbados.
Nature had been bountiful to him
His education was liberal.
His principles in regard to Church & State,
were Orthodox and Constitutional.
In the relations of Husband & Father
He was
Kind, tender and truly Affectionate
His mournful Widow in respectful Testimony
of his Conjugal, Paternal,
and other Excellencies
Dedicates this Stone
Born in Barbados
A. D. 1701
Died in Philadelphia
A. D. 1766
Aged 65
Also the Remains of MRS MARY WEEKS
eldest Daughter of the Aforesaid
RICHARD WORSAM Esq and wife of
RALPH WEEKS Esq of Barbadoes
who died Janry the 21st 1772
aged 31 years
ROBERT MEADE
Son of
GEORGE & HENRIETTA CONSTANTIA MEADE
& Grand Son of
RICHARD WORSAM
was also Interred here on the 5th May 1796.

L.

Here lieth the Body
of
Mrs MARY ANDREWS
who departed this Life
March 29th
1761
ANNO. ÆTAT. 78.

LL.

Here Lyeth The Body of John
Roberts Mer. In Phila who
Departed this Life Jany 13th, 1730
Aged 44 years.

LII.

Here Lies the Body of Mr ROBERT
LORÆY March^t Who Departed This
Life Nov^{br} the 27 Anno Domⁱ
1734 Aged 42 Years

Note.—The Records show on 29 November, 1734, the burial of Mr. Robert Lowery.

1 September, 1883.

T. H. M.

WILLIAM PENN AND HIS CHARTER.—John Lewin, to whom the following letter was addressed, was sent out to America by the Duke of York in 1680, as his agent "in New York, Albany and other [his] lands and territories in America." His commission was issued 24 May, 1680. He arrived in New York, October 16th (1680), and at once proceeded to make a searching examination into the accounts of the Duke's estates, summoning before him Captain William Dyre, the Duke's Collector of the Customs, and others, to produce their books and accounts from the year 1674. At the conclusion he sent a long and full report, relating to the past and present management, to the Duke, and doubtless returned soon after to England. The letter to Lewin is undated, and there is nothing in it to indicate who was the writer, but it may be reasonably inferred that he was one of the under Secretaries of the Foreign Office, or connected with the Committee of Trade and Plantations, who so thoughtfully kept the agent advised of the progress of Penn's negotiations.

Letter to Mr. Lewin at New York concerning Mr. Pen's Patent.

"At the distance you are settled at present from this place I imagine you are not unwilling to hear what news is stirring here especially what may relate to the Government of New York and therefore I would not let pass this opportunity to give you an account of a patent that is lately pass'd for the Government and propriety of a Tract of Land to bee called Pensilvania bordering upon New Jersey and Maryland and otherwise bounded according to the Latitude and longitude described in the inclosed paper. It was in the month of June last that Mr. Penn petitioned His Majesty for this Grant in consideration of his Father's merits & several debts which are due to him from y^e Crown & the Examination of his pretensions was then referr'd to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations who proceeded with all possible circumspection to prevent any encroachment that might bee made upon any neighboring Colony. And therefore the first step they made was to send copies of the petition unto my Lord Baltimore's agents and to Sir John Werden as Secretary to his Royal Highness. And Mr. Penn did alsoe apply himselfe to the Duke in order to satisfy him concerning the intended Boundaries and several months passed before any further progress was made in this business. But at length as well Sir John Werden as an Agent for my Lord Baltimore attended the Committee and were fully heard as to the interest of each party. And although their Lordships had before consulted Mr. Attorney General touching the legality of the Grant desired by Mr. Penn and ye Draught presented by him, yet that all things might bee finally adjusted and Explained to the satisfaction of every one Concerned in the passing of the patent, my Lord Chief Justice North who is alsoe one of the Committee was desired by the Board to take particular care in y^e right stating and settlement of the Boundaries with due respect to the neighboring Plantations and for the better effecting hereof Sir John Werden and my Lord Baltimore's agent attended my Lord Chief Justice North

at his Chamber and upon laying before his Lordship their respective interest and both of them acquiescing in y^e Bounds as they stand now described in Mr. Penn's Patent, they were presented to the Committee and agreed on by their Lordships and after a Report offer'd in Council in pursuance of the first Reference in June last His Majesty was pleased to order the Draught of a Patent which had been settled by the Committee to pass the Great Seale in the usual forms, and thereupon Mr. Penn on the fourth of March last became absolute Proprietary of Pensilvania, soe named by the King himselfe. Mr. Penn has besides obtained from his Majesty a Letter of Recommendation to my Lord Baltimore directing him to give order for the settling of Landmarks between Maryland and this New Province together with a Declaration to such persons as are already settled in it requiring them to give all due obedience to Mr. Penn according to the Powers of his Patent.

Sir I have perhaps detained you too long with this Narrative but knowing well, by the Experience my station gives mee, how welcome a right Information of things is to fforeign Governors. I thought I could not lay hold of a better occasion to court your correspondency which I will endeavour to render as usefull to yourselfe as it might bee gratefull unto mee.

The King has thought fit to put out a Declaration touching the Dissolution of the late Parliaments of which I have sent you two copies here inclosed for yourselfe and your freinds, and if I can bee further serviceable unto you I beg your Commands to me."

Oxford, England.

G. D. SCULL.

DR. DANIEL COXE'S POSSESSIONS IN WEST NEW JERSEY.—The following letter has been received from Judge Clement. A note from Brinton Coxe, Esq., addressed to the editor, says: "You will find an account of the Cape May Survey Map in Beesley's *Cape May*. I have seen several copies of this book. In one copy, and in one only, there was a reprint of the map as large as the original."

Dear Sir: The copy of the record introduced by Mr. G. D. Scull in his valuable and interesting notice of Dr. Daniel Coxe in the last number of your MAGAZINE (page 336) is a paper that has been lost sight of for many years. Since Cape May and the adjacent sea and bay shores have become such popular and desirable summer resorts, much capital has been attracted there for necessary improvements, and careful investors, either by purchase or mortgage, have made inquiry as to the title to the soil where such improvements were to be made.

It was known that Daniel Coxe, having large interests in West New Jersey, conveyed a tract of land in Cape May County to the West New Jersey Society with other extensive surveys in different parts of the province, also twenty-two whole shares of propriety, and it therefore became a pertinent inquiry to know how Daniel Coxe claimed the ownership of the territory in Cape May, and from whom and by what authority he was in actual possession. It is evident from his correspondence that he had a whale fishery and plantation at Cape May (on the bay side) where stood "Coxe-hall" and a number of dwellings called Cape May town, yet nothing appears in the proceedings of the Commissioners or of the Council of Proprietors, to show whence came his title in severalty to this particular section of the province. It was also known that John Budd and John Worlidge, two deputy surveyors of West New Jersey, and acting under the authority before named, made a map of their work, showing the location and outlines of this large tract of land called the "95,000 acre tract," assigned to Dr. Coxe and returned the same to the commissioners. This was a departure from the rule of the proprietors in not allowing more than five hundred acres to be taken up in one tract by one individual.

The tradition is that Budd's and Worlidge's original map was burned with other valuable papers when William Hall's house (in Salem County) was destroyed by fire, and that Ebenezer Miler, Jr. had the only copy of said map which was made by himself in 1749. This still more complicated the matter, and legal gentlemen to whom these questions were submitted refused to approve a title in which such a radical defect existed.

Search made in various places was barren of results until a loose sheet of manuscript discovered in one of the books in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, New Jersey, was carefully examined. Dampness and age have almost destroyed the writing, but it was at last found to be the before named paper, and contains the consent of the general proprietors, that Daniel Coxe could make such survey and location "between Cohanzey and Bear gate"—which, by the examination of the old maps, means between the mouth of Cohanzey Creek on the bay side, and the mouth of Great Egg Harbor River on the ocean side. This shows that the proceeding was regular, that the proprietors were convened to take action in this important matter, and as the owners of the soil, enlarged the rule of the commissioners for the time being, thus making the title in severalty to Daniel Coxe complete.

Among some papers belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is what may be accepted as the original Budd and Worlidge map of Coxe's 95,000 acres survey made in 1691 of the lands in question, dispelling the tradition that it was lost when the dwelling of William Hall was burned, perhaps one hundred and fifty years ago.

Under this same order, Dr. Coxe made a large survey "above the falls" (Trenton) lying between the Delaware River and the province line, and which, like the Cape May survey, passed to the West New Jersey Society, and which society through its agents sold in parcels to settlers. The society was much annoyed by "Squatters," who occupied some of the most desirable parts of the territory, but eventually compromised with them for a small consideration and made them titles for the land claimed.

If the paper copied by Mr. Scull and the map before named had been kept together, and in the proper office, a difficulty that has existed for so many years might have been avoided, and the title to the lands surveyed and intended to be secured to the locator would have been clear of the shadow that has so long hung over it.

October, 1883.

To Prof. GREGORY B. KEEN,

Editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine.

With respect, etc.,

JOHN CLEMENT.

GWYNEDD—GWYNETH.—Referring to the article, vol. vii. pp. 35 *et seq.* on "The Name Gwynedd in Welsh History," Dr. Charles W. Greene mentions to me that Drayton in his famous *Poly-Olbion* (1613-1622)—a description of the physical features of Great Britain—has these lines in the ninth song:—

"Of those two noble arms into the land that bear
Which through *Gwinethia* be so famous everywhere."

and in the tenth song these:—

" . . . on the *Gwynethian* ground,
And look from East to West, what country is there crowned,
As thou, *Legenia*, art?"

Drayton's spelling shows the pronunciation of the name.

H. M. J.

CORRECTIONS IN "THE DESCENDANTS OF JÜRAN KYN."—Vol. IV., p. 107, lines 10 and 11, omit "This—with," and after "d. s. p." add: about 1787-8. *Ibid.*, p. 241, line 4, for "before October, 1752," substitute: in June, 1748,

being buried in Christ Church Ground, Philadelphia, the 26th. *Ibid.*, line 8, for "from 1773 to 1786" read: in 1771 and afterwards. *Ibid.*, line 11, after "Chester" add: Mr. Paine d. in 1781, his will being dated October 30, and admitted to probate November 7. Mrs. Paine d. in Robeson Township, Berks County, Pa., in 1803, her will being probated September 3, apparently s. p., since she bequeathed her property to the children of her sisters: Mrs. Sheppard and Mrs. Caruthers. *Ibid.*, line 15, after "Chester" add: Mrs. Sheppard survived her husband, being appointed administratrix of his estate July 22, 1785. *Ibid.*, after line 21 insert: 169a. ANNE, bur. in Christ Church Ground, Philadelphia, July 1, 1748. *Ibid.*, line 4 from foot, for "1778" read 1779. *Ibid.*, p. 242, line 17, for "who—1797" read: He lived in Chester Township, where he d. in 1838, letters of administration on his estate being granted to his great-nephew, Isaac Hervis, March 13, of that year. *Ibid.*, line 18, for "m. ——— Hervis," substitute: b. December 29, 1737; m. Robert Hervis.

Vol. V., p. 455, lines 3 and 4 from foot, omit the parenthesis.

Vol. VI., p. 215, line 11 from foot, after "unm." insert: at his residence on the northwest corner of Eleventh and Chestnut Streets.

Vol. VII., p. 96, line 19 from foot, for "and Colonel Haslet" read: Major Gist and Major McDonough. *Ibid.*, next line, for "Captain" read Lieutenant. *Ibid.*, p. 98, line 24, after "life" insert: In 1794 he was put in command of a division of the militia of Pennsylvania, organized for the defence of the frontiers. *Ibid.*, line 14 from foot, after "1799" insert: He was a Member of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. *Ibid.*, p. 306, line 10, add a footnote referring to Elizabeth Montgomery's *Reminiscences of Wilmington*. p. 301, for some circumstances attending the capture of Major Patten and his subsequent return to Dover. *Ibid.*, line 15, after "Delaware" insert: Major Patten also purchased a house in Wilmington, Delaware, where he lived in 1798. *Ibid.*, line 16, after "State" insert: By Acts of the Legislature of Delaware passed January 29, 1791, he was appointed a Trustee of the Poor for Kent County, and a Manager of a Lottery instituted for raising money for the use of the Commonwealth. *Ibid.*, after last line add: An elegy on Colonel Haslet occurs in John Parke's *Lyric Works of Horace and Original Poems*, p. 225.

G. B. K.

THE CHEVALIER FAMILY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Peter Chevalier, perhaps the son of Peter Gerardus Chevalier and Belitje Claerhout, his wife, who was baptized at the Reformed Dutch Church in New York Jan. 1, 1695, removed from New York to Philadelphia about 1720, and resided here until his death, which probably occurred in 1769, as his estate was administered by his two sons Nov. 6, 1769. He had by wife Elizabeth six children: I. Judith, m. April 24, 1735, Joseph Worrell. II. Susanna, born Aug. 21, 1721; m. July 35, 1739, Valentine Standley, of Philadelphia. "Potter," and had issue. III. Jane, baptized Dec. 6, 1723 (date of birth not recorded), m. May 6, 1740, Garland Anderson, and had issue. IV. Elizabeth, born Oct. 9, 1726; m. Dec. 17, 1747, John Baynton, and had issue. V. John Chevalier, born May 29, 1729; died between 1778 and 1786. He m. Feb. 13, 1760, Eleanor, dau. of Thomas Berkley, by his wife Jane, dau. of the Hon. Anthony Palmer, whose will was proved Jan. 27, 1789. They had eight children: 1. Peter Chevalier, bapt. Dec. 14, 1760 (date of birth not stated), died young. 2. John Chevalier, born June 29, 1762, living in 1786, died before July 19, 1802. 3. Jane Chevalier, born Aug. 1764, died unm., will proved July 6, 1796. 4. Elizabeth, born Oct. 10, 1767, m. 1786 John Shaeffer. 5. George Chevalier, born Oct. 1, 1769; administration granted July 15, 1790. 6. Thomas Chevalier, named in his mother's will, m. Susanna Evans, and had one child, John Barkley Chevalier, who was living

in 1796. Letters of administration were granted to Susanna, widow of Thomas, Dec. 13, 1793. 7. Samuel Chevalier, born April 7, 1776; will proved April 25, 1816, in which he mentions his wife Susanna and four children, viz., Elizabeth Chevalier, William Wagner Chevalier, Susan Chevalier, and Samuel Chevalier. 8. Andrew Chevalier, born Aug. 29, 1778, died young. VI. Peter Chevalier, born March 25, 1730-1; m. May 16, 1759, Mary, dau. of James Renaudet, by his wife Belitije Mooglandt. His will was proved Nov. 10, 1778. They had seven children: 1. Isabella, born Nov. 17, 1760, m. George Turner, and had issue. 2. Peter Renaudet Chevalier, born Dec. 12, 1761, was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1780, m. Jane Harriet, who died in 1847, aged 87 years. He died before June 1, 1805, leaving a dau., Ann Renaudet Chevalier, born May 28, 1792. 3. James Chevalier, born Aug. 6, 1765, living 1778, dead in 1805. 4. Susannah Chevalier, born Dec. 12, 1767; m. — Francis, and had issue. 5. Morris Chevalier, born Aug. 6, 1769; died young. 6. Richard Chevalier, named in his father's will, dead in 1805. 7. William Chevalier, named in his father's will; executor of his mother's will in 1816. C. R. H.

LETTER OF ANTHONY WAYNE TO COLONEL STRONG.—For a copy of the following letter, now in the possession of the Rev. W. W. Battershall, D.D., Rector of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church, Albany, N. Y., we are indebted to the Rev. Stewart Stone. The endorsement reads "18th May, 1795, to Col. Strong."

"Head Quarters
Greeneville, 18th May 1795.

SIR

I have your letter of the 13th Instant now before me, and must acknowledge that the requisition for a further leave of absence from this Army immediately after a five months' furlough, was as unexpected, as it is novel and contrary to military custom or usage.

Nine months absence out of twelve for a Lieut.-Colonel Commandant would not look well in the returns of the Legion to the Secretary of War, nor could I consistently with the duty I owe to my Country grant such an unprecedented indulgence.

But if your business is of that nature and importance, that it cannot be transacted by Attorney (and I know of none in the transfer or recovery of property or settlement of Accounts, but what may be done by Attorney), you shall have immediate permission to visit the Secretary of War, there to receive his further Orders, without waiting the Issue of the pending treaty because there will be less occasion for your services now than in the fall & winter when your presence with the Sub Legion will be indispensably necessary.

I am
Your most Obt
& Hum Sert.
ANT^y WAYNE."

LETTER FROM ANTHONY WAYNE TO RICHARD PETERS, communicated by Mr. John A. McAllister:—

Fredericksburg 21st Oct^r 1778

DEAR SIR

This will be Delivered you by my very particular friend Col Irvine, who has Obtained leave of absence in Consequence of Genl Hands coming to this Quarter

Irvine was a Senior Colonel to either Hand or De Hass, and would undoubtedly have been promoted in his proper place had he not unfortunately been a Prisoner at the time.

All the Officers that were Prisoners and now Exchanged belonging to McGaw & Cadwalader Regiments have taken that Rank in the Line that they would have held had they not been Prisoners—he Conceives himself Entitled to the same Justice & I have Reason to fear that he will never return to us unless he Obtains it

You may rest assured that we have not a better officer in the whole line, and that there will be a very great Resignation among us if one or two Principal Officers lead the way—too many have already quit us and numbers more are hourly Offering in their Resignations—if you saw the Situation that I am in you'd pity me, but a truce to this.

Pray let me know the names of those that Compose our new Assembly and who are our Delegates in Congress. Unless something extraordinary turns out to prevent me I shall take you by the hand the latter end of next month. I shall previously ask your advice.

My best Wishes to Mrs. Peters, she has not favoured me with a single line for these two Campaigns.

RICHARD PETERS, Esq.

Adieu, Yours, Yours, Yours,
ANTY WAYNE.

LETTER FROM ROBERT MORRIS TO EDWARD TILGHMAN.—The following has been communicated by John A. McAllister, Esq.:—

New York, June 21st 1789.

Sir I am in possession of your letter of the 18th Inst and approve very much the manner in which you treat the subject it relates to, and following the example I shall as you desire be equally free in the discussion.

The inquiries which I had made at the time my eldest son was placed with Mr. Wilcocks led me to believe that one hundred pounds Pennsylv^a currency was the Fee usually paid, and in the belief I mentioned to you Sir that I should do whatever was customary in regard to my son William at the time when I made the application to have him received into your office.

It has been my ambition to give my children good educations, it is equally so, to have them well instructed in the professions by which they are to acquire support & reputation, therefore my natural temper which is generous and open prompts me to offer a sum beyond the common run but I am constantly checked in every attempt to gratify this disposition, by considerations arising from the misfortunes that have arrested my pursuits in business for three years past & the consequent embarrassments in which I am involved, these considerations tell me to be just & pay my debts before I gratify the feelings of generosity. The sum of £100 I consider as your due & my wish to discharge the debt induced the proposal made by Mr. Cottringer on my behalf, convenience had also some weight in the proposition. The Bond is unquestionably good, and as you knew that to be the case I thought it might be agreeable to you, and it certainly will be convenient to me if you will take the assignment reserving £100 for Williams apprentice Fee & paying the balance to Mr. Cottringer on my behalf.

Should you Sir be of opinion that a farther sum should be paid when the term of my son's studies in your office expires, and if by that time I find myself in a situation to gratify your expectations with propriety on my part, I do not hesitate to declare that I shall cheerfully do it. I hope it will be agreeable to rest the matter on this footing & I must do the same with Mr. Wilcocks. I think my son William possesses a strong natural understanding, but in the course of his education he frequently discovered strong symptoms of Indolence, and was averse to that exertion of mind & closeness of application which is indispensibly necessary to the attainment of Science. When I first thought of putting him to the study of the Law, this natural disposition appeared in the list of objections but I recollected that when his

masters made an appeal to their authority and exercised it over him, they never failed to produce a good effect I determined to hazard him for the Bar, but you will excuse me for reminding you My dear Sir how very useful the interposition of your authority frequently, may be to him & I hope to you also as it will make him the more attentive to such business as you may see proper to entrust him with.

I took the liberty the other day to send Mr. Wilcocks a copy of the Bill as reported to the Senate for Establishing the Courts of the United States, and of requesting his, yours, Mr. Chew's & Mr. Shippen's opinions thereon, or the result of a consultation thereon. I hope it will not be too troublesome to you, my object is to gain information and bring it into use. I am with esteem and regard Sir

Your obedient humble Servant.

EDWD TILGHMAN Esq^r
Att^y at Law, Philadelphia.

ROBT MORRIS.

THE DUEL BETWEEN BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON AND JAMES JONES.—An inquiry as to the history of this encounter has elicited the following reply from the learned librarian of the New York Historical Society:—

New York, Oct. 10, 1883.

GREGORY B. KEEN, Esq.

Dear Sir: An examination of the newspapers of the spring and summer of 1798 will show the successful efforts of the Federal leaders to organize resistance to the French influence on the politics of the country. The calls for meetings were generally addressed to "The Young Men;" one was held at Philadelphia on the 30th of April. The New York meeting was organized on Saturday evening, May 5th, with Col. Nicholas Fish (father of Hon. Hamilton Fish) in the chair; the attendance was estimated at over nine hundred persons. Samuel Jones, Jr., was the principal speaker. The papers of Monday, May 7th, contain a full report of the proceedings. The *Argus*, a democratic newspaper, published by Thomas Greenleaf, contained in its issue of Tuesday, May 8th, a squib calling attention to the "Youth" who attended the meeting, and mentioning Col. Fish, a stripling of about forty-eight years. "We also hear, that Master Jemmy Jones, another boy, not quite sixty, graced the assembly with his presence." Jones, who was not present at the meeting, took offence at the publication of his name, and demanded of the printer the name of the author. He was informed that it was Brockholst Livingston, a leading lawyer and son of Gov. William Livingston, of New Jersey. The same evening Jones met Livingston on the Battery, when a fracas took place, a challenge was given by Jones and accepted. The parties met on Wednesday afternoon, May 9th, at Hoboken, with their seconds. They fired at the same time. Jones received a ball in his groin, which opened a main artery, and he died in a few minutes. His body was brought to New York and interred on Thursday evening, May 10th, I believe in St. Paul's churchyard. The verdict of the coroner's jury I remember seeing in print, probably in some newspaper, long after the event.

James Jones was the youngest son of Dr. Evan Jones and brother to the distinguished Dr. John Jones, who was vice-president in 1780 of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. Another brother, Thomas, practised medicine in New York city. From his house the funeral took place. James was a merchant.

The Commercial Advertiser of May 10th, 1798, contains a full statement of the meeting. You will find a copy in the Philadelphia Library.

Respectfully yours,

WM. KELBY.

The verdict of the coroner's jury, referred to in the preceding letter, was as follows:—

May 10th 1798. On hobuck in the County of Bangin of New Jersey and Presink of Bargin and town Ship of Bargin then and there was a man found dead on the ground By the Name of Jeames Jones and the Jurers a for said in Quesison upon oath Doth a gree on there Verdick that the Said man James Jones accepted a challenge from Brockholst Livingston, fought and fell

John Town foreman	Jacob Polhemus
Runne Ludlow	Enoch Earle
John Head	David Damerest
Elijah Gardner	John Lee
Edward Earle	William
Daniel Earle	Philmon Elmer

Rynier Earl Coroner of Said County.

• **ORIGIN OF THE NAME "TRAPP."**—The Rev. William J. Mann, D.D., communicates the following:—

In the private papers of Rev. Dr. H. M. Mühlenberg, which the kindness of the Mühlenberg family gave into my hands, I find a notice, which gives a declaration of the name "Trapp" (New Providence), which was new at least to me.

Under Nov. 13, 1780, H. M. Mühlenberg writes: "Christian Schrack, buried yesterday, was a son of the late Mr. John Jac. Schrack and of his wife, Eva Rosina. These his parents came with four children to this country in 1717, and settled here at New Providence, when it was cultivated very little. They built themselves at first a booth, to satisfy the most pressing necessities, and dug some sort of a cavern, where they cooked, held a small shop, and sold beer, etc. etc. When once an English inhabitant came to find some drink in that pit (or cavern), he fell asleep, came home at a late hour, and, when receiving a lecture from his wife, excused himself, saying, he had been in a *Trap*. Since that time that part of the country is called Trapp and known in all America."

I know that this elucidation of that local appellation is not in harmony with the common tradition. Dr. H. M. Mühlenberg's statement has certainly some interest, however, since no man was in those days better acquainted with all that relates to "the Trapp" than he was.

THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758, Now First Printed from the manuscripts in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, with an introduction and notes by R. A. Brock, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society. Vol. I. Richmond, Va. Published by the Society, 1883.— Through the generosity of Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington, D. C., the Virginia Historical Society, in 1881, became possessed of the Dinwiddie Papers, which were sold at the sale of the Stevens Collection at London in July of that year. "The manuscripts," writes Mr. Brock, "as at present constituted, are comprised in five folio volumes; the first four containing the records of the administration of Governor Dinwiddie, being copies of his official letters, addresses, reports, etc. etc.; and the fifth, original letters of Washington, complementary thereto."

The volume now given to the public contains, we believe, copies of all the papers in the collection down to March, 1755, and it is certainly by far the most important one, connected with the history of the middle colonies, which has appeared for a number of years. Immediately after Dinwiddie's arrival in Virginia, he took measures to secure the Ohio country for the English, the title of which was disputed by France through a claim resting on the explorations of La Salle and others. In 1753 Dinwiddie sent Washington

to Logstown to forward the claim of Great Britain, and had the energy the governor displayed been as heartily supported as it deserved to have been, by the Colonial Assembly, there can be no doubt he would have erected forts on the Ohio before the French, and possibly have secured the country for the English at an immense saving of blood and treasure. The delay, however, occurred; the English were obliged to retire from the Forks of the Ohio, Washington was driven from Fort Necessity, Braddock's expedition ended in disastrous defeat, and the nation was precipitated into a war, the results of which were so momentous, it is futile to attempt to estimate their importance.

The letters in the volume before us cover five hundred and twenty-eight closely printed octavo pages, and the reader will at once appreciate how impossible it is to compress within the limits of a book notice any account which will convey even a faint idea of their value and importance, teeming as they are with facts of the greatest interest. A large proportion of the letters are from the pen of the zealous governor, and are addressed to such persons as Washington, William Trent, Joshua Fry, James Abercromby, Lord Fairfax, Thomas Cresap, Adam Stephen, Andrew Lewis, Secretary Pownal, Colonel Innis, Horace Walpole, and Henry Fox, as well as to the Colonial Governors, Hamilton, Sharpe, De Lancey, Glen, Belcher, Shirley, and Morris, and a host of other distinguished men of the day.

The manuscripts, it is true, have been used by Sparks and others, and all but two of Washington's letters, given in the present volume, are to be found in his published writings. But we have them here as in the originals, and not after having passed under the careful scrutiny of Dr. Sparks. The letters addressed to Washington are almost entirely fresh material, Dr. Sparks having given but short extracts from them in foot-notes to his second volume, which contain but a small portion of their interesting data. One of Washington's letters, heretofore unpublished, is that of June 3, 1754. It is of particular interest, and seems not only to have escaped the notice of Dr. Sparks, but also of Mr. Stevens, as it is not mentioned, in the elaborate description of the collection, printed in his catalogue. This correspondence contains so much in addition to what we have already had regarding the second French and Indian War, that now it is accessible, a new history of that conflict should be attempted. Its central figure, so far as Virginia is concerned, should not be, as heretofore, either Braddock or his young Lieutenant, Washington, but the Colonial Governor, Dinwiddie. It was he who early discerned the promise in Washington, and placed him under the disciplining influence of responsibility. Before Braddock arrived he was the moving spirit in opposing the French. A sturdy supporter of royalty, his instructions from the government bore as strongly upon him as if they had been the personal commands of the King, and in endeavoring to carry them out he strove to imbue others with the same spirit with which he was moved. He seems, repeatedly, to have lost all patience with the several Colonial Assemblies for their dilatory conduct when the interests of the King were at stake, and their western borders were threatened with the horrors of an Indian war. The means placed at his command were used with promptness and wisdom. His judgment, as a rule, was excellent, and it is refreshing to read the clear forcible language he used, at times, in addressing his less active contemporaries. To Governor Glen, of South Carolina, he wrote, under date of October 25, 1754: "I received both your letters of the 10th of September, with report of your committee, and am sorry to find you complain of the style of my letter. I have great reason to do so as to the method and substance of yours. You object greatly to the treaties of Lancaster and Logstown; the first was long before I came to my Government, and is generally esteemed a very proper treaty, the last was to confirm it and to have consent

of the Indians to build forts on the Ohio. You and your committee think I ought to have represented the injuries done by the French to the Governor of Canada, which is quite contrary to my instructions from home, being commanded to send to the commander of the French forces in the very manner I have done, and, as such an answer, to take the steps I followed. I am sorry you or your committee doubts his Majesty's right to the lands on the Ohio. In his commands to me he asserts his rights to those lands, and orders forts to be built, and to resist any foreign power that shall presume to settle on them."

In 1755 Governor Glen drew upon Dinwiddie for £7000 to defray expenses incurred by South Carolina in erecting a fort for the defence of the Colony. In reply Dinwiddie wrote:—

"Wⁿ His M^y order'd me to build Forts on the Ohio, he expected it sh^d have been at the Charge of this Domⁿ, and no doubt the same is expected from Y^r Province, from the happy and flourish'g Conditⁿ it is now in, and so fully represented in Y^r Speech to Y^r Assembly; and I am of Opinion it must be recommended to You, as it was to me as above. I must differ from Y^r Opinion of the Fr. com'g to Tennessee if disappointed on the Ohio, but I fear You may have Time enough to build Forts there before we shall be able to drive them from the Ohio, as also y^t Tennessee River is of as much Consequence as the Ohio. You are very fertile in Y^r Conjectures y^t the Fr. will not attempt the Conquest of so powerf^l a Province as Virg^a. but make a Feint, and y^t their real Designs are ag^t Carolina. Now give me leave to guess with You, that their Designs are not limited to any one of our Colonies, but a general Conquest of the whole B. Settlem^{ts} and further; with^t Conjecture, is it not plain they have invaded the Lands on the Ohio, the back of this Colony, built a Fort, and have a great Force there? Have they not plundered our People and threat'n'd w^t further they will do? Y^r Opinⁿ in reg'd to a Fr. Fleet touch'g at the Sugar Colonies, &c., is not impracticable, but give me leave to say very improbable, as they appear to have their hands full in other Parts."

Others are addressed in the same caustic manner, and a perfect flood of light is thrown upon the noted people of the day. The first volume closes with correspondence relating to the beginning of Braddock's march. The second will, no doubt, treat of his defeat and events which followed it.

Mr. Brock's editorial labors add greatly to the value of the volume. The biographical notices are excellent, and have evidently been prepared with great care. A Genealogy of the Dinwiddie Family is also given.

The students of the country are not only indebted to Mr. Corcoran for having brought this valuable collection to this country, but for liberally contributing towards the cost of its publication.

F. D. S.

MARYLAND ARCHIVES.—We note with pleasure the progress the Maryland Historical Society is making in its efforts to rescue the Archives of the State from further destruction, and place them before the public in printed form. From the report of a committee appointed by the society for this purpose, we learn that by an Act of the Assembly the society was appointed temporary custodian of the early Archives of the State. It was thus enabled to gather in its fire-proof apartments, from the various public offices, the most important manuscripts they possessed, and carefully examine, catalogue, and arrange them for future preservation, as well as to note the omissions in the several series. An annual grant of \$1000 for two years was also obtained from the State to have the most important documents copied and printed. While the objects of the Society were greatly facilitated by having the records in its possession, it is doubtful if much would have been accomplished but for the untiring energy and zeal of Mr. J. W. M. Lee, Librarian of the Society, and Dr. William Hand Browne, who has been

induced to undertake the laborious duties of editor of the proposed volumes. These gentlemen have not only performed wonders in collating the papers belonging to the State, but have gathered many from other sources, thus making the series much nearer complete. From the public record office in London copies of many of the early laws were obtained, the text of which did not exist on this side of the Atlantic, as well as the transcripts of all the papers in the same depository relating to Maryland up to 1668.

While there are many gaps in the State records which the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Browne and Mr. Lee have failed to supply, and it is feared that the means of doing this are irretrievably lost, those gentlemen are to be congratulated upon having gathered much more than was supposed to have been in existence, and it is to be sincerely hoped that no portion of their labor will be allowed to remain in manuscript. From the report before us it is evident that this will not be the case if the members of the Maryland Assembly properly appreciate the faithful services of the gentlemen named, services which must redound to the credit of the State if their fruits are so used as to enable its people and those of the country to understand its history.

With the slender means at its command the committee has not only paid for the copying done in England, but has actually printed the first volume of the series. It is a quarto of more than 600 pages, containing the proceedings and acts of Assembly from 1637-8 to 1664. Mr. D. C. Gillman, President of the Johns Hopkins University, in moving that the thanks of the Historical Society be extended to Dr. Browne and Mr. Lee, said: "Hitherto with some slight exceptions, the records of that most interesting period (that covered by the volume mentioned) have only been accessible to those who have inquired with extreme diligence into the manuscript Archives of the State. Even intelligent and persistent students have been obliged to look for these proceedings in different volumes preserved in different places, and legible only to those who are expert in the perusal of ancient chirography. Moreover, negligence and age had begun to make sad inroads upon these invaluable memorials. All the documents of the period just named are now transcribed with an almost photographic accuracy, arranged in their proper order, printed in clear bold type, and annotated with marginal references to indicate the sources from which the printed pages are derived. The very foundations of Maryland history are henceforth accessible to every citizen. The magistrate, the lawyer, the statesman, the historian, the teacher may learn more in a day's examination of this volume than he could otherwise learn by months of investigation." We are confident that we but echo the wish of every student of history in the country when we express the hope that the State of Maryland will not permit the publication of its records to be suspended when the present meagre appropriation is exhausted. The labors of such men as Dr. Browne and Mr. Lee are worth more than the whole amount provided for the printing of the two volumes, and it will be a crying shame, if, so far from receiving a proper remuneration, their labors should be suspended by a mistaken parsimony on the part of the State.

F. D. S.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. Vol. xiv. Albany, N. Y., 1883, 4to., double title-page, pp. xxxiii. 800.

This book comprises documents relating to the history of early colonial settlements, principally on Long Island, translated, compiled, and edited from the original records in the office of the Secretary of State and the State Library of New York, under the direction of the Honourable Secretary of State, by the learned keeper of the historical records, Mr. B. Fernow. It contains a map of the western part of Long Island, made in 1666. The

volume constitutes a worthy continuation of the invaluable series of which it forms a part. The publication of it so soon after volume xiii. is evidence of the unflagging interest of our sister commonwealth in preserving the materials of her history, and should spur the legislators of our own State to similar activity in the matter of our *Pennsylvania Archives*.

THE CAPTURE OF THE BLOCK HOUSE AT TOMS RIVER, NEW JERSEY, MARCH 24, 1782, is the title of an interesting paper read by Gen. William S. Stryker at a memorial meeting held at Toms River, May 30, 1883. Gen. Stryker gives in detail the circumstances which caused the Block House to be erected, as well as those connected with its capture, and the execution of the brave Captain Huddy who commanded its garrison. The murder of Captain Huddy—for so his death should be looked upon, as his execution was a violation of the laws and customs of war—was no doubt ordered by the Board of Loyalists, whose sessions were held in New York City, at the head of which was William Franklin, the Tory Governor of New Jersey. It was in retaliation for this outrage that Washington threatened to hang a British officer of equal rank to Captain Huddy, and steps were so far taken to avenge his death that Captain Charles Asgill, of the First Regiment of Foot, a prisoner at Lancaster, Pa., was chosen by lot to end his life on the gallows. Fortunately for Asgill he was not an unconditional prisoner, having been taken at Yorktown, and was entitled to all the conditions granted by the articles of capitulation. This fact caused his execution to be postponed, and an interest was created in his favor at the Court of Versailles. A pathetic letter, written by his distressed mother to the Count de Vergennes, Prime Minister to Louis XVI., was shown to the King and his Queen, the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and through their intercession Asgill was liberated. Had not the war, however, been drawing to a close, it is hardly likely that events would have dragged on so slowly as to have allowed the wishes of the French monarch to have been known on this side of the water before a crisis had been reached, and either Asgill or some unconditional prisoner would have died on the gibbet.

Gen. Stryker has produced an excellent monograph on this event, filling another gap in our Revolutionary History. A small edition of his paper has been printed in pamphlet form. F. D. S.

A RED ROSE FROM THE OLDEN TIME; or A Ramble through the Annals of the Rose Inn and the Barony of Nazareth, in the days of the Province, 1752-1772. By William C. Reichel. Edited by John W. Jordan. [Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*.] H. T. Clander. Bethlehem, Pa., 1883. 8vo. pp. 54.

The first edition of this little historical essay, which appeared in 1872, being limited to two hundred copies, was soon exhausted, and Professor Reichel was only prevented from publishing a second, comprising rather fuller details by "the press of other literary work, and his subsequent illness and death." This unfulfilled task has now been completed, in a very able and interesting manner, by Mr. Jordan.

POLITICAL HAND-BOOK OF BERKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, 1752-1883. By Morton L. Montgomery, Member of the Berks County Bar. Reading, Pa., 1883. 8vo. pp. 104.—This little book embraces the names of all the officers of Berks County since 1752, and of Reading, the county-seat, since its incorporation as a city in 1847. It also gives tables of census and election returns of the county and county-seat by districts, with similar statistics for the ten counties which surround Berks County (Bucks, Chester, Dauphin, Delaware, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Montgomery, Philadelphia,

and Schuylkill). "It is not a political history of the county," says the author in his preface, "nor a dissertation on political parties and questions as they prevailed in the county from the first settlements to the present time. It is simply a book of reference to ascertain readily who were the officials of the county and city, when and how long they officiated, what population existed at the several decades, and what interest in political affairs was shown by the electors at the successive elections for Governor since 1802, and for President since 1828, and how it compared with political interest in the surrounding counties."

JACOB KOLLOCK.—On the 7th of last Month departed this Life at Lewes-Town in the County of Sussex, in the 80th year of his Age, after a long and tedious Illness which he endured with great fortitude and Christian Resignation, Jacob Kollock, Esq., who for upwards of forty Years was annually chosen one of the Representatives in Assembly for said County; and for the same Length of Time he was President of the Court of Common Pleas, a Trustee of the Loan Office, Register of Wills, Clerk of the Orphans Court, and Treasurer of the County, all which Offices he executed with great Reputation. And in the various Stations of private Life his Conduct was irreproachable; he was an affectionate Husband and Father, a faithful Friend, and a kind Master. His steady Perseverance in a virtuous Course of Life rendered him deservedly beloved by all his acquaintance. He was Colonel of the Sussex Regt. 1756.—*The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 26, 1772.

THOMAS MEAKINS.—On Monday evening last Mr. Thomas Meakins fell off a wharf into the Delaware, and before he could be taken out again, was drowned. He was an ancient man, and formerly lived very well in this city, teaching a considerable school; but of late years was reduced to extreme poverty. The following lines were made by himself sometime since:—

Some purchase land, some stately buildings raise,
To memorize their names to future days;
But I've a lasting monument will stand,
When buildings fall, and sales are made of land:
A certain rock on Schuylkill's eastern side,
Which bears my name, for ages will abide;
This rock well known which anglers do frequent,
When I am gone will be my monument.

The Pennsylvania Gazette, Novr. 22, 1733.

Queries.

DR. HUGH WILLIAMSON'S MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA.—The following letter has been handed to the editor in the hope of obtaining the information sought for in it.

Charlotte, N. C., July 30, 1883.

The American Philosophical Society:

My Dear Sirs: Can you render me any assistance in a search for the unused "materials" accumulated by Dr. Hugh Williamson, when he was preparing to write his *History of North Carolina*? From the title-page it appears that he was a member of your body, and it would have been natural for him to have placed in your custody such historical collections as he found he would have no occasion to embody in his publication. He was a member

of Congress from North Carolina, soon after the adoption of the United States Constitution; married a daughter of Charles Ward Apthorp, of New York city, in 1789, and subsequently removed to New York himself. His *History*, however, was published in "Philadelphia: By Thomas Dobson at the Stone House, 41 South St. Fry & Kammerer, Printers, 1812."

In his preface are these pregnant words: "Having observed that some military transactions in the Southern states, during the Revolution war, had not been correctly detailed, and finding much reason to complain, that North Carolina had not obtained, from any writer, the credit she deserved for her exertions on that occasion, I proposed to bring the history of the state down to the year 1790, and had collected materials for that purpose. But considering that the history of the province may be acceptable to many people, who are less solicitous about late military transactions, which continue to live in the memory; considering also that the extent or value of the services rendered by North Carolina cannot be fairly estimated without taking a general view of the other military operations during the war, an arduous work, I desisted from my original plan." In another part of this preface he says: "Doctor Romaine, who ten years ago was in London, in the most obliging manner caused copies to be made of all the valuable information that is contained in Mr. Archdale's work, or in two other small books, respecting North Carolina, that were published about the end of the seventeenth century. Those copies he sent me." Again he says: "Mr. Chalmers, in his *Annals of the United Colonies*, availed himself of the papers that are in the plantation office. . . . As I wished to get a copy of certain papers, that come under the Carolina head, I hoped for the reason stated, that Mr. Chalmers, who was employed as a clerk in a public office, would furnish my friend with a copy, or assist him in obtaining one. He would do neither, but threatened to interfere, if application should be made to the head of the proper department." Again my attention is particularly attracted to these words: "My information has chiefly been taken from public records, and from letter books, or other manuscripts in the possession of ancient families." Again: "I have received much information, on detached subjects, from some of the most ancient and respectable citizens in the state, who continue to serve the country, and from others who have lately been numbered with the great majority."

Thus you will see he had a quantity of very interesting "materials," which he had contemplated using in his publication. Unfortunately, he closed with the battle of Alamance, and the end of Gov. Tryon's administration in North Carolina, in 1771, adding in his concluding chapter that Tryon was succeeded by Martin; that the people "had suffered much, and they had much to apprehend, for the horizon was darkened. The questions concerning the jurisdiction of the county courts, and the independence of the judges, were like to be subjects of long and obstinate dispute; but their attention was called off by a question of greater magnitude. It was a question that involved property, liberty, and life. In the progress of that dispute, North Carolina became an independent state." These are the closing words of the political part of his history. They are rendered more deeply interesting from the fact that Montford Stokes, a United States Senator and Governor of North Carolina, has left on record the statement that in the year 1793 he met this same Dr. Hugh Williamson in the town of Fayetteville, N. C., and saw in his hands a copy of the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, adopted by the people at Charlotte, on the 20th of May, 1775, together with an explanatory letter, both of which he recognized to be in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, a secretary of the county convention, or committee, which adopted it.

A. Has your society a file of letters or of manuscripts? As Williamson's *History* was published in 1812, if he contributed any of these materials or

wrote to the society on the subject, it is likely that it was about this time. [Ans. No.]

B. Have you a copy of the English book to which he alludes, Chalmers's *Annals of the United Colonies*? [Ans. Yes; 1 vol. 4to. 1780.]

Any information or assistance that you can give me in my search for these old documents will be gratefully received, and I shall be glad to reciprocate whenever occasion may offer.

Very respectfully.

R. D. GRAHAM.

JOHN MONTOUR, Captain in the United States service, son of the famous Andrew Montour, was educated in the English school of the Philadelphia College.

In the *Life of Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, recently published by his great-grandson, Horace W. Smith, page 52, appears the name of John Montour as a student of the English school for 1757. This was John, the famous captain, and particular friend of White Eyes and Heckewelder.

In November of 1756 Provost Smith reported that "we have now two Indian children of a considerable family who have been at it these two years and can now read and write English, &c." (*Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vii. 167.) These were probably the two sons of Jonathan Cayanguilagoa, named Jonathan and Philip, who entered school in May, 1755. (*Pa. Archives*, ii. 318.) John Montour entered in April, 1756, at which time possibly a daughter of Andrews also attended. Three of his children were in charge of Gov. Morris, and possibly four, beside John.

Information relating to John Montour or any of his brothers or sisters is desired. J.

EDWARDS.—I should like to know whether "Alexander Edwards, Esq.," of Lower Dublin, Philadelphia County, whose will was made April 22, 1777 and proved May 27, 1777 (and who was the father of Dr. Enoch and Major Evan Edwards, distinguished Revolutionary officers), was descended from Alexander Edwards, who settled in Montgomery Township about 1700. This last Alexander was an old man, and died in 1712, but he left a son Alexander, who married Edward Foulke's daughter Gwen, and this latter couple had a son Alexander, who may have been the one above that died in 1777. I should also like to know whether Dr. Enoch Edwards served as aid on Lord Stirling's staff.

West Chester, Penna.

HOWARD M. JENKINS.

THE CONABLE, CONNABLE, OR CUNNABELL FAMILY.—Information concerning the descendants of John Cunnabell, who emigrated in 1673, or one or two years later, from London, England, to Boston, Mass., where he died April 10, 1724, is desired by John B. Newcomb, of Elgin, Illinois, with the view of publishing a genealogical history of the family.

DUNGAN.—Thomas Dungan, Newport, R. I., Cold Spring, Bucks County, Penna., died 1688. What was his wife's name? What was date of his birth and marriage? and what was date of birth of each of his three sisters (viz.: Barbara, Frances, and Margaret)? Are any facts known about the father of Thomas Dungan, viz. Wm. Dungan? He died previous to 1637, in England, leaving a widow, Frances (daughter of Lewis Latham), who subsequently married Jeremiah Clarke, and came with him (and the four children by previous husband) to Newport, R. I.

P. O. Box 81.

J. O. AUSTIN,
Providence, R. I.

Replies.

GUEST—MORRIS—POWELL (vol. vii. p. 351).—In the year 1600 there lived in Birmingham, England, a gentleman named T. Chandlers who had a daughter Elizabeth, who married William Bailyes of the same place. They had two daughters, Alice and Elizabeth. Alice married George Guest. Elizabeth married William Hard.

George Guest and his wife came to America (Philadelphia) from Birmingham, England, in the year 1681, and first lived in a cave on the Delaware River, near Chestnut Street wharf, at which time they learned that her sister Elizabeth and her husband intended to come also and prepared to welcome them in the cave till they could build. Afterwards they built a house (Blue Anchor Inn) on Dock Creek, where they received William Penn when he first landed in Philadelphia, the house being unfinished at the time. George and Alice Guest had issue: George Guest, John Guest, and Phœbe Guest (born 7 mo. 28, 1685) who married Anthony Morris in 1705.

Elizabeth Guest, born in Birmingham, England, in 1675, came to America with her parents, married Arthur Holton 10 mo. 5, 1695, died 4 mo. 12, 1757, and had issue Mary Holton, who married Samuel Hudson, and had issue: Elizabeth Hudson, who married ——— Jones; Hannah Hudson, who married Joseph Howell, and had issue, Arthur Howell, a celebrated minister among Friends; and Mary Hudson, married 2 mo. 15, 1746, to John Head, merchant of Philadelphia.

Alice Guest survived her husband and died August, 1705; her sister, Elizabeth Hard, a widow without issue, was living in Philadelphia at the time of her decease.

Anthony and Phœbe Morris had fourteen children: 1. Anthony, born 1705, married Sarah Powell; 2. James, b. 1707, m. Elizabeth Kearney; 3. John, b. 1709, m. Mary Sutton; 4. Samuel, d. 1710; 5. Samuel, b. 1711, m. Hannah Cadwalader; 6. Mary, b. 1713, m. Samuel Powell; 7. Joseph, b. 1714–5, m. Martha Fitzwater; 8. Elizabeth, b. 1716, m. Ben. Shoemaker; 9. Benjamin, b. 1717, died unmarried; 10. Phœbe, b. 1721, d. unm.; 11. Susanna, b. 1722, d. unm.; 12. Deborah, b. 1723–4, d. March, 1793; 13. Benjamin, b. 1725; 14. Unnamed.

With respect to when Samuel Powell came to America, and where he came from, and the maiden name of his wife Abigail, I am not able to give any information. Samuel Powell and Abigail his wife had three children: Sarah, who married Anthony Morris; Samuel, m. Mary Morris; and a third, m. Joshua Emlen.

Anthony and Sarah Morris had six children: Samuel, Deborah, Anthony, Israel, Sarah, and Thomas.

Samuel and Mary Powell had three children: Abigail, Samuel, and Mary.

Joshua Emlen and wife had only one child, Samuel, who married ——— and had two children: Samuel, who m. Susan Delroy, and had no issue; and Elizabeth, who m. Philip S. Physick, and had four children: Philip, Emlen, and two girls, one of whom married Dr. Jacob Randolph, and the other, Commodore David Conner, U. S. N. A. S. M.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1883.

A stated meeting of the Historical Society was held in the Hall, March 12, 1883, Mr. Charles M. Morris in the chair.

The reading of the minutes on motion was dispensed with.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. Frederick D. Stone, the Librarian of the Society, who read a paper on "The Causes which led to the Settlement of the Quaker Colonies in America."

The purpose of the address was to show that Quaker colonization in America was not the result of sudden impulse, but of a political and moral growth; that the treatment the Friends had met with in England and America, especially in New England, made it necessary that they should have a country of their own, where Quaker views and principles could be fully exemplified. The movement was traced from the year 1660, when the purchase of a tract of land in America was first suggested by Fox, down to the settlement of Penn's Colony, and the fact was pointed out that the country which Fox desired to purchase in 1660 was not a portion of Pennsylvania.

On motion of John B. Gest, Esquire, it was resolved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Mr. Stone for his able and instructive address, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of it for future publication. The reading of the paper also called forth remarks from Dr. James J. Levick and the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones.

Nominations for Officers and for Members of Council, to be balloted for at the next meeting, being in order, Mr. Israel Pemberton nominated the following gentlemen:—

President.

John William Wallace.

Vice-Presidents.

Horatio Gates Jones, George de Benneville Keim.

Corresponding Secretary.

Gregory B. Keen.

Recording Secretary.

William Brooke Rawle.

Treasurer.

J. Edward Carpenter.

Members of Council.

James C. Hand,
John Jordan, Jr.,

Samuel W. Pennypacker,
George Harrison Fisher.

The Chairman appointed the following Tellers to conduct the Election: Charles R. Hildeburn, Dr. R. Patterson Robins, Spencer Bonsall, Charles P. Keith, Frederick D. Stone, and Col. John P. Nicholson.

Certain gentlemen were elected members of the Society.

Professor Gregory B. Keen, Secretary of the Council, stated that the Council of the Society had recommended the adoption by the Society of certain additional By-laws, embodying the practice of the Society as to the use of the books, manuscripts, and other property of the Society, since its organization; which By-laws he, therefore, proposed for adoption by the Society.

The Chairman announcing that, under the Rules, the proposed By-laws should lie over until the next stated meeting of the Society, Mr. Edward Strickland offered a resolution that in the notices of the next stated meeting the members of the Society be informed that action would be taken upon the said proposed new By-laws, and that copies of them could be had at the Hall of the Society, which was adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Historical Society was held in the Hall, May 7, 1883, Vice-President Horatio Gates Jones in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Dr. James J. Levick read "A Memoir of the late Daniel B. Smith, the First Corresponding Secretary of the Society."

On motion of Professor Oswald Seidensticker, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Dr. Levick for his interesting and valuable paper, with a request that a copy be furnished for the use of the Society.

The Report of the Council of the Society for the year 1882 was then presented by Mr. Charles M. Morris, President of the Council, and read by Professor Gregory B. Keen, Secretary of the Council.

On motion of the Hon. Joseph M. Gazzam, the Report was accepted and ordered to be entered upon the minutes.

On motion of Mr. Charles M. Morris, seconded by Mr. Charles Rogers, the Society proceeded to take action on the By-laws proposed at the last meeting of the Society, and they were unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn it was resolved "That the Historical Society have heard with pleasure of the movement to preserve the residence of William Penn in Letitia Street, and to remove it to Fairmount Park; and that, while the Society has not taken an active part in the matter, it heartily approves of it."

The Tellers, appointed at the last meeting to conduct the Annual Election for Officers, reported that the persons nominated at that meeting had been duly elected.

The meeting then adjourned.

OFFICERS
OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

HORATIO GATES JONES,	WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON,
GEORGE DE B. KEIM,	CRAIG BIDDLE,
JOHN JORDAN, JR.,	AUBREY H. SMITH.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.

TREASURER.

J. EDWARD CARPENTER.

LIBRARIAN.

FREDERICK D. STONE.

SECRETARY OF THE PUBLICATION FUND.

TOWNSEND WARD.

COUNCIL.

THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY,	JOHN A. McALLISTER,
JAMES C. HAND,	CHARLES R. HILDEBURN,
JOHN JORDAN, JR.,	JAMES T. MITCHELL,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,	GEORGE HARRISON FISHER,
OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER,	EDWIN T. EISENBREY,
JOHN C. BROWNE,	WILLIAM G. THOMAS.

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION, BINDING, AND
BUILDING FUNDS.

JOHN JORDAN, JR., AUBREY H. SMITH,
FAIRMAN ROGERS.

TRUSTEES OF THE LIBRARY FUND.

JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
FREDERICK D. STONE.

TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN FUND.

RICHARD A. GILPIN, JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE,
JOHN JORDAN, JR.

TRUSTEES OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

GEORGE DE B. KEIM, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE.

STATED MEETINGS.

March 10, 1884.	November 10, 1884.
May 5, 1884.	January 12, 1885.

Annual membership	\$5.00
Life membership	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum	3.00

Payment may be made to the Librarian or Secretary, at the Hall, 1300
Locust Street, or to the Collector.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE TO COUNCIL.

BALANCE SHEET: THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

1882.		
Investment account	\$72,914 29	
Cash account	2,709 10	
Publication Fund Trust, Capital		\$30,726 35
" " " Interest		886 95
Binding Fund Trust, Capital		3,300 00
" " " Interest		166 57
Library Fund Trust, Capital		4,533 00
Endowment Fund Trust, Capital		6,086 80
First Building Fund Trust, "		6,809 47
Second " " " "		11,630 99
General Fund, Capital		11,450 03
" " Interest		33 18
	<u>\$75,623 39</u>	<u>\$75,623 39</u>

JAMES C. HAND.	} <i>Committee on Finance.</i>
JOHN JORDAN, JR..	
EDWIN T. EISENBREY,	
CHARLES M. MORRIS.	

Dec. 31, 1882.

In the operation of the Library Fund, Interest Account
for 1882, there were received interest and contributions
of members \$227 46
And paid for books purchased \$227 46

General Fund, Interest Account:

Balance of Interest, December 31, 1881	\$96 67
Annual Dues received in 1882	3615 00
Interest, Rent, etc.	951 50
	<u>\$4,663 17</u>
General expenses in 1882	4,629 99
	<u>\$33 18</u>
Balance of Interest, December 31, 1882	\$33 18

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†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

VII

Lebanon County.

Coleman, Mrs. Debbie B., Lebanon	McCauley, Edwin H., Lebanon
†Coleman, G. Dawson, Lebanon	Mish, John Weidman, Lebanon
Hammond, D. S., Lebanon	†Ross, George, Lebanon
Killinger, John W., Lebanon	Weidman, Grant, Lebanon

Lehigh County.

Jones, D. D., Slatington	†Thomas, David, Catasauqua
†Longenecker, Henry C., Allentown	Trexler, B. F., Allentown
†McDowell, Robert, Slatington	Wright, Robert E., Jr., Allentown

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	Jordan, Ewing, Norristown
Cassatt, Alexander J., Haverford	Lambert, John, Aysgarth, Abington
Comly, Franklin A., Fort Washington	†Lardner, Richard Penn, Graydon
Emory, John, Cheltenham Hills	Mellor, Thomas, Shoemakertown
Fisher, Henry M., Alverthorpe	Morris, Wistar, Overbrook
†Fisher, J. Francis, Alverthorpe	Shoemaker, Robert, Shoemakertown
Godey, Frank, Overbrook	Thomson, Frank, Merion
Gumbes, Charles W., Oaks P. O.	Tyson, James L., Penn Llyn
Haverford College, Haverford College P. O.	Union Library Company, Hatboro
Heacock, John, Jenkintown	†Witte, William H., White Marsh
Hunsicker, Henry A., Freeland	Yeakle, W. A., Flourtown
	†Yost, J. S., Pottstown

VIII

Montour County.

Maus, Philip F., Danville

Northampton County.

†Bleck, Ernest F., Bethlehem	Library of Lehigh University, South Bethlehem
†Fatzinger, Jacob, Jr., Weaversville	Library, Congregation of United Brethren, Bethlehem
†Firmstone, William, Easton	†Library, Moravian Seminary, Bethlehem, renewed
Henry, Granville, Nazareth	†Library, Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, renewed
Hutchinson, John N., Easton.	†Maxwell, Henry D., Easton
†Jones, Maurice C., Bethlehem	†Michler, Peter S., Easton
Jones, William Ashley, Bethlehem	†Roepper, William T., Bethlehem
Lamberton, Robert A., South Bethlehem, Northampton Co.	Schropp, Abraham S., Bethlehem
†Leibert, James, Bethlehem	Wilbur, E. P., South Bethlehem
Lerch, John, Bethlehem	
Library of Lafayette College, Easton	

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

Venango County.

John Trunkey

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, Charles D.
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
Benners, William J., Germantown
†Benson, Alexander, Jr.
†Benson, Gustavus S.
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, Miss 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.

X

Bowen, Ezra
 Boyd, Augustus
 †Brady, Patrick
 †Breck, Samuel
 Brewster, Benjamin Harris
 Brick, Samuel R.
 Bringhurst, John H.
 †Brock, John P.
 Brock, Robert C. H.
 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.
 Colket, C. Howard
 †Coles, Edward
 †Colladay, George W.
 †Collins, T. K.
 †Colwell, Stephen
 Comegys, B. B.
 Conarroee, George W.
 Condict, 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
 Cox, 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

XI

†Croasdale, Jeremiah
 †Croasdill, Charles W.
 Cummins, D. B.
 Curtis, Joseph
 Cushman, Herbert
 Cuyler, Thomas De Witt
 †Da Costa, John C.
 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, Lewis, Jr.
 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.
 Field, John
 †Fish, A. J.
 †Fisher, Charles Henry, Brookwood
 †Fisher, Miss Elizabeth R., Wakefield,
 Germantown
 Fisher, George Harrison
 Fisher, J. B.
 Flanagan, James M.
 Flanagan, Stephen
 Fidler, 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

XII

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|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Garrett, William E., Jr. | Hart, Abraham |
| †Gaul, Frederick | Hart, Thomas, Jr. |
| Gaw, Alexander G. | Hartshorne, Charles |
| Gawthrop, Henry | Hartshorne, Edward |
| Gazzam, Joseph M. | Harvey, Alexander E. |
| †Gerhard, Benjamin | †Haseltine, John |
| Gerhard, John S. | Haseltine, Ward B. |
| Gest, John B. | Haupt, Herman |
| Ghriskey, Charles M. | Hay, Miss Mary |
| Gibbons, Charles | Hay, Thomas |
| Gibson, Henry C. | †Hazard, Erskine |
| †Gilbert, David | †Hazard, Samuel |
| †Gilbert, John | Hazlehurst, Henry |
| Gillingham, J. E. | †Heazlitt, Charles F. |
| †Gilpin, Henry D. | Heberton, Craig |
| †Goforth, John | †Heberton, G. Craig |
| †Gordon, N. P. | Henry, Morton P. |
| Gowen, Franklin B., Mount Airy | Henszey, William C. |
| Graff, Frederick | †Hering, Constantine |
| Graff, Mrs. Paul | Hildeburn, Henry M. |
| Grant, Samuel, Jr. | †Hill, Marshall |
| Grant, William S. | Hilles, Nathan, Frankford |
| Gratz, Harry S. | Hockley, John, Jr. |
| †Gratz, Robert H. | †Hodge, Hugh L. |
| Gratz, Simon | Hoffman, Francis S. |
| †Greble, Edwin | †Hollingsworth, Thomas G. |
| Greene, Stephen | Hollis, P. C., Germantown |
| †Greeves, James R. | †Holsman, Daniel |
| †Gries, John M. | †Hone, Isaac S. |
| Griffits, William F., Jr. | †Hood, Samuel, Mount Airy |
| †Grigg, John | †Hoopes, Penrose R. |
| Griscom, Clement A. | Hopkins, Edward M. |
| †Grout, Henry T. | Horstmann, F. Oden |
| †Grugan, Charles | †Horstmann, Sigmund H. |
| Gulager, William | †Horstmann, William J. |
| †Hacker Isaiah C. | Houston, Henry H., Germantown |
| †Hacker, Jeremiah | Howard, Daniel W. |
| †Hacker, William E. | Howard, James W. |
| †Haines, Ann, Germantown | †Howard, N. G. |
| Hamilton, Charles L. | Huddy, Benjamin F. |
| †Hammersly, George | Huff, John W. |
| Hammond, Charles, Jr. | Huidekoper, Rush Shippen |
| Hand, James C. | †Humphreys, Charles |
| †Harlan, Charles | †Hunt, Benjamin P. |
| †Harmar, Charles, Harmar's Retreat | Huntington, L. C. L. |
| †Harmar, James Lanman | Hutchinson, Charles Hare |
| Harrah, C. J. | Hutchinson, Emlen |
| Harris, Franklin M. | Ingersoll, Charles |
| Harris, John Campbell | †Ingersoll, Joseph R. |
| Harrison, Alfred C. | Ingram, Harlan |
| Harrison, Charles C. | †Ingram, Thomas R. |
| Harrison, George L. | Iseminger, Charles F. |
| Harrison, John | Jackson, Charles M. |
| †Harrison, Joseph, Jr. | Jacobs, William Boyd |
| Harrison, Thomas S. | James, John O. |

XIII

†James, Thomas C.
 Jamison, B. K.
 Janney, Benj. S., Jr.
 Janney, George
 Janney, Nathaniel E.
 Jayne, E. C.
 †Jayne, David W.
 Jeanes, William C.
 Jenkins, Jabez, Jr.
 Jenks, Barton H.
 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.
 Kelly, Charles E.
 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.
 †Levy, Lyon Joseph
 †Lewis, Ellis
 Lewis, George T.
 Lewis, Henry
 Lewis, John T.
 Lewis, Joseph W., Germantown
 †Lewis, Mordecai D.
 Lewis, Samuel G.
 Lewis, Wm. Fisher
 †Lindsay, John
 Lippincott, J. B.
 Littell, C. Willing, Germantown
 Little, Amos R.
 †Locke, Zebulon
 Long, James
 †Longstreth, William C.
 †Loving, Joseph S., Oak Hill
 †Lowry, Robert O.
 Lucas, John
 †Lukens, Casper P.
 †Library, Athenæum, renewed
 †Library, Carpenters' Company, renewed
 †Library Company, Philadelphia, renewed
 Library of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Pennsylvania
 Library, Mercantile
 †Library, Presbyterian Historical Society, renewed
 Library Company, Southwark
 McAllister, James W.
 McAllister, John A.
 McAllister, William Y.
 McArthur, John, Jr.
 McCall, Harry
 McCall, John C.
 †McCanles, John
 McFarland, Park, Jr.,
 McIntyre, Archibald
 †McKibben, William C.
 McKean, H. Pratt, Germantown
 McMahan, George W.

XIV

McMichael, Morton, Jr.
 †McMichael, Morton
 †Macalester, Charles, Torresdale
 Macdowell, William H.
 †Maceuen, Malcolm
 ‡Mackellar, Thomas, Germantown
 MacVeagh, Wayne
 Maddock, Edward
 Magarge, Charles, Germantown
 †Magec, James
 Magee, Michael
 †Malone, Benjamin
 Manderson, Andrew
 Mann, William B.
 Mann, William J.
 †Markley, Edward C.
 †Marsh, Benjamin V.
 †Marshall, Benjamin
 †Martin, George H.
 Martin, John Hill
 †Mason, Samuel
 †Massey, Robert V.
 Maule, Edward
 Meade, George
 †Megargee, Sylvester J.
 †Meredith, William M.
 †Mercer, Singleton A.
 †Merrick, Samuel V.
 Michener, Israel
 Michener, John H.
 †Mickley, Joseph J.
 †Middleton, E. P.
 Middleton, Nathan
 †Miles, Edward Harris
 †Miller, Andrew
 †Miller, E. Spencer
 Miller, J. Christian
 Mitchell, E. Coppée
 Mitchell, James T.
 Mitchell, John C.
 †Mitchell, John K.
 †Mitchell, Thomas S.
 Mitchell, William A.
 Montgomery, John T.
 Montgomery, Thomas H.
 Monges, Gordon
 †Moore, Bloomfield H.
 Morris, Casper
 †Morris, Charles M.
 Morris, Ellston P., Germantown
 Morris, Israel
 †Morris, Jacob G.
 Morris, John T.
 †Muirheid, Charles H.
 Munday, Eugene H.

†Myers, Joseph B.
 Nebinger, Andrew
 †Neill, John
 †Newbold, James S.
 Newbold, John S.
 †Newbold, William H.
 Newhall, Thomas A., Germantown
 †Newkirk, Matthew
 Newland, Edward
 Newton, Richard
 Nicholson, James B.
 Nicholson, Richard L.
 †Norris, George W.
 Norris, Miss Hannah Fox
 Norris, Isaac
 †Norris, Samuel
 Norris, William F.
 †Notman, John
 †Nugent, George, Germantown
 Ogden, Charles S.
 †Ogden, John M.
 †Orne, James H.
 †Palmer, Jonathan
 Parrish, Dillwyn
 Parrish, Samuel
 Parry, Charles T.
 Paschall, Robert S.
 Patten, William
 †Patterson, Robert
 Patterson, Robert
 †Paul, Bettie
 Paul, James
 Paul, James W.
 Pawson, James
 †Paxton, Joseph R.
 †Peace, Edward
 Peirce, William S.
 Pemberton, Israel
 Pennypacker, Samuel W.
 Pepper, George N.
 Pepper, George S.
 †Pepper, Henry
 Pepper, Lawrence S.
 †Peters, Francis
 Philler, George
 Phillips, Henry M.
 Phillips, Horace
 Phillips, Moro
 †Phillips, Samuel R.
 †Platt, William, Jr.
 †Pleasants, Samuel
 †Plitt, George
 Porter, William A.
 Postlethwaite, Edward T.
 †Potter, Alfred R.

XV

Potts, Joseph D.	Seal, Joseph H.
Powell, Washington B.	Sellers, David W.
PPowers, Thomas H.	Sellers, John, Jr.
†Price, Eli K.	Sellers, William
Price, J. Sergeant	Seltzer, J. H.
†Price, Richard	Sergeant, J. Dickinson
†Primrose, William	†Sergeant, Thomas
†Pringle, James S.	†Sergeant, William
Purves, William	Sexton, John W.
Queen, Frank	†Sharpless, Henry H. G.
†Randall, Josiah	Sharpless, Nathan H.
†Randolph, Edward T.	Sharpless, Samuel J.
Randolph, Evan	†Sharswood, George
†Randolph, Nathaniel	Sheafer, William H.
Rau, Edward H.	Sheble, George H.
Rawle, Henry	Shelton, F. R.
Rawle, William Brooke	Sheppard, Furman
Rawle, William Henry	Sherman, Roger
†Reeves, Samuel J.	Shipley, Augustus B., Germantown
†Remington, Thomas P.	†Shippen, Franklin
Repplier, John G.	†Shippen, William
†Repplier, Joseph M.	Shober, Samuel L.
†Rice, John	Shoemaker, Benjamin H.
Richardson, Richard	Simons, Henry
Richardson, Thomas	†Sinclair, Thomas
Ritchie, Craig D.	†Singerly, Joseph
†Ritter, Jacob B.	Singerly, William M.
†Robbins, John	Smedley, Samuel L.
Roberts, Albert C.	Smith, Alfred, Germantown
†Roberts, Algernon S.	Smith, Aubrey H.
Roberts, Charles	Smith, A. Lewis
Roberts, Edward, Jr.	†Smith, Beaton
Roberts, George H.	Smith, Benjamin R.
†Roberts, Solomon W.	Smith, Charles
Roberts, William R.	Smith, Charles E.
†Robins, Thomas	Smith, Davis R.
†Rogers, Alfred W.	†Smith, Elwood M.
Rogers, Charles H.	Smith, George Plumer
Rogers, Fairman	Smith, James C.
Rowland, Henry J.	Smith, Jesse E.
†Rowland, William	Smith, John F.
†Rupp, J. Daniel	†Smith, Joseph P.
†Rutter, Robert L.	†Smith, Lewis Waln
†Ryerss, Joseph W.	†Smith, Newberry A.
Samuel, Edward	Smith, Richard
Sanders, Dallas	Smith, Richard S.
Santee, Charles	Smith, Robert
†Sargent, Winthrop	Smith, Robert P., Germantown
Scattergood, George J.	Smith, Samuel Grant
Schäffler, Charles	†Smith, Thomas
Scott, James P.	Smyth, Lindley
Scott, Lewis A.	Social Art Club
†Scott, Thomas A.	Solms, Sidney J.
Scull, David, Jr.	Sower, Charles G.
Scull, Edward L.	Sowers, William H.

XVI

- Spackman, John B.
 Spangler, C. E.
 †Sparks, Thomas
 Sparks, Thomas W.
 Speel, Joseph A.
 Spiese, George W.
 Spencer, Charles, Germantown
 Spencer, Howard
 Spencer, James S.
 Spencer, John T.
 †Spooner, Edwin
 †Sproat, Harris L.
 Steel, Edward T., Germantown
 Steele, James L.
 †Steever, Henry D., Germantown
 †Stevens, James E. P., Germantown
 Stillé, Alfred
 Stillé, Charles J.
 Stocker, Anthony E.
 Stoddart, J. Marshall
 Stokes, Francis, Germantown
 †Stokes, William A.
 Stone, Frederick D., Germantown
 Stone, James N.
 †Stone, William E., Germantown
 Stuart, George H.
 Stoddart, Curwen
 †Struthers, William
 †Sully, Thomas
 Sutter, Daniel
 Swain, Charles M.
 †Swift, Joseph
 Sypher, J. R.
 Taggart, William H.
 Tasker, Stephen P. M.
 Tasker, Thomas T.
 †Tasker, Thomas T., Jr.
 Taylor, Enoch, Germantown
 Taylor, Samuel L.
 †Taylor, Stephen
 Thomas, George C.
 †Thomas, John Dover
 †Thomas, Joseph M.
 †Thomas, Martin
 Thomas, William B.
 Thomas, William G.
 Thompson, E. O.
 †Thompson, John J.
 Thompson, John J.
 †Thompson, Oswald
 †Thomson, George H., Germantown
 †Thomson, J. Edgar
 Thomson, William
 Thorn, George W.
 Tobias, Joseph F.
 †Toland, Henry
 Tower, Charlemagne, Jr.
 Townsend, Henry C.
 Townsend, James P.
 Townsend, John Wm.
 Traquair, James
 †Trautwine, John C.
 Trotter, Charles W.
 Trotter, Joseph H.
 Trotter, Newbold H.
 Trotter, William Henry
 Trump, Daniel
 Tucker, John
 †Turnbull, William P.
 Turnpenny, Joseph C.
 Tyler, George F.
 †Tyndale, Hector
 †Tyson, Job R.
 Valentine, John K.
 †Van Syckel, James J.
 Vance, James M.
 Vaux, George
 Vaux, Roberts
 †Vaux, William S.
 Verree, John P.
 Vinton, Chas. Harrod
 Von Utassy, A. W., Germantown
 †Wagner, Charles M.
 Wagner, Mrs. Mary
 Walker, Jerry
 Walker, R. J. C.
 Wallace, John William
 †Waln, S. Morris
 Ward, Townsend
 †Warder, Benjamin H.
 †Warner, Joseph
 Warner, Redwood F.
 Watkins, Samuel P., Jr.
 Watson, George N.
 Watt, John H.
 Webster, David
 Webster, Thomas
 Weightman, William
 Wells, Wm. Lehman
 Welsh, John
 Welsh, Samuel
 Westergaard, Lars
 Westcott, Thompson
 Wetherill, John Price
 Wetherill, Samuel
 †Wharton, George M.
 Wharton, Joseph
 †Wharton, Thomas J.
 Whelen, Henry, Jr.
 †Whitall, John M.

XVII

White, C. Brooke	Wood, Caleb
White, George Q.	†Wood, George A.
White, William R.	†Wood, George B.
†Whiteman, William A.	Wood, Howard
Whitman, Horace F.	†Wood, James F.
†Whitney, Asa	Wood, Richard
Widener, Peter A. B.	Wood, Robert
†Wilcocks, Alexander	Wood, R. Francis
†Willcox, Mark	Wood, Walter
Williams, Edward H.	Woodward, H. C.
Williams, Francis H.	Workman, Henry Weir
†Williams, Henry J., Chestnut Hill	†Worrell, James C.
Williams, Isaac L.	Wright, James A.
†Williams, James W.	Wright, John
†Wilson, Oliver Howard	Wright, Wm. Redwood
Wilson, W. Hasell	Wurts, Charles Stewart
†Wilson, William S.	†Wynkoop, Francis M.
Wiltbank, Wm. W.	†Yarnall, Charles
Winsor, Henry	†Yarnall, Edward
Wistar, Dillwyn	Yarnall, Ellis
†Wistar, Mifflin	Yarnall, Francis C.
†Wistar, Richard	Yarrow, Mrs. Matilda
Wister, Casper	†Ziegler, George K.
Womrath, F. K.	

RHODE ISLAND.

†Cooke, Joseph J., Providence	†Harris, C. Fiske, Providence
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VIRGINIA.

Armstrong, Miss Julia M., Keswick, Albemarle Co.	Dulany, Henry Grafton, Jr., Welbourne Hall, Loudon Co.
Brock, R. Alonzo, Richmond	†Foote, William Henry, Romney
†Conway, Henry R., Stafford C. H.	Hope, James Barron, Norfolk
Daniel, Peter V., Richmond	

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Bancroft, George	Pickett, John T.
Library of the Department of State	Riggs, George W.
McElhone, John J.	Strong, William

UNITED STATES ARMY.

†Crosman, George H.	†Graham, James D.
Cullum, George W.	Humphreys, A. A.
Davis, Charles L.	Kendig, Daniel
†Garrard, Kenner	†McCall, George A.
Gibson, George, Jr.	Pollock, O. W.

XVIII

UNITED STATES NAVY.

†Foltz, Jonathan M.
†Gillis, John P.
†Lardner, James L.

Ruschenberger, W. S. W.
Rush, Richard
Wright, Miers Fisher

CANADA.

†Cawthra, William, Toronto

Redpath, Peter, for McGill College,
Montreal

CUBA.

Guiteras, Eusebio, Matanzas

Guiteras, Pedro J., Matanzas

ENGLAND.

Biddle-Cope, James, Worcester College, Oxford
†Hunter, John, Liverpool
†McHenry, George, London
Man, William, London
†Peabody, George, London
†Penn, Granville John, Pennsylvania
Castle, Isle of Portland

Penn-Gaskell, Peter, of Shannagarry
Ireland, and London
Schenley, Mrs. Mary, Prince's Gate,
Hyde Park, London
Scully, Gideon D., The Laurels, Hounslow Heath
Stuart, William, Tempsford Hall, Sandy, Bedfordshire
Timmins, Samuel, Birmingham

FRANCE.

Camac, J. Burgess, Dinard, Ille et
Vilaine

Stewart, William H., Paris
Van der Kemp, John J., Paris

GERMANY.

†Freytag, Godfrey, Bremen
Plate, Theophilus, Jr.

Weber, Paul, Munich
Wicht, William V., Nassau

HOLLAND.

†Alofsen, Solomon

ITALY.

†Wickersham, Morris S., Piacenza

Heywood, J. C., Rome

AUSTRALIA.

The Public Library and Museums of Victoria, Melbourne

XIX

BEQUESTS.

James Hamilton, Carlisle, Pa., \$500. Ann Willing Jackson, Phila., \$100.
Stephen Taylor, \$1000.

WORKS ALREADY ISSUED BY THE FUND.

History of Braddock's Expedition.
Contributions to American History, 1858.
Record of Upland, and Denny's Military Journal.
Republication of Memoirs of the Society, Vol. I.
Minutes of the Committee of Defence of Philadelphia.
Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. I.
Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. II.
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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