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The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OR

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. IX.

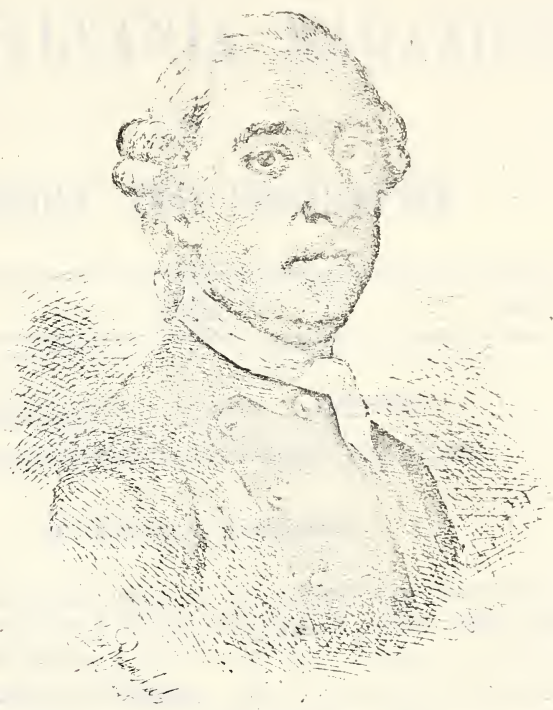
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COLONEL SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR, BART.
Deputy Quarter Master General
IN AMERICA.

From a Miniature by Copley, Presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Dr. Charles Helling.

John McLair,

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. IX.

1885.

No. 1.

SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR, BARONET,
QUARTER-MASTER GENERAL IN AMERICA, 1755 TO 1767.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

JAMES ST. CLAIR, a cadet of the Sinclairs of Stevenson, bought the estate of Auldbar, Forfarshire, about 1650, but sold it in lots between 1670 and 1678, having, in 1675, acquired Kinnaird in Fifeshire. He was created a baronet of Scotland (patent not recorded and date unknown), and married Isabel, daughter of Sir James Balfour, of Demmill and Kinnaird, by whom he had a son,

Sir George St. Clair, who succeeded his father as second baronet before September, 1702, and sold Kinnaird shortly before his death. By his wife, Margaret Crawford, he had

SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR, who succeeded as third baronet before November, 1726.¹ Of his life, before the time of Braddock's Expedition, but little has been ascertained. Having inher-

¹ I am indebted to R. R. Stoddart, Esq., of the Lyon Office, Edinburgh, for these details of Sir John's ancestry.

REVIEWS

REVIEWS

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ited only a small landed estate near Tarbet, Argyleshire, he entered the army and served on the Continent, and at Minorca during the War of the Austrian Succession. On his arrival in America, Dinwiddie introduces him to Lord Fairfax as "a man of great knowledge in military affairs, who has been at most Courts in Europe, and whose observations are very judicious."¹ Sargent says he had served in a Hussar regiment, but this statement, as well as the ridiculous one that he usually wore a Hussar uniform while on service in America, seems to rest on no other authority than the allusion to him in the last paragraph of Franklin's advertisement for wagons.²

Sir John obtained the Majority of his regiment (O'Farrell's, afterwards the 22d Foot³) October 7, 1754,⁴ and on the fifteenth of the same month was appointed Deputy Quarter-Master General of the forces in North America, with the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The later commissions were given in connection with the expedition under the command of Braddock, then fitting out, and he was ordered to repair to the scene of the intended operations in advance of the army. In company with Lieutenant-Colonel Ellison, of Shirley's, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, of Pepperell's regiments, he sailed in the "Gibraltar," man-of-war,⁵ and arrived in Virginia, January 10, 1755. He at once "found

¹ Dinwiddie Papers, I. 465.

² The term of Hussar is of Hungarian origin, and was applied to the Light Cavalry of continental armies, whose duties of collecting forage and making quick and destructive raids made it a synonyme of terror to the German peasant. Franklin selected the word for its probable effect upon the thousands of these people who had sought refuge in Pennsylvania. The York Hussars, raised in 1801, is the first Hussar regiment to be found in British Army Lists, nor is the word to be found in any English dictionary until the beginning of the present century. A Mr. Atkinson, in 1847, says, "Sir John Sinclair wore a Hussar's Cap" [Olden Time, II: 540]; ten years later Mr. Sargent speaks of a complete uniform. The dress of a British officer was the subject of just as minute regulation in 1755 as it is to-day.

³ Sargent is in error as to his rank as well as his colonel's name.

⁴ Chamberlayne's Present State of Great Britain, Part II. 236.

⁵ Penna. Gazette, Jan. 28, 1755.

active employment in acquainting himself with the nature and scene of his future duties."¹

After a visit to Hampton, in company with Governor Dinwiddie, to "provide a hospital for the forces expected,"² and procuring "all the maps and information that were obtainable respecting the country through which the expedition was to pass, he proceeded upon a tour of inspection to Wills' Creek,"³ where the three Independent companies, which had been retained in the Royal pay since the last war, were busy transforming the old trading-post of the Ohio Company into Fort Cumberland. He reached the fort on January 26, and there found Governor Sharpe,⁴ of Maryland, with whom, two days later, he started to return down the Potomac in a canoe. In the course of their voyage of two hundred miles they "viewed the Great Falls at Potowmack, and were in hopes of blowing them up, so as to make the river navigable there for flat-bottomed vessels, which, if effected, will be of the greatest service in transporting necessities for our forces."⁵ Reaching Williamsburg on February 6, he at once employed a number of men to build the bateaux for the ascent of the river, and also laid out a camp for the army at Watkin's Ferry, which, however, was not used.⁶ "He was," says Governor Dinwiddie, "a good officer and indefatigable in his business,"⁷ gathering horses for the ordnance, provisions and means of transportation for the troops, and hurrying from point to point to review and inspect the detachments of militia.

From Dinwiddie and Shirley he had received every assistance, and he looked for the same from Morris, of Pennsylvania. The home government and the officers of the expedition naturally expected ample support from the province which had most at stake upon its success.⁸ St. Clair had written

¹ Sargent, 143.

² Dinwiddie Papers, I. 453.

³ Sargent, 143.

⁴ Penna. Gazette, Feb. 18, 1755.

⁵ Ibid., Feb. 11, 1755.

⁶ Sargent, 145.

⁷ Dinwiddie Papers, I. 475.

⁸ "Pennsylvania, without contradiction the richest province, and whose interest is, above all, concerned in the event of this expedition, has yet granted nothing." Braddock to Robinson, Olden Time, II. 226.

to Morris, on the 14th of January, announcing his arrival, asking for maps and information concerning Pennsylvania, and urging him to take immediate steps towards raising the 400 men needed to complete Dunbar's and Halkett's regiments, which that province was expected to supply. To this letter, which reached Philadelphia on the 22d, Morris, who was busy with visiting Indians and his quarrel with the Assembly, did not reply until the 10th of February, when he wrote,—

“The flourishing condition of this province is such that, without burthening the people, we might have done everything required by his Majesty and much more; but our Assembly took it into their heads that royal and proprietary instructions were destructive of their liberties, and, instead of considering the danger to which the province was exposed, they entered into a dispute upon that head, and could not be prevailed upon to lay it aside, or to give money upon any terms, but such as were directly contrary to his Majesty's instructions, and inconsistent with their own dependence upon the crown.

“I could easily have had a number of men in readiness to augment the two regiments from Ireland, if my Assembly would have come into reasonable measures, but for want of money I have not been able to carry the King's command into execution.”¹

Morris' letter did not reach Williamsburg till February 28, and Braddock, who had arrived there four days before, immediately replied with the greatest surprise at finding “such pusillanimous and improper behavior in your Assembly, as their refusal to supply men, money, or provisions for their own defense,” and threatening to repair by “unpleasant methods what, for the character and honor of the Assembly, I would be much happier to see cheerfully supplied.”²

Meanwhile, St. Clair had written again to Morris (from Williamsburg, February 14), expressing his uneasiness at not hearing from him, and recommending the immediate necessity of the opening of a road from the Susquehanna to

¹ Colonial Records, VI. 299.

² *Ibid.*, 307.

the forks of the Youghiogeny, as "I may venture to assure your Excellency no general will advance with an army without having a communication open to the provinces in his rear, both for the security of his retreat, and to facilitate the transport of provisions, for the supplying of which we must greatly depend on your provinces."¹

This letter St. Clair sent by an express, and Morris promptly replied, promising to do everything in his power, but he did not lay the matter before the Council until the 10th of March. That body, "on considering Sir John St. Clair's letter, the Council judged it would be absolutely necessary to open a road from Shippensburg to intercept the road of the army from Wills' Creek to Fort Duquesne, through Ray's Town; and that a good and convenient road might be found, it was agreed that the governor should issue forthwith a commission to fit and proper persons to reconnoitre and explore the country lying between Kittochtinney Hills, the Great Meadows, and Wills' Creek."² Morris immediately appointed five commissioners to survey the road, and having obtained from the Assembly a promise to defray the expense, ordered the work to be pushed with the utmost speed. But little, however, had been done by the middle of April, when Sir John visited the commissioners, and "stormed like a Lyon Rampant."³ He threatened all sorts of vengeance on the province and blamed Morris severely. For this he received a "set down"⁴ from Braddock, and later, having learned how completely Morris' hands were tied by the Assembly, he expressed his regret for his injustice towards the governor.⁵

St. Clair was at Fredericksburg inspecting some militia when an express reached him announcing Braddock's arrival. His task had been immense. Sent out without a single assistant, he had found added to his expected duties the necessity of personally selecting from the Virginia militia the men needed to complete the two regiments of regulars;

¹ Colonial Records, VI. 301.

² *Ibid.*, 317.

³ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁴ Penna. Archives, II. 317.

⁵ Colonial Records, VI. 400.

to reorganize the independent companies at Fort Cumberland, among whom he had found "men from sixty to seventy years of age, lame and every way disabled," others "without discipline and very ill appointed," and the whole no better than "Invalids with the ignorance of Militia."¹ He hastened back to Williamsburg to perfect the details of the plan he had prepared for the campaign. Braddock writes of him as Dinwiddie had to Lord Fairfax, "He is indefatigable, and has done all that could possibly be expected."² Mr. Sargent, in his Introduction to the two Journals of the Expedition, says, "St. Clair had arranged an absurd plan for cantoning them [the troops] in small divisions all over the country, which the General very wisely at once ignored." As authority for this harsh remark he gives three references. The first, Braddock's despatch, says, "Instead of cantoning my troops, as I had intended, according to the account which Sir John St. Clair had given in England concerning them; the wind being favorable, and not imagining any danger, I have given orders to the transport vessels to sail up the river to Alexandria, and land them where I design to encamp." The second reference (Sparks' Washington, II. p. 68) is a distinct statement of how and where the troops soon after landing were cantoned in accordance with St. Clair's plan. The third reference (Pa. Archives, II. 286) does not contain the slightest allusion to *St. Clair's* or *anybody's* plan for the disposing of the troops after their arrival. Mr. Sargent's ideas about the plan, and St. Clair generally, were no doubt derived from Orme's Journal, the writer of which evidently had no friendly feeling towards St. Clair. The Journal, a few pages further on, speaks of certain detachments being sent into temporary quarters at Winchester, Frederick, and Conegokee, their numbers corresponding nearly with those assigned to these places in Sir John's plan.

In May, the army being assembled at Fort Cumberland, St. Clair was sent to find a road from there to the point on the Youghiogeny, which the road being built by Pennsylvania would strike, but found none practicable. This com-

¹ Sargent, 286.

² Braddock to Napier, Olden Time, II. 225.

pelled Braddock to take the old route by the Meadows, and on the 30th of May, St. Clair, with 600 men, began the advance. He cleared a road to Little Meadows, some thirty miles from Wills' Creek, having encountered and driven off a large party of French Indians,¹ and there, after laying out a camp, surrounded with an abattis,² awaited the arrival of the main body. St. Clair, with the working-party, continued to lead the advance till the Monongahela was reached, on the evening of July 8. He at first suggested "sending a detachment that might invest the fort," but finally acquiesced in the opinion of others, that it would be more prudent to wait until the army reached its next camping-ground.³ On the fatal 9th of July, Gage's detachment was placed in the van, Sir John and the working-party taking the second place in the line of march. St. Clair fell, shot through the breast, early in the fight. He was carried to the camp at Little Meadows, and from there to Fort Cumberland, where he remained till the end of August. Writing to Colonel Innes, of the Virginia militia, who was in command of the fort, Governor Dinwiddie says, on July 26, "I am heartily glad Sir John St. Clair is with you, and hope he is in a fair way of recovery. If the private men have got quit of their panick, I think much may be done to retrieve the loss we have sustained. Write me your thoughts, and if Sir John is well enough, advise with him."⁴ On the 6th of September, Dinwiddie writes to Com. Keppel, "Sir John St. Clair has been here about ten days; he recovers of his wounds pretty fast. He is very silent in regard to the action at Monongahela, but I think he does not approve of the dispositions of the army, and says it was contrary to his opinion."⁵ By the 10th of September he had reached Philadelphia, where he remained some weeks, the guest of his warm friend, the Hon. Thomas Willing.

In October he joined Dunbar at New York, on his way

¹ Colonial Records, VI. 460.

² *Ibid.*, 477.

³ Sargent, 352.

⁴ Dinwiddie Papers, II. 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 197. Referring, no doubt, to Braddock's leaving Dunbar at Little Meadows, which he had strenuously opposed.

to Albany, and having superintended the troops going into winter quarters there, he returned to New York about the end of November, to take part in the Council of War summoned by General Shirley, to prepare a plan for the next campaign.¹ He remained there during the winter, organizing several companies of "men for the Battoe-Service."² This done, on the 20th of March he returned to Albany, from whence, in May, the Rev. John Ogilvie wrote to Sir William Johnson, "Yesterday, Sir J—— St. C——r was in violent wrath, in consequence of a letter from Bradstreet. What the contents were I know not. I believe the General [Shirley] is embarrassed between them both. One, I am convinced, he must give up, and I am inclined to think he'll drop Bradstreet, for material reasons. I am vastly diverted to see Alexander pursuing Sir John wherever he goes. I am sensible their accounts puzzle them confoundedly."³ In June he had a violent quarrel with the Mayor of Albany about accommodations for the two regiments just arrived from England, which ended in his billeting the troops upon the inhabitants."⁴ Shirley having been succeeded by the inefficient Loudon, the remainder of the year was spent in forming plans which came to nothing.

In November, 1755, an Act of Parliament had been passed for raising a regiment of four battalions, each of 1000 men, in America. The men were to be drawn from the Swiss and other foreigners settled in the colonies, but principally from the Germans in Pennsylvania, to be strengthened, however, by seven or eight hundred "old soldiers from Germany." Major John Rutherford, to whom the recruiting of the regiment was committed, writes to Governor Shirley, from Philadelphia, on the 29th of June, 1756, "Besides the Head Quarters in Philadelphia, I have divided the Foreign officers and sergeants (who amounted to one-third of all commissioned, and were the first to arrive) into six parties in this Province, one in the Jerseys; and one in

¹ Colonial Records, VII. 23.

² Penna. Gazette, March 4, 1756.

³ Johnson Papers, III. 43.

⁴ Ibid., IV. 73, 180; Penna. Gazette, July 8, 1756.

New York, and I propose sending one party into Maryland.”¹ The regiment was called the Royal American, and at first numbered the 62d, but became the 60th Foot on the disbanding of Shirley’s and Pepperell’s, the 51st and 52d Regiments, in August, 1756. St. Clair, whose services were more appreciated at home than in the colonies, and who had the merit of a perfect knowledge of French and German, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fourth Battalion, his commission bearing date of January 6, 1756.

In April, 1757, St. Clair was at New Brunswick for the benefit of his health, his wound being still troublesome. Early in June, however, he was again on the frontier of Pennsylvania, preparing for the advance of the detachment sent under the command of Stanwix for its protection. On this occasion he sent a memorial concerning the necessity of opening and improving the roads in Cumberland County to Governor Denny, by whom it was referred to the Assembly, who appointed a committee to regulate the Highways, and “bring in a bill to supply their defects *if any should appear*.”² The committee did nothing, and Stanwix could advance no farther than Carlisle.

The British government having determined “to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign,”³ Colonel John Forbes, of the 17th Foot, who had been Lord Loudon’s Adjutant-General, was commissioned a Brigadier-General, and directed to undertake a new expedition against Fort Duquesne. St. Clair, on account of his familiarity with the frontier, was selected to assist him, and at the same time was promoted to the local rank of Colonel.⁴ Joining Forbes in New York, they proceeded to Philadelphia in April to prepare a plan of the campaign. By his advice, instead of taking the old road used by Braddock, Forbes determined upon cutting a new

¹ Original in the Collection of Ferd. J. Dreer, Esq., Philadelphia.

² Colonial Records, VII. 617.

³ Pitt to Denny, *Ibid.*, VIII. 27.

⁴ For an explanation of *local rank*, see Introduction to Journal kept in Canada in 1776 and 1777 by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. Art. (p. lxxxvi.). *Albany*, 1884.

one through Pennsylvania, and St. Clair was sent forward to make the necessary arrangements. Just before starting he wrote to Governor Sharpe,—

PHILADELPHIA, April the 24th, 1758.

DEAR SIR:—

I am in daily expectation of hearing you have met with success in raising your Troops for this year's service; this province have granted £100,000 for that purpose, and all hands are going to work to forward the service.

Gen^l Forbes is here and doing everything to get ready, three Companies of Highlanders have marched this morning to Lancaster, and I expect 4 Companies under Col. Boquet this evening or to-morrow, they stay here but one night.

I Shall leave here the 27th or 28th, and take the Route towards the frontier, my business calls me to Lancaster the 2nd of May being Court day, I must go to Reding [*sic*] & York, after the 6th of May I shou'd be glad you cou'd come up to Frederick Town where we may consult measures for the Publick Service. Direct for me at Mr. Stevenson's at York.

Should you find any difficulty of arming your Troops, the Gen^l desires you may give a small gratuity to the men who can furnish their own Arms which shall be repaid you. I am with the greatest Sincerity

Dear Gov^r

Your most obedient and
most humble servant

JOHN ST. CLAIR.

The General desires you will send him a Return of your troops & particularly those at Fort Cumberland, he desires to know how you are going on.

To Gov. Sharpe.¹

The meeting at Fredericksburg resulted in the sending of Washington, whom he had also summoned, to Williamsburg to urge the Council of Virginia to active measures.² St. Clair returned to Pennsylvania to superintend the cutting of the road across the Alleghanies, and whilst thus employed sent the terse requisition for supplies, "Pickaxes, crows,

¹ Letter in possession of F. J. Dreer, Esq., Philadelphia.

² Sparks' Washington, II. 285.

and shovels, likewise more Whiskey.”¹ Mr. Parkman, after quoting a letter in which Forbes says to Boquet, “Seal and send off the enclosed despatch to Sir John. He is a very odd man, and I am sorry it has been my fate to have any concern with him,” presents the following unfavorable picture of his conduct during this campaign: “He was extremely inefficient; and Forbes, out of all patience with him, wrote confidentially to Boquet that his only talent was for throwing every thing into confusion. Yet he found fault with everybody else, and would discharge volleys of oaths at all who met his disapproval. From this cause or some other, Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen, of the Virginians, told him that he would break his sword rather than be longer under his orders. ‘As I had not sufficient strength,’ says St. Clair, ‘to take him by the neck from among his own men, I was obliged to let him have his own way, that I might not be the occasion of bloodshed.’ He succeeded at last in arresting him, and Major Lewis, of the same regiment, took his place.”²

The expedition having been brought to a successful close in November, Forbes sent St. Clair to Boston to meet General Amherst. It was at this time that Copley painted the miniature from which our engraving is taken. St. Clair presented it to his friend, the Hon. Thomas Willing, who left a memorandum saying it was “the strongest likeness I ever saw.” After Forbes’ death, he was for some months engaged in settling the accounts of the expedition, and seems to have made Philadelphia his head-quarters for several years. Richard Huckburgh, writing from New York to Sir William Johnson, on April 13, 1761, says, “General Monkton with Major Gates is arrived from Philadelphia; by the latter I understand that the passes for trade for two years were obtained from the Quarter-Master General, Sir John Sinclair, who made a great many gold cobs by them; now they are issued by the Governor.”³ This business no doubt made the Quaker City very agreeable, but before it was withdrawn from him he had found another source of attraction in the

¹ Montcalm and Wolfe, II. 138.

² Ibid.

³ Johnson Papers, V. 75.

person of Miss Betsey Moland, the eldest daughter of the eminent lawyer of that name. Having won the lady's consent, and converted the gold cobs into a country-seat near Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, he ran off with her and was married on the 17th of March at Burlington.¹

The advent of peace enabled St. Clair, who had been made a Colonel in the army February 19, 1762, to remain for some time at his new home, which he had named Belleville. Towards the close of 1763 the 3d and 4th Battalions of the Royal Americans were disbanded, but his position as Deputy Quarter-Master General saved him from retirement on half-pay. His duties were now light, but the period of quiet was soon broken by news from Scotland of impending misfortune. Robert Leake writes on March 19, 1764, "Sir John St. Clair, who is in a poor state of health, goes soon home in the 'Venus' transport now here, his all being seiz'd on, and the estate to be sold."² In May, 1765, he is said to have been appointed Deputy Quarter-Master General in North Britain,³ but this was probably a reappointment to his old position, which he still filled at the time of his death, and Britain a misprint for America. How long he remained in Great Britain has not been ascertained; but on March 2, 1766, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 28th Foot, then stationed in New Jersey and the neighboring colonies, which, no doubt, led to his immediate return to America. A year later he writes as follows:

ELIZABETH TOWN, May 23, 1767.

SIR:—

I take the opportunity of the Rev^d Doctor Cooper, who is going to Maryland, to write to your Excellency to acquaint you that I shall be deprived the pleasure of seeing you this Summer as I proposed, for my health obliges

¹ By His Excellency Josiah Hardy's License directed to me, March ye 17th, 1762, were lawfully married Sir John St. Clair, Baronet, and Elizabeth Moreland [*sic*] Gentlewoman, according to the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of England, by me Colin Campbell, Missionary. Records of St. Mary's Church, Burlington.

² Johnson Papers, VIII. 226.

³ Gentleman's Magazine, 1765, p. 300.

me to leave America for some time. I propose going to Lisbon in the beginning of July, and stay there the Winter. I shall leave America with the less regret, as the Regiment is going home to Ireland, in which Country I could not exist. You will certainly think I am a droll man, when none but Doctors of Divinity will serve for carrying my letters, for the Gentlemen in whose favor I have the pleasure to address your Excellency are the Rev^d Doctor Cooper, President of the King's College, in New York, and the Rev^d Mr. McKean, the Society's Missionary at Amboy.

At a late Convention held by their Brethren, they were particularly deputed to confer with your Excellency on some plan of establishing an Ecclesiastical Government, and to solicit your concurrence. I take the liberty thus far to pave their way to access, as to assure you that they are men of approved merit, and Gentlemen worthy of attention; I must not mention their understanding, since it would be an affront to point out to a person of your distinguished penetration what must so conspicuously evince itself.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most obed't
& most Humble Serv't
JOHN ST. CLAIR.

To his Excellency,
HORATIO SHARPE, Esq.¹

His health failed too rapidly to permit his leaving America. He died at Belville, November 26, 1767, and three days later was buried with military honors at St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town. By his wife,² who subsequently married again, and died in London, October 29, 1783, he left one surviving son, who became Sir John St. Clair, fourth Baronet, and is said to have married a daughter of Sir William Erskine, Howe's Quarter-Master General during the Revolution.

St. Clair seems to have been a man of culture, as besides a fancy for landscape gardening, which he is said to have

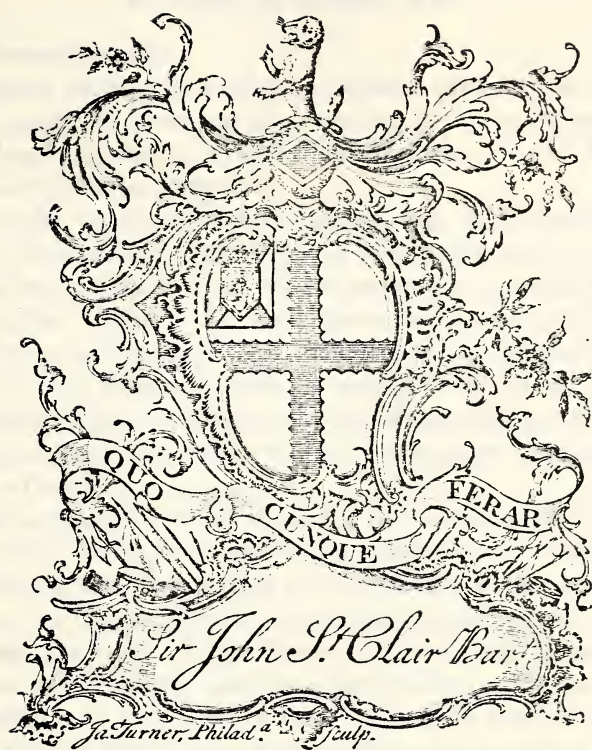
¹ From the original, in the possession of C. R. Hildeburn.

² Lady St. Clair was married at Elizabeth Town, March 14, 1769, to Lieut.-Col. Dudley Templer, of the 26th Foot, which had replaced the 28th in New Jersey. At the beginning of the Revolution, Templer sold out, and resided in London till his death, on March 11, 1795.

indulged at Belville, he collected, during his residence there, a considerable library, from a volume of which the book-plate we reproduce was taken. He was brave, and, in the discharge of his duties, active, honest, and unsparing of himself. His high temper was often exasperated by the apathy of the people, and the indifference of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to everything except the expansion of its own authority. But if his wrath was noisy, it was raised by conduct which excited Braddock to threaten violent measures, Washington to say, "We are to give all possible encouragement to a people who ought rather to be chastised,"¹ and Forbes to write, "This infamous breach of contract" would oblige him "to draw off my master's forces into the inhabited parts of the country, and take provisions and carriages wherever they can be found."²

¹ Sparks' Washington, II. 78.

² Forbes to Gov. Denny, Colonial Records, VIII. 168.



AMERICAN LANGUAGES, AND WHY WE SHOULD
STUDY THEM.BY DANIEL G. BRINTON, M.D.¹

MR. PRESIDENT, ETC. :

I appear before you to-night to enter a plea for one of the most neglected branches of learning, for a study usually considered hopelessly dry and unproductive,—that of American aboriginal languages.

It might be thought that such a topic, in America and among Americans, would attract a reasonably large number of students. The interest which attaches to our native soil and to the homes of our ancestors—an interest which it is the praiseworthy purpose of this Society to inculcate and cherish—this interest might be supposed to extend to the languages of those nations who for uncounted generations possessed the land which we have occupied relatively so short a time.

This supposition would seem the more reasonable in view of the fact that in one sense these languages have not died out among us. True, they are no longer media of intercourse, but they survive in thousands of geographical names all over our land. In the State of Connecticut alone there are over six hundred, and even more in Pennsylvania.

Certainly it would be a most legitimate anxiety which should direct itself to the preservation of the correct forms and precise meanings of these numerous and peculiarly national designations. One would think that this alone would not fail to excite something more than a languid curiosity in American linguistics, at least in our institutions of learning and societies for historical research.

Such a motive applies to the future as well as to the past. We have yet thousands of names to affix to localities, ships,

¹ An Address delivered before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, March 9, 1885.

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cars, country-seats, and the like. Why should we fall back on the dreary repetition of the Old World nomenclature? I turn to a Gazetteer of the United States, and I find the name Athens repeated 34 times to as many villages and towns in our land, Rome and Palmyra each 29 times, Troy 58 times, not to speak of Washington, which is entered for 331 different places in this Gazetteer!

What poverty of invention does this manifest!

Evidently the forefathers of our christened West were, like Sir John Falstaff, at a loss where a commodity of good names was to be had.

Yet it lay immediately at their hands. The native tongues supply an inexhaustible store of sonorous, appropriate, and unused names. As has well been said by an earlier writer, "No class of terms could be applied more expressive and more American. The titles of the Old World certainly need not be copied, when those that are fresh and fragrant with our natal soil await adoption."¹

That this study has received so slight attention I attribute to the comparatively recent understanding of the value of the study of languages in general, and more particularly to the fact that no one, so far as I know, has set forth the purposes for which we should investigate these tongues, and the results which we expect to reach by means of them. This it is my present purpose to attempt, so far as it can be accomplished in the scope of an evening address.

The time has not long passed when the only good reasons for studying a language were held to be either that we might thereby acquaint ourselves with its literature; or that certain business, trading, or political interests might be subserved; or that the nation speaking it might be made acquainted with the blessings of civilization and Christianity. These were all good and sufficient reasons, but I cannot adduce any one of them in support of my plea to-night; for the languages I shall speak of have no literature; all transactions with their people can be carried on as well or better in European tongues; and, in fact, many of these people are

¹ H. R. Schoolcraft.

no longer in existence. They have died out or amalgamated with others. What I have to argue for is the study of the dead languages of extinct and barbarous tribes.

You will readily see that my arguments must be drawn from other considerations than those of immediate utility. I must seek them in the broader fields of ethnology and philosophy; I must appeal to your interest in man as a race, as a member of a common species, as possessing in all his families and tribes the same mind, the same soul. It was the proud prerogative of Christianity first to proclaim this great truth, to break down the distinctions of race and the prejudices of nationalities, in order to erect upon their ruins that catholic temple of universal brotherhood which excludes no man as a stranger or an alien. After eighteen hundred years of labor, science has reached that point which the religious instinct divined, and it is in the name of science that I claim for these neglected monuments of man's powers that attention which they deserve.

Anthropology is the science which studies man as a species; *Ethnology*, that which studies the various nations which make up the species. To both of these the science of Linguistics is more and more perceived to be a powerful, an indispensable auxiliary. Through it we get nearer to the real man, his inner self, than by any other avenue of approach, and it needs no argument to show that nothing more closely binds men into a social unit than a common language. Without it, indeed, there can be no true national unity. The affinities of speech, properly analyzed and valued, are our most trustworthy guides in tracing the relationship and descent of nations.

If this is true in general, it is particularly so in the ethnology of America. Language is almost our only clue to discover the kinship of those countless scattered hordes who roamed the forests of this broad continent. Their traditions are vague or lost, written records they had none, their customs and arts are misleading, their religions misunderstood, their languages alone remain to testify to a oneness of blood often seemingly repudiated by an internecine hostility.

I am well aware of the limits which a wise caution assigns to the employment of linguistics in ethnology, and I am only too familiar with the many foolish, unscientific attempts to employ it with reference to the American race. But in spite of all this, I repeat that it is the surest and almost our only means to trace the ancient connection and migrations of nations in America.

Through its aid alone we have reached a positive knowledge that most of the area of South America, including the whole of the West Indies, was occupied by three great families of nations, not one of which had formed any important settlement on the northern continent. By similar evidence we know that the tribe which greeted Penn, when he landed on the site of this city where I now speak, was a member of one vast family,—the great Algonkin stock,—whose various clans extended from the palmetto swamps of Carolina to the snow-clad hills of Labrador, and from the easternmost cape of Newfoundland to the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, over 20° of latitude and 50° of longitude. We also know that the general trend of migration in the northern continent has been from north to south, and that this is true not only of the more savage tribes, as the Algonkins, Iroquois, and Athapascas, but also of those who, in the favored southern lands, approached a form of civilization, the Aztecs, the Mayas, and the Quiche. These and many minor ethnologic facts have already been obtained by the study of American languages.

But such external information is only a small part of what they are capable of disclosing. We can turn them, like the reflector of a microscope, on the secret and hidden mysteries of the aboriginal man, and discover his inmost motives, his impulses, his concealed hopes and fears, those that gave rise to his customs and laws, his schemes of social life, his superstitions and his religions.

The life-work of that eminent antiquary, the late Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, was based entirely on linguistics. He attempted, by an exhaustive analysis of the terms of relationship in American tribes, to reconstruct their primitive

theory of the social compact, and to extend this to the framework of ancient society in general. If, like most students enamored of an idea, he carried its application too far, the many correct results he obtained will ever remain as prized possessions of American ethnology.

Personal names, family names, titles, forms of salutation, methods of address, terms of endearment, respect, and reproach, words expressing the emotions, these are what infallibly reveal the daily social family life of a community, and the way in which its members regard one another. They are precisely as correct when applied to the investigation of the American race as elsewhere, and they are the more valuable just there, because his deep-seated distrust of the white invaders—for which, let us acknowledge, he had abundant cause—led the Indian to practise concealment and equivocation on these personal topics.

In no other way can the history of the development of his arts be reached. You are doubtless aware that diligent students of the Aryan languages have succeeded in faithfully depicting the arts and habits of that ancient community in which the common ancestors of Greek and Roman, Persian and Dane, Brahmin and Irishman dwelt together as of one blood and one speech. This has been done by ascertaining what household words are common to all these tongues, and therefore must have been in use among the primeval horde from which they are all descended. The method is conclusive, and yields positive results. There is no reason why it should not be addressed to American languages, and we may be sure that it would be most fruitful. How valuable it would be to take even a few words, as maize, tobacco, pipe, bow, arrow, and the like, each representing a widespread art or custom, and trace their derivations and affinities through the languages of the whole continent! We may be sure that striking and unexpected results would be obtained.

Similar lines of research suggest themselves in other directions. You all know what a fuss has lately been made about the great Pyramid as designed to preserve the linear

measure of the ancient Egyptians. The ascertaining of such measures is certainly a valuable historical point, as all artistic advance depends upon the use of instruments of precision. Mathematical methods have been applied to American architectural remains for the same purpose. But the study of words of measurement and their origin is an efficient auxiliary. By comparing such in the languages of three architectural people, the Aztecs of Mexico, the Mayas of Yucatan, and the Cakchiquel of Guatemala, I have found that the latter used the span and the two former the foot, and that this foot was just about one-fiftieth less than the ordinary foot of our standard. Certainly this is a useful result.

I have made some collections for a study of a different character. Of all the traits of a nation, the most decisive on its social life and destiny is the estimate it places upon women,—that is, upon the relation of the sexes. This is faithfully mirrored in language; and by collecting and analyzing all words expressing the sexual relations, all salutations of men to women and women to men, all peculiarities of the diction of each, we can ascertain far more exactly than by any mere description of usages what were the feelings which existed between them. Did they know love as something else than lust? Were the pre-eminently civilizing traits of the feminine nature recognized and allowed room for action? These are crucial questions, and their answer is contained in the spoken language of every tribe.

Nowhere, however, is an analytic scrutiny of words more essential than in comparative mythology. It alone enables us to reach the meaning of rites, the foundations of myths, the covert import of symbols. It is useless for any one to write about the religion of an American tribe who has not prepared himself by a study of its language, and acquainted himself with the applications of linguistics to mythology. Very few have taken this trouble, and the result is that all the current ideas on this subject are entirely erroneous. We hear about a Good Spirit and a Bad Spirit, about polytheism, fetichism, and animism, about sun worship and

serpent worship, and the like. No tribe worshipped a Good and a Bad Spirit, and the other vague terms I have quoted do not at all express the sentiment manifested in the native religious exercises. What this was we can satisfactorily ascertain by analyzing the names applied to their divinities, the epithets they use in their prayers and invocations, and the primitive sense of words which have become obscured by alterations of sounds.

A singular example of the last is presented by the tribes to whom I have already referred as occupying this area,—the Algonkins. Wherever they were met, whether far up in Canada, along the shores of Lake Superior, on the banks of the Delaware, by the Virginia streams, or in the pine woods of Maine, they always had a tale to tell of the Great Hare, the wonderful Rabbit which in times long ago created the world, became the father of the race, taught his children the arts of life and the chase, and still lives somewhere far to the East where the sun rises. What debasing animal worship! you will say, and so many others have said. Not at all. It is a simple result of verbal ambiguity. The word for rabbit in Algonkin is almost identical with that for *light*, and when these savages applied this word to their divinity, they agreed with him who said, “God is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all.”

These languages offer also an entertaining field to the psychologist.

On account of their transparency, as I may call it, the clearness with which they retain the primitive forms of their radicals, they allow us to trace out the growth of words, and thus reveal the operations of the native mind by a series of witnesses whose testimony cannot be questioned. Often curious associations of ideas are thus disclosed, very instructive to the student of mankind. Many illustrations of this could be given, but I do not wish to assail your ears by a host of unknown sounds, so I will content myself with one, and that taken from the language of the Lenâpé, or Delaware Indians, who, as you know, lived where we now are.

I will endeavor to trace out one single radical in that language, and show you how many, and how strangely diverse ideas were built up upon it.

The radical which I select is the personal pronoun of the first person, *I*, Latin *Ego*. In Delaware this is a single syllable, a slight nasal, *Ně*, or *Nĩ*.

Let me premise by informing you that this is both a personal and a possessive pronoun; it means both *I* and *mine*. It is also both singular and plural, both *I* and *we*, *mine* and *our*.

The changes of the application of this root are made by adding suffixes to it.

I begin with *nĩ'hillan*, literally, "mine, it is so," or "she, it, is truly mine," the accent being on the first syllable, *nĩ'*, mine. But the common meaning of this verb in Delaware is more significant of ownership than this tame expression. It is an active animate verb, and means "I beat, or strike, somebody." To the rude minds of the framers of that tongue, ownership meant the right to beat what one owned.

We might hope this sense was confined to the lower animals; but not so. Change the accent from the first to the second syllable, *nĩ'hillan*, to *nihil'lan*, and you have the animate active verb with an intensive force, which signifies "to beat to death," "to kill some person;" and from this, by another suffix, you have *nihil'lowen*, to murder, and *nihil'lowet*, murderer. The bad sense of the root is here pushed to its uttermost.

But the root also developed in a nobler direction. Add to *nĩ'hillan* the termination *ape*, which means a male, and you have *nihillape*, literally, "I, it is true, a man," which, as an adjective, means free, independent, one's own master, "I am my own man." From this are derived the noun, *nihillapewit*, a freeman; the verb, *nihillapewin*, to be free; and the abstract, *nihillasowagan*, freedom, liberty, independence. These are glorious words; but I can go even farther. From this same theme is derived the verb *nihillape-wheu*, to set free, to liberate, to redeem; and from this the missionaries framed the word *nihillape-whoalid*, the Redeemer, the Saviour.

Here is an unexpected antithesis, the words for a murderer and the Saviour both from one root! It illustrates how strange is the concatenation of human thoughts.

These are by no means all the derivatives from the root *ni*, I.

When reduplicated as *něně*, it has a plural and strengthened form, like "our own." With a pardonable and well-nigh universal weakness, which we share with them, the nation who spoke that language believed themselves the first created of mortals and the most favored by the Creator. Hence whatever they designated as "ours" was both older and better than others of its kind. Hence *nenni* came to mean ancient, primordial, indigenous, and as such it is a frequent prefix in the Delaware language. Again, as they considered themselves the first and only true men, others being barbarians, enemies, or strangers, *nenno* was understood to be one of us, a man like ourselves, of our nation.

In their different dialects the sounds of *n*, *l*, and *r* were alternated, so that while Thomas Campanius, who translated the Catechism into Delaware about 1645, wrote that word *rhennus*, later writers have given it *lenno*, and translate it "man." This is the word which we find in the name Lenni Lenape, which, by its derivation, means "we, we men." The antecedent *lenni* is superfluous. The proper name of the Delaware nation was and still is *Len âpé*, "we men," or "our men," and those critics who have maintained that this was a misnomer, introduced by Mr. Heckewelder, have been mistaken in their facts.

I have not done with the root *ně*. I might go on and show you how it is at the base of the demonstrative pronouns, this, that, those, in Delaware; how it is the radical of the words for thinking, reflecting, and meditating; how it also gives rise to words expressing similarity and identity; how it means to be foremost, to stand ahead of others; and finally, how it signifies to come to me, to unify or congregate together. But doubtless I have trespassed on your ears long enough with unfamiliar words.

Such suggestions as these will give you some idea of the value of American languages to American ethnology. But I should be doing injustice to my subject were I to confine my arguments in favor of their study to this horizon. If they are essential to a comprehension of the red race, not less so are they to the science of linguistics in general. This science deals not with languages, but with *language*. It looks at the idiom of a nation, not as a dry catalogue of words and grammatical rules, but as the living expression of the thinking power of man, as the highest manifestation of that spiritual energy which has lifted him from the level of the brute, the complete definition of which, in its origin and evolution, is the loftiest aim of universal history. As the intention of all speech is the expression of thought, and as the final purpose of all thinking is the discovery of truth, so the ideal of language, the point toward which it strives, is the absolute form for the realization of intellectual function.

In this high quest no tongue can be overlooked, none can be left out of account. One is just as important as another. Goethe once said that he who knows but one language knows none; we may extend the apothegm, and say that so long as there is a single language on the globe not understood and analyzed, the science of language will be incomplete and illusory. It has often proved the case that the investigation of a single, narrow, obscure dialect has changed the most important theories of history. What has done more than anything else to overthrow, or, at least, seriously to shake, the time-honored notion that the White Race first came from Central Asia? It was the study of the Lithuanian dialect on the Baltic Sea, a language of peasants, without literature or culture, but which displays forms more archaic than the Sanscrit. What has led to a complete change of views as to the prehistoric population of Southern Europe? The study of the Basque, a language unknown out of a few secluded valleys in the Pyrenees.

There are many reasons why unwritten languages, like those of America, are more interesting, more promising in results, to the student of linguistics than those which for

generations have been cast in the conventional moulds of written speech.

Their structure is more direct, simple, transparent; they reveal more clearly the laws of the linguistic powers in their daily exercise; they are less tied down to hereditary formulæ and meaningless repetitions.

Would we explain the complicated structure of highly-organized tongues like our own, would we learn the laws which have assigned to it its material and formal elements, we must turn to the naïve speech of savages, there to see in their nakedness those processes which are too obscure in our own.

If the much-debated question of the origin of language engages us, we must seek its solution in the simple radicals of savage idioms; and if we wish to institute a comparison between the relative powers of languages, we can by no means omit them from our list. They offer to us the raw material, the essential and indispensable requisites of articulate communication.

As the structure of a language reflects in a measure, and as, on the other hand, it in a measure controls and directs the mental workings of those who speak it, the student of psychology must occupy himself with the speech of the most illiterate races in order to understand their theory of things, their notions of what is about them. They teach him the undisturbed evolution of the untrained mind.

As the biologist in pursuit of that marvellous something which we call "the vital principle" turns from the complex organisms of the higher animals and plants to life in its simplest expression in microbes and single cells, so in the future will the linguist find that he is nearest the solution of the most weighty problems of his science when he directs his attention to the least cultivated languages.

Convinced as I am of the correctness of this analogy, I venture to predict that in the future the analysis of the American languages will be regarded as one of the most important fields in linguistic study, and will modify most materially the findings of that science. And I make this

prediction the more confidently, as I am supported in it by the great authority of Wilhelm von Humboldt, who for twenty years devoted himself to their investigation.

As I am advocating so warmly that more attention should be devoted to these languages, it is but fair that you should require me to say something descriptive about them, to explain some of their peculiarities of structure. To do this properly I should require not the fag end of one lecture, but a whole course of lectures. Yet perhaps I can say enough now to show you how much there is in them worth studying.

Before I turn to this, however, I should like to combat a prejudice which I fear you may entertain. It is that same ancient prejudice which led the old Greeks to call all those who did not speak their sonorous idioms *barbarians*; for that word meant nothing more nor less than babblers (*βαλ-βαλοι*), people who spoke an unintelligible tongue. Modern civilized nations hold that prejudice yet, in the sense that each insists that its own language is the best one extant, the highest in the scale, and that wherein others differ from it in structure they are inferior.

So unfortunately placed is this prejudice with reference to my subject, that in the very volume issued by our government at Washington to encourage the study of the Indian languages, there is a long essay to prove that English is the noblest, most perfect language in the world, while all the native languages are, in comparison, of a very low grade indeed!

The essayist draws his arguments chiefly from the absence of inflections in English. Yet many of the profoundest linguists of this century have maintained that a fully inflected language, like the Greek or Latin, is for that very reason ahead of all others. We may suspect that when a writer lauds his native tongue at the expense of others, he is influenced by a prejudice in its favor and an absence of facility in the others.

Those best acquainted with American tongues praise them most highly for flexibility, accuracy, and resources of expression. They place some of them above any Aryan

language. But what is this to those who do not know them? To him who cannot bend the bow of Ulysses it naturally seems a useless and awkward weapon.

I do not ask you to accept this opinion either; but I do ask that you rid your minds of bias, and that you do not condemn a tongue because it differs widely from that which you speak.

American tongues do, indeed, differ very widely from those familiar to Aryan ears. Not that they are all alike in structure. That was a hasty generalization, dating from a time when they were less known. Yet the great majority of them have certain characteristics in common, sufficient to place them in a linguistic class by themselves. I shall name and explain some of these.

As of the first importance I would mention the prominence they assign to pronouns and pronominal forms. Indeed, an eminent linguist has been so impressed with this feature that he has proposed to classify them distinctively as "pronominal languages." They have many classes of pronouns, sometimes as many as eighteen, which is more than twice as many as the Greek. There is often no distinction between a noun and a verb other than the pronoun which governs it. That is, if a word is employed with one form of the pronoun it becomes a noun, if with another pronoun, it becomes a verb.

We have something of the same kind in English. In the phrase "I love," love is a verb; but in "my love," it is a noun. It is noteworthy that this treatment of words as either nouns or verbs, as we please to employ them, was carried further by Shakespeare than by any other English writer. He seemed to divine in such a trait of language vast resources for varied and pointed expression. If I may venture a suggestion as to how it does confer peculiar strength to expressions, it is that it brings into especial prominence the idea of Personality; it directs all subjects of discourse by the notion of an individual, a living, personal unit. This imparts vividness to narratives, and directness and life to propositions.

language. But when I think of the fact that the
 things of the world are not the things of the
 language, I am not sure that I am not wrong.

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Of these pronouns, that of the first person is usually the most developed. From it, in many dialects, are derived the demonstratives and relatives, which in Aryan languages were taken from the third person. This prominence of the *Ego*, this confidence in self, is a trait of the race as well as of their speech. It forms part of that savage independence of character which prevented them coalescing into great nations, and led them to prefer death to servitude.

Another characteristic, which at one time was supposed to be universal on this continent, is what Mr. Peter S. Du Ponceau named *polysynthesis*. He meant by this a power of running several words into one, dropping parts of them and retaining only the significant syllables. Long descriptive names of all objects of civilized life new to the Indians were thus coined with the greatest ease. Some of these are curious enough. The Pavant Indians call a school-house by one word, which means "a stopping-place where sorcery is practised;" their notion of book-learning being that it belongs to the uncanny arts. The Delaware word for horse means "the four-footed animal which carries on his back."

This method of coining words is, however, by no means universal in American languages. It prevails in most of those in British America and the United States, in Aztec and various South American idioms; but in others, as the dialects found in Yucatan and Guatemala, and in the Tupi of Brazil, the Otomi of Mexico, and the Klamath of the Pacific coast, it is scarcely or not at all present.

Another trait, however, which was confounded with this by Mr. Du Ponceau, but really belongs in a different category of grammatical structure, is truly distinctive of the languages of the continent, and I am not sure that any one of them has been shown to be wholly devoid of it. This is what is called *incorporation*. It includes in the verb, or in the verbal expression, the object and manner of the action.

This is effected by making the subject of the verb an inseparable prefix, and by inserting between it and the verb itself, or sometimes directly in the latter, between its syllables.

bles, the object, direct or remote, and the particles indicating mode. The time or tense particles, on the other hand, will be placed at one end of this compound, either as prefixes or suffixes, thus placing the whole expression strictly within the limits of a verbal form of speech.

Both the above characteristics, I mean Polysynthesis and Incorporation, are unconscious efforts to carry out a certain theory of speech which has aptly enough been termed *holophrasis*, or the putting the whole of a phrase into a single word. This is the aim of each of them, though each endeavors to accomplish it by different means. Incorporation confines itself exclusively to verbal forms, while polysynthesis embraces both nouns and verbs.

Suppose we carry the analysis further, and see if we can obtain an answer to the query. Why did this effort at blending forms of speech obtain so widely? Such an inquiry will indicate how valuable to linguistic research would prove the study of this group of languages.

I think there is no doubt but that it points unmistakably to that very ancient, to that primordial period of human utterance when men had not yet learned to connect words into sentences, when their utmost efforts at articulate speech did not go beyond single words, which, aided by gestures and signs, served to convey their limited intellectual converse. Such single vocables did not belong to any particular part of speech. There was no grammar to that antique tongue. Its disconnected exclamations mean whole sentences in themselves.

A large part of the human race, notably, but not exclusively, the aborigines of this continent, continued the tradition of this mode of expression in the structure of their tongues long after the union of thought and sound in audible speech had been brought to a high degree of perfection.

Although I thus regard one of the most prominent peculiarities of American languages as a survival from an exceedingly low stage of human development, it by no means follows that this is an evidence of their inferiority.

The Chinese, who made no effort to combine the primitive vocables into one, but range them nakedly side by side, succeeded no better than the American Indians; and there is not much beyond assertion to prove that the Aryans, who, through their inflections, marked the relation of each word in the sentence by numerous tags of case, gender, number, etc., got any nearer the ideal perfection of language.

If we apply what is certainly a very fair test, to wit: the uses to which a language is and can be put, I cannot see that a well-developed American tongue, such as the Aztec or the Algonkin, in any way falls short of, say French or English.

It is true that in many of these tongues there is no distinction made between expressions, which with us are carefully separated, and are so in thought. Thus, in the Tupi of Brazil and elsewhere, there is but one word for the three expressions, "his father," "he is a father," and "he has a father;" in many, the simple form of the verb may convey three different ideas, as in Ute, where the word for "he seizes" means also "the seizer," and as a descriptive noun, "a bear," the animal which seizes.

This has been charged against these languages as a lack of "differentiation." Grammatically this is so, but the same charge applies with almost equal force to the English language, where the same word may belong to any of four, five, even six parts of speech, dependent entirely on the connection in which it is used.

As a set-off, the American languages avoid confusions of expression which prevail in European tongues.

Thus in none of these latter, when I say "the love of God," "*l'amour de Dieu*," "*amor Dei*," can you understand what I mean. You do not know whether I intend the love which we have or should have toward God, or God's love toward us. Yet in the Mexican language (and many other American tongues) these two quite opposite ideas are so clearly distinguished that, as Father Carochi warns his readers in his Mexican Grammar, to confound

them would not merely be a grievous solecism in speech, but a formidable heresy as well.

Another example. What can you make out of this sentence, which is strictly correct by English grammar: "John told Robert's son that he must help him"? You can make nothing out of it. It may have any one of six different meanings, depending on the persons referred to by the pronouns "he" and "him." No such lamentable confusion could occur in any American tongue known to me. The Chippeway, for instance, has three pronouns of the third person, which designate the near and the remote antecedents with the most lucid accuracy.

There is another point that I must mention in this connection, because I find that it has almost always been overlooked or misunderstood by critics of these languages. These have been free in condemning the synthetic forms of construction. But they seem to be ignorant that their use is largely optional. Thus, in Mexican, one can arrange the same sentence in an analytic or a synthetic form, and this is also the case, in a less degree, in the Algonkin. By this means a remarkable richness is added to the language. The higher the grade of synthesis employed, the more striking, elevated, and pointed becomes the expression. In common life long compounds are rare, while in the native Mexican poetry each line is often but one word.

Turning now from the structure of these languages to their vocabularies, I must correct a widespread notion that they are scanty in extent and deficient in the means to express lofty or abstract ideas.

Of course, there are many tracts of thought and learning familiar to us now which were utterly unknown to the American aborigines, and not less so to our own forefathers a few centuries ago. It would be very unfair to compare the dictionary of an Indian language with the last edition of Webster's Unabridged. But take the English dictionaries of the latter half of the sixteenth century, before Spenser and Shakespeare wrote, and compare them with the Mexican vocabulary of Molina, which contains about

13,000 words, or with the Maya vocabulary of the convent of Motul, which presents over 20,000, both prepared at that date, and your procedure will be just, and you will find it not disadvantageous to the American side of the question.

The deficiency in abstract terms is generally true of these languages. They did not have them, because they had no use for them,—and the more blessed was their condition. European languages have been loaded with several thousand such by metaphysics and mysticism, and it has required several generations to discover that they are empty wind-bags, full of sound and signifying nothing.

Yet it is well known to students that the power of forming abstracts is possessed in a remarkable degree by many native languages. The most recondite formulæ of dogmatic religion, such as the definition of the Trinity and the difference between consubstantiation and transubstantiation, have been translated into many of them without introducing foreign words, and in entire conformity with their grammatical structure. Indeed, Dr. Augustin de la Rosa, of the University of Guadalajara, who is now the only living professor of any American language, says the Mexican is peculiarly adapted to render these metaphysical subtleties.

I have been astonished that some writers should bring up the primary meaning of a word in an American language in order to infer the coarseness of its secondary meaning. This is a strangely unfair proceeding, and could be directed with equal effect against our own tongues. Thus, I read lately a traveller who spoke hardly of an Indian tribe because their word for “to love” was a derivative from that meaning “to buy,” and thence “to prize.” But what did the Latin *amare*, and the English *to love*, first mean? Carnally living together is what they first meant, and this is not a nobler derivation than that of the Indian. Even yet, when the most polished of European nations, that one which most exalts *la grande passion*, does not distinguish in language between loving their wives and liking their diners, but uses the same word for both emotions, it is scarcely

wise for us to indulge in much latitude of inference from such etymologies.

Such is the general character of American languages, and such are the reasons why they should be preserved and studied. The field is vast and demands many laborers to reap all the fruit that it promises. It is believed at present that there are about two hundred wholly independent stocks of languages among the aborigines of this continent. They vary most widely in vocabulary, and seemingly scarcely less so in grammar.

Besides this, each of these stocks is subdivided into dialects, each distinguished by its own series of phonetic changes, and its own new words. What an opportunity is thus offered for the study of the natural evolution of language, unfettered by the petrifying art of writing!

In addition to these native dialects there are the various jargons which have sprung up by intercourse with the Spanish, English, Dutch, Portuguese, and French settlers. These are by no means undeserving of notice. They reveal in an instructive manner the laws of the influence which is exerted on one another by languages of radically different formations. A German linguist of eminence, Prof. Schuchardt, of Gratz, has for years devoted himself to the study of the mixed languages of the globe, and his results promise to be of the first order of importance for linguistic science. In America we find examples of such in the Chinook jargon of the Pacific coast, the Jarocho of Mexico, the "Maya mestizado" of Yucatan, the ordinary Lingoa Geral of Brazil, and the Nahuatl-Spanish of Nicaragua, in which last mentioned jargon, a curious medley of Mexican and low Spanish, I have lately published a comedy as written and acted by the natives and half-castes of that country.

All such macaroni dialects must come into consideration, if we wish to make a full representation of the linguistic riches of this continent.

What now is doing to collect, collate, and digest this vast material? We may cast our eyes over the civilized world and count upon our fingers the names of those who are

engaged in really serviceable and earnest work in this department.

In Germany, the land of scholars, we have the traveller von Tschudi, who has lately published a most excellent volume on the Qquichua of Peru; Dr. Stoll, of Zurich, who is making a specialty of the languages of Guatemala; Mr. Julius Platzmann, who has reprinted a number of rare works; Prof. Friederich Müller, of Vienna; but I know of no other name to mention. In France, an enlightened interest in the subject has been kept alive by the creditable labors of the Count de Charencey, M. Lucien Adam, and a few other students; while the series of American grammars and dictionaries published by Maisonneuve, and that edited by Alphonse Pinart, are most commendable monuments of industry. In Italy, the natal soil of Columbus, in Spain, so long the mistress of the Indies, and in England, the mother of the bold navigators who explored the coasts of the New World, I know not a single person who gives his chief interest to this pursuit.

Would that I could place in sharp contrast to this the state of American linguistics in our own country! But outside of the official investigators appointed by the Government Bureau of Ethnology, who merit the highest praise in their several departments, but who are necessarily confined to their assigned fields of study, the list is regretfully brief.

There is first the honored name of Dr. John Gilmary Shea. It is a discredit to this country that his "Library of American Linguistics" was forced to suspend publication for lack of support. There is Mr. Horatio Hale, who forty years ago prepared the "Philology of the United States Exploring Expedition," and who, "obeying the voice at eve obeyed at prime," has within the last two years contributed to American philology some of the most suggestive studies which have anywhere appeared. Nor must I omit Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, whose Algonkin studies are marked by the truest scientific spirit, and the works on special dialects of Dr. Washington Matthews, the Abbé Cuoq, and others.

Whatever these worthy students have done, has been prompted solely by a love of the subject and an appreciation of its scientific value. They have worked without reward or the hope of reward, without external stimulus, and almost without recognition.

Not an institution of the higher education in this land has an instructor in this branch; not one of our learned societies has offered inducements for its study; no enlightened patron of science of the many which honor our nation has ever held out that encouragement which is needed by the scholar who would devote himself to it.

In conclusion, I appeal to you, and through you to all the historical societies of the United States, to aid in removing this reproach from American scholarship. Shall we have fellowships and professorships in abundance for the teaching of the dead languages and dead religions of another hemisphere, and not one for instruction in those tongues of our own land, which live in a thousand proper names around us, whose words we repeat daily, and whose structure is as important to the philosophic study of speech as any of the dialects of Greece or India?

What is wanted is by offering prizes for essays in this branch, by having one or more instructors in it at our great universities, and by providing the funds for editing and publishing the materials for studying the aboriginal languages, to awaken a wider interest in them, at the same time that the means is furnished wherewith to gratify and extend this interest.

This is the case which I present to you, and for which I earnestly solicit your consideration. And that I may add weight to my appeal, I close by quoting the words of one of America's most distinguished scientists, Professor William Dwight Whitney, of Yale³ College, who writes to this effect:

"The study of American languages is the most fruitful and the most important branch of American Archæology."

UPTON.

A LOST TOWN OF OLD GLOUCESTER COUNTY, WEST NEW JERSEY.

BY JOHN CLEMENT.

It is curious and interesting to follow the movements of the emigrants who, under the patronage of the Trustees of Edward Byllynge, settled within the limits of the "Third and Fourth tenths," known as Old Gloucester County, West New Jersey. Although the land was generally located in large tracts, yet the owners remained in small communities for some time after such taking up, doubtless for fear of the Indians, who were at that time the only other occupants of the soil, and whom they only knew as savage and vindictive. Thomas Sharp, in his memorial relating to the settlement at Newton, gives this as a reason for their not separating as soon as they had selected their several tracts of land, and it goes to show that the aborigines were looked upon as the greatest enemy to be encountered in their new adventure. Much time did not elapse, however, before they discovered there was no reason for suspicion or fear, and that with kindness and fair dealing, these children of the forest would soon become their best and most reliable friends.

This explains the difficulty so many have had in searching for the sites of villages and towns, known to exist in early times, through this section of the country, yet not being able to discover a trace of them after a century has passed since their first mention. Of these was "Upton," situated on the north side of the south branch of Gloucester River, which name was taken from the town of Upton in Berkshire, England, where resided Thomas Staunton, the purchaser of a right of propriety of Edward Byllynge and his Trustees, who sold to Robert Ever in 1687, and who again sold to John Ladd in 1688, in whose name the land

about that embryo town was located. The frontage on the north side of the south branch of Gloucester River—known for the last one hundred and fifty years as Timber Creek—extends some eight miles from where it leaves the north branch, passing Good Intent, Blackwoodtown, and Turnersville, with ample space for a town on the banks of the stream, the exact position of which is beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant in that region, neither is it disclosed in any of the title papers now in existence relating to that neighborhood. In the year 1688, James Whitall purchased part of John Ladd's survey, before mentioned, which grant disclosed the name of the locality, and shows how early it was attached. It is a fair presumption that James Whitall built the first house, and immediately upon his purchase, for in the year 1700, when he sold to Richard Chew and removed to Red Bank, the conveyance says, "all my farm, farm house, and tenements at Upton aforesaid," showing that a few buildings had been erected, which would probably take several years to accomplish. Taking the "farm house and tenements at Upton" as the initial point, nothing appears in the description of the land conveyed to fix them at any particular place on the stream, hence the search is fruitless in that direction.

In the year 1695, John Hedger, Thomas Stevens, and John Too (perhaps Chew), each purchased real estate at Upton, on the same stream, but no expression is found in either of their deeds throwing any light upon this mooted question. In 1697, William and Israel Ward also became owners and settlers there, yet the same trouble is encountered, and in the year 1698, Thomas Bull, an individual of considerable note in the colony, bought real estate there. In this name there is perhaps one point made, as the county-line stream that falls into the south branch near by may have taken its name from Thomas Bull.

In chronological order came Edward Williams in 1699, Richard Chew in 1700, and John Brown and Arthur Powell in 1701, each of whose deeds speak of their purchases being at Upton, but leaving the particular spot in question entirely

to conjecture, especially to such as seek for it in the year of Grace A.D. 1885. In a few years after Richard Chew's purchase (1723), to advance the worldly concerns of his son, Thomas Chew, he conveyed the Whitall estate to him, who, in 1740, procured a resurvey thereof. Thanks to the council of proprietors in requiring persons to return to their office carefully-made maps of resurveys, showing the streams and roads passing through or alongside of said lands so resurveyed, Jacob Heulings, as the deputy-surveyor, in discharge of that duty, marked a road which he calls the "old Salem road," as running through the same, and crossing the south branch of Timber Creek at a ford, and also marks the dwelling near said ford.

Here the search produces some results, for the site of the old house and the ford near by are known, and when compared with the map of the resurvey, are found to correspond with the boundaries thereof, and to prove beyond doubt where James Whitall had his "farm house and tenements" in 1700, and also where Upton was situate "on the north side of the south branch of Gloucester river." The one acre excepted for a graveyard goes also to confirm the situation, formerly known as Wallan's, and since called Powell's graveyard.

The site of the old house, and around which still stand several very aged walnut-trees, the ford and the old graveyard, are situate about one-half mile below Good Intent factory, in Gloucester township, Camden County, on the south branch, and fixes the spot of the lost town of Upton, and where lived during the last few years of the seventeenth century the persons heretofore named, with their families, because of fear from the Indians, but who gradually abandoned the place for their own possessions as they became convinced that the aborigines were peaceful and desirous of cultivating friendship and good feeling.

Between the years 1701 and 1715, George Ward erected a grist-mill and fulling-mill where the Good Intent factory now stands. This is proven by two deeds. The first dated December 2, 1701, by which he purchased of Thomas Bull

"a farm and tract of land at Upton containing 250 acres," but no mention is made of the mills.

By another deed, dated July 16, 1715, George Ward conveyed to John Royton two acres of land at Upton, part of that he had purchased of Thomas Bull, "together with one half of the Grist mill and Fulling mill also one half of the stream bank race and material belonging to said mills, as the houses, buildings, press, copper, and other utensils proper and necessary to be used for carrying on the said works of grinding, fulling, dying, and pressing," showing conclusively that George Ward originated the water-power and put the first machinery in motion at that place.

After various changes of title, this property became part of the estate of Charles Read (by sheriff's sale); and Charles Read, in 1759, conveyed it to John Blackwood, and hence the name to the village near by. John Blackwood had previously purchased real estate and settled there, as, in 1741, George Ward conveyed a tract of land to him, and in 1752 another tract was purchased by him of a son of the last-named grantor.

John Blackwood was a Scotchman and stanch Presbyterian, and to show the courage of his convictions, organized a church at "the head of Timber creek" in 1750, that being the name of the place at that time. The next year he donated one acre of land "whereon to erect a church and for the purposes of a burial ground." The first trustees were Michael Fisher, Joseph Hedger, Peter Cheesman, John McCollock, Lazarus Pine, and Henry Thorn, and the first pastor was the Rev. — Chestnut.

The church was well sustained until the beginning of the Revolutionary war, when so many of the members and congregation left their homes to join the Continental army that the building went to decay.

In 1801 a new house was erected and the interest again revived.

And Upton had its importance, being on the public highway, or King's Road, from Philadelphia to Salem. Travellers were sometimes delayed by reason of the high water at the

ford, from storm or tide, and had to find entertainment among the villagers. Perhaps some one kept an "Inn," where provender for man and horse could be had, whose reputation for warm meals and clean beds sometimes brought him guests who, on their weary way, would rather be sure of these creature comforts than continue their journey and fare much worse.

"Near yonder thorn, that lifts its head on high,
Where once the sign-post caught the passing eye,
Low lies that house, where nut-brown draughts inspir'd,
Where gray-beard mirth and smiling toil retir'd,
Where village statesmen talked with looks profound,
And news much older than their ale went round."

Being at or near the head of navigation, considerable business was transacted there, in lumber and cordwood, in hoop-poles and lath, and in cedar shingles and staves, exchanged in the Philadelphia market for dry goods, groceries, and West India rum, which last was the bane of many of our ancestors, too often leading to poverty and ruin.

Perhaps it was where the emigrants and settlers in that region came to get letters sent them from across the sea, hearing from friends and home, and returning their answers through the same, but now obscure and abandoned channel. Here too, doubtless, would the aborigines come to barter their baskets for "fire-water," and not leave the neighborhood until their means of supply were exhausted and themselves utterly prostrated from the effects of long-continued debauch. The King's Road, which took its tortuous way through the primitive forests, extending from Upton to the head of the tide on the north branch of Timber Creek, near Ephraim Tomlinson's mills, and thence turning westward along the "old Warrick road," passing through Snow Hill, south of Haddonfield, and over Atmore's dam to Cooper's ferries, on the Delaware River, opposite Philadelphia, is at this day wellnigh obliterated, and in but few places at all travelled.

The want of means to build bridges necessitated these long, circuitous roads, so as to ford the streams above the flow of the tide, and explains why our sturdy ancestors submitted to such an expenditure of time and patience, and when considered by the present generation, it will be with surprise and hardly possible of endurance.

And the old graveyard—which for nearly two hundred years has been set apart for the burial of the dead—has much of interest about it; not only as an ancient landmark, but as being the spot where lie the remains of some of those who, driven from their homes by oppression, sought a new country, where justice and equality would not be infringed, where their persons and estates would be secure before the law, and where religious opinions or political bias should not endanger their liberty. Well may those who standing in this place and near,

“Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,”

and beneath which rest the bones of their ancestors, feel an enviable pride, as having in their veins the blood of the brave men, who, stimulated by the broad and ennobling principles laid down in the “concessions and agreements” of 1676, as drawn and promulgated by William Penn and his associates, came into West New Jersey to be participants in the blessings that must flow therefrom, and who in so doing battled against adversity in its ugliest shapes.

Who conquered all, and left to those coming after them the elements of a true government, to be developed as the wants of the people demanded. Whose descendants, one hundred years after, still adhering to these principles, openly resisted the encroachments of the home government, and by the declaration of 1776 threw off their allegiance thereto.

And whose descendants, now in being, at the end of another century, and in the year 1876, in the presence of the civilized world, celebrated the continuation of these privileges and their national prosperity, showing that the germs of civil and religious liberty, as laid down in the

"concessions and agreements" of 1676, were still jealously guarded and faithfully adhered to.

For this, if no other reasons, this spot and many others like it should be held sacred, secure from all intrusions, and without danger of removal or continued neglect.

"Nor you, ye proud, impute to these the fault,
If memory o'er their tomb no trophies raise,
Where through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise.

"Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honor's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death?"

A few years since some of the descendants of Arthur Powell (whose remains lie in the yard), who purchased land at Upton in 1701, and others (the remains of whose ancestors are also there), with commendable liberality, and respect for the memory of their fathers, enlarged and much improved the old place.

The unpretending habitations that first stood about the ford were built of logs, plentifully supplied by the forests that covered the whole country, with stick chimneys, bark roof, and clay floors. They furnished the occupants a rude yet comfortable home, as the term would apply in the primitive settlement of New Jersey.

A year or two after found most of the villagers seated on their own land some distance away, with buildings of more pretension and greater size, surrounded with acres already cleared and used for farming purposes, their fear of the Indians, from personal contact, having been entirely lost sight of.

Gradually the log cabins went to decay, and one after another disappeared, until none, save the more substantial building of James Whitall, remained. And in like manner as the first settlers found a resting-place in the old graveyard, did the name of the town fall into disuse, and eventually

passed beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant, and would not at this day be known to the people in that section, but for the old musty tomes in the several offices of record in the State of New Jersey.

And this is but another evidence of the limited view taken by individuals and communities relating to surrounding or progressive events. Instances are not rare in this State where embryo towns have been projected near the fording of a stream by the King's Road, or where a ferry was in use, many miles out of a direct line, between towns already established, and regarded by the public as a likely place for a village, and sometimes tempting town-lot speculation thereabouts.

The inquiry is often suggested, in looking into the early locations of land, why such out-of-the-way and wilderness places were chosen, when the truth is that these selections were made by reason of being near a frequently travelled road, and in better communication with the outer world. Fifty years had elapsed before ferries were used for crossing the streams and the roads shortened to conform thereto, and even with this badly arranged and uncertain kind of transportation the people considered their comfort increased and space annihilated. Many acts were passed by the Legislature legalizing ferries and fixing the rates to be charged by the owners.

The passing of such acts was doubtless bitterly opposed by the residents on the "old roads," and in the towns gradually springing up along their lines, characterized as visionary schemes, and entirely in advance of the public need. A few more decades and the building of bridges began to be agitated. In this the negative element largely predominated, and wellnigh destroyed the spirit of advance and improvement that began to take root in the land. The disputes as to their proper positions, the kind of structure, and their probable cost were leading questions, and much distracted the community interested. It necessitated the straightening the roads again, which increased expenses and left many inhabitants greater or less distances from the

new thoroughfare, inconveniencing them in various ways and lessening the value of their real estate.

The act of the Legislature of 1747, under which the bridge was erected over Cooper's Creek, at Spicer's ferry, near Camden, illustrates this. The act itself is a curious one, and was evidently passed after much opposition. It provides that voluntary contributions should be solicited by the commissioners for six months, and that the remainder of the cost be assessed on part of the townships of Burlington County and part of one of the townships of Gloucester County. The voluntary contributions no doubt came largely from the Coopers, who at that time owned the only ferries on the Delaware River, where Camden now stands, and it may well be said that the assessments made on the townships for the deficiency of cost were grudgingly and slowly paid.

Neither in these days of apparent stability as to public highways and leading thoroughfares is it oversafe to venture too far in what appears as a tempting real estate speculation, for what is a plausible pretext on one occasion, and induces the investments of large amounts of money, may, in a wonderfully short space of time, prove to be a myth and end in utter and permanent ruin.

Only in degree, therefore, was the chagrin and disappointment of the good people of Upton, when they found some progressive spirits were seeking to shorten the travelled distance between Philadelphia and Salem, by establishing ferries across the streams and leaving their village miles away in the wilderness, comparable to that of many in these latter days, who find their foresight and shrewdness does not keep up with the progress of the age or the demands of the travelling population.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN DELAWARE.

BY REV. MORGAN EDWARDS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY HORATIO GATES JONES.

[The Rev. Morgan Edwards, the author of the "Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Delaware-State," was born May 9, 1722, in the Parish of Trevethin, Monmouthshire, Wales, and was brought up in the doctrines of the Church of England. In the year 1738 he embraced the principles of the Baptists. His early education was obtained in Wales, and he pursued an academical course at the Bristol Academy, under the celebrated Dr. Bernard Foskett. He was ordained as a minister of the Baptist Church June 1, 1757, in Ireland, where he resided for about nine years. Returning to England, he preached for some time at Rye, in Sussex, and while there, upon the recommendation of the learned John Gill, D.D., he was called to the pastorate of the Baptist Church of Philadelphia. He arrived at Philadelphia May 23, 1761, and had charge of the church until 1771, when he resigned and removed to Pencader Hundred, near Newark, in Delaware, where he lived until his death, which occurred January 28, 1795.

He was one of the most learned ministers among the Baptists, and soon took a high position. Knowing the advantages of a liberal education, he soon suggested the organization of a Baptist College for the education of persons connected with his church. In his History of the Pennsylvania Baptists, referring to this movement, he says (Vol. I. p. 48), "He labored hard to settle a Baptist College in Rhode Island government, and to raise money to endow it; which he deems the greatest service he has done or hopes to do for the honor of the Baptist interest."

The College which he was the means of founding is now known as Brown University, at Providence, R. I. Mr. Edwards soon became a moving spirit in the Philadelphia Baptist Association, which was organized in 1707, and he first suggested the printing of their Annual Minutes, having been for many years appointed its Clerk. He early began his labors as an historian, his object being to obtain and publish a history of the Baptist Churches in all the Colonies. To accomplish this object, Mr. Edwards travelled thousands of miles on horseback, visiting nearly all the Baptist Churches then organized, and from the church records obtained a history of their foundation, and thus from reliable sources securing the names and biographies of the various pastors. His intention was to complete this history in about twelve volumes, and in 1770 he issued Vol. I., which he modestly entitled "Materials towards A History

of the American Baptists, in XII. Volumes. By Morgan Edwards, A.M., Fellow of Rhode Island College and Overseer of the Baptist Church in Philadelphia." It treated of the churches in Pennsylvania.

The next volume was that relating to the New Jersey Baptists, published in 1792. His Rhode Island Baptists was not published until 1867, when it appeared in Vol. VI. of the Rhode Island Historical Collections.

The original manuscript of the Delaware Baptists, which he entitled Vol. III., is now in the archives of the American Baptist Historical Society, No. 1420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. It has never been published as a whole, but extracts therefrom may be found in Rev. Dr. David Benedict's History of the Baptists; and in Rev. Dr. Richard B. Cook's "Early and Later Baptists of Delaware." A revised copy, evidently prepared by the author for the press, was some years ago in the possession of Miss Harriet Thaw, of this city. From a transcript of it, in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the following is printed.

Mr. Edwards was the only Baptist minister in America who was a Loyalist during the Revolution. He remained usually at Pencader, Delaware.

Many of the churches sketched by him in this History are still in existence, but are very small in their membership, the Welsh Tract reporting, in 1880, only 58 members. Most of them belong to "The Delaware Old School Baptist Association," and are opposed to missionary and similar organizations. The American Baptist Year-Book for 1885 (p. 97), states that there are in the United States about 900 "Anti-Mission" Baptist Churches, with 400 ministers and about 40,000 members.

When Mr. Edwards was living all of the churches were supplied with learned and devoted pastors, and belonged to the now venerable Philadelphia Baptist Association.

As stated, Mr. Edwards died in Delaware, but his body was interred in the Philadelphia Baptist Meeting-House, which was then in La Grange Place, between Market and Arch Streets. His remains were afterwards removed to Mount Moriah Cemetery. His tombstone, with that of many of the other pastors of the church, can be seen in the vestibule of the new meeting-house, at the northwest corner of Broad and Arch Streets.

Phila., March, 1885.

HORATIO GATES JONES.]

MATERIALS

Towards a history of the Baptists in

DELAWARE STATE.

VOL. III.

By MORGAN EDWARDS, A.M.,

and *quondam* fellow of R. I. College.

Lo, a people that dwell alone! and shall not be reckoned among the nations.
—EXOD.

INTRODUCTION.

Delaware became a State independent of Pennsylvania at the Revolution in 1776; it contains three little counties, viz.: Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. In the first was a Baptist Church as early as the spring of 1703. They settled near the Iron Hill; from thence their religion took a spread, northward as far as London-Tract in Pennsylvania, northeast to Wilmington, east to Bethel, west to Elk in Maryland, and southward to Duck Creek and Pedee, in South Carolina.

About the year 1733 eight or nine families (chiefly members of Welsh-Tract Church) made a settlement at Duck Creek, in Kent County, from whence the same religion spread southward to Cowmarsh and Mispillion, westward to Georgetown in Maryland, and eastward to Fastlanding.

About the year 1778 or before two Baptist ministers, from Virginia, came to the county of Sussex and made many proselytes, whom they baptized on profession of faith and repentance, and began to form them into churches in 1779. The two ministers' names are Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes: they and their disciples went by the name of *Separate Baptists* at first, but now the distinction is dropped.

The *Delaware Baptists* are *Calvinistic* in doctrines, and differ little or nothing in discipline from their brethren in the neighboring States. Five of their churches have been received into the Association of Philadelphia; the other three belong to the Salisbury Association. These eight churches

have been constituted at different times, which order of time we shall observe in treating of them; and therefore begin with

Welsh-Tract.

This church is distinguished as above from a large tract of land of the same name, on the western border of which, at the foot of the Iron Hill, the meeting-house stands, in the hundred of Pencader and county of Newcastle, about 42 miles s.w. by w.q.w. from Philadelphia. The house is of brick, built in 1746 on a lot of six acres; four of which were given by James James, Esq. His conveyance is dated Jan. 20, 1709. The rest was purchased from Abraham Emmet; the conveyance of this is dated April 20, 1768, and signed Andrew Fisher. The dimensions of the house are 40 feet by 30; it is finished as usual, excepting galleries, and accommodated with a stove. The families belonging to the place are about 90, whereof 108 persons are baptized and in the communion, here celebrated the first Sunday in every month. The minister is Rev. John Boggs; the salary unknown, because Mr. Boggs would have it that he receives no pay for preaching, from a consciousness of his vehement exclamations against paying preachers before he himself turned preacher. However, it was proposed to Rev. John Sutton when he came among the people (in 1770) that his salary should be 100 pounds.¹ This church was raised to a body politic, Feb. 9, 1788. The above is the present state of Welsh-Tract Church, Oct. 5, 1790.

History.

To come at the history of this church we must cross the Atlantic and land in Wales, where it originated in the following manner. "In the spring of the year 1701 several "Baptists in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen "resolved to go to America; and as one was a minister "(*Thomas Griffith*) they were advised to be constituted a

¹ The proportion of Delaware money to sterling is as 5 to 3. Multiply any Delaware sum by 3 and divide by 5, and the quotient will be sterling. Reverse the rule and sterling will be Delaware money.

“church. They took the advice. The instrument of their
 “confederation was in being in the year 1770, but is now
 “lost except one copy in possession of Mr. Isaac Hughes,
 “and that without a date. The names of the confederates
 “follow: *Thomas Griffith, Griffith Nicholas, Evan Edmond,*
 “*John Edward, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, Richard Da-*
 “*vid, James David, Elizabeth Griffith, Lewis Edmond, Mary*
 “*John, Mary Thomas, Elizabeth Griffith, Jr., Jennet David,*
 “*Margaret Mathias, and Jennet Morris.* These 16 persons
 “(which may be styled a church *emigrant and sailant*) met at
 “Milford in the month of June, 1701, and embarked on
 “board the good ship James and Mary, and on the eighth
 “of September following landed at Philadelphia. The breth-
 “ren there treated them courteously and advised them to
 “settle about Pennepek; thither they went and there con-
 “tinued about a year and a half. During their stay at Pen-
 “nepek the following persons joined them, viz.: *Rees Rhyd-*
 “*darch, Catherine Rhyddarch, Esther Thomas, Thomas Morris,*
 “*Hugh Morris, Peter Chamberlain, Mary Chamberlain, Mary*
 “*Chamberlain, Jr., Mary Sorensee, Magdalen Morgan, Henry*
 “*David, Elizabeth David, Samuel Griffith, Richard Seree, Re-*
 “*becca Marpole, John Greenwater, Edward Edward, John*
 “*James, Mary Thomas, Thomas John, Judith Griffith, and*
 “*Mary John.*

“But finding it inconvenient to tarry about Pennepek,
 “they, in 1703, took up land in Newcastle County from
 “Messrs. Evans, Davis, and Willis (who had purchased said
 “Welsh-Tract from William Penn, containing about 30,000
 “acres), and thither removed the same year and built a little
 “meeting-house on the spot where the present stands. The
 “same year were added to them from Wales, *Thomas John*
 “and *Rebecca John*; and by baptism *John Wild, Thomas*
 “*Wild, James James, Sarah James, Jane Morgan, Samuel*
 “*Wild, Mary Nicholas, Richard Bowen, David Thomas, Mary*
 “*Bentley, and Jane Edwards.*

“In 1709 were added from Kilcam, in Pembrokehire
 “(Samuel John pastor), *John Devonallt, Mary Devonallt, Lewis*
 “*Phillips, Catherine Edward*; and from East Jersey *Philip*

“ *Trueax* and *Elizabeth Tilton* ; and from *Pennepek*, *David Miles* and *Alce Miles*.

“ In 1710 the following Baptists were added from several parts of Wales, viz. : from *Rhydwlilim* (*Jenkin Jones* pastor), *Lewis Philips*, *Rees David* (a deacon), *Thomas Evans*, *Thomas Edmund*, *Arthur Edward*, *Eleanor Philips*, *Susanna David*, and *Mary Wallis* ; from said *Kilcam*, *John Philips* (an elder), *Thomas Morris*, *Jenkin Jones* (afterwards minister of *Philadelphia*), *John Harry*, *John Boulton*, *Richard Edward*, *Eleanor Philips*, *Mary William*, *Elizabeth Harry*, *Susanna Owen*, *Mary Owen*, *Elizabeth John* ; from *Lantivy* (*James James* pastor), *John Griffith* (an elder), *Rees Jones*, *Hugh Evan*, *David Lewis*, *Samuel Evan*, *Rachel Griffith*, *Esther John*, *Mary Evan* ; from *Langenych* (*Morgan John* pastor), *Hugh David* (afterwards minister of the *Great Valley*), *Anthony Mathew*, *Simon Mathew*, *Simon Butler*, *Arthur Melchior*, *Hannah Melchior*, *Margaret David* ; from *Lanwenarth* (*Timothy Lewis* pastor), *Jane James*, *Mary David* ; from *Blaeneu-givent* (*Abel Morgan* pastor), *Joseph James*.

“ In 1711 were added, from said *Rhydwlilim*, *Elizabeth John* ; from *Lanvabon* (*Morgan Griffith* pastor), *William Miricks* ; from said *Lanwenarth*, *James Jones*, *Ann Jones*. The same year were added by baptism *Thomas Rees*, *Thomas David*, *Margaret Evan*, *Sarah Emson*, *Rachel Thomas*, *Daniel Rees*, *William Thomas*, *John Thomas*, *Martha Thomas*, *John Evans*, *Lydia Evans*.

“ In 1712 were added from *Pennepek* *Nicholas Stephens*, *Mary Stephens*, *John Pain*, *Elizabeth Pain*.

“ In 1713 were added from said *Pennepek* *John Eaton*, *Jane Eaton*, *Joseph Eaton*, *Gwenllian Eaton*, *George Eaton*, *Mary Eaton* ; and the same year from said *Lantivy* *Elias Thomas*, *Thomas Evan*, *Ann Evans*, and from said *Kilcam* *Philip Rees*.

“ In 1714 were added by baptism *John Bentley*, *James James, Jr.*, *Eleanor David*, *Mary Thomas*, *Ann Thomas*, *David John*, *Richard Lewis*, *Sarah Nicholas*, *Mary Lewis* ; from *Philadelphia*, *Benjamin Griffith* (afterwards minister of *Montgomery*), *Emlin David*, *Catherine Hollinsworth* ; from

“Cohansey (Timothy Brooks pastor), *John Miller, Joanna Miller.*

“In 1715 were added by baptism *James James, Esq.* (aged 16), *John Jones, Richard Witten*; and the same year from said Rhydwilim, *Griffith Thomas*; and from Radnor (Pennsylvania) *Mary Robinet.*

“In 1716 were added by baptism *Elizabeth John, David Davis, Thomas Richard* and wife, *Mary Price.*

“In 1717 were added from said Pennepek *Cornelius Vansant, Richard Herbert*, and by baptism his wife *Sarah.*

Note (1) The paragraphs marked with inverted commas are translations from the records of Welsh-Tract, which have been kept in the Welsh tongue (with some intermixture of English) down to the year 1732. Note (2) I have transcribed more out of said records than my design required in order to gratify my old friend Joshua Thomas (of Leominster in Herefordshire), who thinks he may avail himself of them relative to his history of the Welsh Baptists.

Remarkables.

Having followed Welsh-Tract Church from Wales to Pennepek, and from Pennepek to its present station, let us now attend to what has been most remarkable in its progress down to the present time. (1) It has existed for about ninety years and increased from 16 to 108, besides deaths and large detachments to form other churches. (2) It is a mother church; for that of *Peedee, London-Tract, Duck Creek, Wilmington, Cowmarsh, and Mispilion* may be considered as daughters. *Peedee* is a large river in South Carolina, remarkable for its meanderings, so as to form many peninsulas; on one of which settled the Welsh Baptists in 1736, and therefore called the *Welsh Neck*. To form a church on said neck the following persons were dismissed in the month of November, 1736, viz.: “*Abel Morgan* (late minister of Middletown), *James James* (a ruling elder), *Thomas Evans* (a deacon), *Daniel James, Samuel Wilds, John Harry, John Harry, Jr., Thomas Harry, Jeremiah Rowell, Richard Barrow, James Money, Na-*

thaniel Evans, Mary James, Sarah James, Ann Evan, Mary Wilds, Elizabeth Harry, Eleanor Jenkin, Sarah Harry, Margaret William, Mary Rowell, Sarah Barrow. The next year (April 30, 1737) Samuel Evan, Mary Evan, (and Nov. 4 following) Daniel Devonalit, Thomas James, Philip James (late minister), David James, Abel James, David Harry, Simon Pearson, Mary Boulton, Catherine Harry, Elizabeth James, Elizabeth Jones, Eleanor James, Mary Hugh. The next year (Nov. 3, 1739) Jane David, Mary Devonalit. And in 1741 (Nov. 1) John Jones, Philip Douglas, Oliver Allison, Walter Down, Elizabeth Jones, Lettice Douglas, Rachel Allison, Rachel Down; in all 48 souls. Peedee Church had shot into seven branches in 1772. In 1780 (Nov. 22) about 18 members of Welsh-Tract were constituted a church at London-Tract. Several were dismissed to form a church at Duck Creek in 1781, and another at Cowmarsh in ditto; another at Mispilion in 1783; and another at Wilmington in 1785. (3) Welsh-Tract Church was the principal if not sole means of introducing *singing, imposition of hands, ruling elders, and church covenants* into the Middle States. The *Century confession* was in America long before the year 1716, but without the articles which relate to those subjects; that year they were added by Rev. Abel Morgan, who translated the confession to Welsh. It was signed by 122 of Welsh-Tract members. The said articles were retained in the next English edition, and the whole adopted by the Association of 1742. *Singing psalms* met with some opposition, especially at Cohansey; but *laying on of hands* on baptized believers, as such, gained acceptance with more difficulty, as appears by the following narrative translated from the church book: "But we could not be in fellowship (*at the Lord's table*) with our brethren of Pennepek and Philadelphia, because they did not hold to the *laying on of hands*: true; some of them believed in the ordinance, but neither preached it up nor practised it; and when we moved to Welsh-Tract and left 22 of our members at Pennepek, and took some of theirs with us, the difficulty increased. We had many meetings in order to compromise matters, but to no purpose till June 22,

"1706; then 25 deputies¹ met at the house of Brother Richard Miles in Radnor and agreed (1) That a member of either church may transiently communicate with the other church; (2) That every member who desireth to come under imposition of hands may have his liberty without offence; (3) That the votaries of the rite may preach or debate upon the subject with all freedom consistent with brotherly love. But three years after this meeting we had cause to review the transaction, because of some brethren that came from Wales, and one among ourselves (John Devonallt) who questioned whether the first article was warrantable; but we are satisfied that all was right by the good effects which followed: for from that time forth the brethren held sweet communion together, and our minister was invited to preach at Pennepek and to assist at an ordination after the death of our Brother Watts. He proceeded from thence to the Jersey, where he enlightened many in the good ways of the Lord, insomuch that in three years after, all the ministers and 55 private members had submitted to the ordinance."

Another remarkable affair belonging to this church is, that between the year 1783 and the present, it received large accessions of members by breaking new grounds; one ground was between Christiana and Newcastle, about nine miles to the east of this church; the history of which take as follows: About the year 1780 a certain Baptist of the name of David Morton came (flying from the Indians) and settled in the part; he invited Mr. Boggs to preach at his house. Mr. Boggs went, and continued his visits; and the audience increased, so that the house could not contain them. One day, as Mr. Boggs was preaching out of doors, a storm arose and dispersed the assembly; this induced two wealthy men pres-

¹ The names of the deputies were, Rev. Messrs. Thomas Griffith, Samuel Jones, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, Joseph Wood; and Messrs. James James, Peter Chamberlain, Joseph Hart, John Freeman, Evan Edmund, John Edward, Thomas John, David Miles, Samuel Griffith, Richard David, Hugh Morris, William Bettridge, John Snowden, John Wild, Thomas Morris, Griffith Miles, John Swift, Jr., Joseph Todd, John Okison, Edward Church.

ent (Messrs. Porter and Lewden) to talk of building a meeting-house on the place. The talk at first had the air of pleasantry, but ended in seriousness; and a house was built in 1786, measuring 32 feet by 28, and denominated Bethel. It stands on land containing half an acre, the gift of Messrs. Ebenezer and Andrew Morten; their conveyance is dated Feb. 8, 1788. The other ground was about the river Elk in Maryland, especially the town of Elk.

Temporalities.

A plantation, containing about 116 acres, the bequest of Hugh Morris. His conveyance is not to be found in the land office, and therefore must have been lost, along with many others, in the time of the late war. There is a dwelling-house on the premises, which, with the land, lets for 7 pounds a year. Were the place in good order it would be a proper residence for the minister, as it lies contiguous to the meeting-house lot. (2) A hundred pounds, the gift of David Lewelin, which *Congress money* has reduced to forty-eight pounds: also half a plantation within less than a mile of the meeting-house, but not to come into the hands of the church till after the death of the widow, if then, as the heirs may be yet alive. Mr. Lewelin's will is dated Jan. 23, 1777. (3) Ten pounds, the gift of John Bowen; his will is dated Aug. 27, 1789. (4) A plantation of about 25 acres, the bequest of Henry Howell; it was sold cheap because of the insufficiency of the title, which (with expense of sickness and burial) hath reduced the sale-money to about 9 pounds; his will is dated March 21, 1785. (5) Two hundred pounds, the gift of Thomas Edmond. (6) Twelve pounds, the gift of Mary Williams, but *Congress money* and casualty have reduced all to about 3 pounds.

Ministry.

The pulpit of this church hath been supplied for about 70 years with Welsh ministers; the first was

Rev. Thomas Griffith.

He was born in 1645, in the parish of Lanvernach and

county of Pembroke; took on him the care of the church at the constitution in 1701, and was himself one of the constituents; arrived at Philadelphia with his church Sept. 8, 1701; died at Pennepek, and was there buried July 25, 1725. His children were Elizabeth, Samuel, Isaac, Mary, Judith; these married among the Trueax, Goodings, Morgan and Fulton families, and raised him 18 grandchildren; most of whom were alive in 1770 under the names of Loyds, Wards, Holmes, Halls, Likings, Morgans, Howells, and Griffiths. "Mr. Griffith visited the Jerseys pretty often, and was of great service in instructing the people in the ways of the Lord more perfectly, and in encouraging young men to use their gifts, whereby their churches were soon supplied with ministers of their own raising." His successor was

Rev. Elisha Thomas.

His name is written *Elizeus* in the first records of this church; but on his tomb, *Elisha*. He was born in 1674 in Caermarthen County; arrived in this country with the church whereof he was one of the first members; he died Nov. 7, 1730, and was buried in this grave-yard, where a handsome tomb is erected to his memory. The top stone is divided into several compartments, whereon open books are raised, with inscriptions and poetry in Welsh and English. He had two daughters, Rachel and Sarah. Rachel's first husband was Rees Jones, by whom she had children, Rees, Mary, Deborah. Rees and Deborah died childless. Mary married the Honorable John Evans, Esq., and is dead with all her children. Her aunt Sarah (the other daughter of Rev. Elisha Thomas) married Daniel James, and went with him to Pedee in 1736; she had a son Elisha James, who also went to Carolina. To him Rees Jones, Jr., devised a plantation in Welsh-Tract; but on failure of issue in his line (as well as in the line of Mary) he devised the same plantation to trustees, to be chosen by the ministers of the Philadelphia Association for educating Baptist youths of piety and genius for the ministry. It was reported that the offspring of Elisha James was also extinct, which has since been proved to be

fact; upon that report two grandchildren of Elias Thomas (brother of Rev. Elisha Thomas) took possession; but they soon quitted their claim, and the trustees of the Philadelphia Association demanded possession; but the Evans refused to resign, though by Rees Jones's will they have not the least right to the plantation. This I cannot account for otherwise (from the character of the Evans both in church and state) than that they keep possession till the Association prove their right to the place. Rees Jones's will is dated March 20, 1754, and witnessed by Rev. David Davis, Jonathan Davis, and Hugh Glassford, who is yet alive. Mr. Thomas's successor was

Rev. Enoch Morgan.

He was brother to Rev. Abel Morgan, author of the Welsh Concordance. Their father was Morgan Rhyddarch, a famous Baptist minister in Wales; but it was common in that country to assume the personal names of the fathers for the surnames of the children, and tacking them together by a string of *aps*. I remember to have seen a Bible of my grandfather with the following writing in the title-page: *Eiddo Edward ap William ap Edward ap Dafydd ap Evan*. Mr. Enoch Morgan was born in 1676 at a place called *Allt-goch*, in the parish of Lanwennog and county of Caerdigan; arrived in America with Welsh-Tract Church, being one of the constituents. He took on him the care of the church at Mr. Elisha Thomas's decease. He died March 25, 1740, and was buried in this grave-yard, where a tomb is erected to his memory. His widow was alive in the year 1770, by whom he had children Abel (late minister of Middletown), Esther, and Enoch. Abel died a bachelor; the other two married into the Douglas and Howel families, and raised him many grandchildren, one of whom succeeds his uncle in the church of Middletown. Mr. Enoch Morgan's successor was the

Rev. Owen Thomas.

He was born in 1676 at a place named *Gwrgodllys*, in *Cilmanllwyd* parish and county of Pembroke; came to America

in 1707; took the sole care of the church at Mr. Morgan's decease; continued in the care thereof to May 27, 1748, when he resigned to go to Yellowsprings, and where he died Nov. 12, 1760. His children were Elizabeth, Morris, Rachel, Mary, David, Sarah, Owen; these married into the Thomas, Cantrel, Allison, Jury, Rogers, and Evans families, and raised him 46 grandchildren. Mr. Owen Thomas left behind him the following note: "I have been called upon three times to anoint the sick with oil for recovery; the effect was surprising in every case, but in none more so than in the case of our brother Rynallt Howel: he was so sore with the bruises he received by the falling on him a cask from the wagon that he could not bear to be turned in bed; the next day he went to meeting." His successor was

Rev. David Davis.

He was born in the parish of *Whitchurch* and county of *Pembroke* in 1708; came to America when a child, in 1710; was baptized in the month of January, 1729; ordained in 1734, at which time he became pastor of the church. He continued in the pastorship to August 19, 1769, when he died. He was buried in this grave-yard, where a handsome stone covers his remains. He was an excellent man, and is held in dear remembrance by all that knew him. His children were Rees, Jonathan (late minister of the Seventh-Day Baptist Church of Shiloh), John, Susanna, Mary, Margaret. John was sometime pastor of the Second Church of Boston, and died childless at the Ohio. The rest married into the Miles, Bentley, Bonds, Pars, Thomas, and Booth families, and have raised him many grandchildren. Contemporary with him was Rev. Griffith Jones; he officiated at Duck-Creek, where see his history. Mr. Davis's successor was

Rev. John Sutton.

He took the oversight of the church Nov. 3, 1770, and resigned in 1777 to go to Virginia. See his history in Vol. II. p. 42. His successor is the present minister,

Rev. John Boggs.

He took on him the care of the church when he was ordained, Dec. 5, 1781. He was born in East Nottingham, April 9, 1741; bred a Presbyterian, and continued in that profession for many years. In process of time he avowed his present sentiments, and was baptized Nov. 3, 1771. His first wife was Hanna Furniss, by whom he had children, Jaen, Joseph, Elizabeth, and John. These married into the Jones, Booth, Redman, Smith, and Dewees families, and have raised him several grandchildren. His present wife is the widow Griffiths. Mr. Boggs travels much, and is well qualified for it, being a very able-bodied man. He is popular among one class of hearers, and were he to labor at finding out the fixed meaning of words, the right way of pronouncing, accenting, and tacking them together in concords, he might be tolerable to classes of some refinements. As it is, he grates their ears so with barbarisms as to check their attention and hurt their feelings.

Postscript.

The late Dr. Fosket (principal of the Baptist Academy at Bristol) was wont to say "that barbarisms in the pulpit were inexcusable; because they are the effect of either a vain conceit of self-sufficiency or of laziness. An Englishman with a grammar in his hand, a learned friend at his elbow, and hard study for about three months, might talk above contempt either in the pulpit or conversation. Words are to a preacher what tools are to a mechanic; and if a mechanic has not his tools in good order will he not be a botch after he has done his best?"

The next church in order of time is the

SOUNDS.

Sometimes named *The head of the sounds*: by each of which descriptions this little church is distinguished from its sister churches. It is situated in Baltimore Hundred and

county of Sussex, about 150 miles towards s. b. w. from Philadelphia. The families which usually make up the congregation are about 30, whereof 14 persons are baptized and in the communion, here administered four times in the year. The minister is Rev. Jonathan Gibbins. No fixed salary; no temporality; no meeting-house. They hold worship at the houses of Messrs. Tull and Wilegoos. The above is the present state of the *Sounds Church*, March 19, 1791.

History.

This church originated in the following manner. About the close of 1778 or the beginning of 1779 Rev. Elijah Baker, from Virginia, arrived in the parts; and soon after him, Rev. Philip Hughes, of the same Virginia. They both preached here, at Broad Creek, Gravelly Branch, &c., and made many proselytes, whom they baptized on profession of faith and repentance, and formed them into churches, beginning at the *Sounds*. The time was Aug. 12, 1779. The constituents' names were *John Gibbins, John Gibbins, Jr., Jonathan Gibbins, Samuel Gibbins, Sarah Gibbins, Jaen Gibbins, Elizabeth Gibbins, Elizabeth Gibbins, Jr., Eliphas Dazey, Thomas Wilegoos, Tabitha Wilegoos, Isaac Duncan, Sarah Duncan, Sarah Duncan, Jr., Mary Bull, John Tull, Hannah Tull, Mary Clark, Mary Ake, Roda Hickman, Rachel Emson, and Rose*, a negro; in all 25.

Remarkables.

This is the first church in Sussex, and the second in the State of Delaware; and one of the ten which formed the Salisbury Association in 1782. This Association was received into union with the Philadelphia Association in 1782. (2) This church hath decreased in 13 years from 25 to 14, owing to emigrations to other parts of America. (3) Out of it sprang six ministers, viz.: John, Samuel, Jonatha Gibbins; Eliphaz Dazey, Gideon Farrel, Edward Carter Dingle; this last is son of a clergyman of the Church of England. But he officiates in Maryland, and therefore out of my present visitation.

Ministry.

The first ministers of this church were the fathers of it, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes; but they are to be considered rather as *Evangelists* than stationary pastors; for in Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware they have planted 21 churches whom they visit as fathers do their children. Their history is worth relating.

Rev. Elijah Baker is a native of Virginia, where he suffered much for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. The cause of his coming to this State was an invitation from Thomas Batston, Esq., who had heard him preach (through a window of Accomack jail) about the year 1778. The rude Virginians (in order to silence him) took him out of jail and put him on board a privateer, with orders to land him on any coast out of America. Here he was compelled to work, and for his refusing and praying and preaching and singing was ill used. The privateer put him on board another ship, but the wind keeping contrary still, they began to think that it was owing to their having poor Baker in the harbor; therefore that other ship put him on board a third, and the third put him ashore. When Jonas found himself on the dry land, he remembered Squire Batston's invitation and hastened to his house; this good Squire died this day, March 19, 1791. His companion in travels (Mr. Hughes) has promised me a full history of this extraordinary man, which he has not performed, though I have *stirred up his pure mind* to it in three letters; but it will come into the history of the Baptists in Virginia.

Rev. Philip Hughes shares in the *praise which Mr. Baker has in all the churches*. He was born in Colver County Nov. 28, 1750; bred a churchman; avowed his present sentiments Aug. 10, 1773, when he was baptized by Rev. David Thompson. Called to the ministry in Rowanty Church; ordained in Virginia Aug. 13, 1776. His wife is Esther Pollock, by whom he has children, Whitfield, Ann, Mary. He printed a volume of hymns at Wilmington in 1782, some of which are of his composing; also, in 1784, he printed at the same

place an answer to a Virginia clergyman on the subject of baptism. He was obliged twice to appear on the stage to dispute on the subject: once at Fouling Creek, in Maryland, in 1782: his challenger was one Willis, a Methodist preacher. Victory was announced by both parties; but facts varied much. Three men nominated for class-leaders, with many others, were (in consequence of this dispute) baptized by Mr. Hughes. The other dispute was held near the mouth of Potommak in 1785. His challenger was another Methodist preacher of the name of Coles. Here victory was decisive; for 22 of the audience were baptized next day, and soon after about as many more by Rev. Mr. Lewis Lunsford. During the absence of Baker and Hughes the church was supplied in a transient way till

Rev. Jonathan Gibbins

became their pastor. He was born in Broad Creek Hundred Dec. 16, 1751; called to the ministry in this church and here ordained by Messrs. Hughes and Dazey April 16, 1787. Had also the care of Broad Creek till they obtained a minister of their own. Mr. Gibbins's wife is Elizabeth Carpenter, by whom he has children, Ann, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sarah.

(To be continued.)

PENNSYLVANIA TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE IN 1685.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

[In August, 1683, after Penn had been in America nine months, he addressed a long letter to the Free Society of Traders, giving an elaborate account of his Province. This letter, printed at the time, is preserved in his collected works, as well as in Proud's "History of Pennsylvania" and elsewhere. In 1685 he issued, over his own name, the tract we here reprint. It is not addressed to any individual or corporation, but is evidently intended as a supplement to the letter of 1683. Two editions came from the press the year it was written, neither of which bore a title-page. The half-titles of both are here given in fac-simile. The one we take to be the earliest covers twenty pages, the other sixteen. Both are small quartos. So far as we know, it has not been printed in full since the year it appeared. A large portion of it is given in Bloom's "British Empire in America," London, 1687, a book to which but few have access on account of its rarity. Mr. Thompson Westcott also printed portions of it in his "History of Philadelphia" in the "Sunday Dispatch," but it is omitted in the lately-published history of our city by Scharf & Westcott. As it is a tract of great importance in the early annals of our State, we avail ourselves of the opportunity of reproducing it at a time when it must possess a special interest to our readers.—ED. MAG.]

A
Further Account
Of the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
AND ITS
IMPROVEMENTS.

For the Satisfaction of those that are Adventurers, and
enclined to be so.

A Further Account of the Province
of PENNSYLVANIA, and its Improvements.

*For the Satisfaction of those that are Adventurers , and
Inclined to be so.*

A
Further Account
Of the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
AND ITS
IMPROVEMENTS
By the Honorable John D. Thompson, Esq.
Secretary of the Board of Trustees

A Further Account of the Province
of PENNSYLVANIA, and its Improvements
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A
FURTHER ACCOUNT
of the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
AND ITS
IMPROVEMENTS.

For the Satisfaction of those that are *Adventurers*, and en-
clined to be so.

It has, I know, been much expected from me that I should give some farther Narrative of those parts of *America* where I am chiefly interested, and have lately been; having continued there above a Year after my *former Relation*, and receiving since my return the freshest and fullest Advices of its *Progress* and *Improvement*. But as the reason of my coming back was a *Difference* between the *Lord Baltimore* and myself, about the *Lands of Delaware*, in consequence reputed of mighty moment to us, so I wav'd publishing anything that might look in favor of the Country, or inviting to it, whilst it lay under the Discouragement and Disreputation of that Lord's claim and pretences.

But since they are, after many fair and full hearings before the *Lords* of the *Committee* for *Plantations* justly and happily *Dismist*, and the things agreed; and that the *Letters* which daily press me from all Parts on the subject of *America*, are so many and voluminous that to answer them severally were a Task too heavy and repeated to perform, I have thought it most easie to the Enquirer, as well as myself, to make this Account *Publick*, lest my silence or a more private intimations of things, should disoblige the just inclinations of any to *America*, and at a time too when an extraordinary Providence seems to favour its Plantation and open a door to *Europeans* to pass thither. That, then, which is my part to do in this Advertisement is:

First. *To Relate our Progress, especially since my last of the month called August, '83.*

Secondly. *The Capacity of the Place for further Improvement, in order to Trade and Commerce.*

Lastly. *Which way those that are Adventurers; or incline to be so, may employ their Money, to a fair and secure Profit; such as shall equally encourage Poor and Rich, which cannot fail of Advancing the Country in consequence.*

I. We have had about NINETY SAYL of *Ships* with PASSENGERS since the beginning of '82, and not one Vessel designed to the Province, through God's mercy, hitherto miscarried.

The Estimate of the People may thus be made: *Eighty* to each Ship, which comes to SEVEN THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED PERSONS. At least a *Thousand* there before, with such as from other places in our neighbourhood are since come to settle among us; and I presume the *Births* at least equal to the *Burials*; For, having made our first Settlements high in the *Freshes* of the *Rivers*, we do not find ourselves subject to those Seasonings that affect some other Countries upon the same Coast.

The People are a *Collection* of divers Nations in *Europe*: As, *French, Dutch, Germans, Sweeds, Danes, Finns, Scotch, Irish* and *English*; and of the last equal to all the rest: And, which is admirable, not a Reflection on that Account: But as they are of one kind, and in one Place and under One Allegiance, so they live like People of *One Country*, which Civil Union has had a considerable influence towards the prosperity of that place.

II. *Philadelphia*, and our intended Metropolis, as I formerly Writ, is two Miles long, and a Mile broad, and at each end it lies *that mile upon a Navigable River*. The scituation *high and dry*, yet replenished with *running streams*. Besides the High Street, that runs in the middle from River to River, and is an *hundred foot* broad, it has Eight streets more that run the same course, the least of which is *fifty foot* in breadth. And besides Broad Street, which crosseth the Town in the middle, and is also an hundred foot wide, there

are twenty streets more, that run the same course, and are also fifty foot broad. The names of those Streets are mostly taken from the things that Spontaneously grow in the Country, As *Vine Street, Mulberry Street, Chesnut Street, Wall-nut Street, Strawberry Street, Cranberry Street, Plumb Street, Hickery Street, Pine Street, Oake Street, Beach Street, Ash Street, Popler Street, Sassafrax Street, and the like.*

III. I mentioned in my last Account that from my Arrival, in *Eighty-two*, to the Date thereof, being ten Moneths, we had got up *Fourscore* Houses at our Town, and that some Villages were settled about it. From that time to my coming away, which was a Year within a few Weeks, the Town advanced to *Three hundred and fifty-seven Houses*; divers of them large, well built, with good Cellars, three stories, and some with *Balconies*.

IV. There is also a fair *Key* of about three hundred foot square, Built by *Samuel Carpenter*, to which a ship of *five hundred Tuns* may lay her broadside, and others intend to follow his example. We have also a Ropewalk made by *B. Wilcox*, and cordage for shipping already spun at it.

V. There inhabits most sorts of useful Tradesmen, As *Carpenters, Joyners, Bricklayers, Masons, Plasterers, Plumers, Smiths, Glasiers, Taylers, Shoemakers, Butchers, Bakers, Brewers, Glovers, Tanners, Felmongers, Wheelrights, Millrights, Shiprights, Boatrights, Ropemakers, Saylmakers, Blockmakers, Turners, &c.*

VI. There are *Two Markets* every Week, and *Two Fairs* every year. In other places Markets also, as at *Chester* and *New-Castle*.

VII. Seven *Ordinaries* for the Intertainment of *Strangers* and *Workmen*, that are not Housekeepers, and a good Meal to be had for sixpence, sterl.

VIII. The hours for Work and Meals to *Labourers* are fixt, and known by Ring of *Bell*.

IX. After nine at Night the *Officers* go the Rounds, and no Person, without very good cause, suffered to be at any Publick House that is not a Lodger.

X. Tho this *Town* seemed at first contrived for the Pur-

chasers of the *first hundred shares*, each share consisting of 5000 Acres, yet few going, and that their absence might not Check the Improvement of the Place, and *Strangers* that flockt to us be thereby Excluded, I added that half of the Town, which lies on the *Skullkill*, that we might have Room for present and after Commers, that were not of that number, and it hath already had great success to the Improvement of the Place.

XI. Some *Vessels* have been here Built, and many *Boats*; and by that means a ready Conveniency for Passage of People and Goods.

XII. Divers *Brickerys* going on, many Cellars already Ston'd or Brick'd and some Brick Houses going up.

XIII. The *Town* is well furnish'd with convenient *Mills*; and what with their *Garden Plats* (the least half an Acre), the *Fish* of the River, and their labour, to the *Countryman*, who begins to pay with the provisions of his own growth, they live Comfortably.

XIV. The Improvement of the place is best measur'd by the *advance* of Value upon every man's Lot. I will venture to say that the worst Lot in the Town, without any Improvement upon it, is worth *four times* more than it was when it was lay'd out, and the best *forty*. And though it seems unequal that the Absent should be thus benefited by the Improvements of those that are upon the place, especially when they have serv'd no Office, run no hazard, nor as yet defray'd any Publick charge, yet this advantage does certainly redound to them, and whoever they are they are great Debtors to the Country; of which I shall now speak more at large.

Of Country Settlements.

1. We do settle in the way of *Townships* or *Villages*, each of which contains 5,000 acres, in square, and at least Ten Families; the regulation of the Country being a family to each five hundred Acres. Some Townships have more, where the Interests of the People is less than that quantity, which often falls out.

2. Many that had right to more Land were at first covet-

ous to have their *whole* quantity without regard to this way of settlement, tho' by such *Wilderness* vacancies they had ruin'd the Country, and then our interest of course. I had in my view *Society, Assistance, Busy Commerce, Instruction of Youth, Government of Peoples manners, Conveniency of Religious Assembling, Encouragement of Mechanicks, distinct and beaten Roads*, and it has answered in all those respects, I think, to an Universall Content.

3. Our *Townships* lie square; generally the Village in the Center; the Houses either opposit, or else opposit to the middle, betwixt two houses over the way, for near neighborhood. We have another Method, that tho the Village be in the Center, yet after a different manner: Five hundred Acres are allotted for the Village, which, among ten families, comes to fifty Acres each: This lies square, and on the outside of the square stand the Houses, with their fifty Acres running back, where ends meeting make the Center of the 500 Acres as they are to the whole. Before the Doors of the Houses lies the high way, and cross it, every man's 450 Acres of Land that makes up his Complement of 500, so that the Conveniency of Neighbourhood is made agreeable with that of the Land.

4. I said nothing in my last of any number of Townships, but there are at least Fifty settled before my leaving those parts, which was in the moneth called *August*, 1684.

5. I visitted many of them, and found them much advanced in their Improvements. *Houses* over their heads and *Garden plots*, *Coverts* for their Cattle, an *encrease* of stock, and several Enclosures in Corn, especially the first Commers; and I may say of some Poor men was the beginnings of an Estate; the difference of labouring for themselves and for others, of an Inheritance and a Rack Lease, *being never better understood.*

Of the Produce of the Earth.

1. The EARTH, by God's blessing, has more than answered our expectation; the poorest places in our Judgment producing large Crops of Garden Stuff and Grain. And

though our Ground has not generally the symptoms of the fat Necks that lie upon salt Waters in Provinces southern of us, our Grain is thought to *excell* and our Crops to be as large. We have had the mark of the good Ground amongst us from *Thirty* to *Sixty fold* of English Corn.

2. The Land requires less seed: *Three pecks* of Wheat sow an acre, a Bushel at most, and some have had the increase I have mention'd.

3. Upon Tryal we find that the Corn and Roots that grow in *England* thrive very well there, as *Wheat, Barly, Rye, Oats, Buck-Wheat, Pease, Beans, Cabbages, Turnips, Carrets, Parsnups, Colleflovers, Asparagus, Onions, Charlots, Garlick* and *Irish Potatos*; we have also the *Spanish* and very good RICE, which do not grow here.

4. Our *low* lands are excellent for *Rape* and *Hemp* and *Flax*. A Tryal has been made, and of the two last there is a considerable quantity Dress'd Yearly.

5. The *Weeds* of our Woods feed our Cattle to the Market as well as Dary. I have seen fat *Bullocks* brought thence to Market before *Mid Summer*. Our *Swamps* or *Marshes* yeeld us course Hay for the Winter.

6. English GRASS SEED *takes well*, which will give us *fatting* Hay in time. Of this I made an Experiment in my own Court Yard, upon sand that was dug out of my Cellar, with seed that had lain in a *Cask* open to the weather two Winters and a Summer; I caus'd it to be sown in the beginning of the month called *April*, and a fortnight before *Mulsummer* it was fit to *Mow*. It grew very thick: But I ordered it to be fed, being in the nature of a Grass Plott, on purpose to see if the Roots lay firm: And though it had been meer sand, cast out of the Cellar but a Year before, the seed took such Root and held the earth so fast, and fastened itself so well in the Earth, that it held fast and fed like old English Ground. I mention this, to confute the Objections that lie against those Parts, as of that, first, English Grass would not grow; next, not enough to mow; and, lastly, not firm enough to feed, from the Levity of the Mould.

7. All sorts of English fruits that have been tryed *take*

mighty well for the time: The *Peach* Excellent on standers, and in great quantities: They sun dry them, and lay them up in lofts, as we do roots here, and stew them with Meat in Winter time. *Musmellons* and *Water Mellons* are raised there, with as little care as Pumpkins in *England*. The *Vine* especially, prevails, which grows every where; and upon experience of some *French People from Rochel* and the *Isle of Rhee*, GOOD WINE may be made there, especially when the Earth and Stem are fin'd and civiliz'd by culture. We hope that good skill in our most Southern Parts will yield us several of the *Straights* Commodities, especially *Oyle*, *Dates*, *Figgs*, *Almonds*, *Raisins* and *Currans*.

Of the Produce of our Waters.

1 MIGHTY WHALES roll upon the Coast, near the Mouth of the Bay of *Delaware*. Eleven caught and workt into Oyl one Season. We justly hope a considerable profit by a Whalery; they being so numerous and the Shore so suitable.

2 STURGEON play continually in our Rivers in Summer: And though the way of cureing them be not generally known, yet by a Receipt I had of one *Collins*, that related to the Company of the Royal Fishery, I did so well preserve some, that I had them good there three months of the Summer, and brought some of the same so for *England*.

3. ALLOES,¹ as they call them in *France*, the Jews *Allice*, and our Ignorants, *Shads*, are excellent Fish and of the Bigness of our largest *Carp*: They are so Plentiful, that Captain Smyth's Overseer at the *Skulkil*, drew 600 and odd at one Draught; 300 is no wonder; 100 familiarly. They are excellent Pickled or Smokt'd, as well as boyld fresh: They are caught by nets only.

4. ROCK are somewhat Rounder and larger, also a whiter fish, little inferior in relish to our *Mallet*. We have them almost in the like plenty. These are often *Barrell'd* like *Cod*, and not much inferior for their spending. Of both these the Inhabitants increase their Winter store: These are caught by Nets, Hooks and Speers.

¹ Ale-wives.

5. The SHEEPSHEAD, so called, from the resemblance of its Mouth and Nose to a Sheep, is a fish much preferr'd by some, but they keep in salt Water; they are like a Roach in fashion, but as thick as a *Salmon*, not so long. We have also the *Drum*, a large and noble fish, commended equal to the *Sheepshead*, not unlike to a *Newfoundland Cod*, but larger of the two. Tis so call'd from a noise it makes in its Belly, when it is taken, resembling a *Drum*. There are three sorts of them, the *Black*, *Red* and *Gold* colour. The *Black* is fat in the Spring, the *Red* in the Fall, and the *Gold* colour believed to be the *Black*, grown old, because it is observ'd that young ones of that colour have not been taken. They generally ketch them by *Hook* and *Line*, as *Cod* are, and they save like it, where the People are skilful. There are abundance of lesser fish to be caught of pleasure, but they quit not cost, as those I have mentioned, neither in Magnitude nor Number, except the *Herring*, which swarm in such shoales that it is hardly Credible; in little Creeks, they almost shovel them up in their tubs. There is the *Catfish*, or *Flathead*, *Lamprey*, *Eale*, *Trout*, *Perch*, *black* and *white*, *Smelt*, *Sunfish*, &c.; also *Oysters*, *Cockles*, *Cunks*, *Crabs*, *Mussels*, *Mannanoses*.

Of Provision in General.

1. It has been often said we were starv'd for want of food; some were apt to suggest their fears, others to insinuate their prejudices, and when this was contradicted, and they assur'd we had plenty, both of Bread, Fish and Flesh, then 'twas objected that we were forc't to fetch it from other places at great Charges: but neither is all this true, tho all the World will think we must either carry Provision with us, or get it of the Neighbourhood till we had gotten Houses over our heads and a little Land in tillage, We fetcht none, nor were we wholly helpt by Neighbours; The *Old Inhabitants* supplied us with most of the *Corn* we wanted, and a good share of *Pork* and *Beef*: 'tis true *New York*, *New England*, and *Road Island* did with their provisions fetch our Goods and Money, but at such Rates, that some sold for

almost what they gave, and others carried their provisions back, expecting a *better* Market neerer, which showed no scarcity, and that we were not totally destitute on our own River. But if my advice be of any Value I would have them to buy still, and not weaken their Herds, by Killing their Young Stock *too soon*.

2. But the right measure of information must be the proportion of Value of Provisions there, to what they are in more planted and mature Colonies. *Beef* is commonly sold at the rate of *two pence per Pound*; and *Pork* for *two pence half penny*; *Veal* and *Mutton* at *three pence* or *three pence half penny*, that Country money; an English Shilling going for *fifteen pence*. Grain sells by the *Bushel*; *Wheat* at *four shillings*; *Rye*, and excellent good, at *three shillings*; *Barly*, *two shillings six pence*; *Indian Corn*, *two shillings six pence*; *Oats*, *two shillings*, in that money still, which in a new Country, where *Grain* is so much wanted for feed, as for food, cannot be called dear, and especially if we consider the Consumption of the many new Commers.

3. There is so great an encrease of Grain by the dilligent application of People to Husbandry that, within three Years, some Plantations have got *Twenty Acres* in Corn, some *Forty*, some *Fifty*.

4. They are very careful to encrease their stock, and get into *Daries* as fast as they can. They already make good *Butter* and *Cheese*. A good *Cow* and *Calf* by her side may be worth *three pounds sterling*, in goods at first Cost. A pare of Working *Oxen*, *eight pounds*: a pare of fat ones, *Little more*, and a plain Breeding *Mare* about *five pounds sterl*.

5. For *Fish*, it is brought to the Door, both fresh and salt. Six *Alloes* or *Rocks* for *twelve pence*; and salt fish at *three fardings per pound*, *Oysters* at *2s. per bushel*.

6. Our DRINK has been *Beer* and *Punch*, made of *Rum* and *Water*: Our *Beer* was mostly made of *Molosses*, which well boyld, with *Sassafras* or *Pine* infused into it, makes very tollerable drink; but now they make *Mault*, and *Mault Drink* begins to be common, especially at the *Ordinaries* and the Houses of the more substantial People. In our great

Town there is an *able Man*, that has set up a large *Brew House*, in order to furnish the People with good Drink, both there, and up and down the River. Having said this of the Country, for the time I was there, I shall add one of the many Letters that have come to my hand, because brief and full, and that he is known to be a Person of an extraordinary Caution as well as Truth, in what he is wont to Write or Speak :

Philadelphia, the 3d of the 6th month [August] 1685.

GOVERNOUR.

Having an opportunity by a Ship from this River, (out of which *several* have gone this Year) I thought fit to give a short account of proceedings, as to settlements here, and the Improvements both in Town and Country. As to the Country, the Improvements are *large*, and settlements very *throng* by way of TOWNSHIPS and VILLAGES. Great inclinations to Planting *Orchards*, which are easily raised, and some brought to perfection. Much *Hayseed* sown, and much Planting of *Corn* this Year, and great produce, said to be, both of *Wheat*, *Rye* and *Rise*; *Barly* and *Oates* prove very well, besides *Indian Corn* and *Pease* of several sorts; also *Kidny Beans* and *English Pease* of several kinds, I have had in my own Ground, with English Roots, *Turnaps*, *Parsnaps*, *Carrets*, *Onions*, *Leeks*, Radishes and *Cabbidges*, with abundance of sorts of Herbs and *Flowers*. I have but few seeds that have mist except *Rosemary* seed, and being English might be old. Also I have such plenty of *Pumpkins*, *Musmellons*, *Water Mellons*, *Squashes*, *Coshaws*, *Bucks-hens*, *Cow-cumbers* and *Simmells* of Divers kinds; admired at by new Commers that the Earth should so plentifully cast forth, especially the first Years breaking up; and on that which is counted the WORST SORT OF SANDY LAND. I am satisfied, and many more, that the Earth is very fertil, and the Lord has done his part, if Man use but a moderate Dilligence. *Grapes*, *Mulberies* and *many wilde Fruits* and *natural Plums*, in abundance, this year have I seen and eat of. A brave *Orchard* and *Nursery* have I planted, and thrive might-

ily, and Fruit the first Year. I endeavor choice of Fruits and Seeds from many parts; also *Hay Seed*; and have sowed a field this spring for tryall. First, I burned the leaves, then had it Grub'd, not the Field but the small Roots up, then sowed great and small *Clover*, with a little *old Grass seed*, and had it only raked over, not Plowed nor Harrowed, and it grows exceedingly; also for experience I sowed some patches of the same sort in my Garden and Dugged some, and that grows worst. I have planted the *Irish Potatoes*, and hope to have a brave increase to Transplant next Year. Captain *Rapel* (the Frenchman) saith he made good WINE of the *grapes* (of the country) last Year, and Transported some, but intends to make more this Year. Also a French man in this *Town* intends the same, for *Grapes* are very Plentiful.

Now as to the Town of PHILADELPHIA it goeth on in Planting and Building to *admiration*, both in the front & backward, and there are about 600 Houses in 3 years time. And since I built my *Brick House*, the foundation of which was laid at thy going, which I did design after a good manner to incourage others, and that from building with Wood, it being the first, many take example, and some that built Wooden Houses, are sorry for it: Brick building is said to be *as cheap*: Bricks are exceeding good, and better than when I built: More Makers fallen in, and *Bricks cheaper*, they were before at 16 s. English per 1000, and now many *brave Brick Houses are going up*, with good Cellars. *Arthur Cook* is building him a brave Brick House near *William Frampton's*, on the front: For *William Frampton* hath since built a good *Brick house*, by his *Brew house* and *Bake house*, and let the other for an Ordinary. *John Wheeler*, from *New England*, is building a good *Brick house*, by the *Blew Anchor*; and the two Brickmakers a *Double Brick House* and Cellars; besides several others going on: *Samuel Carpenter* has built *another house* by his. I am Building *another Brick house* by mine, which is three large Stories high, besides a good, large *Brick Cellar* under it, of two Bricks and a half thickness in the wall, and the next story half under Ground, the Cellar hath an *Arched Door* for a *Vault* to go (under the

Street) to the River, and so to bring in goods, or deliver out. *Humphery Murry*, from *New York*, has built a large Timber house, with Brick Chimnies. *John Test* has almost finished a good Brick House, and a Bake House of Timber; and *N. Allen* a good house, next to *Thomas Wynns*, front Lot. *John Day* a good house, after the *London* fashion, most Brick, with a large frame of Wood, in the front, for Shop Windows; all these have *Belconies*. *Thomas Smith* and *Daniel Pege* are Partners, and set to making of Brick this Year, and they are very good; also, *Pastorus*, the *German Friend*, Agent for the *Company at Frankford*, with his *Dutch People*, are preparing to make Brick next year. *Samuel Carpenter*, is our *Lime burner* on his Wharf. *Brave LIME STONE* found here, as the Workmen say, being proved. We build most Houses with *Belconies*. Lots are much desir'd in the Town, great buying one of another. We are now laying the foundation of a large plain Brick house, for a Meeting House, in the Center, (sixty foot long, and about forty foot broad) and hope to have it soon up, many hearts and hands at Work that will do it. A large Meeting House, 50 foot long, and 38 foot broad, also going up, on the front of the River, for an evening Meeting, the work going on apace. Many Towns People settling their liberty Lands. I hope the *Society* will rub off the Reproaches some have cast upon them. We now begin to gather in some thing of our many great Debts.

I do understand THREE COMPANIES FOR WHALE CATCHING are designed to fish in the River's Mouth, this season, and find through the great Plenty of fish they may begin early. A Fisherman this Year found the way to catch *Whiteins* in this River, and it's expected many sorts of fish more than hath been yet caught may be taken by the skilful. Fish are in such plenty that many sorts on tryal, have been taken with Nets in the Winter time: The *Sweeds* laughing at the *English* for going to try, have since tried themselves. The River so big, and full of several sorts of brave fish, that it is believed, except frozen over, we may catch any time in the Winter. It's a great pity, but two or

three experienced *Fishermen* were here to Ply this River to salt and serve fresh to the Town. A good way to Pickle *Sturgeon* is wanting; such abundance in the River, even before the Town: many are Caught, Boyd and Eaten. Last Winter great plenty of *Dear* brought in by the *Indians* and *English* from the Country. We are generally very Well and Healthy here, but abundance Dead in *Maryland* this Summer.

The manufacture of *Linnen* by the *Germans* goes on finely, and they make fine Linnen: *Samuel Carpenter* having been lately there, declares they had gathered one Crop of *Flax*, and had sowed for the *Second* and saw it come up well: And they say, might have had forewarder and better, had they had old seed, and not stay'd so long for the Growth of new seed to sow again. And I may believe it, for large hath my experience been this Years, though in a small peece of Ground, to the admiration of many.

I thought fit to signify this much, knowing thou wouldst be glad to hear of thy People and Provinces welfare; the Lord preserve us all, and make way for thy return, which is much desired, not only by our Friends but all sorts. I am, &c., thy truly Loving Friend,

ROBERT TURNER.

Of Further Improvements for Trade and Commerce.

These things that we have in prospect for Staples of Trade, are *Wine*, *Linnen*, *Hemp*, *Potashes* and *Whale Oyle*; to say nothing of our Provisions for the Islands, our Saw Mills, *Sturgeon*, some *Tobacco*, and our *Furs* and *Skins*, which of themselves are not contemptible; I might add *Iron* (perhaps *Copper* too), for there is much *Mine*; and it will be granted us that we want no *Wood*, although I must confess I cannot tell how to help preferring a dome-stick or self subsistence to a life of much profit, by the extream Toy of forraign Traffick.

Advice to Adventurers how to imploy their Estates, with fair profit.

It is fit now, that I give some Advertisement to *Adventurers*, which way they may lay out their Money to best

advantage, so as it may yield them fair returns, and with content to all concerned, which is the last part of my present task; and I must needs say so much wanting, that it has perhaps given some occasion to ignorance and prejudice to run without mercy, measure or distinction against *America*, of which *Pennsylvania* to be sure has had its share.

1. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Poor* are the *Hands* and *Fleet* of the Rich. It is their labour that Improves Countries; and to encourage them, is to promote the real benefit of the publick. Now as there are abundance of these people in many parts of *Europe*, extreemly desirous of going to *America*; so the way of helping them thither, or when there, and the return thereof to the Disbursers, will prove what I say to be true.

2. There are two sorts, such as are able to transport themselves and Families, but have nothing to begin with there; and those that want so much as to transport themselves and Families thither.

3. The first of these may be entertained in this manner. Say I have 5000 *Acres*, I will settle *Ten Families* upon them, in way of *Village*, and built each an house, an out house for *Cattle*, furnish every Family with Stock, as four *Cows*, two *Sows*, a couple of *Mares*, and a yoke of *Oxen*, with a Town *Horse*, *Bull* and *Boar*; I find them with Tools, and give each their first Ground-seed. They shall continue *Seven* Year, or more, as we agree, at *half encrease*, being bound to leave the Houses in repair, and a *Garden* and *Orchard*, I paying for the Trees and at least *twenty Acres* of Land within *Fence* and *improved* to corn and grass; the charge will come to about *sixty* pounds English for each Family: At the seven years end, the Improvement will be worth, as things go now, 120 l. besides the value of the *encrease* of the Stock, which may be neer as much more, allowing for casualties; especially, if the People are honest and careful, or a man be upon the spot himself, or have an Overseer sometimes to inspect them. The charge in the whole is 832 l. And the value of stock and improvements 2400 l. I think I have been modest in my computation. These *Farms* are

afterwarde fit for *Leases* at *full* rent, or how else the Owner shall please to dispose of them. Also the People will by this time be skilled in the Country, and well provided to settle themselves with stock upon their own Land.

4. The other sort of *poor people* may be very beneficially transported upon these terms: Say I have 5000 *Acres* I should settle as before, I will give to each Family 100 *Acres* which in the whole makes 1000; and to each Family *thirty pounds* English, half in hand, and half there, which in the whole comes to 300 l. After four years are expired, in which time they may be easie, and in a good condition, they shall each of them pay *five pounds*, and so yearly for ever, as a *Fee-farm rent*; which in the whole comes to 50 l. a Year. Thus a man that buys 5000 *Acres* may secure and settle his 4000 by the gift of one, and in a way that hazard and interest allowed for, amounts to at least ten *per cent.* upon Land security, besides the value it puts upon the rest of the 5000 *Acres*. I propose that there be at least *two working hands* besides the *wife*; whether son or servant; and that they oblige what they carry; and for further security bind themselves as servants for some time, that they will settle the said land accordingly and when they are once seated their improvements are *security* for the Rent.

5. There is yet another expedient, and that is, give to ten *Families* 1000 *Acres* for ever, at a *small acknowledgement*, and settle them in way of Village, as afore; by their seating thus, the Land taken up is secured from others, because the *method* of the Country is answered, and the value such a settlement gives to the rest reserved, is not inconsiderable; I mean, the 4000 *Acres*; especially that which is *Contiguous*: For their *Children* when grown up, and Handicrafts will soon covet to fix next them, and such after settlements to begin at an *Improved Rent in Fee*, or for long *Leases*, or small *Acknowledgements*, and good *Improvements*, must advance the whole considerably. I conceive any of these methods to issue in a sufficient advantage to Adventurers, and they all give good encouragement to feeble and poor Families.

6. That which is most advisable for People, intended

thither, to carry with them, is in short all things relating to *Apparel Building Housholdstuf; Husbandry, Fowling and Fishing*. Some *Spice, Spirits and double ear*, at first were not a miss: But I advise all to proportion their Estates thus; one-third in *Money*, and two thirds in *Goods*. Upon *pieces of eight*, there will be almost a third gotten, for they go at 6 s. and by goods well bought, at least *fifty* pounds sterl. for every hundred pounds; so that a man worth 400 l. here, is worth 600 l. there, without sweating.

Of the Natives.

1. Because many Stories have been prejudicially propagated, as if we were upon ill terms with the *Natives*, and sometimes, like *Jobs Kindred*, all cut off but the Messenger that brought the Tidings; I think it requisite to say thus much, that as there never was any such Messenger, so the dead People were *alive*, at our last advices; so far are we from *ill* terms with the *Natives*, that we have liv'd in great friendship. I have made seven Purchasses, and in Pay and Presents they have received at least *twelve hundred pounds* of me. Our humanity has obliged them so far, that they generally leave their guns at home, when they come to our settlements; they offer us no affront, not so much as to one of our *Dogs*; and if any of them break our Laws, they submit to be punisht by them: and to this they have tyed themselves by an obligation *under their hands*. We leave not the least indignity to them unrebukt, nor wrong unsatisfied. Justice gains and awes them. They have some Great Men amongst them, I mean for Wisdom, Truth & Justice. I refer to my former Account about their *Laws Manners & Religious Rites*.

Of the Government.

The *Government* is according to the words of the *Grant*, as near to the English as conveniently may be: In the whole, we aim at *Duty* to the King, the Preservation of *Right* to all, the suppression of *Vice*, and encouragement of *Vertue* and *Arts*; with *Liberty* to all People to worship Almighty God, according to their *Faith* and *Perswasion*.

Of the Seasons of Going, and usual time of Passage.

1. Tho Ships go hence at all times of the Year, it must be acknowledged, that to go so as to arrive at *Spring* or *Fall*, is best. For the Summer may be of the hottest, for fresh Commers, and in the Winter, the wind that prevails, is the *North West*, and that blows off the Coast, so that sometimes it is difficult to enter the *Capes*.

2. I propose therefore, that Ships go hence about the middle of the moneths call'd *February* and *August*, which allowing two moneths for passage reaches time enough to plant in the *Spring* such things as are carried hence to plant, and in the *Fall* to get a small Cottage, and clear some Land against the next *Spring*. I have made a discovery of about a hundred Miles West, and find those back Lands richer in Soyl, Woods and Fountains, then that by *Delaware*; especially upon the *Sasquehannah River*.

3. I must confess I prefer the *Fall* to come thither, as believing it is more healthy to be followed with Winter then Summer; tho, through the *great goodness and mercy of God* we have had an extraordinary portion of health, for so new and numerous a Colony, notwithstanding we have not been so regular in time.

4. The *Passage* is not to be set by any man; for Ships will be quicker and slower, some have been *four* moneths, and some but *one*, and as often. Generally between *six and nine weeks*. One year, of four and twenty Sayl, I think, there was not three above nine, and there was one or two under six weeks in passage.

5. To render it more healthy, it is good to keep as much upon *Deck* as may be; for the *Air* helps against the offensive smells of a *Crowd*, and a *close place*. Also to *scrape* often the Cabbins, under the Beds; and either carry store of *Rue* and *Wormwood*; and some *Rosemary*, or often sprinkle *Vineger* about the Cabbin. *Pitch* burnt, is not amiss sometimes against faintness and infectious scents. I speak my experience for their benefit and direction that may need it.

And because some has urged my coming back, as an argument against the place, and the probability of its improvement; Adding, that I would for that reason never return; I think fit to say, That *Next Summer*, God willing, I intend to go back, and carry my Family, and the best part of my Personal Estate with me. And this I do, not only of Duty, but Inclination and Choice. God will Bless and Prosper poor *America*.

I shall conclude with this further *Notice*, that to the end such as are willing to embrace any of the foregoing propositions for the *Improvement of Adventurers Estates*, may not be discouraged, from an inability to find such *Land-Lords, Tennants, Masters and Servants*, if they intimate their desires to my friend and Agent *Philip Ford*, living in *Bow-Lane in London*, they may in all probability be well accommodated; few of any quality or capacity, designed to the *Province*, that do not inform him of their inclinations and condition.

Now for you that think of going thither, I have this to say, by way of caution; if an *hair* of our heads falls not to the ground, without the providence of God, Remember, *your Removal* is of greater moment. Wherefore have a due reverence and regard to his good Providence, as becomes a People that profess a belief in Providence. Go clear in yourselves, and of all others. Be moderate in Expectation, count on Labour before a Crop, and Cost before Gain, for such persons will best endure difficulties, if they come, and bear the Success, as well as find the Comfort that usually follow such considerate undertakings.

<p><i>Worminghurst Place, 12th</i> of the 10th Month 85. }</p>	<p>WILLIAM PENN.</p>
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And because some have argued regarding the fact that the
 Government is not doing enough to protect the people from
 the effects of the epidemic, I would like to say that the
 Government is doing all that it can to protect the people
 from the effects of the epidemic. And I am sure that the
 Government will continue to do so in the future.

I would also like to say that the Government is doing
 all that it can to protect the people from the effects of
 the epidemic. And I am sure that the Government will
 continue to do so in the future. I would also like to
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 the people from the effects of the epidemic. And I am
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 ment is doing all that it can to protect the people from
 the effects of the epidemic. And I am sure that the
 Government will continue to do so in the future.

W. J. [unclear] [unclear]
 [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE UPPER GERMANTOWN BURYING-GROUND.

BY PETER D. KEYSER, M.D.

As a supplement to the History of the Upper Germantown Burying-Ground, printed in the last number of the magazine, the following transcript of the names and dates on the tombstones now standing in the ground is interesting.

It will be seen how family names become changed, often in one generation, and where a stone is erected by the children or grandchildren the altered name is put on for the old person, who may perhaps have come from Germany or Holland, and always carried the name in its proper spelling and pronunciation of his fatherland.

See the changes of

Engel to Engle.
Schreiber to Shriver and Shryber.
Schneider to Snider and Snyder.
Heussler to Heisler.
Bauman to Bowman.
Kraut to Crout.
Traut to Trout.
Schweitzer to Swizer.
Schlingluff to Slingluf.
Schüssler to Shissler.
Steinberner to Stoneburner.

ALDRIDGE.—*Lydia*, wife of Thomas Aldridge, d. Sept. 24, 1864, æt. 34.

ALLEN.—*Thos. H. Allen*, d. Sept. 18, 1874, æt. 76. *Sarah Ann*, wife of Thos. H. Allen, d. Feb. 22, 1867, æt. 64. *Emma H.*, daughter of Thos. & Sarah Ann Allen, d. Sept. 6, 1876, æt. 34.

AXE.—*George Axe*, d. June 25, 1824. *Elizabeth Axe*, widow of George Axe, d. Sept. 21, 1849, æt. 87. *Hester Axe*, d. July 10, 1808, æt. 2. *Elizabeth*, wife of Frederick Axe, d. Aug. 10, 1825, æt. 78. *Elizabeth*, daughter of Frederick Axe, d. Mar. 11, 1810, æt. 23.

BRITTON.—*Chas. Britton*, d. Dec. 24, 1844, æt. 25.

BENSELL.—*George S. Bensell*, d. Nov. 23, 1806, æt. 26.

BRIGERT.—*Isabel Brigert*, d. June 26, 1878, æt. 61.

BARNES.—*Mary Ann*, wife of Wm. Barnes, d. Jan. 2, 1860, æt. 50.
Wm. Barnes, d. Sept. 8, 1816, æt. 18. *Annie G.*, daughter of Sam^l. & Kate Barnes, b. July 19, 1862, d. Apr. 15, 1865.

BARR.—*Mary*, wife of John Barr, b. May 31, 1816, d. Mar. 10, 1843.

BOCKIUS.—*Sarah Unrod*, wife of Chas. Bockius, b. Aug. 18, 1785, d. Feby. 16, 1873. *Charles Bockius*, b. Aug. 20, 1785, d. May 9, 1846.
Martha, daughter of Chas. L. Bockius, d. Mar. 15, 1850, æt. 10. *Henry C.*, son of Isaiah & Ann Bockius, b. Aug. 3, 1850, d. Jan. 13, 1851.
Isaiah Bockius, b. Oct. 25, 1817, d. July 15, 1862.

BOTTEN.—*Stephen Botten*, son of W^m. & Mary Botten, d. Sept. 18, 1845, æt. 19. *William Botten*, d. March 8, 1808, æt. 58.

BECK.—*Mary Ann Beck*, daughter of W^m. & Ann Beck, d. Feby. 16, 1830, æt. 7.

CHANNON.—*Sarah*, daughter of Joseph & Sarah Channon, b. Feb. 23, 1819, d. Aug. 23, 1843. *Mary*, daughter of J. & S. Channon, d. Sept. 9, 1829, æt. 17. *Rebecca*, daughter of J. & S. Channon, b. Nov. 8, 1821, d. Nov. 23, 1843. *Joseph Channon*, b. in Philad^a., Nov. 1, 1784, d. May 8, 1857. *Sarah*, wife of Joseph Channon, b. Mar. 18, 1779, d. Aug. 13, 1861. *Catherine*, daughter of J. & S. Channon, d. Nov. 22, 1867, æt. 52.
Sallie, daughter of A. & J. Channon, d. April 19, 1858, æt. 2.

COOKE.—*Geo. Cooke*, d. Jan. 11, 1800, æt. 43. *Susannah*, wife of John Cooke, d. Sept. 30, 1757, æt. 33. *John Cooke*, d. Jan. 10, 1814, æt. 90.

CARE.—*Martha Care*, d. Mar. 26, 1854, æt. 65.

COX.—*Thos. R. Cox*, d. Aug. 4, 1812, æt. 62. *Maria Lowezer Cox*, wife of Thos. R. Cox, d. Jan. 6, 1807.

CONRAD.—*Isaiah Conrad*, d. Jan. 22, 1862, æt. 81. *Margaret Conrad*, d. Dec. 20, 1861, æt. 79. *Job Conrad*, son of Peter & Sarah Conrad, d. Mar. 12, 1811, æt. 9 mos.

CROUT.—*Rebecca Ann*, wife of John J. Crout, d. July 21, 1862, æt. 33. Wm. Crout, d. Dec. 16, 1865, æt. 76. *Elizabeth Crout*, d. Mar. 3, 1796, æt. 27. *Jacob Crout*, b. Sept. 9, 1759, d. Sept. 11, 1822. *Margaret Crout*, d. Apr. 21, 1879, æt. 84. *Maggie*, daughter of Jos. R. & Ann Crout, d. Oct. 12, 1865, æt. 13 yrs. *Ann*, wife of Jos. R. Crout, d. Dec. 17, 1860, æt. 42. *Jos. R. Crout*, d. Sept. 28, 1859, æt. 41. *Marcus B.*, son of Jos. R. & Ann Crout, d. Dec. 3, 1866, æt. 25. *John Crout*, b. Apr. 25, 1745, d. July 13, 1802. *Mary Crout*, wife of Jacob Crout, d. Feby. 2, 1845, æt. 69.

CLOWES.—*Hiram Clowes*, late of Troy, husband of Jane Clowes, d. Dec. 12, 1813, æt. 46.

COLLADAY.—Wm. Colladay, b. Sept. 5, 1774, d. Dec. 13, 1805. *Hannah*, wife of W^m. Colladay, d. July 11, 1794, æt. 31. Wm. Colladay, d. Nov. 28, 1823, æt. 85. *Ann*, daughter of W^m. & Hannah Colladay, b. Dec. 9, 1789, d. Oct. 26, 1861.

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CARPENTER.—*Conrad Carpenter*, d. Aug. 24, 1823, æt. 58. *Wm. Carpenter*, d. Oct. 5, 1801.

CLEMENS.—*Hannah*, daughter of Garret & Keturah Clemens, d. Mar. 25, 1788, æt. 11. *Sarah*, wife of Jacob Clemens, d. Mar. 9, 1813, æt. 39.

DORSEY.—*Elizabeth Dorsey*, d. 2 mo. 9, 1841, æt. 27. *William Dorsey*, b. 10 mo. 18, 1810, d. 10 mo. 12, 1874.

DEWEES.—*Henry Dewees, Jr.*, d. Feby. 20, 1802, æt. 45. *Henry Dewees*, d. May 25, 1801, æt. 85. *Rachel Dewees*, d. Aug. 2, 1805, æt. 84. *Christiana*, wife of W^m. Dewees, d. —, 1749. *Wm. Dewees*, d. Mar. 3, 1744, æt. 67. *Wm. Dewees*, d. Sept. 3, 1815, æt. 63.

DEDIER.—*Mary Dedier*, d. Oct. 17, 1821, æt. 12 yrs. *Ann Dedier*, d. Nov. 19, 1804, æt. 4 yrs.

DILLMAN.—*Ann Dillman*, d. July 13, 1872, æt. 76. *Frederick Dillman*, d. Aug. 15, 1864, æt. 47.

ENGEL & ENGLE.—*Francis Engle*, d. Sept. 12, 1833, æt. 63. *Benj. Engle*, d. Oct. 20, 1830, æt. 68. *Benj. Engel*, d. Dec., 1762, æt. 44. *John Engle*, d. Oct. 3, 1841, æt. 71. *Elizabeth*, wife of John Engle, d. Aug. 20, 1823, æt. 52. *Mary*, daughter of C. & C. Engel, d. Jan. 2, 1782, æt. 1. *Susannah*, dght. of John & Ann Engel, d. Mar. 5, 1789, æt. 20. *John Engel*, d. July 27, 1795, æt. 74. *Ann*, wife of John Engle, d. Feb. 20, 1808, æt. 74. *Chas. Engle*, d. Aug. 1, 1808, æt. 57. *Elizabeth*, widow of Chas. Engle, d. June 26, 1842, æt. 84. *Eliza Engle*, d. June 24, 1810, æt. 17. *Jesse Engel*, d. Aug. 9, 1800, æt. 39. *Archibald Engel*, d. July 30, 1796, æt. 37. *Edward Engel*, d. Jan. 4, 1788, æt. 21. *Ann Engle*, d. Feby. 6, 1824, æt. 29. *Sylvester*, son of Geo. & Susan Engle, b. July 1, 1815, d. July 12, 1832. *Chas. Engel*, b. May 21, 1797, d. Mar. 31, 1837. *Jacob Engel*, d. Feb. 19, 1799, æt. 71. *Barbara A.*, wife of Jacob Engel, d. Feb. 7, 1815, æt. 78. *Paul Engel*, d. Dec. 30, 1769, æt. 79. *Wilhelmina*, wife of Paul Engel, d. Dec. 1, 1769, æt. 79. *Cornelius Engel*, d. July 3, 1775, æt. 61. *Cathrine*, wife of Cornelius Engel, d. Oct. 2, 1800, æt. 78. *Paul Engel*, d. Dec. 13, 1792, æt. 68. *Susanna Engle*, d. Mar. 2, 1816, æt. 85.

FORBES.—*Jas. Forbes*, b. Aug. 23, 1798, d. Mar. 28, 1847, æt. 48.

HAUSSIN.—*Anna Maria Haussin*, Geboren 1709, Gestorben 1767.

HODGSON.—*Mary*, wife of John Hodgson, d. June 6, 1866, æt. 41 yrs.

HEISLER.—*Peter Heisler*, of Phil^a., d. Oct. 23^d, 1825, æt. 77.

HONG.—*Sarah Hong*, b. Mar. 22, 1808, d. Feby. 19, 1852, æt. 44. *Andrew Hong*, b. Jan. 29, 1809, d. Mar. 27, 1859, æt. 50.

HAAS.—*Sarah*, wife of Jacob Haas, d. Aug. 16, 1871, æt. 85. *Jacob Haas*, d. Mar. 27, 1860, æt. 74.

JACK.—*Anna*, wife of Josiah Jack, b. Dec. 16, 1843, d. Aug. 30, 1872.

KUNNIS.—*Mary Kunnis*, b. Nov. 5, 1782, d. Apr. 14, 1834, æt. 51½. *Wm. Kunnis*, b. Mar. 13, 1805, d. Aug. 5, 1822, æt. 17.

KNIGHT.—*Lavinia Pedrick*, daughter of Mary & Alex. Knight, b. 10 mo. 8, 1816, d. 2 mo. 5, 1863. *Dr. Alex. Knight*, of Phil^a., d. 9 mo. 28,

1827. *Mary Knight*, widow of Dr. Alex. Knight, and daughter of Geo. & Eliza Knorr, d. Nov. 9, 1830.

KNORR.—*Geo. Knorr*, d. Sept. 22, 1854, æt. 92. *Elizabeth*, wife of Geo. Knorr, d. Dec. 29, 1847, æt. 81. *Sarah*, daughter of Geo. & Elizabeth Knorr. *Jacob Knorr*, d. Sept. 20, 1812, æt. 32. *Elizabeth*, wife of Jacob Knorr, d. Sept. 21, 1855, æt. 73. *Frederick Knorr*, d. Dec. 16, 1846, æt. 75. *John G. Knorr*, d. Oct. 16, 1761, æt. 71. *Hannah*, wife of John G. Knorr, d. Oct. 3, 1779, æt. 81. *Samuel K. Knorr*. *Chas. Knorr*, *John Knorr*. *Alice*, wife of John Knorr, mother of 7 children. *John Knorr*, d. Sept. 28, 1804, æt. 73. *Jacob Knorr*, d. Feb. 27, 1815, æt. 70. *Hannah*, wife of Jacob Knorr, d. Oct. 31, 1820, æt. 82. *Mathias Knorr*, Sr., d. June 13, 1825. *Susanna*, consort of Mathias Knorr. *John Knorr*, b. April 8, 1780, d. June 2, 1858. *Jacob Knorr*, d. Nov. 28, 1835, æt. 75. *Edmund W. Knorr*, son of Jacob & Jemima Knorr, d. Sept. 23, 1833, æt. 33. *Mary G.*, daughter of Edmund & Dorothea Knorr, d. Feb. 18, 1835, æt. 2 yrs. *Jacob Knorr*, son of Geo. Knorr.

KEYSER.—*Hannah*, wife of Peter Keyser, d. Aug. 19, 1775, æt. 38. *Peter Keyser*, d. Apr. 10, 1818, æt. 85.

KING.—*Reuben King*, d. Aug. 1, 1851, æt. 24.

KESSER.—*Amanda B. Kesser*, b. Sept. 10, 1852, d. June 27, 1877. *Barbara*, wife of John Kesser, d. Feb. 12, 1871, æt. 44. *McClellan Kesser*, b. Jan. 27, 1863, d. Jan. 12, 1870. *Edwin Forrest Kesser*, b. July 31, 1857, d. Mar. 31, 1865.

KITTINGER.—*Jacob Kittinger*, d. April 11, 1790, æt. 5. *Rudolph Kittinger*, d. April 14, 1790, æt. 2.

LEHMAN.—*Mary*, daughter of Catherine & Godfrey Lehman, d. Jan. 21, 1745, æt. 4. *Joseph*, son of Catherine & Godfrey Lehman, d. Jan. 27, 1757, æt. 1. *Chas. Lehman*, son of Christian & Eliza Lehman, d. Aug. 19, 1760, æt. 2. *Christian Lehman*, Notary Public of this Province, b. in the City of Dresden, Nov. 7, 1714, d. Dec. 28, 1774.

LANGE.—*Louise*, daughter of Dr. John & Susannah Lange, d. April 2, 1835, æt. 21. *Dr. John Lange*, d. July 25, 1833, æt. 67. *Susannah*, wife of Dr. John Lange, d. Jan. 6, 1846, æt. 71.

LEIST.—*Christopher Leist*, b. Aug. 10, 1694, d. 1769.

LOHRA.—*John Lohra*, d. Aug. 27, 1857, æt. 78. *Mary*, wife of John Lohra, d. Dec. 9, 1834, æt. 44.

LEIBERT.—*Hester*, daughter of John and Ann Leibert, d. May 10, 1778, æt. 2. *Ann Leibert*, d. July 28, 1780, æt. 30. *Mary Leibert*, dght. of John and Elizabeth Leibert, d. June 6, 1785, æt. 1.

LIPPAARD.—*Jesse Lippard*, b. Dec. 9, 1792, d. Oct. 29, 1840. *Mary Lippard*, d. May 13, 1834, æt. 18. *Michael Lippard*, d. April 30, 1850, æt. 86. *Henry Lippard*, d. July 2, 1830. *Catherine*, wife of Michael Lippard, d. Jan. 19, 1814, æt. 62. *John Lippard*, d. Oct. 10, 1803, æt. 29. *Daniel Lippard*, d. Oct. 27, 1837, æt. 47. *George Lippard* (Lippert), son of Mich. & Cath. Lippard, d. Feb. 2, 1801, æt. 20. *Mary Lippard*, b.

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Oct. 4, 1776, d. May 3, 1855, æt. 78. *Catherine*, dght. of Daniel & Jemima Lippard, d. June 27, 1813, æt. 27. *Mary Newell*, dght. of D. & J. Lippard, d. Oct. 8, 1840, æt. 21. *Harriett Newell*, dght. of D. & J. Lippard, d. Dec. 29, 1848, æt. 21.

MOYER.—*Jacob Moyer*, d. April 10, 1822, æt. 81. *Henry*, son of Jacob & Christiana Moyer, d. Oct. 21, 1832, æt. 20. *Jacob Moyer*, d. Mar. 14, 1823, æt. 37.

MEREDITH.—*John Meredith*, d. Sept. 6, 1803, æt. 20. *David Meredith*, d. Feb. 21, 1817, æt. 69. *Sophia*, wife of David Meredith, d. Aug. 9, 1827, æt. 71. *Wm. Meredith*, d. Aug. 15, 1846, æt. 50.

MOUILLE.—*Mathurin Mouille*, d. Feby. 6, 1840, æt. 74. *Susanna*, wife of M. Mouille, d. April 7, 1828, æt. 47. *Mathurin*, son of M. & S. Mouille, d. April 10, 1851, æt. 41. *Stephen Mouille*, b. Apr. 15, 1816, d. Aug. 9, 1847. Vol. 1st Regt. Penna., at battles of Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo, Mexico.

MILLER.—*Sibilla Miller*, d. Aug. 17, 1764, æt. 80.

MCCLUNE.—*Elizabeth McClune*, d. Nov. 8, 1814. *John McClune*, d. May 31, 1826, æt. 51.

MARKLE.—*Susan Markle*, d. Aug. 11, 1863, æt. 57. *Geo. Markle*, b. Sept. 4, 1786, d. Mar. 11, 1872, æt. 85. *John Markle*, d. Mar. 31, 1823, æt. 13. *Elizabeth Markle*, d. April 12, 1851, æt. 72. *Charles Markle*, b. Apr. 23, 1784, d. Sept. 21, 1853, æt. 69.

MITCHELL.—*William Mitchell*, d. Oct. 24, 1832, æt. 25.

MACHINETIN.—*Catherine Machinetin*, d. —, 1726, æt. 70.

NESBIT.—*Ann*, relict of John Nesbit, d. Feb. 29, 1844, æt. 57.

NICE.—*John Nice* (stone buried too deep to decipher).

OTTINGER.—*Christopher Ottinger*, d. May 22, 1802, æt. 81. *Mary*, wife of Chris. Ottinger, d. Nov. 25, 1784, æt. 65. *John Ottinger*, b. July 20, 1733, d. Mar. 27, 1807, æt. 73. *Elizabeth*, wife of John Ottinger, d. Dec. 13, 1787, æt. 57. *John Ottinger*, d. July 1, 1816, æt. 41.

PARIS.—*Sarah Paris*, widow of Peter Paris, d. July 12, 1797, æt. 50.

POULSON.—*Zachariah Poulson*, b. Sept. 5, 1761, d. July 31, 1844, æt. 83. Editor of Poulson's "American Daily Advertiser." *Susanna*, wife of Z. Poulson, d. Jan. 25, 1830. *Wm. R. Poulson*, son of Z. & Susanna Poulson, b. Feb. 3, 1794, d. Feb. 17, 1796. *Chas. Poulson*, nat. Oct. 22, 1789, ob. Feb. 8, 1866, æt. 77. *John Poulson*, d. Dec. 24, 1851. *Wm. Poulson*, d. Dec. 20, 1847.

PALMER.—*Wm. Palmer*, d. Sept. 16, 1747, æt. 75. *Elizabeth Palmer*, d. Mar. 15, 1747, æt. 75.

RUSH.—*Mary Rush*, widow of W^m. Rush, b. Sept. 20, 1748, d. Oct. 27, 1829.

RITTENHOUSE.—*Mary Rittenhouse*, d. July 12, 1835, æt. 70. *Joseph Rittenhouse, M.D.*, d. Dec. 26, 1832, æt. 36.

SCHREIBER.—*George Schreiber*, b. Aug. 9, 1720, d. May 27, 1783. *Anna*, wife of George Schreiber, b. Apr. 11, 1723, d. Apr. 20, 1783.

SHRIVER.—*Samuel Shriver*, d. Dec., 1791, æt. 43. *Paul Shriver*, d. Jan. 7, 1781, æt. 20. *George Shriver* (Shryber), d. July 24, 1803, æt. 78. *Catherine*, wife of Geo. Shriver (Shryber), d. Aug. 7, 1803. *Sarah Shriver*, d. Dec. 26, 1821, æt. 37. *John Shriver*, d. Oct. 7, 1818, æt. 62. *Jesse Shriver* (Schreiber), d. Oct. 13, 1808, æt. 39.

SHRYBER.—*Margaret*, wife of Elias Shryber, d. Mar. 19, 1801, æt. 84.

SCHNEIDER.—*David Schneider*, d. Aug. 27, 1784, æt. 7. *Adam Schneider*, d. June 21, 1801, æt. 50.

SNYDER.—*Margaret Snyder*, d. Dec. 26, 1825, æt. 69. *Adam Snyder, Sr.* (Schneider), d. June 10, 1806, æt. 85. *Margaret*, wife of Adam Snyder, Sr., d. July 20, 1816. *Mary*, wife of Adam Snyder (Schneider?), d. Dec. 3, 1829, æt. 76. *Michael Snyder*, d. April 1, 1851, æt. 67. *Michael Snyder, Jr.*, d. Aug. 3, 1854, æt. 29. *Elizabeth Snyder*, d. Nov. 23, 1821, æt. 2. *Maria*, daughter of Michael & Elizth. Snyder, d. Dec. 4, 1835, æt. 1. *Ann Eliza*, wife of J. Snyder, d. May 14, 1846, æt. 27. *Margaret*, wife of Jacob W. Snyder, d. May 20, 1877, æt. 64. *Edward Snyder*, d. Aug. 13, 1818, æt. 27. *Rufus*, son of Michael & Elizabeth Snyder, d. Sept. 23, 1836, æt. 16. *Theophilus*, son of Michael & Elizth. Snyder, d. June 30, 1838, æt. 22 yrs. *Daniel Snyder*, d. May 3, 1858, æt. 78. *Hannah*, wife of Daniel Snyder, d. Dec. 11, 1852, æt. 77.

SCHÜSLER.—*Johannes Schüssler* (Schüssler), b. Dec. 4, 1722, d. Apr. 4, 1783.

SHISLER.—*Adam Shisler* (Schüssler), d. Dec. 22, 1777, æt. 69. *Anna Margaret*, wife of Adam Shisler, d. Nov. 12, 1779, æt. 71.

STONEBURNER.—*Leonard Stoneburner*, d. June 17, 1794, æt. 76. *Mary*, wife of Leonard Stoneburner, b. June 3, 1715, d. Dec. 5, 1783, æt. 69. *Ann Stoneburner*, d. Feby. 9, 1835, æt. 80.

STREEPER.—*John Streeper*, d. 1790, æt. 31. *John Streeper*, d. Aug. 4, 1814, æt. 38. *George Streeper*, b. Nov. 27, 1780, d. April 2, 1824. *William Streeper*, d. Mar. 11, 1828, æt. 67. *Margaret Streeper*, d. Aug. 15, 1833, æt. 76. *Barbara Streeper*, b. Feb. 5, 1752, d. Feb. 29, 1836, æt. 84.

SITCREAVES.—*John Sitcreaves*, of Philad^a., merchant, b. Feb. 11, 1763, d. Sept. 2, 1798.

SWIZER.—*Conrad Swizer*, d. May 20, 1770, æt. 63. *Mary Swizer*, d. Mar. 14, 1793.

SCHNITZER.—*Sarah*, wife of Joseph Schnitzer, b. June 12, 1849, d. Oct. 26, 1869.

SOWER.—*Sarah Sower*, wife of Sam^l. Sower, daughter of Henry & Catherine Landis, of Amwell, N. J., d. Feb. 23, 1791, æt. 23.

SCHNETTECH.—*Jacob Schnettech*, d. Sept. 22, 1758, æt. 11.

STYER.—*Caroline*, wife of David Styer, d. Feb. 15, 1851, æt. 44.

SCHETZ.—*Sarah Scheetz*, d. Sept. 17, 1833, æt. 90. *Ann Scheetz*, b. Sept. 25, 1775, d. Apr. 14, 1870, æt. 94. *Elizabeth*, wife of W^m. Scheetz, d. Feb. 17, 1854, æt. 27.

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SHERWIN.—Rich^d. Sherwin, native of Eng.,—Staffordshire,—d. Sept. 7, 1849, æt. 33. *Wm. Sherwin*, of Staffordshire, d. Oct. 9, 1849, æt. 29.

STINNECKE.—*Abigail*, wife of Dr. H. Stinnecke, of Baltimore, Md., d. 2 mo. 29, 1844, æt. 33.

TEISEN.—*Cornelius Teisen*¹ (Tyson), d. 1716, æt. 63.

TROUT.—*Mrs. Maty Trout*, d. July 2, 1839. *Jeremiah Trout*, d. Aug. 19, 1841, æt. 51. *Wilhelmina Trout*, d. Nov. 7, 1845, æt. 26.

UNROD.—*Jacob Unrod*, d. Mar. 7, 1813, æt. 62. *Catherine Unrod*, wife of Jacob Unrod, d. Sept. 28, 1796, æt. 46. *Jacob Unrod*, b. Aug. 10, 1779, d. Nov. 2, 1824, æt. 45. *Eliza Unrod*, b. Jan., 1777, d. June, 1843. *Ann Unrod*, b. Feb. 25, 1776, d. May 27, 1846.

WATSON.—*Jno. Watson*, d. Mar. 7, 1825, æt. 50. *Sarah*, wife of John Watson, d. Apr. 5, 1824, æt. 47. *Sarah Watson*, d. May 17, 1847, æt. 38.

WERT.—*Eve Mary Wert*, wife of P. Wert, Sr. (Vertz), b. Feb. 15, 1731, O. S., d. Apr. 25, 1793. *Sarah Wert*, d. Oct. 13, 1841, æt. 36.

WEAVER.—*Saml.*, son of John & Susanna Weaver, d. Aug. 17, 1778, æt. 9 mos. *Alexander*, son of Adam & Hannah Weaver. *Susanna*, wife of Phillip Weaver, d. Feby. 3, 1793, æt. 63. *Philip Weaver*, d. Sept. 12, 1795, æt. 76.

WOODROW.—*Hester Woodrow*, d. May 7, 1814, æt. 71. *Leonard Woodrow*, d. Nov. 28, 1802, æt. 33.

Monument to Maj. Irvine, Capt. Turner, of North Carolina, Adj^t. Lucas, and six soldiers killed in the battle of Germanstown.

This monument was erected by Mr. John F. Watson, the historian.

The following old stone is so worn that the name cannot be made out:

Hier Ruhen, A. M., geboren 1679, gestorben 1735, æt. 56 Jahr.

¹ How did the body of Cornelius Tyson get in this ground? He died before Paul Wulff gave the lot for a burial-ground. It is said that Francis Daniel Pastorius had this stone put over his grave, and Pastorius died in 1720,—four years before this was made a graveyard.—P. D. K.

FAREWELL TO PITTSBURG AND THE MOUNTAINS.

1818.

BY REV. JOHN WRENSHALL.

ANNOTATED BY ISAAC CRAIG.

INTRODUCTION.

John Wrenshall, the author of the "Farewell to Pittsburgh and the Mountains," was a son of Thomas and Margaret Wrenshall, of Preston, England; he was born December 27, 1761. On the 6th of October, 1783, he married Mary, daughter of Mathew and Sarah Bennington, of Halifax, Yorkshire. They had eleven children, three of them, *Esther*, *Ann*, and *John Mathew*, died in England. July 20, 1794, Mr. and Mrs. Wrenshall, with the following children, embarked at Liverpool for Philadelphia, where they arrived October 15:

Margaret Sarah, who married William Boggs and died at Florence, Alabama. *Mary Bennington*, who married first Woolman Gibson, second Asa Shinn, and died at Cincinnati, Ohio. *Julia*, who married George Boggs, and died at Pittsburgh. *Ellen Bray*, who married Frederick Dent and became the mother of Mrs. Gen. U. S. Grant, and died at St. Louis, Mo. *Fanny Fieldhouse*, who married William Smith, and died in Washington, Pa.

The following were born in Pittsburgh:

Emily, who married Samuel K. Page, and died at Louisville, Ky.

Sarah, who married John K. Fielding, and died at St. Charles, Mo.

John Fletcher, who married Mary Ann Cowan, and died at Woodville, Alleghany County, Pa.

Mrs. Wrenshall died on the first of July, 1812, and Mr. Wrenshall married Ann Holdship, who died November 9, 1814, leaving a daughter, who did not long survive her mother.

The exact date of Mr. Wrenshall's arrival in Pittsburgh has not been ascertained; but as his name has not been found in the Philadelphia Directory for 1795, and he is known to have been here early in 1796, it is highly probable he reached Pittsburgh in 1795.

Mr. Wrenshall was a man of more than ordinary intelligence and energy, and was for many years a prominent merchant. In the absence of other ministers he officiated at the class meetings and at the little brick church on First Street.

Mr. Wrenshall resided at Seventh and Buttonwood Streets in Philadelphia after he wrote the "Farewell," but returned to Pittsburgh in 1819. The house he first occupied after his return is still standing on the east

corner of Fourth Street and Chancery Lane; he afterwards moved into a much more imposing mansion on the corner of Market and Fourth Streets, where the Union National Bank now stands. The large and lofty rooms of this house were subsequently occupied by Mr. Landin as a museum.

The "Farewell to Pittsburgh and the Mountains" was printed for the author in Philadelphia in 1818. It is a small 8vo of 32 pages. We have reproduced only such parts as relate to Pittsburgh and the journey to Philadelphia. While its poetic merits are not of the highest order, it contains some descriptive passages which are more suggestive than those usually found in sober prose.

Neglected muse, assist my humble theme,
 To sing of PITTSBURG, and the road we came;
 To please my Girls, for 'tis at their request,
 I court thy aid, a substitute for rest.
 To take a last farewell, of those we love;
 Our cottage, garden, and that little grove,¹
 Planted at her request, whom we revere,
 It swells the breast, and urges forth a tear.
 Farewell thou peaceful *cot*, beneath thy shade,
 Oft, have we sweetly sung, and humbly pray'd.
 That parlour too, where pious *Cooper* stood,²
 To point his little flock, the way to God—

¹ A grandson of John Wrenshall is authority for saying that the "cottage, garden, and that little grove" were on the northwest corner of Fourth and Grant Streets.—I. C.

² Mr. Thomas Cooper, who led a class of religious friends for several years in the back parlor. [Thomas Cooper resided in a two-storied stone house, owned by Hon. James Ross, on the east corner of Water and Grant Streets. The first Methodist meeting in Pittsburgh was held in the parlor of this house, and they were continued there until 1810, when a lot was purchased on the northeast side of First Street, below Smithfield, and a small brick edifice was erected. This was the only house of worship owned by the Methodists in Pittsburgh until 1817, when a church was built at the corner of Smithfield and Seventh Streets. The little church on First Street was afterwards occupied by colored people until it was destroyed by the great fire of April 10, 1845. In Simpson's "Cyclopedia of Methodism" it is erroneously stated that this first little church was a stone building on Second Street.

Mr. Cooper was a staunch Methodist of the English stripe. He married three times. His first wife was the widow of a physician, whose name is not remembered. His second wife was the widow of James Troth, an early resident of Pittsburgh, a silversmith by trade. She was the mother, by her first husband, of the wife of the Hon. William Little and of Mrs. John H. Ebbert. Mr. Cooper remained a widower for many

Excite their hopes, to calm their anxious fears,
Assist to wipe away their falling tears.
Not tears luxuriant, which, from love divine,
So frequent flow, and cause the face to shine ;
But those which from the humble mind oppress'd,
When sick of sin, is seeking after rest.
To fix the labouring mind on things above,
He oft would urge this truth, that *God is love*.
Adieu, that Garden, where we oft did cull,
For mental food, and fruit as oft did pull.
Where lilaches flourish, blushing roses stand,
Or peep above the grass, on either hand :
Where busy bees and humming birds regale,
And chippers pick, and tell their little tale.
Here grassy banks, array'd in lively green,
And sloping paths are introduc'd between ;
With privet hedges, and sweet-scented flowers,
Inviting spot, to spend our leisure hours.
Adieu, thou sweet retreat, we shall no more
Ascend thy banks, or thy neat paths explore.
And thou, Grant's hill, whose surface we have trod,
To view the city,¹ and that house of God,

years after her death. Late in life he married Miss Mary Chess, and removed to her property on the Steubenville road, where he died.—I. c.]

¹ Grant's Hill derives its name from its being the scene of Major Grant's defeat by the French and Indians in September, 1758. Brackenridge, in his "Recollections of the West," says, "The hill was the favorite promenade in fine weather and on Sunday afternoon. It was pleasing to see the line of well-dressed ladies and gentlemen and children, nearly the whole population, repairing to this beautiful green eminence. It was considered so essential to the comfort and recreation of the inhabitants that they could scarcely imagine how a town could exist without its Grant's Hill. There was a fine spring half-way up, which was supposed to afford better water than that of the pumps, and some persons even thought it was possessed of medicinal properties,—which might be the case, after a pleasant afternoon's walk and the toil in overcoming the steep ascent. What a change in the appearance of Pittsburg since that day ! since the time when I used to roll over and over on the smooth, velvet side of Grant's Hill !

"Sed fugit interea, fugit irrevocabile tempus. Yes, that beautiful hill itself, which might have enjoyed a *green* old age, has been prematurely cut to pieces and murdered by barbarous hands ! The shallow pond at its base, where we used to make our first attempts at skating, has been wickedly and willfully filled up, and is now concealed by brick buildings ; the croaking of the town frogs having given place to men

At whose firm base my much loved *Mary* lies,
 Wife of my youth, and partner of my joys.
 And my dear *Ann*, with our sweet infant too,
 A threefold cord, which binds me fast to you :
 Should heav'n, auspicious, grant me my request,
 With you, in death, my weary limbs shall rest :¹

more noisy still than they. What is passing strange, as if in mockery of nature, the top of the hill is half covered by an enormous reservoir of water, thrown up there from the Alleghany River by means of steam-engines, while the remainder is occupied by a noble cathedral church. What is still more lamentable, the hill itself has been perforated, and a stream has been compelled to flow through the passage, at an expense that would have discouraged a Roman emperor. Streets have been cut in its sides, as if there was a great scarcity of ground in this new world."—I. C.

¹ The "house of God, at whose firm base my much loved *Mary* lies," is the First Presbyterian Church. "Heaven, auspicious," granted his request. Mr. Wrenshall was buried between his wives,—*Mary* on his left and *Ann* on his right. The inscriptions on their tombstones are:

JOHN WRENSHALL,
 whose Remains are here Deposited,
 was born in *England*, December 27th, 1761 :
 Emigrated with his Family in 1794 to the United States ;
 and Died in *Pittsburgh*, September 25th, 1821 :
 Where he had resided twenty-five years.
 Early did he learn
 The End for which he possessed Existence :
 And this End ever in view, his Principles of Action
 Were his own Eternal Destination,
 And the GLORY OF GOD.
 In reference to these,
 Did he act as a Citizen, Husband & Parent :
 And under the economy of the Methodist Church
 As a Local Preacher of the Gospel,
 Forty-one years.
 With sincere delight,
 Did he watch the rapid Progress
 of Morality & Religion in this City :
 To which he applied the influence
 of his Advice & Example.
 His Life
 Was crowned with Health, Content & Domestic Peace :
 His Death
 With the triumphs of Christian Faith.
 Soli Deo Gloria.

But if in distant clime, my grave must be,
I shall in bliss, your lovely spirits see.
Farewell that sacred desk, where oft I stood,¹
To warn the wicked, and to cheer the good:
To tell of HIM, whom men of wisdom fear,
And not unfrequent, with a falling tear.
Adieu, ye friends, with whom I oft did join,
To sing the praise of God, in hymns divine;
May ye with joyful hope, hold on your way,
And steadfast faith, obtain eternal day.
Ye lofty hills, which guard the city round,
Where once untutor'd savages were found,

Beneath this Stone
Is interred the body of

MARY

The wife of JOHN WRENSHALL,
who departed this life July 1, 1812.

In the 51st. year of her age.

In virtue's path, she spent her youthful days ;
When more mature, she spoke in virtue's praise ;
When Providence had placed her as a wife,
She calmly stood, amid the scenes of life ;
While ling'ring pains depriv'd her of her rest,
With sweet serenity she arm'd her breast ;
Her life thus spent, that saving grace was given,
By which she left the world and flew to heaven.

—X—

ANN,

The wife of JOHN WRENSHALL,
who died Nov. 9, 1814 ; aged 22 years.
Nipt in the opening bloom of youth,
And fled to mansions in the sky ;
Reader ! reflect on this great truth,
To live with God—thou too must die.

—X—

Also ANN MATILDA, daughter of the
Above, who died March 22, 1815 ;
Aged 9 months.

“Of such is the kingdom of Heaven.”

¹ “That sacred desk” was in the little Methodist Church on First Street.—I. C.

Lords of the soil, and masters of the game,
 By cautious steps, and rifles deadly aim.
 Beneath your surface, hid from mortal eye,
 Rich mines of coal, as in a storehouse lie;¹
 And men with murky visage, oft explore,
 Your dark recesses for a winter's store—
 To warm our dwellings, and to gain their bread,
 'Tis better thus, than supperless to bed;
 'Tis better far, that men with honest toil,
 Subsistence gain, than cunningly beguile;
 More honour is, to honest labourer due,
 Than all the sordid speculating crew,
 Who, like the prowling wolf in quest of prey,
 Seize all the game, and bear the prize away.
 Two noble rivers, which united here,
 Form the Ohio, or *La Belle rivere*,²
 More rapid one, with islands scatter'd o'er,
 The other, sluggish, creeps along the shore.
 The first transparent flows o'er pebb'l'd bed,³
 The other muddy, chiefly from its head,
 These streams conjoin'd, are as distinctly seen,
 As if a firm partition ran between;

¹ The author here refers particularly to *Coal Hill*, which acquired its name from the fact that in 1760, Major Ward opened the first coal-pit west of the Alleghany Mountains, near the summit of the hill. Major Ward was the same person who, as Ensign Edward Ward, surrendered the unfinished fort in the "Forks of the Ohio," to Contrecoeur, April 17, 1754. The coal was sent down a *shute* into flats, and thus conveyed to the fort. This pit was long known as "Ward's pit." The story related before the Old Residents' Association of Pittsburgh, that the pit was opened by the French to supply the Fort, and that coal was dragged down the hill in ox-hides, was a stupid invention, as all, familiar with the actions of the French at Fort Du Quesne, know.—I. c.

² The beautiful river. ["The Ohio, as it is called by the Senecas. Alleghany is the name of the same river in the Delaware language. Both signify the fine or fair river."—*Proud's History of Pa.*, II. 102, *Appendix*. "The natives considered the Alleghany and Ohio to be the same stream, and the Monongahela to be a tributary,—*Alleghany* being a word in the Delaware language, and *Ohio* in the Seneca, both meaning 'Fair water.' So that the title '*La Belle Riviere*,' given by the French to the Ohio, was not original, but a mere translation of the Indian name."—*Hazard's Register of Pa.*, I. 338. I. c.]

³ "The clear and beautiful Alleghany, the loveliest stream that ever glistened to the moon, gliding over its polished pebbles, being the Ohio, or *La Belle Riviere*, under a different name."—*Brackenridge*. I. c.

When Alleghany flows its rolling tide,
Monongahela shrinks to southern side.
The former pressing, while the last impress'd,
Recedes, and opens wide its yielding breast;
Yet both retain for miles, their own estate,
Till urged by rippings, to amalgamate.¹
Between these rivers, Pittsburg city stands,
Focus, where strangers meet, in quest of lands :
Thence soon diverging, spread the forest o'er,
Or fix their station, nigh some river shore.
Here furnaces, emitting flames of fire,
And clouds of smoke o'ertop the city spire ;
With noisy engines puffing out their steam,
For uses varied, which we need not name.
These all evince, what Pittsburg soon will be,
The seat of useful manufactory,
If properly conducted, and the aid
Of laws, by prudent legislators made,
And executed too, for 'tis in vain,
To make good laws, and break such laws again ;
'Tis like a useful artist, first he tries
To make good needles, then break off their eyes,
This hint may suit Columbia, but the child
Is by indulgence, ricketed and spoil'd ;—
It will for liberty vociferate,
But spurn at laws of union and of state,
Unless they suit its whim, or private trade,
Then laws are good, whatever laws are made.
Yon busy strands, where sturdy barge men meet,
And merchants, more polite, each other greet ;
And strangers too, who oft assemble here,
With scanty funds, and minds oppress'd with care.
In want of aid, a friend they often find,
In *Holdship's* busy hands, and feeling mind,²

¹ "It is pleasant to observe the conflict of these two waters where they meet ; when of an equal height the contest is equal, and a small rippling appears from the point of land at their junction to the distance of about five hundred yards. When the Alleghany is master, as the term is, the current keeps its course a great way into the Monongahela before it is overcome and falls into the bed of the Ohio."—*Brackenridge*. I. C.

² H. Holdship, who is ever ready to assist those in distress ; and particularly strangers. He succeeded Messrs. Patterson & Lamdin in the paper-mill corner of Ross and Water Streets.—I. C.]

Yon sloping paths, up which the active stray,
 Where rocks unnumber'd in profusion lay,
 In rude magnificence, projecting o'er
 The broken vale, and rivers bending shore.
 When roaming high, beneath the leafy shade,
 Of stunted oaks, where humble plow or spade
 Would useless be, to turn the scanty soil,
 We stopp'd to view the dripping rock awhile,
 And catch its falling drops, in open hand,
 And sip the cold collection as we stand ;
 Then downward haste, on recreation bent,
 And slide from tree to tree the steep descent ;
 Unless projecting rock, obstruct the way,
 Or fallen tree, induce a short delay,
 By friendly twigs, with cautious steps and slow,
 We down proceed, and gain the vale below.
 Up Beelen's run, there falls a small cascade,¹
 Not formed by art, but one which nature made,
 Deep in a glen, o'er hung with lofty trees,
 Secure from scorching ray, or upland breeze.
 Here, lost in admiration, have we stood,
 Nigh ravines deeply cut, with sweeping flood ;
 Or scatter'd rocks, by some convulsion torn,
 Or mouldering trees, prostrated by the storm ;
 To view, prospectively, this little vale,
 When taste, o'er rugged nature shall prevail.

We bend our course now o'er those hills and vales,
 Where emigrants in crowds, the eye assails ;
 Of various nations, sects, and colours too,
 Europa's sons, with Africans and Jew.
 The keen-eyed Yankey too, with carriage trim,
 And well fed oxen, straining every limb,
 To drag the pond'rous load, through mud and clay,
 O'er rocks and hills, which stand athwart the way.
 In crowds, the Germans too, of Swabian race,
 Whose grotesque figure, and whose ruddy face,
 Oft times excite involuntary smiles,
 And not less oft, the tedious way beguiles ;
 These all united, male and female too,
 Both old and young, to drag the waggon through

¹ Beelen's Run, properly "*Two-mile Run*," now called Soho. "At Two-mile Run Mr. Anthony Beelen, a respectable merchant, has a neat ornamented cottage."—*Cuning's Western Tour*, 1807, p. 229. I. C.

The deep sunk rut, with females in the rear,
Thrusting with all their might, the rut to clear;
While one with voice vociferous and strong,
And free-used whip, to urge the beasts along;
Succeed at length, the wish'd for spot to gain,
And rest awhile, from anxious toil and pain.
A lesson this, to men of useful lore,
Who seek for office, honour, wealth and power;
Would they unite, to seek their country's good,
As honest Germans do, to drag their load;
We should have roads, that would our steps beguile,
And all this barren wilderness would smile.
A son of Ham, of African descent,
A smart tonsure, on emigration bent;
Comes next with razors, and his printed bag;
His sooty can, and not less sooty rag;
To wipe his razors, or his client's face,
Least wanting this, his business he'd disgrace.
Progressing on, attractions soon he finds,
Mid' groups of faces, beards of various kinds,
And colors too, on visage plump or thin,
Or black, or white, 'tis all alike to him.
The bargain struck, a log, and not a chair,
Serves him to shave on, or for cutting hair,
With lather cold, and rough edg'd razor, he
Drags up the beard and sets the sufferer free.
Such varied scenes, present themselves to view,
For skilful Poets, and for Painters too,
A field for them, in each respective art,
But such as Poetasters, don't impart.
Had I, *Hogarth*, thy pencil and thy skill,
I'd soon a sheet of yellow canvas fill,
In one extended view, I would pourtray,
The various groups of strangers on their way
To lands unknown, by various motives press'd,
Some, seeking riches, others, only rest.
Some fleeing from the tyranny of man,
Others, from debt; a much frequented plan.
I'd terminate that view, with steep ascent,
Up some high mountain side, where nearly spent
The weary travellers, hard press'd with care,
Some fast in mud, nigh rugged rocks, and bare;
Others more fort'nate, the top had gain'd,
Wiping their face, with perspiration stain'd;
Then take a last, a retrospective view,
Of distant mountains pass'd, and vales got through.

Could I, as Bloomfield did, minutely write,
 And place in rhyme, what now, I would indite,
 In social bands, I'd place throughout the way,
 Strangers encamp'd, and horses run astray;
 Or careless browsing, mid' the shady trees,
 Glad to regale, or ramble at their ease: .
 Waggon's upset, or deeply sunk in mud,
 Wheels horizontal, and a prostrate load;
 While friendly waggoners reflecting stand,
 With manly efforts, like the Spartan band,
 To raise the waggon, or remove the load,
 And gain good footing, on the firmer road.
 Three blooming *females*, too, in lively green
 Of bombazet, and not of bombazeen,¹
 From useful fleece, which on the sheep did grow,
 Both slip and bonnet, more for use than show.
 These, with a silken bag, each had in hand,
 To hold a 'kirchief, needle, thread or band,
 For needful use, a use which oft will be,
 When roving past a thorny bush, or tree,
 To cull wild berries, from the mountain side,
 Or gain that footing, which the mud deni'd.
 A sprightly *youth*, too, verging on sixteen,²
 With costume light and colour somewhat green,
 Lightly meandering, or skipping o'er
 Some jutting rock, the mountain to explore;
 Or in close converse with his vener'd sire,
 Pointing the track, to shun the green quagmire.

¹ Daughters of the author. [The "three blooming females in lively green" were *Fanny*, *Emily*, and *Sarah*, daughters of the author. Bombazine, now little used, was a plain fabric, in which the warp was silk and the weft worsted. It was generally black, and used for mourning. Bombazet,—a diligent search failed to discover anything more than it was a woollen fabric, and always green.—I. C.]

² Son of the author. [The "sprightly youth, verging on sixteen," was John F. Wrenshall, son of the author, who became a leading merchant and manufacturer in Pittsburgh. A remarkably handsome and courteous gentleman; he married Mary Ann, daughter of Christopher Cowan, and granddaughter of Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, of the Fourth Virginia Regiment in the Revolutionary war. Several years before his death he retired to Woodville, his wife's beautiful estate, on Chartier's Creek, and died there January 19, 1862, and was buried in the graveyard where the first Protestant Episcopal Church west of the Alleghany Mountains formerly stood.—I. C.]

Next faithful *King*, whose comprehensive mind,¹
Lies hid as diamonds, ere they are refin'd;
Who sees effects from causes far remote,
And checks ambition's first aspiring thought.
With nervous hand, he grasps the waggon bed,
Least some huge rock, with its projecting head,
Or deep sunk rut, should turn the waggon o'er,
And thus lay prostrate, our collected store.
The danger past, with solemn steps and slow,
He bends his course, where 'ere the waggons go:
Meanwhile, his mind unfetter'd, oft will soar,
O'er nature's works, and nature's God adore.
Progressing slowly o'er the hills and vales,
Where foaming torrents, oft the eye assails:
Mid' rocks, on rocks, successively upborne,
Whose rugged sides, resist the pelting storm.
O'er mountains too, where oft we view'd the sun
Burst through the clouds, and chase the chilly gloom;
The crystal dews, fast dripping from the trees,
And spider's hoary web, with gentle breeze,
Floating in air, while o'er the humble vale,
The fleecy clouds, in wide extent prevail,
Like some vast lake, by mountain sides confin'd,
And scatter'd islands, variously combined,
In sportive fancy, till the solar ray,
Exhale the mists, and chase the scene away.
Adieu, ye pleasing scenes, and lofty pines,
Ye waving forests, interspers'd with vines—
Ye gloomy vales, where rapid streamlets flow,
And paths where strangers travel, fill'd with wo.
Ye all are pass'd, while Cumberland—proud vale,
With scatter'd farms, at once the eyes assail;
And orchards too, with mellow fruit in store,
Mills grinding apples, presses running o'er,
With luscious cider, grateful hearts to cheer,
And lend its aid, to crown the closing year.
Still further on, old Susquehanna flows,
Expanding wider, as she shorter grows;
And on her surface, beauteous isles are seen,
In couplets oft, and once a third between,
But far remote, and promontories too,
With bending shores, which terminate the view.

¹A person who had lived with the author a number of years. [A serving-man, well read, and whose advice was often sought.—I. C.]

Unless some distant mountain should intrude,
 And raise its head, magnificently rude,
 To form a contrast, and complete the whole,
 And raise emotions, grateful in the soul.
 Her stately bridges, distant far apart,
 Merit some notice from poetic art :
 That from Columbia, near a mile in length,
 Neat, in its structure, but respecting strength,
 Perhaps too weak, to stem a rapid flood,
 When gorg'd with cakes of ice, or floating wood.
 This, Time will shew, which tests the artist's skill,
 Criterion this to lay suspicion still.
 The next, at Harrisburg, where men of lore,
 New laws to make, or old ones to explore ;
 In conclave meet, for Pennsylvania's good,
 In building bridges, or to mend the road ;
 Thus easing travellers of half their toil,
 And aid them much, when seeking richer soil.
 These bridges then, for there in fact are two,
 Not like the *brigs of Ayr*, both old and new,¹
 These in succession, aid the traveller o'er,
 First to an island, then the western shore :
 We'll call them twins, for such they seem design'd.
 Conceiv'd at once, in the projector's mind :
 With firm abutments, not less firm the piers,
 Such as might stem the flood, for many years,
 Unless stern winter, suddenly assail'd
 By sage *Vertumnus*, who at length prevail'd,²
 To force its frigid power, and break its chain,
 Aided by sudden deluges of rain ;
 Vast in extent sweeping the mountain side,
 Of sturdy oaks, with limbs extended wide ;
 Rushing with fury, uncontrol'd below,
 Driving vast fields of ice, and melting snow ;
 With urging force, impetuous and strong ;
 O'erwhelm the piers, and float the bridge along.
 Then would our artists, as in former years,
 Select out massier rocks, to form their piers ;
 And Legislators, from experience, grown
 More wise, and less to empty spouting prone,
 As in a focus, all their powers unite,
 To spread contentment, and of course, delight ;
 By building bridges solid, turnpikes too,
 More useful here, than gold-mines of Peru :

¹ See Burns's poems.² God of the spring.

To check ambitious views, nor speculate
On treasures of the union, or the state ;
But by example, teach that honest toil,
Like Cincinnatus, turning o'er the soil,
With plough, or spade ; a practice better far,
Than lust of gain, the origin of war.
Our hardy sons, by such examples taught,
Will check the risings of each vicious thought,
Will tend the plough, and make the forest ring,
With sturdy axe, and their just praises sing.
The rattling turnpike, and the busy stage,
With grinding wheels, at length the thoughts engage :
We take our station, leaving far behind,
The plodding waggons, as at first design'd—
And speed our way, by prancing horses drawn,
To that fam'd city, which of late has shown,
On page of history, a refuge for
Europa's sons from desolating war.

REVOLUTIONARY SERVICES OF CAPTAIN JOHN MARKLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

The following paper narrating the military services of Captain John Markland during the Revolution was written in 1826. In that year he was renominated by the Federal party for County Commissioner, having been elected to the office in 1823. The effort of his friends to re-elect him was unsuccessful, however, for, although he received a majority of the votes cast in the city of Philadelphia, it was not sufficient to overcome that which the county gave his competitor, Mr. John White. The document we give was no doubt published in some form the year it was written, but its interest is sufficient to warrant its reproduction. In addition to the information it furnishes regarding Markland, we will add that he was born August 12, 1755, and married, January 25, 1798, Christiana Heisz, who died April 5, 1804, in her 27th year. Captain Markland subsequently married Sophia — (maiden name unknown), who survived him, and died August 17, 1843, aged 75 years. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, and was succeeded in it by his son, John H. Markland. His present representative in the Society is Mr. George Markland. Captain M. died February 23, 1837, in his 82d year, and is buried in Christ Church ground.

John Markland was born in Philadelphia, where he resided for some time before removing with his parents to New York. He was among the first to prepare for the great struggle for liberty.

As early as 1775, while yet in his minority, he commenced his military career as an active member of a uniformed company of Minute Men, commanded by Captain Stockholm, attached to Colonel Lasher's regiment of New York Volunteers. The duties of this corps were arduous and difficult, liable to be called into service at any moment. It was often employed by night, as well as by day, in securing munitions of war, artillery, etc., and also in preventing supplies reaching the British armed vessels, particularly the ship "Asia," 64 guns, Captain Vandeput, as this

officer had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious. In August of this year we find Markland on duty with and actively engaged in assisting the New York Volunteers in hauling off the guns from the Battery, in defiance of a tremendous fire opened on them and the town by the above-mentioned 64, who lay with springs on her cable, within musket-shot of the Battery.¹ The regiment to which he was attached entered in 1776 for the campaign, an engagement which on his part was faithfully performed. On the morning of the 22d of August of that year he landed with the regiment on Long Island, and in the afternoon volunteered himself, and was sent out with a detachment of one hundred men under the command of Captain Stockholm on a reconnoitring party. Falling in with some advanced corps of the

¹ The Pastor of the Moravian Church in New York City made the following record in the Diary of the Congregation, under date of Thursday, August 24, 1775:

"Last Night was a great Disturbance in the City. About Midnight some of the Town Soldiers begun to take away the Cannons from the Battery. The Asia Man of War watched their motion; the Captain Vandeput, who is an humane man, and has no intention to hurt the Town, but must protect the King's Property, fired a couple of Guns about 12 o'clock; his Barge and the Town-People fired upon one another; on both sides some were wounded, and one of the Barge Men killed. The whole City got up; all was in Alarm; the Drums beating, and the Soldiers gathering together. They got away 21 Cannons; the Man of War fired a Broadside with Balls, &c. Several Houses were damaged. Many people flew from their houses; and among them Sister Kilburn, who was but yesterday with her Effects, and many of Abr. v. Vleck's and his 2 little children, &c., come back to her own house. Thus things went on till Morning; and now the whole day tho' there is nothing but moving out of the Town, and fearful Reports. Several of our People moved likewise. Abr. v. Vleck's family and Kilburn moved to James Cargyll's; and on fresh alarming news the next day, with Eliz. Van Deursen and Hil. Waldron, to Second River.

"*Friday, 25th.*—Things were the same in the Town as yesterday and rather worse. A correspondence was carried on between the Capt. of the Asia and the Mayor of the City, and thro' the latter with the Committee of the 'One Hundred' or Congress to adjust matters. Governor Tryon acted as Mediator. Some hot-headed men seemed to insist on pursuing their rash measures, while others and rather the majority did not approve of it."

British army, a warm skirmish ensued. On the 27th of the same month he was warmly engaged in

The Great Battle on Long Island,

and left the island on the 29th with the army and returned to New York. The regiment, after evacuating New York, 15th of September, was stationed at King's Bridge; from thence it marched to White Plains, and afterwards to King's Ferry, etc., on the North River. Markland, along with the army, retired through Jersey to Princeton, thence to Trenton, assisting in opposing the entrance of the enemy into the latter place, and crossed the Delaware with the army. Early in 1777, on the new organization of the army, he entered the Continental service, in Captain Jacob Bowers's company, Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Bicker, for the war. In June of this year Ensign Markland was actively engaged in the Battle of Short Hills, in Jersey, near the Scotch Plains. On this occasion, on the approach of the British army under Lord Cornwallis, Markland was detached with the command of a small party of men from the advance of the American army, some distance in front, in order to reconnoitre and skirmish with the advanced corps of the British. While executing this duty he was unexpectedly cut off by a sudden and rapid detour of a detachment of Lord Rawdon's Horse, by whom he was surrounded and compelled to surrender. One of the horsemen discharged his pistol at the young ensign, the ball fortunately missing him, though fired so close that the mark of the powder was visible all his life under his left ear. He remained a prisoner only a few minutes, for the officer who captured him, having observed a body of Americans coming round a hill with the intention of cutting him off, immediately gave his horse the spur and fled with his command, leaving the prisoners behind; the Americans at the same moment pouring in a heavy fire. Immediately on his rescue, Markland accompanied his deliverers to an adjoining wood, which was skirted by a strong fence, correctly apprehending that a much superior British force would return to retrieve

their disgrace. They did immediately return, and with a strong body of horse, but finding the Americans formed in a strong position in the wood, contented themselves with looking over the fence, and then retired to their main body. Markland and the detachment, after a long and fatiguing detour, rejoined the army in safety, where his return was joyfully hailed, for it had been reported, and generally believed, that he was cut down by Rawdon's Horse when surrounded. Ensign Charles Macknet, of Germantown, and long afterwards continuing to reside there, was also with the American army, and in this engagement.

Continually on duty during the summer, and with much marching, Markland found himself on the 11th of September engaged in

The Battle of Brandywine.

He was in Conway's Brigade, and most of the day engaged in action,—in the morning near Chad's Ford, and in the afternoon near Birmingham Meeting-House. Late in the afternoon the American army drew off from the field of battle, leaving the British army in no hurry to follow them. Before dismissing the subject of the battle it may prove interesting to relate an anecdote of an occurrence which exhibited a noble trait in the female character, showing devotion to their cause and fearless attention to the defenders of their rights. While the battle was raging near Birmingham Meeting-House the wives of several of the soldiers belonging to the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, with which Markland was then serving, took the empty canteens of their husbands and friends and returned with them filled with water, which they persisted in delivering to the owners during the hottest part of the engagement, although frequently cautioned as to the danger of coming into the line of fire.

After retiring as far as to Philadelphia, the American Army, on the 16th of September, again crossed the Schuylkill, with the intention of offering battle near the Warren Tavern on the Lancaster Road. Here some skirmishing

took place, but the two armies were finally separated by a tremendous storm of rain that so injured the ammunition as to render it useless. The streams were filled and so raised as to render the fords at French Creek and various other places nearly impassable. In recrossing the Schuylkill, Markland was near being swept away in the deep water by the rapidity of the current.

Some idea may be formed of the sufferings and privations of the army at this time by the fact that during the period which elapsed from the Battle of Brandywine until their encampment near the Skippack, they were constantly engaged in heavy, rapid, and severe marches, without tents or baggage. These articles having been sent far into the rear, their shelter at night being frequently nothing more than a few rails placed slantwise against a fence, with a few dry leaves, if they could be procured.

To show the deficiency of the army in every comfort, it is only necessary to state that Markland and two other officers were forced to bivouac under one blanket. The frequent rains and the lateness of the season rendered the situation extremely uncomfortable, and to this was added the necessity of acquiring an advantageous position. This frequently led to orders for the army to take up the line of march just as the fires would be made up. On one night in particular our brave soldiers, wet, cold, and hungry, were halted three different times, as often kindled their fires, and as often had to abandon them and move forward. After this the American Army encamped near the Skippack, and on the evening of the 3d of October broke up their encampment and took up the line of march towards Germantown. The troops were frequently halted during the night to obtain information as to the location of the British advanced force. Pieces of white paper were served to each man, to be placed in front of their hats in order that they might know each other in case of a night attack. A soldier of the British advanced picket was soon captured, from whom some information was obtained, and the Americans again moved forward. Captain Bower's Company of Con-

way's Brigade of Pennsylvanians, with whom Markland was serving, after a fatiguing march of sixteen miles were the first that encountered the British Troops early on the morning of the 4th of October, 1777, being the commencement of the great

Battle of Germantown.

On the morning of that day Conway's Brigade, of which the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment formed a part, was marching in close column to the attack of Germantown, in front, when they were fired on by the enemy. General Conway ordered Captain Bower's Company to flank the enemy while the line was forming, and immediately on the line being formed, they fell into their place in the line. The action continued very heavy for some time, the enemy retreating until our troops had expended all their ammunition. A fresh supply arriving in a few minutes, the American line again advanced, and after pressing the British very severely for some time, the brigade was halted in order that the line might be more completely formed, when information was brought that the British had driven our troops on the left. A sufficient body of men, among whom were Markland, Glentworth, and other officers, immediately advanced to the relief, and after some hard fighting the British were again forced to retire. In this part of the action among the many who were killed or wounded was a very gallant soldier, Abraham Best, who had his leg shot off just below the knee. Markland, who was alongside, had his pantaloons covered with the poor fellow's blood and had him immediately removed to the waggons in the rear, appropriated for the wounded. Notwithstanding the severity of the wound, Best recovered and repaid the service with his best thanks.

After forcing the enemy to evacuate their camp, leaving their tents standing, they at length arrived near a large stone house owned by Mr. Chew, into which Colonel Mûsgrave had thrown himself with six companies of the British Fortieth Regiment, directly in the way of the Americans.

It being deemed necessary to dislodge these troops, Markland, with others, was ordered to the attack. On proceeding towards the house, one of his men, a worthy German from Reading, named Philip Ludwig, observed a handsome British musket leaning against the fence, and cheerfully turning to Markland, he said, "I will make an exchange; this is much better than mine." Shortly after, this brave fellow, immediately in the front, met a sudden death from a ball in his forehead. The firing from Chew's house was tremendously severe,—the balls seemed to come in showers. Several gallant attempts were made to get possession of it, but they proved ineffectual. It was during the height of the attack on this house that the gallant Markland received a ball which severely shattered his right arm near the shoulder. Near him, and in the heat of the action, were Lieutenant James Glentworth, afterwards Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, and Lieutenant Charles Macknet. The only linen in Markland's possession was the shirt he had on, and this he had worn for three weeks. When about to dress his arm, the surgeon, finding the right sleeve of the shirt to be saturated and stiff with blood, cut it off, and having no linen suitable for bandages, cut off the other sleeve for that purpose. Thus Markland was reduced to the body of his shirt, and wore it three weeks longer before he could obtain a change.

In April, 1778, Markland rejoined the army at Valley Forge, and, although his arm was useless and still in the sling, he was busily engaged in drilling recruits and other services. From this constant exposure and active use the fracture became so bad that the surgeon, despairing of a cure, insisted on his retiring to the hospital at the Yellow Springs. This he did early in June, when the encampment at Valley Forge was broken up; but when the British evacuated Philadelphia, June 18, he was soon ordered to that city on the recruiting service, and in September rejoined the army with his recruits. The arm continued to be extremely painful, and pieces of broken bone, one to two inches in length, were frequently extracted. On one occasion the pain was so

great that, no physician being at hand, he availed himself of the assistance of an intelligent farmer, who, with a pen-knife, laid open the arm and extracted a large piece of bone. This kind of operation he had frequently to submit to in order to obtain relief from the anguish occasioned by the ragged pieces of bone. Half a century afterwards the bent arm remained stiff, and the scars and hollows occasioned by the painful operations were plainly to be seen.

In 1779, Markland was with the army in New York and New Jersey. In 1780 he served in the Marquis Lafayette's Division of Light Infantry, under the command of Colonel Stewart, of the Pennsylvania Line. This was a select corps, taken from the whole army for the active part of the campaign. They were always in the advance, and at the close of a campaign would join their respective regiments. Each officer under the command of the Marquis had the honor to receive from him a sword, epaulette, and feather as a testimonial of regard. When Lafayette was here as the nation's guest, he frequently alluded in conversation, with all the warmth and feeling of his youth, to this corps, which he styled "his dear Light Infantry."

In the early part of 1781, Markland was engaged in the recruiting service at Lancaster, Lebanon, and other places in Pennsylvania. He then repaired to the South, and was present at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, on the 19th of October. After this glorious event the Pennsylvania troops then in service were ordered to take up the line of march towards South Carolina, under General St. Clair. They left Yorktown on the 4th of November, and after a long and severe march of five hundred miles, during which many of the troops became completely worn out, as well as their shoes and stockings, they arrived at the *Round O*, in South Carolina, the headquarters of General Greene, on the 4th of January, 1782. Captain John Steele, afterwards Collector of the Customs in Philadelphia, was in this march, and in the same division with Markland. After their arrival Markland was in an advanced detachment under the gallant Kosciusko, which was stationed on

the lines near Ashley Ferry, six miles in advance of the American army. Here they were actively engaged for several months, and in one of the encounters, Markland, with a small body of Americans, succeeded, after many attempts, in drawing a corps of the enemy's dragoons, who had been very troublesome throughout that neighborhood, into an ambuscade near the Quarter House, four miles from Charleston. The enemy lost eight or ten men killed, and most of their horses, and two prisoners. They were so completely surprised that the Americans came off without losing a man, and returned to their quarters six miles in their rear, near Ashley Ferry.

Early in November, Markland, in command of a detachment under and along with Kosciusko, went on an enterprise having for its object the capture of the enemy's cavalry horses on James Island. The party consisted of about twenty men, and without loss on their part they captured about sixty horses and delivered them at General Greene's headquarters.

On the 14th of November, shortly previous to the British evacuating Charleston, Colonel Kosciusko, Captain Wilmot, Lieutenant Markland, and other officers, with some fifty to sixty men, attempted to surprise a British party engaged in cutting wood on James Island near Fort Johnson. Withdrawing every evening to near the fort, the British would again commence their labors by daylight in the morning. Kosciusko gained their working ground about 2 o'clock in the morning, and remained undiscovered until their advance, consisting of British dragoons, were within striking distance, when the Americans gave them a fire, on which they retreated with some loss. Kosciusko then forming his men, attacked their advanced corps of infantry, already drawn up to receive them. A severe action ensued; the British advance retreated, warmly pressed by the Americans, but being continually reinforced until they numbered about three hundred men, with a field-piece, the Americans were compelled to retire, which they did in good order, bringing off one prisoner. In this affair Captain Wilmot of the

Maryland line was killed, and Lieutenant Moore was mortally wounded. Lieutenant Markland lost three men of his platoon. Some believed that this was the last action, and that in it was the last gun fired in the war for Independence.

On the 14th of December, 1782, the British evacuated Charleston, and General Wayne, marching closely in their rear, as they retired to their vessels, took possession of the city. Markland marched in at the same time under Kosciusko, and after remaining a few days in Charleston, the enemy having left the coast, they joined their respective regiments. The army now marched to James Island, where they erected huts and remained until about August, 1783. They then embarked in vessels provided for the purpose, and soon reached Philadelphia, where, in November, 1783, they were honorably discharged at the barracks, the building in Third Street south of Green, for a long time afterwards known as the Hall of the Commissioners of the Northern Liberties.

Promotions in the days of the Revolution were extremely slow, but Markland, entering the army as a private, served long and faithfully as an ensign and lieutenant, and at last was made a captain by brevet by an act of Congress. Through many years, some of them of great adversity, he maintained the character of an honorable gentleman, and in 1823 he was elected as one of the County Commissioners of Philadelphia, having received upwards of seven thousand votes. The following is a testimonial of his worth and services :

July 29th, 1826.

The subscribers, having participated with Captain John Markland in many of the trying scenes of our Revolutionary War, can state with pleasure that they always found him an active and zealous officer, pledged in his youth to the service of his country, severely wounded in her cause, and faithfully following her fortunes amid toils, battles, and privations to the end of the war.

CALEB NORTH, *late Sheriff of Philadelphia, Colonel in the Army of the Revolution.* At Brandywine, Germantown, etc.

JOHN STEELE, *Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, Colonel in the Army of the Revolution.* Served in the Southern Department.

JAMES GLENTWORTH, *Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, Captain in the Army of the Revolution.* At Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown.

CHARLES MACKNET, *Lieutenant in the Army of the Revolution.* In the battles of Short Hills, Brandywine, and Germantown.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

NOTE ON THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN LEBANON COUNTY.—The first Moravian evangelist to visit the present county of Lebanon, in this Commonwealth (1743), was Rev. Jacob Lischy, a son-in-law of John Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia. Two years later a congregation was organized, and a log church erected on land donated for the purpose by Peter Kucker, about half a mile from the borough of Lebanon. In 1750, Rev. Christian Henry Rauch (formerly employed in the mission among the Mohicans in New York and Connecticut), who was then superintendent of the Moravian Home Mission in Lancaster and Berks Counties, was instrumental in having erected that large quaint-looking building of rough stone, with high pitched roof and two rows of windows, on the Kucker land, within a few hundred rods of the Philadelphia and Harrisburg turnpike and in full view of the Lebanon Valley Railroad. This building, an object of interest to the searcher for olden landmarks, was, up to the year 1848, the second church and parsonage occupied by the Moravians, and since then used for a barn. On its south face were two stones which bore the legend, "Orarorum Unit. Frat. liber fundat," and "1750." The first floor was occupied by the pastor and his family, and on the second floor was the meeting hall or church, which was dedicated July 16, 1751. From two small rooms in the eastern and western ends of the building stairs led to the church, which were used respectively by the brethren and sisters.

The Rev. C. F. Bader (whose daughter was one of the so-called "Moravian Nuns" of Bethlehem, who assisted in embroidering the banner for Count Pulaski) was pastor of the congregation during the greater part of the struggle for Independence. In the summer of 1777 a detachment of Hessian prisoners were quartered in the building, and when they were removed others took their place. For a period of ten months this state of affairs continued, and Mr. Bader remained with his family in their apartments, continuing to attend to his duties as well as the circumstances would permit. Under date of February 4, 1778, he has recorded in the church diary, which is here translated from the original German, the following: "To-day a rifleman from Anspach, with a corporal, visited Bro. Bader. They related to him that Gen. Howe had recently written a letter to Washington containing merely a transcript of the seventh chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel, and that Washington had replied by an epistle embodying the fourth chapter of the Book of Baruch." The following extracts from a letter addressed to the Board of War by Mr. Bader, under date of April 30, 1778, are also translated from the German original: "You will pardon the liberty I take in addressing you in regard to the present position of myself and family. Without doubt you have heard that for over half a year my parsonage has been filled with Hessian prisoners to the great inconvenience of my family. I am also prevented from attending to the duties of my office to my congregation.

"Yesterday Major Watkins came to my house with five men and a horse and wagon load of powder, broke open my door with force and put

the powder in my room. To-day he came again and advised me to leave the house, as he intended to fill it with powder. You can easily understand, gentlemen, that this causes my family and myself great uneasiness. Where can I go? I have no other house or my congregation either. Shall I leave the people who are intrusted to my care? The injustice of it appeals to heaven! My house looks more like a ruin than a well-regulated parsonage, for the damage arising from having the Hessians here so long has not yet been repaired. I cannot remain in my house for fear of my life. My sorrow bears me down to the earth concerning my congregation. Can you not, gentlemen, feel compassion for me and my poor congregation, and free us from the burden under which we rest? I often pray that our present situation may soon come to an end." Mr. Bader's lot was not a happy one! It was not until 1779 that the military stores were removed to Lancaster.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

MEDALLIC PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON, with historical and critical notes, and a descriptive catalogue of the coins, medals, tokens, and cards. By W. S. Baker, author of "The Engraved Portraits of Washington." Small 4to, pp. 252. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay & Co. \$5.

Mr. Baker has again placed the collectors of Washington memorials under a deep and lasting obligation. In the work before us he has systematically arranged exact descriptions of the various medallion portraits of Washington which have appeared since 1783, to the number of 651, giving the obverse, reverse, legend, size, and peculiarities of each issue. These are recorded in groups, under headings, such as Coins or Washington Pieces, Washington before Boston, Peace of 1783, Military and Civil Career, Birth, Death, and Centennial Anniversary, February 22, 1832, Centennial Commemorations of Events in the War for Independence, Tokens, Store Cards, etc. The collector is thus enabled to identify each acquisition, and give it its proper place in his cabinet.

It is not the collector alone, however, who will gather instruction and pleasure from Mr. Baker's book. The introductions to the chapters and the notes to the descriptions are full of interest. A feeling of patriotism, of high appreciation of Washington's character, pervades the entire work, and the pieces are described with an exactness which impresses the reader with the value of the criticism from an artistic stand-point. Much valuable information will be found regarding the artists whose work Mr. Baker describes, and of the portraits they have followed. A few extracts from the book will convey to the reader a better idea of its character than any general remarks on its merits. Of the Houdon bust, Mr. Baker writes, "It has not only come to be recognized as *the* medallion type, but also as the standard portrait of Washington. No other representation of the features of the hero and statesman, which has come down to us from either painter or sculptor, conveys to the mind of the observer a fuller sense of individuality, strength of character, and dignity of purpose. Its truthfulness to nature cannot reasonably be doubted, and an examination of the portrait of Robert Edge Pine, painted a few months earlier, and that by Edward Savage, five years later in date, both of which possess similar characteristics, will convince the most skeptical. The painting of Pine, the work of a finished artist, has always been classed as an admirable portrait, and the latter, although claiming no particular artistic excellence, certainly leaves the impression of being a faithful portrayal of an individual."

In introducing the list of pieces struck as memorials of the buildings occupied as headquarters by Washington, Mr. Baker pays this graceful tribute to his memory:

"The different headquarters occupied by Washington during the struggle for independence are memorable points, and make, as a whole, a complete rounding out of his military career. From the earliest to the latest,—from Cambridge, in '75, where he took command, to Newburg, in '83, which saw the final disbandment of the army,—each has its special bearing and significance. One suggests triumph, another defeat; one misery and privation, another glory and renown; here discord and plot, there manhood and truth; but *all* are silent witnesses to the development of a character which reaches the highest of excellence humanity can attain.

"Courageous to insist, but prudent to restrain; patient in defeat, and modest in success; with judgment to direct, and virtue to control; his only ambition, the fulfilment of his duty; his only desire, freedom for his country. This was Washington!"

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY, 1880-81. By J. W. Powell, director. Washington, 1883. Large 8vo, pp. 477.

It may appear somewhat late to notice a book which professes to have been issued in 1883; but this date is one of the mysteries which surround the work of the government printing-office. In point of fact it is only within the last few months that this report of 1880 has been accessible to the public. Its merits, however, make amends for its tardiness. There are several articles in it which stand in the first rank of importance in American archæology and ethnology.

As first in value we mention the excellent paper on "Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans," by William H. Holmes. His resolution of the peculiar and obscure artistic designs which he figures is as ingenious as it is convincing. The analogy of the decoration and drawings on shells from Missouri and Georgia to the art-work of the Mayas of Yucatan is altogether too positive to be attributable to chance or to parallelism of art-evolution. Its explanation demands a historic unity of culture.

The aptitude for artistic work in the native race is further illustrated by the article of Dr. Washington Matthews on "Navajo Silversmiths." He shows that they have not only technical dexterity, but original decorative conceptions as well.

Mr. Frank H. Cushing contributes one of his studies of Zuñi life, in this instance on the Zuñi philosophy and their fetiches. It is a very curious illustration of the course of native thought directed toward the problems of religion.

Similar to it in its subject is Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith's paper on the "Myths of the Iroquois." With due deference we must say, however, that the illustrations of this article, borrowed without credit from Cusick's well-known book (which has already appeared in a government publication), are out of place in a report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Nor does Mrs. Smith improve on the quaint narrative of Cusick by dressing it up in modern English.

A would-be critical article on "Animal Carvings from the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley" is inserted from the pen of Henry W. Henshaw. It would have been of more weight had the writer known more of his topic from personal observation and depended less on second-hand statements. The Bureau should confine its writers to what they know of their own knowledge.

Two illustrated catalogues of collections from New Mexico by James Stevenson close the volume.

D. G. B.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS RELATING TO GWYNEDD. BY HOWARD M. JENKINS. Philadelphia, 1884. 8vo, 396 pp.

There is an old Spanish proverb of much force which says, "*Tras la cruz esta el Diabolo*,"—behind the cross stands the devil. From time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary there has rarely been any work attempted for the advantage or improvement of humanity which has not been almost immediately seized upon, or at least used as a shelter, for an improper or self-interested purpose. This fact is as patent in literature as in any of the other mundane pursuits. The effect of the recent centennial period was to stimulate a desire among the American people, especially in the Middle and Western States, for a fuller knowledge of local and ancestral history. A proper nourishment of this awakened spirit of investigation cannot but result in a moral and intellectual elevation of every community which it pervades. Unfortunately, it had scarcely made its appearance before, in its wake, came a deluge of books purporting to be local histories, gorgeous in the beauty of cheap morocco and poor gilt, made up largely of facts taken, without let or license, from the labors of others, which were thrown hastily together and spoiled, and illustrated with the woe-begone and homely countenances of obscure individuals who were willing to pay in substantial cash for a faint hope of immortality. At such a time the real student of the history of his country will welcome with exceeding gratification the appearance of such a book as Mr. Jenkins's "*History of Gwynedd*," which lacks everything which the class just referred to possess, and possesses all of the merits which they lack. Among the most interesting of the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania were the Welsh Quakers, and to one of them, whose life, unfortunately, has never been written, and whose memory is only cherished among scholars, David Lloyd, liberal government in Pennsylvania owes more than to any other man among our early law-givers, unless we except Penn himself.

Perhaps the first suggestion in a public way ever made in the province of a historical or genealogical subject was in a petition from the Welsh tract, in which the signers allude to themselves proudly as "*the descendants of the ancient Britons*." Mr. Jenkins comes of this ancestry, and he has undertaken to write the history of a township in which men of this race first made their American homes. For years he has been patient in studying old deeds, time-worn letters, and records of Friends' Meetings, gathering together whatever remained to throw light upon the lives of the worthy men who lived in the olden time, and his work now completed has that value which only such earnestness and zeal can produce. He has succeeded in finding some hitherto unknown sources of information. Naturally, concerning as it does the Welsh, much of it is taken up with pedigrees and genealogies, and they indicate great thoroughness in their preparation. The journal of Sally Wister, a lively young lady, who tells of the doings of the armies in the neighborhood in 1777 and 1778, is inserted entire. The paper is good, the binding is neat and modest, and of the illustrations it need only be said that they are original etchings by Blanche Dillaye of local subjects of interest and show real artistic merit. Upon the whole, though perhaps not absolutely perfect, the book is worthy of the highest commendation, and it will doubtless be appreciated by all who care for the history of Pennsylvania, and all who care to see any proper task well performed.

S. W. P.

BOOKS PRINTED IN PENNSYLVANIA between 1685 and 1784. Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn proposes to publish a work giving all the titles he

has been able to collect of books, pamphlets, and broadsides printed in Pennsylvania between the above-named dates. This volume is intended to mark the two hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the art of printing into the middle colonies, which event took place in 1685, when William Bradford set up his press in this city.

Mr. Hildeburn has for several years been gathering material for this work, and in doing so has examined all the principal libraries of England and America. He has printed brief abstracts of the titles he has obtained in the Bulletins of the Philadelphia Library. In this way he has submitted in part the progress he has made to persons interested in such matters, and has had his attention called to many publications he had not noticed. In the forthcoming work the titles will be given in full, and the size and paging of the volumes noted. Mr. Hildeburn desires to make his list as complete as possible, and will be glad to hear from people possessing such books as he is in search of, that he may obtain exact copies of their title-pages.

HISTORY OF THE OJIBWAYS, based upon Traditions and Oral Statements. By William W. Warren, Saint Paul, Minn. 8vo, 535 pp.

This work forms Volume V. of the Minnesota Historical Society's Collections. Its author's ancestry can be traced on his father's side to Richard Warren, one of the "Mayflower" pilgrims. His mother was the daughter of Michael Cadotte, who married an Ojibway woman, the daughter of White Crane, hereditary chief of La Pointe village. This admixture of blood seems to have resulted in the development of tastes which, had the life of their possessor been prolonged, would have preserved for future generations an almost complete history of the Ojibway nation. Recognizing the fact that the traditions of his native ancestors would soon be irrevocably lost if not gathered by a person familiar with the language of the Ojibways, he assumed the labor of recording them. The volume before us gives their history based upon traditions and oral statements. It was the intention of the author to have supplemented this with others treating of the present condition of the tribe and of their mythological traditions. The work which he completed is authoritative, as he spent a large portion of his life among the Ojibways, was perfectly familiar with their language, and preserved their confidence. Some of the topics he writes upon have already been considered by Jones and others, but portions of the work are entirely new. Of particular interest, it seems to us, are those parts which speak of the relations which existed between the Ojibways and the early French settlers and *voyageurs*. The volume also contains a memoir of the author, by J. Fletcher Williams, Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, and a supplementary chapter to the body of the work, by the Rev. Edward D. Neill, entitled "History of the Ojibways, and their Connection with Fur-Traders, based upon Official and other Records."

THE THEATRE: its Early Days in Chicago. This is the title of an interesting address delivered before the Chicago Historical Society, February 19, 1884, by J. H. McVicker. It has been printed in a little volume of 88 pages, by Knight & Leonard, of Chicago. Its perusal will repay any one interested in dramatic history.

REGISTER OF FORT DUQUESNE.—The Rev. A. A. Lambing has reprinted in separate form his translation of the Register of the Baptisms and Interments which took place at Fort Duquesne during the years 1753, 1754, 1755, and 1756, lately published in his excellent "Histori-

cal Researches in Western Pennsylvania." The credit of having discovered the manuscript of this Register is due to Dr. John Gilmary Shea, who printed it in 1859 in his "Cramoisy" series. The title of the document speaks for its importance. It is without doubt one of the most interesting that has been preserved connected with the French occupation of Western Pennsylvania, and the reverend author has done a real service in giving the public an accurate translation of it. It is carefully annotated, and is prefaced with an introductory essay on the French in Western Pennsylvania. The text of the Register is given in both French and English. The whole forms a handsome 4to pamphlet of 97 pages. The retail price is \$1.00. Orders should be addressed to Rev. A. A. Lambing, 48 Third Avenue, Pittsburgh.

WHALE FISHING ON THE NEW JERSEY COAST IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—We are indebted to an antiquarian friend for the following copy of a curious old document, taken from the record in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton. It will be read with interest, as it relates to the taking of "whales and other royal fish" on our coast. It also "lycences" the persons therein named to secure all wrecks, and render an account of them to the Governor. It is, perhaps, the first "lycence" relating to this subject granted in New Jersey:

"Edward Viscount Cornbury Captain Generall and Governor in Chiefe in and over her Majesties provinces of New Jersey—New York, and all the territories and tracts of land depending thereon, in America and Vice Admiral of the same &c—to Joseph Laurance & James Laurance Greeting; you are hereby lycenced and authorised to fit out two boates to fish for your proper use and advantage—for what whales or other royal fish you can or may find on the Coust of this province of New Jersey; betwixt Sandy Hook and barnagat inleest—as also to take and secure all boates—barques—ships or other vessells or things that may be rael cast away—or otherwise Stranded on the said Coust, and within the said district and when secured you are forthwith to give me an acct of the same, in order to receive further direction from me the said Lord Viscount Cornbury, paying unto me or to such as I shall appoint to recieve the same—one twentyeth part of all the oyle and bone of the whales, and such other fish as by virtue of this lycence you shall take and kill; all the charges of taking—killing and trying the same being first deducted.

"Given under my hand and seale this 11 day of December Anno Reg Reg—Anne Nunc Anglice &c Anno Dei 1704.

"CORNBURY."

Queries.

MAGAZINE OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE.—Who was the editor of a "Magazine of European Literature, or a collection of select and interesting pieces, either original or versions from the Italian, German, and Spanish, First Vol. Paris, 1802"? an 8vo of 164 pp. Was more than one volume published?

From the following extract from the preface, and other internal evidence, there is some reason to believe this publication was edited by an American. The editor states the above work was published "for conveying to the public of America an adequate idea of the modern European taste in the different branches of literature. When we consider

the rapid progress of the population, commerce, and wealth of the United States, we may flatter ourselves that a pretty numerous set of individuals exist in this country whom their education and knowledge will not suffer to be indifferent to the many and agreeable productions which make their appearance every year in the different countries of the old continent, but who, by reason of their remote distance from the same, cannot conveniently procure them."

The frontispiece is a fine portrait of Buonaparte, and there are, beside other illustrations, twelve fashion-plates. Pages 148 to 152, inclusive, are taken up with an article, "Journals and Political Gazettes in the United States of America." This sketch of the American press in 1802 antedates that of Isaiah Thomas eight years.

There is occasional reference to General Washington in other articles, and to America. It was not a magazine in the usual acceptation of the word, nor is it mentioned in Sabin.

Camden, New Jersey.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

JEFFRY HAWKINS.—In addition to the information furnished in the last number of the Magazine under my name, the following will be found of interest: By order of William Penn, dated 13 of 8 mo., 1682, there was surveyed unto said Hawkins, the 25th of 9 mo., 1683, 288 acres in Falls township, Bucks County. I have also made a note that Jeffry Hawkins married Ellen Pearson in the 8th month, 1687. This was probably extracted from the Falls Meeting Records. She may have been his second wife.

WILLIAM J. BUCK.

JAMES COULTER, FIRST PRINTER OF LANCASTER, PA.—Is anything known of James Coulter, the first printer (1745) in Lancaster, Pa.?

H.

JOHN LARKIN.—Can any reader of the Magazine give me any information of John Larkin, of Anne Arundel Co., Maryland, prior to 1682, or his son Thomas, living 1715, or their descendants?

C. L. B.

MARGARET WHITE.—I am trying to trace the line of *Margaret White*, who was born in Philadelphia. She had a daughter, *Sophia White*, who married *Asa Hall*, and moved to Cheat River in 1782. They lived at Duck Creek X Roads, Delaware, before they moved West.

Shall be very glad of any information.

Yours respectfully,

Newburgh, W. Va.

RICHARD S. MILLER.

ELTON.—Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Can you give me information concerning William Elton and Hannah, his wife, Friends, living in Burlington, New Jersey, probably as early as 1774?

Where and when were they born? And what was her maiden name? Elizabeth, N. J., Feb. 17, 1885.

B.

CRESSWELL.—Can any of the readers of the PENNA. MAGAZINE give the name of the first settler of the Cresswell family in America, when he came over, and from where? Who were the parents of Susanna Cresswell, who, previous to the Revolution, was of Fagg's Manor, Chester Co., Pa.?

What was the maiden name of her mother?
March 30, 1885, Elizabeth, N. J.

B.

Replies.

PENNSYLVANIA NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1750 AND 1790 (Vol. VIII. p. 441).—M. L. M. will find an account of most of the newspapers published during the period in Philadelphia, Germantown, and Lancaster, in Thomas's "History of Printing" and in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. pp. 171-4 and 177-9.

"The Pittsburgh Gazette," the first newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains, started August 19, 1786.

Alleghany, Pa., March 13, 1885.

I. C.

CARVED CHESTS (Vol. VIII. p. 441).—In reply to "I. W. L.'s" inquiry respecting *carved chests*, I may say that there have been in the possession of members of my mother's family, for two hundred years or more, three carved chests of the kind referred to. They were brought to this country from Merionethshire, North Wales, at the time of the settlement of Pennsylvania, and are about the size of that in the collection of the Historical Society. They are all of British oak, with panels in front and at the sides. One of them, which belonged to David and Katherin Jones, is a beautiful piece of carving in its front and at its sides. Another has large iron bands, as if it had been the depository of articles of special value. The third, though its panels are plain, has a scroll at the top, and the letters "K. R., 1664," beautifully carved on it. The owner, Katherin Robert, was the wife of John ap Thomas, whose history, and that of David and Katherin Jones, may be found in this Magazine, Vol. IV. pp. 319-321.

J. J. LEVICK.

CARVED CHESTS (Vol. VIII. p. 441).—In answer to I. W. L. in the last number of the PENNA. MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, I will state that I have an old chest in good order (one of seven), made about the year 1560, by order of Joseph Wood, a cloth manufacturer, of Halifax, England. The chest is carved, made of English oak, 53 inches long, 32 inches wide, and 24 inches high. It has passed down through the succeeding generations, and now in my possession.

Respectfully yours,

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

JOHN G. WOOD.

ARMS OF MASSACHUSETTS IN 1672 (Vol. VIII. p. 441).—See Morton's "New England's Memorial," published in Cambridge, in 1669, and Barber's "Historical Collections of Massachusetts," p. 522.

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.



CHARLES WILSON PEALE.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. IX.

1885.

No. 2.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
CHARLES WILSON PEALE RELATIVE TO THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACADEMY OF
THE FINE ARTS, PHILADELPHIA.

[A few years ago the late Titian R. Peale presented to the Historical Society copies of the following letters of his father, Charles Wilson Peale, regarding the establishment of the Academy of the Fine Arts:]

PHILADA. MUSEUM, June 6, 1805.

MY DEAR RAPHAELLE:

I will now give you another piece of news, viz., we have again begun an attempt to form an Institution for the advancement of the Fine Arts. You may remember to have heard that Mr. Hopkinson had said that he would get the lawyers to undertake to make a subscription. It was proposed to get a meeting of Mr. Hopkinson, Mr. Rawle, Mr. Samson,* Mr. Coxe, and Mr. Meredith. I invited them to my house; we had several meetings, and each aided to obtain subscriptions, but Mr. Hopkinson was the most indus-

* Probably Sampson Levy, whose name appears on the list of incorporators.—Ed.

trious: he soon obtained \$1500 and expects \$2000 will be made up soon, and the subscribers will be called together to form a constitution. The proposal is to import casts, and begin a gallery of figures and paintings, beginning with an exhibition; to receive paintings that may be offered for sale, and if sold to take a commission on such sales. This is the first part of the plan, and out of this will arise the Academy, drawing from models, and afterwards from life.

Rembrandt is preparing a general sketch to be considered at our next meeting, so that the whole business will be cut and dried before a general meeting is called. This you know is a prudent procedure, as large bodies can never do business well; it must always be well prepared for them, and they will have nothing to do but give consent and approbation. All join in love with your

Affe Father, C. W. PEALE.

TO RAPHAELLE PEALE.

MUSEUM, June 13, 1805.

DEAR SIR:

Some gentlemen have met a few times at my house and planned a design of an Academy for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in this city. A handsome subscription is already made by very respectable characters, and we hope soon to begin a building for the reception of casts of statues, also for a display of paintings, by the exhibition of which a revenue may be had to defray the expense of a keeper, who shall be capable to give instruction to the pupils. Pictures offered for sale will be exhibited for certain periods, if such are deserving public notice, and when sold, a per centum on the sale, to help the funds of the Academy. Out of these funds, with what shall be thought reasonable for pupils to pay for the use of the school, the living model school will be opened at proper seasons. Mr. West is very anxious to have all his designs, the originals of his historic paintings, placed here; which my son Rembrandt says is very valuable. He told Rembrandt that he had long contemplated and indeed had preserved his works for this express purpose, but

I believe he thinks our Legislature will make appropriations for an establishment for encouragement of the Fine Arts, and might be induced to purchase paintings as models of colouring, composition, &c. If he knew the constitutions of our Country better he would loose all hopes from that quarter.

By subscription a good building, and casts in plaster (which may be had cheap), a beginning may be made, and with proper management the Academy may afterwards support itself. More I do not look for in my time.

Accept my best respects. With much esteem,
Your friend, C. W. PEALE.

His Excellency

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MUSEUM, June 21, 1805.

DEAR SIR:

I wish you had been here while an association was forming for the advancement of the Fine Arts. We have upwards of \$2400 subscribed, a constitution formed; President and 12 Directors chosen to-day. Shall probably purchase bills on to-morrow for the purchase of plaster figures, which will be sent by a vessel to sail on Sunday next.

We ought to have a building to put the figures in when they arrive; you know the disadvantage of subjecting them to removals. The Directors by our constitution have the sole management of our funds and direction of the Academy, &c. They are elected annually, the only claim the subscribers have on them. I expect we shall soon make publication of this institution, therefore I forbear further detail.

Make my respectful compliments to your good lady, wishing that you may long entertain your friends with such melody as I enjoyed the last evening I spent in Wilmington, enjoying health and happiness until *time* shall be grown old and wear a silver head.

Such is the prayer of
C. W. PEALE.

MR. LATROBE,
Wilmington.

June 24, 1805.

DEAR RUBENS:

We have had several meetings of the Subscribers for the encouragement of the Fine Arts; have adopted a constitution, elected a President and twelve Directors, who have ample powers to carry the institution into full effect. They have honored me by making me one of said Directors, and we are beginning our duties, first by allotting out of the funds \$600 to purchase casts of statues, which will be sent for by a vessel sailing to France this week. Our subscriptions amount to \$2500. Other persons are desirous to become members, so that in a short time our funds will, it is hoped, enable us to prepare a building for an exhibition of the figures, and such pictures as we may be able to collect, and thus be productive, while it gives the means of improving young artists.

Your affectionate father,

C. W. PEALE.

MR. RUBENS PEALE, at Cape May.

PHILADA., June 28, 1805.

DEAR SIR:

It is hoped that Philad^a will be one of the most desirable cities on the Continent, as we have now amongst other useful institutions began an Academy for the encouragement of the Fine Arts. A very liberal subscription has been made, a constitution formed, and committees [are] now active to put the machine in motion. Indeed, I am fully of opinion that it will be greater in importance, and easier made to support current expenses, than any other institution of a public nature lately undertaken,—and we have many new, Agricultural, Botanical, &c. &c.

Any services I can render you, please lay your commands on

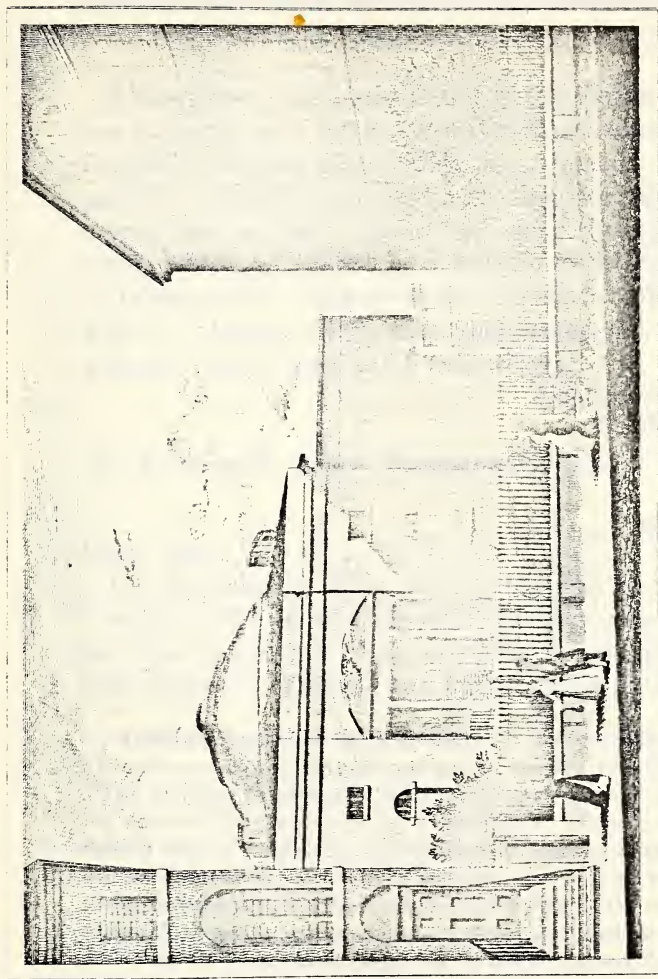
Your friend, C. W. PEALE.

DOCTOR E. STEVENS, St. Croix.

July 11, 1805.

DEAR RAPHAELLE:

I have told the Directors of my intention of entering your name with a subscription of \$20. The business of the in-



Drawn by Geo. Strickland

Engraved by G. S. Strickland

THE PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS.

Published by Geo. S. Strickland, Philadelphia 1857.

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stitution goes on with spirit so far. A Committee have orders to get a lot to build on; Mr. West is made a member. Our stock increases, and if economy governs our Committee, we will do very well. It will be my constant advice to the Society to keep out of debt as much as possible.

Sept. 7, 1805.

I have given your name to the Academicians. The building is begun on a lot in Chestnut St., a square this side of Dunlap's; the plan given by Mr. Jno. Dorsey. The principal part is a circular room of 45 ft. diameter, with two small rooms, one on each side of the door that opens into the circle, which is lighted by a turret; the whole of which is of brick, will be expensive, and therefore but illy agreeing with our means, which, altho' handsome, yet not sufficient without a great increase of subscribers.¹

Affectionately,

C. W. PEALE.

MR. RAPHAELLE PEALE, Savannah, Georgia.

March 28, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

Our Academy of Fine Arts is ready to be opened. Our President, Mr. George Clymer, has been much indisposed, and thus prevented from delivering a discourse which he had prepared. Finding the public attention drawn on the

¹ Additions were subsequently made to the building, and in 1827, when the accompanying view was taken, we find this description of it: "The building consists of a circular saloon, forty-six feet in diameter, the entrance into which is by a handsome vestibule. The saloon is lighted from a lofty dome, constructed in correct proportions. It was originally intended for works of statuary, but it is now hung with fine pictures, for which it affords an excellent light. On the north of the saloon there was an entrance into a gallery, also used for pictures, which is fifty feet in length and thirty feet in width, lighted from the ceiling. On the east is the 'antique gallery,' in which the statues are arranged on pedestals. This gallery is sixty-six feet long and twenty-five feet wide, lighted from the ceiling. At the south end of it the library is placed. A large vacant space remains on the west for further additions and improvements."—Childs's "*Views in Philadelphia*," 1827.

institution, we prevailed on Mr. Hopkinson to address the subscribers, but a bad cold and some fever prevented also his attention to this object. However, in the course of next week either one or the other will officiate. Our Architect has run the Society into debt; he was a man of uncommon genius, yet without much experience in the Art Architectural. The building was more expensive than it was meant to be (his calculation was that it would not exceed \$6000), and our subscription list must be doubled. Mr. Poyntell has prepared a plan which promises to give us a surplus of funds: it is to limit the subscribers to 300, each paying \$50, and also the annual payment of 2 dollars,—the annual payment to be wholly reserved to pay the ground rent and finally extinguish it.

Your friend,

C. W. PEALE.

MR. JOHN J. HAWKINS, London.

PHILADA., Oct. 25, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

Now that we are on the subject of painting, I must tell you we are all anxiety to see Mr. West's pictures belonging to Mr. Robert Fulton, at this moment in the stores of the Custom House. Mr. Fulton has consented to have them exhibited in our Academy of Fine Arts for one year, and I have no doubt that it will give such an increase to the income of the Institution as will enable us to open a school in the next season for drawing from the living figures, and also to have rooms to receive paintings for sale, thereby obtaining a certain per centum to help the funds of the Institution, besides what may be got by an annual exhibition of the works of living Artists. By these exertions to form exhibitions of pictures, we shall be able to judge whether the desire to encourage the Fine Arts will raise the means to purchase Mr. West's collection of Historical paintings. If such should raise an interest of 6 pr cent. on the cost which Mr. West puts on his pictures, then a company might be formed to make the purchase, especially if the purchase

were to be made by instalments; shall be better able to judge when Mr. Fulton's pictures have been seen by the public. I wish Philadelphia to be the seat of Arts & Science in America.

With much esteem, your friend,

MR. JOHN J. HAWKINS,

C. W. PEALE.

London.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

Inclosed I send you the invoice of my things in the Custom House, with a note of Mr. Gallatin's at the head of it, which will at least prevent my boxes being opened and ransacked. . . . I hope, however, that on many of the articles the duties will not be so high, and that the Collector will favor these works of Art and in fact personal property as much as possible. Will you have the goodness to wait on him with the invoice, take out the whole, and give bond for the duty, which is to be paid in 6 or 9 months? I will see you before January and settle the amounts. You will see by the invoice the boxes which contain the pictures and frames, and you will get them up in the gallery when and how you think proper. I shall be happy to hear how you proceed in this work by a line directed to the post-office here.

With much respect and esteem,

Yours,

ROBERT FULTON.

MUSEUM, Nov. 10, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

Yesterday I obtained your property from the Custom House Magazine, and gave bond for the duties as follows: . . . Boxes N° 10, 11, & 12 I sent to the Academy of Fine Arts, the others brought to the Hall, where I opened 13, 14 & 16, and found some trifling injury done to the frames; some small pieces broken off, which may be glued on. I have not yet had time to make that repair, for I have been wholly engaged in stretching the pictures of Mr. West and Son. The frames of the two large pieces are yet to be put

together. Some small spots my son Rembrandt will repair in the picture of King Lear; the varnish sticking brought the paint away, but fortunately not on the figures. I find the pictures by Smirke a little chilled, also some parts of Lear spotted. Perhaps it is unnecessary to have mentioned these trifles, as we know how & shall soon set all to rights. The picture of Ophelia is an admirable work; it fixes the attention of the beholders more than the other, yet both are in a grand style of composition and finely painted. Young West's has a great deal of merit. I am very much pleased with the masterly performance of Smirke; these, your portrait, and that of Mr. West I shall send to the Academy to-morrow. I have received from New York a bill of lading of your box of paintings on board of the packet Melinda. I expect she is now within our Capes, and probably will be up to-morrow, but I have not heard of her leaving New York. Anxious for her arrival, I went this evening to the wharf, and the sailors belonging to a New York packet gave me hopes of seeing the Melinda as above stated.

I hope I have done right in opening the boxes containing paintings and disposed of them as you wish. All the other cases shall be locked up unopened, until you do us the favor of a visit. I should have wrote to you last evening, but the Directors of the Academy had a meeting in my parlours and kept me up too late for me to write and give you as much intelligence as I now do by this scrole. . . . I will write again when I receive the package from New York, and I may then give you something more about your pictures at the Academy. The Directors passed a vote of thanks to you last evening, & the Committee of correspondence was ordered to write to you enclosing a copy of it signed by our President.

We have planted posts on the outside of the round table on the east side of the exhibition room, removed all the casts on that side, and taken away half the circular table from the centre on the side allotted for the pictures, thus giving a fine distance for viewing them. The Busts are also generally removed to the other side of the baize curtain.

To-morrow I expect to put up the large pictures; these will nearly occupy from door to door (5 doors in the room) Raphaelle West's, between the big door and little door communicating to the Keeper's room.

I wish you all health in your new habitation, though I much regret that my friend Barlow should have purchased in Washington. Accept friendly salutation.

C. W. PEALE.

MR. ROBERT FULTON, Washington.

MUSEUM, Nov. 15, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

Your pictures received from New York I sent to the Academy yesterday. It would be well to have the names of the Painters to add to the story put under each of them. The pictures look admirably well as we have placed them. . . . Who painted Abel? Titian or Poussin? Who painted Adam and Eve? Rubens?

I am delighted with your collection of pictures; several of them are wonderful works of Art. We shall now feel the pulse of the Citizens of Philadelphia with the effect of a grand exhibition. I long very much to hear what will be said by the *friends*, and other denominations of Xans. I hope soon to hear from you.

Yours with esteem,

C. W. PEALE.

MR. ROBT. FULTON.

WASHINGTON, November 18, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

I am happy to hear that the pictures are in such good preservation, but I fear that the effect of Mr. Smirke's delicate paintings may be diminished if suspended under the bold works of Mr. West's; it is therefore to be considered whether it is not best to hang them by themselves, and about eye high, with this inscription.

{ Eleven pictures by R. Smirke, Esq^r.
 { from Mr. Barlow's Columbiad.

You will find the engravings from these paintings at Mr. Conrad's, Bookseller, Chestnut street; they will explain the subjects.

You are about to make a fair experiment of the public taste for fine paintings, and from the money which will be received we can judge of what might be received were the proprietors of the Academy to purchase a good collection, and the inducement to purchase.

To excite curiosity at the time of announcing and exhibiting them, it will be well to raise their fame by something handsome in the public prints, for 50 see and judge by public opinion for one who has a knowledge of art. I have therefore drawn up a piece which if you like you will publish. I have left blanks to insert the sizes of the pictures, and one for the name of the play from which young West's Orlando & Oliver is taken. I think it is from *As you Like it*.

Yours truly,
ROBT. FULTON.

PHILADA., Dec. 16, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

The bearer of this, Mr. Nicholas, can give you a correct state of the Fine Arts in this City. The news paper inclosed with this will show you that we have in the Academy your pictures of King Lear and Ophelia, and that painted by your son Raphael. It is scarcely necessary that I should tell you that these pictures are greatly admired. I have not been in much company since I placed the paintings in the building erected as an Academy of Fine Arts, but some gentlemen who profess to be great admirers of the graphic art say that the picture of Lear exceeds anything they have ever seen. They are not wanting in praise of Ophelia, or the figure of Laertes in particular. Mr. Nicholas has been sitting for his portrait to my son Rembrandt, and therefore he can tell you that my son is enthusiastically fond of the art of painting. I would say more about him, but Mr. Nicholas will do it for me. However, I must tell you that Rembrandt

has rekindled my desire of devoting as much time as I can possibly spare from the Museum to the pencil, which until of late I had almost laid aside; indeed, I thought it was too late to attempt any thing worth notice, but the desire to possess a portrait of Baron Humboldt, whom I was intimate with when here, and having none of my family that could paint it for me, I told the Baron I had not painted for six years and probably should make a daub of it, yet it should be a likeness, and to my surprise it was a painting better than any I had painted for the Museum before. This encouraged me to try again and again, so that I find the judgment has as much to do with the art of painting as practise. The desire to represent the scene of getting up the Mammoth bones, it being a very interesting article of the Museum, last summer I undertook a picture of it. This picture contains a great number of figures, for while I was engaged in that labour my exertions excited the admiration of all the people for a considerable distance round that country; few people could conceive why I should incur so much expense to get those bones. Although I have introduced upwards of 50 figures, yet the number of spectators in fine weather amounted to hundreds. Eighteen of my figures are portraits, having taken the advantage of taking most of this number of my family. I have introduced my painting this picture in order to state to you that I still doubted my abilities of making a tolerable picture, and at the commencement of it I made use of a temporary easel and other apparatus for painting; however, as I advanced in the work it seemed to engross my whole attention, and I really took pleasure in painting from morn till night and even to use lamp light. I then ordered the Cabinet maker to make me a commodious mahogany easel, &c., so instead of burning my pencils and totally quitting the art, as I thought very probably would be the case, I found it much less difficult than I imagined, and have ever since regretted that I had not taken a larger canvas and devoted more time to give a higher finish to the piece. I often say that the aged ought not to be discouraged from undertaking works of improvement.

It is my intention to urge the Directors of our Academy to make additional rooms the ensuing summer; one for an exhibition room solely for pictures, and another to draw from the living figure, which I hope may be accomplished by this time twelve months. This Institution is growing into favor.

Make my most respectful compliments to Mrs. West, and believe me with great esteem your friend,

C. W. PEALE.

MR. BENJAMIN WEST,
London.

PHILADA., July 4, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR:

A number of circumstances combine to inspire once more my love for the Fine Arts. I view with pleasure, as often as I have leisure, your charming pictures which Mr. Fulton has been so obliging as to place in our infant Academy. It gives your countrymen the opportunity of feeling the power of your pencil, very many of whom otherwise could not have known you but by report. I was anxious to know in what degree the people of this city might be interested with an exhibition of large historical works, and considering that little has been published to excite curiosity, yet the number of visitors to the Academy has given us upwards of \$100 per month since we hung up your pictures, and the Subscribers to the Institution have become so numerous as to enable us to pay off our debts, which were enhanced too much by unnecessary ornamentation to the building, and yet not sufficiently spacious for our purposes. . . .

Mr. Fulton told me he had urged you to order your picture intended for the Hospital to be exhibited for a time in our Academy of Fine Arts. Your love to encourage an Institution that promises to become a nursery to the genius of America cannot be doubted, and when we consider that the Hospital is a public establishment not wanting in funds for all its purposes, which to be sure must be acknowledged of vast importance to this city, and it never will fail to obtain

the public aid it now enjoys, and we are in want, therefore permit me to ask your approbation of Mr. Fulton's plan. . . .

I wish to be kindly remembered to Mrs. West, and am with sentiments of great esteem your friend,

BENJN. WEST, ESQR.,

C. W. PEALE.

London.

MUSEUM, Sept. 11, 1803.

DEAR REMBRANDT:

We had prospects of making an additional room to the Academy of Fine Arts, but the plans of it proved on too limited a scale. They thought only of room to place their paintings, and that too narrow, being only 25 ft. in width. I told them that 30 ft. was little enough, and that a room for drawing from life ought to be the first object. Mr. Latrobe went with me to view the premises, and his plan would embrace both objects,—that is, an exhibition room and one for drawing from the living figure; cost about \$4500. This sum exceeds their present means of raising money, besides bricks could not be had at present; of course the season is too far advanced for the undertaking. I have no doubt something will be done next summer.

Your affectionate father,

C. W. PEALE.

MR. REMBRANDT PEALE,
Paris.

VIRGINIA CAROLORUM:

THE COLONY DURING THE DAYS OF CHARLES THE FIRST AND SECOND.

BY EDWARD D. NEILL.

CHAPTER FIRST.

From the accession of Charles the First, to the death of Governor Yeardley.

Among the earliest acts of Charles the First, after his coronation, was a proclamation concerning Virginia. Sir Thomas Smith, the enterprising East India merchant, and Alderman Robert Johnson, the London grocer, with their associates, were entirely satisfied with the victory over the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the large majority of the members of the London Company, resulting from the declaration of Chief Justice Ley (Leigh), in June, 1624, that the company's charter was null and void. Toward the colonists in Virginia they had no harsh feelings, but their influence was used with the King so to order the tobacco trade, that their friends in London might derive some profit.

PROCLAMATION OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

The ship which brought the news of the death of James the First, also conveyed the views of his successor, as to the Plantation. In a communication of the thirteenth day of May, A.D. 1625, from Whitehall, Charles alludes to the "Collonie of Virginia, planted by the hands of our most deere Father of blessed memorie, for the propagation of Christian religion, the increase of trade, and the enlarging of his Royal empire." He thought that it "had not hitherto prospered soe happilly as was hoped and desired for, that the government of that Collonie was comytted to the Com-

panie of Virginia, incorporated of a multitude of persons of severall dispositions, amongst whome the affaires of greatest moment were and must be ruled by the greater number of votes and voyces, and therefore his late Majestie, out of his greate wisdomē and depth of judgment, did desire to resume that popular government, and accordingly the letters patentes of that Incorporation were, by his Highnes' direction, in a legal course questioned, and therefore judicially repealed and adjudged to be voyd, wherein his Majestye's ayme was onlie to reduce that Government into such a right course as might best agree with that forme which was held in the rest of his Royal Monarchie, and was not intended by him to take awaie or ympeach the particular interest of anie private planter or adventurer, nor to alter the same otherwise than should be of necessitie for the good of the publike."

He also declared: "Our full resolution is, that there maie be one uniforme course of government in and through our whole Monarchie; that the government of the Collonie of Virginia shall ymediately depend uppon ourselfe, and not be commytted to anie Companie or Corporation to whom it maie be proper to trust matters of trade or commerce, but cannott bee fit or safe to communicate the ordering of State affaires, be they of never so mean consequence: And that therefore we have determynd that our Commissioners¹ for

¹ On the 15th of July, 1624, King James had appointed the following Commissioners for Virginia to receive the charters, seals, and letters of the Virginia Company, and attend to the affairs of the Colony:

Henry, Viscount Mandevill, Lord President of the Privy Council.

William, Lord Pagett.

Arthur, Lord Chichester, Baron of Belfast.

Sir Thomas Edwards, Knight, Treasurer.

" John Suckling, " Comptroller.

" George Calvert, " Secretary of State.

" Edward Conway, " " "

" Richard Weston, " Chancellor of Exchequer.

" Julius Cæsar, " Master of Rolls.

" Humphrey May, " Chancellor of Lancaster.

" Baptist Hickes, " and Baronet.

" Thomas Smith, "

those affaires shall proceede accordinge to the tenor of our commissions directed unto them, until we shall declare our

Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight, Master of Jewels.

" Thomas Coventry, " Attorney General.

" Robert Heath, " Solicitor General.

" Ferdinand Gorges, "

" Robert Killigrew, "

" Charles Montague, "

" Philip Cary, "

" Francis Gaston, "

" Thomas Wroth, "

" John Wolstenholme, "

" Nathaniel Rich, "

" Samuel Argall, "

" Humphrey Handford, "

Matthew Sutcliffe, D.D., Dean of Exeter.

Francis White, D.D., Dean of Carlisle.

Thomas Fanshaw, Clerk of the Crown.

Robert Johnson, Alderman of London.

James Campbell, " "

Ralph Freeman, " "

Morice Abbot, Esquire.

Nathaniel Butler, "

George Wilmore, "

Philip Jermayne, "

Edward Johnson, "

Thomas Gibbs, "

Samuel Wrote, "

John Porey, "

Michael Hawes, "

Edward Pallavacine, Esquire.

Robert Bateman, Merchant.

Martin Bonde, "

Thomas Styles, "

Nicholas Leate, "

Robert Bell, "

Abraham Cartwright, "

Richard Edwards, "

John Dyke, "

Anthony Abby, "

William Palmer, "

Edward Dichfield, Salter.

George Mole, Merchant.

Richard Morer, Grocer.

further pleasure therein; nevertheless we doe hereby declare that we are resolved with as much convenyent expedition as our affaires of greater importance will give leewe, to establish a Counsell consistinge of a few persons of understanding and quallitie, to whom wee will give trust for the ymediate care of the affaires of that Collonie, and whoe shall be answerable to us for their proceedings, and in matters of great moment shall be subordinate and attendant unto our Privie Counsell here; and that wee will alsoe establish another Counsell to be resident in Virginia, who shal be subordinate to our Counsell here for that Collonie, and that att our owne charge we will maynteyne those publique officers."

In conclusion, he wrote that he wished to bring the tobacco trade into one hand, and exclude that raised in foreign lands, and to fix his own price upon that raised in Virginia.¹

GOVERNOR AND COUNCILLORS, A.D. 1624-25.

After the charter of the Virginia Company had been dissolved, James the First continued Sir Francis Wyatt² as

Upon the recommendation of the Commissioners for Virginia, the following Tobacco Inspectors in London were appointed: Edward Dichfield, Salter; Richard Morer, Reuben Bourne, George Bromley, Grocers; William Perkyns, Merchant Tailor; and Edward Bennet, Merchant.

¹ The entire document is printed in Rymer's "*Fœdera*," Vol. XVIII., pp. 72, 73.

² "*Miscellanea Genealogica Heraldica*," New Series, Vol. II. p. 107, contains the following:

Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle, Boxley Abbey, married Jane, daughter of Sir William Hawte. His estate was confiscated.

George, his son, had the estate restored in 1582 by Queen Elizabeth. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Finch, Kt., and he was buried in September, 1625, at Boxley Abbey.

Francis, son of George, in 1618 married Margaret, daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys. He was buried at Boxley Abbey August 24, 1644, and his wife March 27, 1644-5.

Hawte, brother of Francis, was Rector of Boxley October 3, 1632. He died July 31, 1638. He was twice married, and some of his descendants settled in Virginia:

Governor. While he had confidence in the motives of those who had directed the affairs of the Company, Wyatt found that their plans were at times impracticable. In a letter to his father he alluded to the "antipathy" caused by the great demands of the Corporation, and the "grumbling obedience" of the colonists, and he wished "that little Mr. Farrar was in Virginia, that he might add zeal to knowledge." His wife, a daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys, who passed some time in Virginia, was a cheerful person, willing to accept the hardships of a new settlement. His deportment was correct, and a captious fellow could only write:¹ "The old smoker, so good, so carefully mild, religious, just, honest, that I protest, I think God hath sent him, in mercy, for good to us."

The Councillors, as their muster-rolls show, were chosen from among the more prosperous and influential.

Francis West² preceded his brother, Lord Delaware, and

Eleanor, sister of Francis, was the first wife of Sir Thomas Finch, Speaker of House of Commons, 1627.

Hotten in *Lists of Emigrants* gives

THE MUSTER OF SR THOMAS WYATT, KT., TAKEN IN JANUARY, 1625.

"Sr Francis Wyatt, Kt., Governo' &c., came in the *George*, 1621.

[Wife had gone to England on a visit.]

SERVANTS.

Christopher Cooke, age 25, in the *George*, 1621.

George Hull, age 13, in the *Supply*, 1620.

Jonathan Giles, 21, in the *Triall*, 1619.

John Matheman, 19, in the *Jonathan*, 1619.

Jane Davis, 24, in the *Abigaile*, 1622."

¹ Letter of William Capps, an old planter, in "Virginia Vetusta," p. 129; Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., 1885.

² Alexander Brown, in "Mag. of American History," 1883, p. 461, communicates the West Genealogy from the Bennet Roll. From this are gleaned the following facts:

Thomas, 3d Lord Delaware, second son of second Lord, "was born the 9th of July, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon, 1577."

Francis West, fourth son, was born the 28th of October, 1586, between twelve and one o'clock noon.

John West, fifth son, was born the 14th of December, 1590, between five and six o'clock in the afternoon.

in A.D. 1608 first arrived. In November, 1623, he was appointed Admiral by the Council for New England, and sailed for Plymouth Harbor, but finding that the fishermen insisted that the fisheries should be opened to all, he returned to Virginia.

Sir George Yeardley¹ had always been recognized for his

Nathaniel West, sixth son, was born November 3, 1592, between two and three o'clock in the morning.

Doyle, in "History of the American Colonies," speaks of Francis, a nephew of Francis, who was drowned.

In January, 1625, Captain Francis West was living on the Company's land at Elizabeth City. The census-roll then taken, printed in Hotten, has the following:

"CAPTAIN FRANCIS WEST, HIS MUSTER.

Capt. Francis West, Counselor, aged 36, in the *Mary Ann Margaret*, 1610.

Mrs. Francis West, Widdowe, in the *Supply*, 1620.

Nathaniel West, born in Virginia.

SERVANTS.

Joane Fairchild, aged 20, in the *George*, 1618.

Benjamin Owin, aged 18, in the *Swan*, 1623.

William Parnell, aged 18, in the *Southampton*, 1622.

Walter Couper, aged 22, in the *Neptune*, 1618.

Reinould Godwin, aged 30, in the *Abigall*, 1620.

John Pedro, a Neger, aged 30, in the *Swan*, 1623."

¹ "MUSTER OF SIR GEORGE YEARLEY, KT.

Sr George Yearley, Kt., &c., came in the *Deliverance*, 1609.

Temperance, Lady Yearley, came in the *Faulcon*, 1608.

Mr. Argall Yearley, aged 4 yeares,

Mr. Francis Yearley, aged 1 yeare,

M's. Elizabeth Yearley, aged 6 yeares, } Children borne heare.

SERVANTS AT JAMES CITY.

Richard Gregory, aged 40,

Anthony Jones, 26,

Thomas Dunn, 14,

Thomas Phildust, 15,

Thomas Hatch, 17, in the *Duty*, 1619.

Robert Peake, 22, in the *Margrett & John*, 1623.

William Strange, 18, in the *George*, 1619.

Roger Thompson, 40, in *London Marchannt*, 1620.

Ann, his wife.

executive ability and business capacity. John Pory had written of him, in 1619, as "the Governor here, who at his first coming, besides a great deal of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him, was at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his mere gettings here, able to disburse very near three thousand pounds to furnish him with the voyage." In another paragraph he is called "a soldier truly bred in the University of War in the Low Countries."

George Sandys¹ had been the Colonial Treasurer, and as

Richard Arundell, in the *Abigall*, 1620.

Georg Deverill, 18, in the *Temperance*, 1620.

Thomas Barnett, 16, in the *Elsabeth*, 1620.

Theophilus Bereston, in the *Treasuror*, 1614.

Negro Men, 3.

Negro Woemen, 5.

Susan Hall, in the *William & Thomas*, 1608.

Ann Willis, in the *Temperance*, 1620.

Elizabeth Arundell, in the *Abigall*, 1620.

SERVANTS AT HOG ISLAND.

Maximillian Stone, aged 36, came in the *Temperance*, 1620.

Elizabeth, his wife, in the same shipp.

Maximillian, his son, aged 9 months.

Robert Guy, 22, in the *Swann*, 1619.

Edward Yates, 18, in the *Duty*, 1619.

Cesar Pugget, 20, in the *Diana*, 1619.

William Strachey, 17, in the *Temperance*.

Alexander Sanders, 24, in the *True love*, 1623.

George Whitehand, 24, in the *Temperance*, 1620.

Henry King, 22, in the *Jonathan*, 1620.

John Day, 24, in the *London Marchannt*, 1620.

The wife of John Day in the same Shipp."

¹ "MUSTER OF M^S GEORGE SAND'S, ESQUIRE.

Servants.

Martin Turner,

George Bailife,

John Sparks,

John Dancy,

John Edwards,

Nicholas Tompson,

Rosamus Carter,

John Stone, a boy,

} came in the *George*, 1621.

the brother of the head of the Virginia Company in London, had at one time exercised a great influence.

Captain Roger Smith¹ had served twelve years in the

Nicholas Comon,	}	in the <i>Guift</i> , 1622.
Nicholas Eyres, a boy,		
David Mansfeild,	}	in the <i>Bona Nova</i> , hired servants.
John Claxon,		
Thomas Swifte,	}	in the <i>Tyger</i> , freemen, 1622.
John Baldwine,		
hired, Daniel Poole, a french man.		
his wife, a young child of theires.		

MUSTER OF THOSE THAT LIVE IN Y^e TREASURORS PLANT.

Robert Sheaperd, came in the *George*, 1621.

James Chambers, in the *Dutie*, 1620.

John Parsons,	}	in the <i>Marygold</i> , 1619.
William Benge,		
John Evens,		
Robert Edmunds,		
John Comes,		

John Tyos.

William Pilkington,	}	in the <i>Bona Nova</i> , 1620.
Elias Longe,		
Thomas Hall,		

Margret Pilkington,	}	weomen.
Jane Long.		

M' Vincencio, the Italian.

M' Bernardo.

his wife.

A child."

¹ "MUSTER OF CAPT. ROGER SMITH.

Capt. Roger Smith, came in the *Abigaile*, 1620.

M's Joane Smith, came in the *Blessinge*.

Elizabeth Salter, aged 7 yeares, came in the *Seafloure*.

Elizabeth Rolfe, aged 4 yeares,	}	born in Virginia.
Sarah Macock, aged 2 yeares,		

SERVANTS.

Charles Waller, aged 22, came in the *Abigaile*, 1620.

Christopher Bankus, aged 19 yeares, in the *Abigaile*, 1622.

Henery Booth, aged 20, in the *Dutie*.

Henery Lacton, aged 18 yeares, in the *Hopwell*, 1623.

wars of the Netherlands, and is supposed to have been the second son of John Nibley, in Gloucestershire. In January, 1625, there resided with him Elizabeth Rolfe, whose widowed mother, Jane, appears to have been absent, perhaps with her father, Capt. William Peirce, in England. In "Virginia Vetusta," published by the Munsells, of Albany, this child, by a slip of the pen, is called Jane.

Ralph Hamor¹ is supposed to have been the son of Ralph Hamor, of London. In 1615 he published a Description of Virginia. Returned with Argall from England in May, 1617, and was described by Sandys as one whose extreme poverty forced him to "shifts."

[Plantation over the water.]

Francis Fowler, aged 23 yeres.

Christopher Lawson.

Alice, his wife.

Christopher Redhead, aged 24.

Stephen Webb, aged 25 yeres.

John Butterfield, aged 23 yeres.

William Baker, aged 24 yeres.

Richard Alford, aged 26 yeres.

Thomas Molton, aged 25 yeres."

¹ "MUSTER OF CAPT. RAPH HAMOR.

Capt. Raph Hamor.

M's Elizabeth Hamor.

Jeremy Clement, } her children.
Elizabeth Clement, }

SERVANTS.

John Lightfoote, in the *Seaventure*.

Francis Gibbs, a boy, in the *Seaflower*.

Ann Addams, a maid servant.

AT HOG ISLAND.

Jeffrey Hull, came in the *George*.

Mordecai Knight, in the *William & John*.

Thomas Doleman, in the *Returne*.

Elkinton Ratliffe, in the *Seafloure*.

Thomas Powell, in the *Seafloure*.

Thomas Cooper, in the *Returne*.

John Davies, in the *Guifte*."

John Martin was one of the earliest settlers, supposed to have been the brother-in-law of Sir Julius Cæsar, and was positive in his convictions, and generally in opposition to the majority. At the meeting of the first legislative assembly, in 1619, he insisted that by a special clause in his patent he was exempt from local authority, except in time of war. He returned from England in 1624 with an increased grant of land. Governor Wyatt and Council, on February 4, 1625, wrote to the Earl of Southampton and the Company, of which he was the head, that while they could "but praise the Company's charity in forgiving the many foul injuries of Captain Martin," they did not like his appointment as Councillor.¹

Samuel Mathews had not come to the colony until A.D. 1622, in the ship "Southampton," but was destined to become a leader. He had influence in London. He married the daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton by his first wife. Hinton afterwards married the rich widow of Sir Sebastian Harvey, Lord Mayor of London.² Her only daughter, Mary, the King wished to marry the brother of the Duke of Buckingham. A letter written on May 31, 1619, told a friend "The Lord Mayor is ill because the King wishes him to marry his only daughter, a child of fourteen, to Christopher Villiers, which he refuses." Harvey, in February, 1622, died, and Mary, his daughter, married John, son of Sir Francis Popham.³

John Harvey, of Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, had been the

¹ "MUSTER OF CAPT. JOHN MARTIN.

Capt. John Martin,	} in the <i>Swan</i> , 1624."
Sackford Wetherill,	
John Smith, aged 31,	
John Howard, aged 24,	
John Anthonie, aged 23,	

² The following marriage is entered on the Register of Stratford le Bowe Church, London, under date of October 1, 1622: "Sir Thomas Hynton of Chilton Foliot, Kt., and the Lady Mary wife of Sir Sebastian Harvey."

³ "MUSTER OF CAPT. SAMUEL MATHEWS, JAMES CITY.

Capt. Samuëll Mathews, came in the *Southampton*, 1622.

M^r David Sand's, Minister, came in the *Bonaventura*, 1620.

Captain of a ship in the East Indies,¹ and one of the Commissioners of A.D. 1624, who reported upon the condition of the Colony to the King, and Admiral of New England after West, and Argall. He was absent from Virginia, from the beginning of 1624, for several years.

Abraham Persey, Merchant, also written Peirsey, was a merchant; and, in 1616, first arrived in the ship "Susan."²

SERVANTS.

Robert Mathews, aged 24,	}	came in the <i>Southampton</i> , 1622.
Roger Williams, 20,		
Samuell Davies, 18,		
Henery Jones, 25,		
Aaron Conaway, 20,		
John Thomas, 18.	}	in the <i>Charles</i> , 1621.
Michaell Lapworth, 16,		
William Lusam, 27,		
William Feild, 23,		
Peter Montecue, 21.		

Robert Fernall, 31, in the *London Marchant*, 1619.
 Walter Coop[er], 33, in the *Jonathan*, 1619.
 William Walters, 27, in the *Bona Nova*.
 Nicholas Chapman, 31, in the *Jonathan*, 1619.
 Gregory Spicer, 22, in the *Triall*, 1618.
 Nicholas Peirse, 23, in the *Falcon*, 1619.
 Robert Penn, 22, in the *Abigaile*, 1620.
 William Dalby, 28, in the *Furtherance*, 1622.
 Thomas Hopson, 12, in the *Bona Nova*, 1618.
 Abraham Wood, 10, in the *Margrett & John*, 1620.
 William Kingsley, 24, in the *Marmaduk*, 1623.
 Thomas Bridges, 12, " " " "
 Arthur Goldsmith, 26, in the *Diana*, 1618."

¹ The East India Company ordered, in November, 1617, that "Security for 2000*l* or 3000*l* be taken from Capt. Harvey, who is suspected to be about to sail to the East Indies with a ship well victualled and furnished with twenty pieces of ordnance," and on the 16th of January, 1617-18, they were informed that "Sir Thomas Bromley and Captain Harvy were making a voyage from Flushing to the East Indies in a great ship," and that they had been stayed.—*Cal. of State Papers, East Indies*, 1617-1621. Upon giving security to the States General the vessel was released. John Chamberlain, in a letter to Dudley Carlton, describes Harvey as "somewhat cholerick and impatient."

² "MUSTER OF M' ABRAHAM PEIRSEY, MARCHANT.
 M' Abraham Peirsey, came in the *Susan*, 1616.

Isaac Madison, of Charles City, died in 1624, before notice of his appointment arrived. His widow, Mary,¹

Elizabeth, his daughter, aged 15, }
 Mary, his daughter, aged 11, } came in the *Southampton*, 1623.

SERVANTS.

Christopher Lee, aged 30 yeres, }
 Richard Serieant, aged 36 yeres, }
 Alice Chambers, } maid servants, } in the *Southampton*, 1623.
 Annis Shaw, }

AT PEIRSEY'S HUNDRED.

Thomas Lea, aged 50,
 Anthony Paggit, 35,
 Solomon Jackman, 30,
 John Davies, 45,
 Clement Roper, 25,
 John Bates, 24,
 Thomas Abbe, 20,
 Thomas Brooks, 23,
 Nathan Jones, 23,
 Peter Jones, 24, } *Southampton*, 1623.
 Pierce Williams, 23,
 Robert Graues, 30,
 Edward Hubberstead, 26,
 John Lathrop, 25,
 Thomas Chambers, 24,
 Walter Jackson, 24.
 Henry Sanders, 20,
 William Allen, 22,
 Georg Dawson, 24,
 Joan Upton, aged 26, in the *Bona Nova*, 1622.
 John Bamford, aged 23, in the *James*, 1622.
 William Garrett, aged 22, in the *George*, 1619.
 Thomas Sawell, 26, " " " "
 Henery Rowinge, 25, " " *Temperance*, 1621.
 Nathaniel Thomas, 23, " " " "
 Richard Broadshaw, 20, " " " "
 Robert Okley, 19, in *William & Thomas*, 1618.
 Negroes, 4."

¹ "MUSTER OF M'S MARY MADDISON, WIDDOW.

West and Shirley Hundred.

Mary Maddison, aged 30, in the *Treasurer*, 1618.
 Katherine Layden, aged 7.

who arrived in the "Treasurer" in A.D. 1618, and was about thirty years of age, was living. Madison was a brave man, and a street ballad was printed and sung in the streets of London, in 1624, in which his attack upon the Indians was noted,—

"And Captain Middisone likewise
with honor did proceed
Who coming, tooke not all their corne,
but likewise tooke their King
And unto James his Citty, he
did these rich trophies bring."

William Clayborne,¹ also written Claiborne, Cleyburne, Cleburne. The Virginia Company, in a letter dated July 25, 1621, sent by the ship "George," write, "It is our expresse will that the Tenants belonging to every office be fixed to his certaine place uppon the lands sett out for itt, for which Mr Cleyburne is chosen to be our Surveyor, who att the Companies very great charge is sett out, as by his condition of agreement you may perceive."²

SECRETARY DAVISON.

Too little has been written of Christopher Davison,³ the last Secretary of the Colony before the death of King James. His father was William Davison, of Stepney, Middlesex, Secretary of State under Queen Elizabeth, and in whose service, for a time, was William Brewster, the leader of the Leyden Puritans, who had landed at Plymouth Rock but a few months before Christopher Davison arrived at Jamestown. In the will of William Davison, made in A.D. 1608, Christopher is called his second son, and Francis, the poet, his eldest.

SERVANTS.

James Watson, aged 20 yeares, in the *George*, 1623.

Roger Lewes, " 19 " " " *Edwin*, May, 1617."

¹ So written in Rymer.

² Neill's "Virginia Company," Joel Munsell, Albany, p. 225.

³ The mother of the Secretary was Catharine Spelman, a relative of Sir Henry Spelman. He was born about A.D. 1577, and is said to have been a student of Gray's Inn. His younger brother, Walter, was also a poet.—*Life of Davison*, by Nicholas.

At a meeting of the Virginia Company, held June 11, 1621, as John Pory, Secretary under Yeardley, had not carried himself well, it was decided to choose a successor, and on the 13th, Mr. Parramore, Mr. Waterhouse, and Mr. Davison were balloted for the office, and "choice was made of Mr. Davison, he having the major part of balls, who being called in to take notice that the Secretary's place was fallen upon him, did declare his thankful acknowledgment unto the Company." He arrived in October, 1621, at Jamestown, but did not have good health. In a letter of April 8, 1623, to Deputy Ferrar, of the Company, he alludes to his sickness and absence from business, and promises to send a list of inhabitants. He also mentions that his "brother," perhaps brother-in-law, Thomas Finch, had died soon after his arrival.

When Pory and other Commissioners from England came, in 1624, Edward Sharpless was appointed clerk, in consequence of a vacancy in the Secretaryship, caused by Davison's death. Among the poems of Francis, the eldest brother, was published the following paraphrase of one of the Psalms by Christopher:

"Lord, in thy house, who shall forever bide?
To whom shall rest in sacred mount betide?
Ev'n unto him that leads a life unstained,
Doth good, and speaks the truth from heart unfeigned.
Who with his tongue, deceit hath never used;
Nor neighbor hurt, nor slandered, nor accus'd;
Who loving good men, is from bad estranged,
Who keeps his word, though to his loss, unchanged,
To usury, who hath no money lent,
Nor taken bribes against the innocent,
Who in this course doth constantly persevere,
In holy hill, unmoved, shall dwell for ever."

CONDITION OF VIRGINIA A.D. 1625.

The condition of the Colony was not prosperous, but it had been improved by the abrogation of the charter of the old Company. While there had been a disposition upon the part of its officers and stockholders to promote a Christian

civilization, yet the people did not feel that they were a commonwealth, but, subject to the ordinances of those who were anxious to receive some pecuniary return from their investments. The first of January, A.D. 1625, found a population of only about twelve hundred persons, one horse, one mare, five hundred hogs, and five hundred neat cattle in the valley of the James River and on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay. There was not a public inn, nor was there a church edifice, nor a residence of brick or stone at Jamestown.

On the 15th of June, 1625, Governor Wyatt and Council notified the Privy Council in England, that they had been forced to suspend Captain John Martin from their body, and that the reason they had taken the Secretaryship from, and cut off the ears of Edward Sharpless was, because he had violated his oath¹ and "delivered papers, committed to his charge, which greatly concerned" them.

The monopoly of the tobacco trade tended to produce stagnation in business and discontent, and Yeardley was appointed to visit England and secure, if possible, a modification of the pernicious contract.

On the 4th of October, Yeardley was in England, and wrote to the King how utterly disheartened the Virginia planters were, by the enforced sale of their tobacco, and asking that he might have a hearing before the Privy Council.

¹ After Secretary Davison's death, in 1623-4, an oath was administered to Edward Sharpless, acting as Secretary, in these words:

"You shall keep secret all matters committed unto you, with all things that shall be treated secretly at the Counsell table untill such tyme as by the consent of his Maiestie's Gouvernor and Captayn Generall and the full Councel of the State then resydent, or the maior part of them, publication shall be made thereof.

"And you shall most exactly and faithfully do your utmost, record all acts and matters to be recorded and kept from time to time which shall be resolu'd upon by the Gouvernour and Counsell of State or the maior part of them and you shall not deliuer any thing concerninge the affayres of the Counsell to any other person to be copied out or engrossed without first making the Gouvernour acquainted and pleasure obtained. So help you God and the contents of this Boke."—*Virginia MS. Records*, Library of Congress.

When the opportunity offered, he asked for the liberty of holding a General Assembly for local legislation and the election of officers by the people, also that there should be no tax on staple commodities, and free trade in all things.

EXTENSION OF COASTING TRADE.

Small vessels were constantly seen trading with the Indians toward the Falls of the Potomac and the mouth of the Susquehanna River for corn and beaver-skins, and at Palmer's Island in that stream, named after Edward Palmer, who had, in 1624, projected a University and School of Arts for Virginia.¹

Intercourse had been established with the feeble settlements at Cape Cod and Bermudas. Fish was brought from the former and fruits from the latter.²

¹ Neill's "Virginia Vetusta," pages 183, 184.

² The beginning of the trade in fruits was in A.D. 1621. In a treatise on the Bermudas written in 1623, it is supposed by Capt. Butler, edited by Lefroy, and published in A.D. 1882, by Hakluyt Society, are the following letters :

"TO MY WORTHY FRIEND SIR FRANCIS WIATT, Gouvernor of Virginia.

"SIR: If your name deceaue me not we knowe one another. Howsoever your neighbourhoode and affinitie of command, inuite me to wellcome you, and to wish you all happinesse in this your onerous Honnour.

"Our plantation commenceth a commerce vnto you, for by this shipp I haue sent vnto you suche of our prime fructs as I heare you haue not, but assure myself you would haue, nor is ther ought els with vs but (during my tearme here) you shall as brethren command it. And (although your own climate giues a beliefe you can haue noe badd aire) I cannot chuse but wish you the temperature and salubritie of ours, the which I dare pronounce to be equall with the best of the world, and with it also communicated our bothe natural and artificial strength.

"I doubt not but that you haue your good wishes for vs, likewise as a participation with you of a spacious continent, goodly pasture, fayre riuers, necessary yron mines, and perhaps some other secret hopes: We are glad and thank you for it, and let vs still iointly goe on to wish one another's good, and to act it, and God second our honest endeauors.

CLOSER COMMUNITIES DESIRED.

Some of the leading men longed to see the parish and town organization of England introduced, and lamented

"And thus (noble Sir) you haue hastily and heartily recommended the true and faithful affection of

"Your assured friend,

"NATH. BUTLER.

"SAINT GEORGES, IN THE

"SUMMER ISLANDS,

"December 2, 1621."

A second chest of cedar, well filled, was sent

"TO MY WORTHY FRIEND SIR GEORGE YARDLEY, in Virginia, giue these.

"WORTHY SIR,—This bearer (who loues you well) assureth me that you meant so well the last yeare, and that you sent out a ship of purpose to let vs knowe it, of which however we were deprived by the ignorance of the pilote, yet your noble entention ought to be esteemed as an act done to encrease my thancks. I haue now sent you some of our countrey's fruiets, and I wish they may multiplie with you, they are of our choice ones, and such as giue vs much content here, wher and everywher els I shall by all means expresse myself

"Your affectionate friend,

"NATH. BUTLER.

"ST. GEORGES, IN SUMMER IDS.,

"Dec. 2, 1621."

The fruits and plants were so acceptable that, in March, 1622, a bark came from Virginia to obtain another supply. While this vessel was in port, the writer of the manuscript about A.D. 1623, refers to the

MARRIAGE OF A COMPANION OF POCAHONTAS.

His words are: "Her ladeinge was aqua vitæ, sack, oyle, and bricks, in exchange whereof she desired plants and herbes of all sortes, potatoes, duck, turkeyes, and lime-stone . . . In the interim of this shyps abode here the marriage of the Virginia mayde recommended vnto the Gouvernour by the Virginian Company resident in London, the shypeinge before was consumated: she being there married to as fitt and agreeable an husband as the place would afford, and the weddinge feste kept in the Gouvernour's newe house, and at his charge, whereto not only the Master of the new come shyp and some other strangers were invited, but not fewer than one hundred persons wer made guests, and dined with all sortes of prouision that the Islands could afford, in a very plentifull manner.

"And it was thought to be done in a more fashionable and full man-

that their plantations were scattered, and, from the lack of bridges over the many inlets, only accessible by boats on the James River, and that they were "bereft of the friendly communion" as well as the "mutual Societie of one another in religious duties, the first fruit of civility."¹

BEAUMONT, THE FRENCHMAN.

During the year 1625, Giles Beaumont, a Frenchman, arrived with some colonists, authorized to claim the privileges of an English subject and establish a plantation.

JOHN CLARK, MATE OF THE MAY FLOWER.

It is worthy of note that the Captain and Mate of the May Flower both died in the valley of the James River. John Clark, who piloted the Puritans of Leyden to the coast of Massachusetts, was a resident of Virginia as early as A.D. 1612. One day, when Sir Thomas Dale was Deputy Governor, a Spanish ship appeared off Point Comfort and asked for a pilot. Captain James Davies, the commander there, acceded to the request, and the Spaniard sailed away with him, leaving three of their company on shore, one of whom was discovered to be an English traitor who, in A.D. 1588, had piloted the Spanish Armada to the coasts of England and Ireland, and was subsequently hung by Dale.²

ner that the strangers returned to Virginia might find reason to carry a good testimony with them of the wellfare and plenty of the plantation: as also, that the kindred and friends of the Virginian bride, who wer proud commandours, and not less than Viceroyes might receive a knowledge of the well being of their kinds woman [kinswoman], and by the good respect and kind vsage shewed vnto her among the English be encouraged both to continue and augment their former friendshyp, and to become Christians themselves, to which ende also, the Gouvernour wrote of aduice to the Gouvernour in Virginia, and caused the mayde herselfe likewise to doe as much to her brother, who by her father's late death had succeeded in all his roialties and commande."

Powhatan died in 1618, and the Indian maiden appears to have been one of the sisters of Pocahontas.

¹ Commission to Yeardley to settle a colony, in "Virginia MS. Records," Library of Congress.

² Purchas, IV. Part, p. 1713.

Clark was taken to Spain and confined for some time in the galleys, and after a long time released.

Cushman writes to Pastor Robinson on June 20, 1620: "We have hired another pilote here, one Mr. Clarke, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of Kine." This pilot, John Clark, was the first to land upon the island in Plymouth Harbor, where the Puritans from Leyden, on December 20, N. S., kept their first Christian Sabbath. Clark returned in the May Flower to England, and on February 13, 1621-2, O. S., Deputy Ferrar acquainted the Virginia Company¹ "that one, Mr. Jo. Clarke, beinge taken from Virginia long since by a Spanish shippe that came to discover that plantacon, that forasmuch as he hath since that time doun the Companie good service in many voiages to Virginia, and of late went in to Ireland for the transportation of cattle to Virginia, he was an humble suitor to this Court that he might be admitted a free brother of the Companie, and have some shares of land bestowed upon him." In 1623 he was employed by Daniel Gookin to carry some cattle in the ship "Providence" to Virginia and there died.

CAPTAIN THOMAS JONES.

Captain Thomas Jones, in 1625, died, after an eventful if not honorable career. In 1617 he was sent out to the East Indies by Sir Robert Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick, in command of a ship called the "Lion." Patrick Copland, Chaplain of the "Royal James," of which Martin Pring was the Captain, wrote to Sir Thomas Smith that "two English pirates had been taken in chasing a junk at Gogo." Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador to the Great Mogul, sent a despatch "that Sir Robert Rich and one Philip Bernardoe set out two ships to take pirates, which is generally a pretence for being pirates, and that near the end of the Red Sea they had chased the Queen Mother's junk." Early in 1619, Jones came home under arrest, and in the "Transactions of the East India Company," under date of January 31, 1619-20, is this entry: "Thomas Jones, a servant of

¹ Neill's "Virginia Company," p. 132.

Lord Warwick, arrested by the Company for hiring away their men, but now being employed to go to Virginia, with cattle, by his Lordship, who desires his release, order is given to set him at liberty, Lord Warwick engaging to answer for what shall be objected against him."

On the 2d of February of the same year the Virginia Company allowed a commission to Captain Jones, of the "Falcon," to go to Virginia with fifty-two kine, four mares, and thirty passengers.

His voyage to the New England coast in the latter part of 1620, as captain of the "May Flower," is well known. On the 21st of November, 1621 (O. S.), he was commissioned by the Virginia Company as master of the "Discovery," a vessel of sixty tons, to trade for furs in the Delaware and Hudson Rivers. Upon the 18th of April, 1622, he arrived at Jamestown. On the 17th of July, in the Virginia Company of London, "a motion was made in the behaffe of Captaine Thomas Jones, Captaine of the 'Discovery,' nowe imployed in Virginia fur trade and ffishinge, that he might be admitted a freeman of this Companie." The Council of New England, in London, on December 22, complained to the Virginia Company that during the summer Captain Jones had robbed some Indians of furs, and taken others captives, who, however, escaped by the ship running aground. In August, Jones visited the Puritans, at Plymouth. Bradford, in his "History of the Plymouth Plantation," writes: "Behold another providence of God; a ship comes into y^e harbor, one Captain Jones being cheefe therin. They were set out by some marchants to discover all y^e harbors betweene Virginia and y^e shoulds of Cape Cod, and to trade along ye coast wher they could. This ship had store of English beads, which were then good trade, and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantie togeather. Yet they were glad of y^e occasion, and faine to buy at any rate; they were faine to give after y^e rate of cente per cente if not more, and yet pay away coat-beaver at 3s. per lb., which in a few yeares after yielded 20s. By this means they were fitted againe to

trade for beaver & other things, and intended to buy whatever they could.

"But I will here take liberty to make a little digression. There was in this ship a gentleman by name Mr. John Poory; he had been Secretarie in Virginia, and was now going home, passenger in this ship."

Winslow wrote Captain Jones "used us kindly, he made us pay largely for the things we had."

The Governor and Council of Virginia, on the 20th of January, 1622-3, O. S., wrote¹ to the London Company: "And as for the fur voidage we cannott resolute you, Capt. Jhones being nott yett returned."

In 1625 he entered the Chesapeake Bay with a Spanish frigate, which he declared he had taken under a commission from the United Provinces, which had been given to Captain Powell. He brought with him a negro named Brass, and soon after died. The first question as to the legal status of the negro in North America arose in connection with Brass, and when there were not thirty persons of African descent in Virginia. Thomas Jefferson refers to the case in a small volume of reports published at Charlottesville, Va. The General Court in October, 1625, ordered that he should belong to Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor, notwithstanding any rule by Captain Jones, or any challenge by the ship's company.

BEGINNING OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

Manuscripts recently printed give additional particulars as to the landing of negroes in Virginia.

The "Treasurer," Captain Daniel Elfrith, arrived at Bermudas just as the "Blessing" was leaving the harbor for England with Governor Daniel Tucker. In a "History of the Bermudas," printed from manuscript written about A.D. 1623, by the Hakluyt Society in 1882, and edited by Lefroy, the following occurs concerning the "Treasurer:" "Sent out she was by Captaine Argoll from Virginia, where he was then Gouvernor, under a pretence of tradeinge all alongst

¹ Neill's "Virginia Company," p. 273.

the coast for skinnes, and at the Virgin and Sauuage Ilands for goates, but some of his people comeing aboard the 'Blessinge,' by some speeches unadvisedly let falne, begett a suspicion in Captaine Tucker of a farther project than was openly pretended."

The captain was kindly entertained by Kendall, Governor Tucker's successor, remained six weeks, and received a large supply of corn.

About the last of July, 1619, a frigate appeared at Bermudas, "knowne to be a good fellowe, manned for the most part with English, who haueing played some slie partes in the West Indies, and so gotten some purchase, part whereof consisted of negroes, a welcome for a most necessary commoditie for thes Ilands, she offered to leaue and giue them to the Gouvernour, so he would be pleased to admit her ingresse and egresse."¹ Kendall received fourteen negroes for privileges granted.²

Fourteen days after another "handsome pinnace, manned for the most part with Dutch, and some two or three English," entered the Bermudas harbor. Shortly after this, after the middle of August, 1619, the "Treasurer," for the second time, enters the harbor.

The Hakluyt Society Publication also mentions "how the 'Treasourer,' hauevinge bin upon the coast at Captain Tucker goeing awaye, was admitted by Kendall, and so went to the West Indies, from whence she returned to Virginia, when, not likeinge her entertainment, she conveyeth herselfe awaye secretly, and shapeth her course for the Ilands a second time, and arriveth extremely poore, hauing all her upper works so rotten as she was utterly unable" to go to sea again.

The Dutch or Flemish frigate was at Jamestown during the month of September, 1619, and was recognized as the consort of the "Treasurer," both holding commissions from the Duke of Savoy. The first negroes were said to have been all landed from this vessel, although in the census of

¹ Hakluyt Society Publications.

² See *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 113.

1624–25, Angelo, a negro woman belonging to Captain William Pierce, the father-in-law of late John Rolfe, is marked¹ as having arrived in the “Treasurer.”

FEAR OF SPANISH SYMPATHIZERS.

During the year 1625, before the Earl of Essex sailed for Cadiz, there was fear that sympathizers with Spain might be among the sailors who arrived in the James River. Upon January 11, 1624–5, O. S., the Governor and Council of Virginia² wrote to England that Simon Tuchin, the Master of the ship “Due Returne,” who had been banished out of Ireland because he was strongly affected to Popery, had been examined, and that they thought he would be dangerous to the Colony should he become a pilot to the foreign country, and they suspected he would go to the Spaniards in the West Indies. In England, in June, 1625, he declared to the Privy Council that he had not taken soundings of the rivers and harbors of Virginia as had been charged, and asked for release.³

DEATH OF GOVERNOR ARGALL.

In the fleet that appeared before Cadiz in November, 1625, were two captains who had been identified with the settlement of Virginia. John Harvey was captain of the “Friendship,” of three hundred and eleven tons, with fifty-seven sailors and one hundred and sixty-four landmen. Sir Samuel Argall, knighted in 1622, was captain of the “Swift Sure,” a large vessel of about nine hundred tons, and carrying two hundred and fifty men, with also the Earl of Essex

¹ Hotten, p. 224.

² Sainsbury, p. 72.

³ There had always been a few arrivals from Ireland. As early as August, 1609, a proposition was made to the Earl of Salisbury by Sir Richard Moryson to send Irish pirates to Virginia. His words were: “Should his Lordship please to allow of them employed in the intended plantation of Virginia, which he has not yet motioned to them, he thinks good use might be made of them for the present there, both in defending them now in the beginning, and if they be disturbed in their first settling in relieving their wants from time to time.”—*Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1608–1610.*

on board.¹ The large fleet to which they belonged was unsuccessful, and on December 11, 1625, had returned to Kinsale harbor. A letter written on January 28, 1626, has the following:² "The Master of the 'Swift Sure,' very backward and very cross, as the report goes, to his captain, Sir Samuel Argoll, which broke his heart, and a few days since he died."

COMMISSION FOR GOVERNOR YEARDLEY.

The father of Governor Wyatt died in September, 1625, and he asked permission to return to England, which was granted. The commission of his successor, dated March 4, 1625-6, uses this language:³ "Whereas our late royal Father upon the information that George Wyatt, Esquire, the father of the said Sir Francis Wyatt, was then lately deceased in the realm of Ireland, whereof happily the said Sir Francis Wyatt might desire to return into England about his own private occasions, which our said Father, notwithstanding the great and weighty importance of his affairs in that country, was graciously inclined to yield unto, if himself should so desire, as occasions shall require." The commission then continues, "Now know y^e that We, Taking into our princely consideration the care and providence of our late Royal Father having respect to the good of that Plantation so happily begun, which we conceive to be a business of that consequence which we ought to encourage, and by all good means to bring to perfection, we being forced by many other urgent occasions in respect of our late access unto the Crown to continue the same means that was formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the Plantation, until we would find some more convenient means upon mature advice to give more ample directions for the same, and reposing assured trust and confidence in the understanding, care, fidelity, experience, and circumspection of you, the said Sir Yardley [Yeardley], Francis West, John Harvey, George Sandys, John Pott, Roger Smith, Ralph

¹ Glanville's Cadiz, Camden Soc. Pub., 1883.

² Cal. State Papers, Domestic.

³ Rymer, vol. xviii. The spelling modernized.

Hamor, Samuel Matthews, Abraham Percy [Piersey], William Clayborne, William Tucker, Jabez Whitacres, Edward Blaney, and William Ferrar, have nominated and assigned, and by these presents do nominate and assign you, the said Sir George Yardley, to be the present Governor; and you, the said John Harvey, and the rest before mentioned, to be the present Council of and for the said Colony and Plantation in Virginia, giving, and by these presents granting unto you, and the greater number of you respectively, full power and authority to perform and execute the places, powers, and authorities incident to a Governor and Council of Virginia respectively, and to direct and govern, correct and punish our subjects now inhabiting, or which shall hereafter inhabit, or be in Virginia, . . . and to execute and perform all and everything concerning that Plantation as fully and amply as every Governor and Council resident there at any time within the space of five years now last past. And because by the discovery of industrious and well-experienced men, the limits of the said Plantation may be augmented," they were authorized to grant commissions for discovery.

Provision was also made in the document, that in the case of the death of Yeardley, John Harvey should be Governor, and if he should also die, that then Francis West and fellow-councillors to choose one of their own number.

OATH TO BE ADMINISTERED.

Yeardley and Harvey, who had already taken the oaths before the Privy Council in England, were empowered to administer the same to Francis West, John Pott, William Tucker, Jabez Whitacre, Edward Blaney, and William Farrar [Farrar]. Pott, Tucker, Whitacre, Blaney, and Farrar had never before been in the Council.

DR. JOHN POTT.

Dr. John Pott was recommended to the London Company by Theodore Gulston, the founder of the Gulstonian Lectureship of the London College of Physicians. In the minutes of the Virginia Company of July 16, 1621, O. S.,

is this entry: "For so much as the Phisicons place to the Company was now become voyde by reason of the untimely death of Dr. Bohune, slaine in the fight with two Spanish Ships of Warr the 19th of March last, Doctor Gulstone did now take occasion to recommend unto the Company for the said place one M^r Potts, a M^r of Artes, well practised in Chirurgerie and Physique, and expert allso in distillinge of waters."

Upon his arrival in Virginia, he soon showed a great fondness for company and distilled waters, if George Sandys is to be credited.¹

CAPT. WILLIAM TUCKER.

William Tucker had represented Kiccowtan, afterwards Elizabeth City, in the Legislature of 1619, and in the winter of 1623 led an expedition against the Rappahannock Indians.²

¹ "MUSTER OF DOCTOR JOHN POTT, JAMES CITY.

Doctor John Pott, } arrived in the *George*.
M^s Elizabeth Pott, }

SERVANTS.

Richard Townshend, aged 19, in the *Abigaile*, 1620.
Thomas Wilson, " 27, " " " "
Osmond Smith, " 17, " " *Bona Nova*, "
Susan Blackwood, maide servant " *Abigaile*, "

Men in the Marine.

Thomas Leister,	aged 33 yeares,	} in <i>Abigaile</i> , 1620.
Roger Stanley,	" 27,	
Thomas Pritchard,	" 28,	
Henry Crocker,	" 34,	
Thomas Crosse,	" 22,	
John Trye,	" 20,	
Randall Holt,	" 18, in the <i>George</i> , 1620."	

"MUSTER OF CAPT. WILLIAM TUCKER, ELIZABETH CITY.

Capt. William Tucker, aged 36, in *Mary and James*, 1610.
Mrs. Mary Tucker, aged 26, in the *George*, 1623.
Elizabeth borne in Virginia in August.

Edward Blaney came in 1621 as the factor of the London Company. He married the widow of Captain William Powell, who in 1619 represented James City in the Legislature.¹

SERVANTS.

George Tomson,	aged 17,	} in the <i>George</i> , 1623.
Paule Tomson,	" 14,	
William Thomson,	" 11,	
Pascoe Champion,	" 23,	} in the <i>Ellonor</i> , 1621.
Strenght Sheere,	" 23,	
Thomas Evands,	" 23,	} in the <i>George</i> , 1623.
Stephen Collowe,	" 23,	
Robert Munday,	" 18,	
Matthew Robinsonn, aged 24, in <i>Greate Hopewell</i> , 1623.		
Richard Appleton, " 19, in the <i>James</i> , 1622.		
John Morris, " 24, " " <i>Bona Nova</i> , 1619.		
Mary Morris, " 22, " " <i>George</i> , 1623.		
William Hutchinson, " 21, " " <i>Diana</i> , 1618.		
Peeter Porter, " 20, " " <i>Tyger</i> , 1621.		
William Crawshaw, an Indean, baptised.		
Antoney, Negro.		
Isabell, "		
William, their child, baptised."		

¹ In the list published by Hotten is

"THE MUSTER OF M' EDWARD BLANEY.

M' Edward Blaney came in the *Francis Bonaventure*.

SERVANTS.

Robert Bew,	aged 20,	came in the <i>Dutie</i> .	
John Russell,	" 19,	"	" <i>Bona Nova</i> .
Rice Watkins,	" 30,	"	" <i>Francis Bonaventure</i> .
Nathaniel Floid,	" 24,	"	" <i>Bona Nova</i> .
George Rogers,	" 23,	"	" " "
John Shelley,	" 23,	"	" " "
Thomas Ottowell,	" 40,	"	" " "
Thomas Crouch,	" 40,	"	" " "
Robert Sheppard,	" 20,	"	" <i>Hopwell</i> .
William Sawier,	" 18,	"	" " "
Robert Chauntrie,	" 19,	"	" <i>George</i> .
William Hartley,	" 23,	"	" <i>Charles</i> .
Lawley Dampart,	" 29,	"	" <i>Duty</i> .
William Ward,	" 20,	"	" <i>Jonathan</i> .
Jeremy White,	" 20,	"	" <i>Tyger</i> .
John Hacker,	" 17,	"	" <i>Hopwell</i> .
Robert Whitmore,	" 22,	"	" <i>Duty</i> ."

WILLIAM FERRAR.

William Ferrar, also written Farrar, was a brother of Nicholas, the Deputy Governor of Virginia Company, and resided near the plantation of Cecilia, the widow of Samuel Jordan, to whom he was attentive after the Rev. Greville Pooley had received, as he alleged, a promise of marriage. In the Company's "Transactions," under the date of April 21, 1624, O. S., is the following: "Papers were read whereof one containing certain examinations touching a difference between Mr. Pooley and Mrs. Jordan, referred unto the Company for answer, and the Court entreated Mr. Purchas to confer with some civilians and advise what answer was fit to be returned in such a case."

A few months later the Governor of Virginia issued the following order concerning flirts: "Whereas, to the great contempt of the majesty of God and ill example to others, certain women within this Colony have, of late, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical of the realm of England, contracted themselves to two several men at one time, whereby much trouble doth grow between parties and the Governor and Council of State much disquieted. To prevent the like offense to others, it is by the Governor and Council ordered in Court that every minister give notice in his church, to his parishioners, that what man or woman soever shall use any words or speech tending to the contract of marriage though not right and legal, yet may so entangle and breed struggle in their consciences, shall for the third offense undergo either corporal punishment, or the punishment by fine or otherwise according to the guilt of the persons so offending."¹

"¹ MUSTER OF M' WILLIAM FERRAR, & M'S JORDAN, JORDANS JORNEY, CHARLES CITTIE.

William Ferrar, aged 31, in the *Neptune*, August, 1618.

Sisley Jordan, " 24, " *Swan*, August, 1610.

Mary Jordan, aged 3 years,	} borne heare.
Margrett Jordan, aged 1,	
Temperance Baley, " 7,	

CLAIBORNE MADE SECRETARY.

In Yeardley's commission was also this clause: "And forasmuch as the affairs of the said Colony and Plantation may necessarily require some person of quality and trust to be employed as Secretary for the writing and answering of such letters as shall be from time to time directed or sent from the said Governor and Council of the Colony aforesaid, our will and pleasure is, and we do by these presents nominate and assign you, the said William Clayborne,¹ to become Secretary of State, and for the said Colony and Plantation of Virginia, residing in those parts."

Upon the 6th of April, 1626, Wyatt was still at Jamestown, and signed with his councillors, Francis West, Hamor, Roger Smith, Abraham Persey, and Clayborne (Claiborne), a communication to the Commissioners in England, in which a mention is made of the arrival of the ship "Virgin," of Southampton, on the 23d of March, with letters of the 24th of October. It also refers to the Colony in these words: "Nothing hath bine longe more earnestly desired than the settling of the affaires of the Colony as well for the government as other wayes, neither could there haue bine a greater

SERVANTS.

William Dawson,	aged 25,	in the <i>Discovery</i> ,	March, 1621	[O. S.].
Robert Turner,	" 26,	" <i>Tryall</i> ,	June, 1619.	
John Hely,	" 24,	" <i>Charles</i> ,	November, 1621.	
Robert Manuell,	" 25,	" <i>Charles</i> ,	November, 1621.	
Roger Preston,	" 21,	" <i>Discouerie</i> ,	March, 1621.	
Thomas Williams,	" 24,	" <i>Dutie</i> ,	May, 1618.	

¹ Cleborne, Cleyborne, Clayborne, Claiborne. William, the 2d son of Edward Clybourne, of Westmoreland, was born 1587, married Jane Bul-ler, of London, died 1676. Had three sons. William, of Romancock, Thomas, Leonard, died in the West Indies 1694, and a daughter, Mary. See O'Hart.

Claiborne was the first Secretary in Virginia appointed by the King. Pory and Davison, his predecessors, had been elected by the London Company. On a brass memorial tablet in Cliburn Church, near Penrith, Westmorelandshire, is the following: "Insuper et in memoriam Gulielmi de Cleyborne seu Claiborne, primi e Secretis Coloniae Virginiensis qui anno vixit MDCXXVII."

incouragement to the Planter than to understand it to be his Maiestie's gracious pleasure that no person of whom they have heretofore instlie complayned should have any hand in the gouernment, either here or there. And wee humbly desire your Lordshipps to sollicit his Maiestie (if it bee not alreadie done) for the speedie accomplishment thereof, the rather because the Gouverner's necessary occasions require his present retourne."

The letter also expresses pleasure at the intelligence that every man will have his rights preserved. Request is made for five hundred soldiers, with a year's provisions for discovery and protection.

Instructions were issued to Yeardley, as the successor of Wyatt, to see that new-comers were properly entertained, that merchants were not to be forced to take tobacco at 3s. per pound for their goods, and that Indians were not allowed to enter planters' houses without license.

It was not, however, until after the middle of May that Wyatt sailed for England.¹

SANDYS, TRANSLATOR OF OVID.

On the 24th of April, 1626, King Charles issued a concession, in which he relates that "our trusty and well-beloved George Sandys, Esquier, hath with great care and industry translated into English verse the fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which he hath to his great charge caused to be imprinted and made ready to be published in print, rather for the delight and profit of our living subjects, than for the hope of any great benefit to be by him reaped thereby, and hath humbly besought us to vouchsafe him a privilege for the sole printing of the said work for such term of years as we should think fit and convenient, the better to encourage him and others to employ their labors and studies in good literature," and then grants him the privilege to print and sell the same for twenty-one years.

¹ In August he was in England, and a warrant was ordered "to Sir Francis Wyat, late Governor in Virginia, to import 10,000 weight of tobacco custom free."—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, pp. 408, 409.

Sandys had been engaged on this translation for several years. Drayton's poem to George Sandys, Treasurer of the Colony of Virginia, would seem to indicate that five books had been prepared before he went to Jamestown.

"Go on with Ovid as you have begun
With the first five books ; let your numbers run
Glib as the former, so shall it live long,
And do much honour to the English tongue.

* * * * *

If you vouchsafe rescription, stiff your quill
With natural bounties, and impart your skill
In the description of the place, that I
May become learned in the soil thereby :
Of noble Wyat's health, let me hear
The Governor ; and how our people there
Increase and labour, and what supplies are sent,
Which I confess shall give me much content ;
But you may save your labour, if you please,
To write to me aught of your savages,
As savage slaves be in Great Britain here,
As any one you can show me there.
And though for this I'll say I do not thirst,
Yet I should like it well to be the first,
Whose numbers hence into Virginia flew,
So, noble Sandys for this time, adieu."

In a letter¹ to Samuel Wrote, Esq., of London, dated March 28, 1623, Sandys alludes to the completion of two more books of Ovid in these words : " If I could be proud, your censure had so made me, for that slothfull worke w^{ch} I was ashamed to father, notwithstanding it begot a desire to proceede, but heare my own Author."²

' ——— nec plura sinit tempusque pudorque
Dicere ; majus opus magni certaminis urget.'

Yet amongst the roeing of the seas, the rustling of the shrowdes, and clamour of Saylers I translated two books,

¹ Neill's "Virginia Vetusta," Munsell's, 1885, pp. 124, 125.

² Ovid. Book VIII., lines 388, 389.

"Neither time and glory allow more,
A greater work of great importance impels."

and will, perhaps, when the sweltering heat of the day confines me to my Chamber, give a further essaye, for which if I be taxt I have noe other excuse but that it was the recreation of my idle howers, and say with Alciat,—¹

“Dum pueras inquilanas invenes dum tessera fallit,
Desinet et segnes chartula picta vires
Hæc nos festivis emblemata adimus horis.”

ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF SHIPS.

In the fall of 1626, Capt. John Preen, in the ship “Peter and John,” arrived with provisions and passengers, and also brought ten barrels of powder for defence of the plantation, sent over by the Commissioners. Among the passengers were Thomas Willoughby and John Pollington, old colonists returning from a visit to England. Willoughby, when a boy nine years old, in 1610, first arrived in Virginia, and Pollington had been a member of the first legislature, which, in 1619, met at Jamestown. The next year Preen made another voyage to Virginia. In 1627, the ship “Temperance,” Capt. Marmaduke Rayner, sailed for England, with Samuel Sharpe, who had been in the colony since 1610, and twelve other passengers. A letter written in England, dated August 18th of this year, mentions that “there are many ships going to Virginia, and with them fourteen or fifteen hundred children, w^{ch} they have gathered up in divers places.”

TOBACCO MONOPOLY.

In April, 1627, Gov. Yeardley and Council² write to the Privy Council that the people are disheartened by the intelligence that a Mr. Anis has made a contract for their tobacco, and “they earnestly entreat that free trade and the

¹ Andreas Alciati, born in Milan, A.D. 1492, died at Pavia, A.D. 1550, was the author of “*Sacra Emblemata*,” published in Venice, in 1546, by the Sons of Aldus. Andrew Willet, a Puritan, was born in Ely, Cambridgeshire, a fellow of Cambridge, and chaplain to Prince Henry, died Dec. 4, 1621, aged 59 years, and was buried at Barley. He was the author of “*Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria una*,” chiefly from Andrew Alciatus. To this Sandys refers.

² Sainsbury, I. 84.

sole importation of tobacco may be continued, and Spanish tobacco excluded. They ask the Commissioners not to let them fall into the hands of avaricious and cruel men, whose exorbitant and wide consciences project and digest the ruin of the plantation for profit and gain to themselves."

The King sent back by William Copps, an old planter, a letter in which he urged varied planting, and told them "that this plantation is wholly built upon smoke, tobacco being the only means it hath produced."

On the 9th of August, 1627, Charles the First declared "his final resolution touching all sorts of tobacco." All plants in England, Wales, and Ireland were to be destroyed, and no tobacco imported from Spain. To prevent the planters of Virginia and Bermudas giving "themselves over to the planting of tobacco only to make a present return of profit, and neglect to apply themselves to solid commodities fit for the establishing of colonies will utterly destroy these colonies," the King ordered that no tobacco should be imported into England without a special license.¹

DEATH OF GOVERNOR YEARDLEY.

In November, Governor Yeardley passed from earth. Although the hangers-on at Court were vexed at his promotion, and called him "a mean fellow" because he had no title, and was the brother of Ralph the London Apothecary, he proved a good man, an enterprising citizen, and loyal subject. His will was made October 12, 1627; Abraham Peirse, of the Council, William Clayborne, Secretary of the Colony, and Susanna Hall, a servant, being witnesses.²

To his wife, Temperance, he left his plate, linen, and all household stuff, and ordered his notes, debts, servants, and "negars" to be sold, and the moneys therefrom to be divided into three parts: one for the widow, one for elder son Argoll, and the third to be divided between his son Francis, and daughter Elizabeth.

¹ Rymer, Vol. XVIII. pp. 921, 922.

² N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, January, 1884.

GLOUCESTER CITY.

BY JOHN CLEMENT.

An examination of the early titles to the land in Gloucester City, New Jersey, discloses many interesting facts which but for such scrutiny would never appear. They seem insignificant when taken separately, yet when grouped together go very far to illustrate the movements and purposes of the first inhabitants of this ancient town.

When the London and Yorkshire Commissioners, accompanied by their friends, found their ship in the Delaware River in 1677, their attention was naturally drawn towards the territory on the eastern side of that beautiful stream. Their future homes were to be there, for they had come to "plant a nation;" yet their minds did not comprehend the importance of their undertaking, nor did they see the end from such small beginnings.

In ascending the river, that prominent point known among the Indians as Arwaumus was a noticeable feature, and it was at once agreed that it was a suitable site for a city, and by the new-comers called "Gloucester Point." In fact, the London Commissioners insisted upon stopping at this place; and it was only after much persuasion and substantial inducements offered that they consented to go to Burlington and settle with the others.

It is quite possible also that the remains of Fort Nassau, built in 1623, were there, and around which were a few Swedish and Dutch settlers. The true position of this fort has always been in doubt, some claiming that it stood in the marsh near the mouth of Timber Creek, and others that it was built on the high ground, the present site of Gloucester City: this being in the eye of a military engineer the most suitable spot for a work of defence.

Although the London owners, through over-persuasion,

settled with their friends at Burlington, their original purpose was not abandoned, for in a short time individuals were prospecting for land bounding on Cooper's, Newton, and Timber Creeks; and a few families had already settled at the Point. So rapid had been the occupation of the land that in 1686 the people thereabouts, finding Burlington too far away, established the county of Gloucester as lying between Pennisaukin Creek on the north and Oldman's Creek on the south, also fixing the place for courts of judicature to be held alternately at Red Bank and Gloucester Point.

A noticeable feature in this proceeding is that no legislative action was had, but that the people, in public meeting assembled, fixed the boundaries of the county, arranged for the courts, and put all the judicial and executive offices in successful operation, to which no one seemed to object. These agreements and declarations were entered in full in the court minutes, and are carefully preserved among the records in the clerk's office of old Gloucester County at Woodbury. They are as follows:

"GLOUCESTER ye 28th May 1686.

"By ye propriyeters, ffreeholders and inhabitants of ye third and ffourth tenths (alias County of Gloucester) then agreed as ffolloweth.

"Imprimis. That a courte be held for ye jurisdiction and limitts of ye aforesaid tenths or County: one tyme at Arwaumus alias Gloucester and another tyme at Red bank.

"Item. That there be fouer courtes for the jurisdictions aforesaid held in one yeare, at ye days and times hereafter mentioned viz: upon ye ffirst day of ye ffirst month: upon ye ffirst day of ye ffourth month: on ye ffirst day of ye seventh month and upon ye ffirst day of ye tenth month.

"Item. That ye ffirst courte shall be held at Gloucester aforesaid upon ye ffirst day of September next.

"Item. That all warrants and sumons shall be drawn by ye Clarke of ye Courte and signed by ye Justices and soe delivered to ye sheriff or his deputy to execute.

"Item. That ye bodye of each warrant &c shall contayne or intimate ye nature of ye action.

"Item. That a Coppy of ye declaration be given along with ye warrant by ye Clarke of ye Court that soe ye defendant may have ye longest tyme to consider ye same and prepare his answer.

"Item. That all sumons, warrants &c shall be served and declarations given at least tenn days before ye Courte.

"Item. That ye Sheriffe shall give ye jury sumons six days before ye Courte be held, on which day they are to appeare.

"Item. That all persons within ye jurisdiction aforesaid bring into ye next courte, ye marks of their hoggs and other cattel in order to be approved and recorded."

Thus originated the old bailiwick which is now represented by the counties of Gloucester, Atlantic, and Camden. At that day the territory was covered with continuous forests, and without a town within its borders. The settlers had made their homes along the streams, their only conveyance being by water-craft.

Red Bank was soon abandoned as a place for holding the courts, there being no house of entertainment or building to secure criminals. The town of Gloucester was first laid out by Thomas Sharp, by direction of the proprietors, in 1686, and divided into eighty-eight lots. A market-place, one hundred and ninety-eight feet square, was made common to all, where the two and only streets crossed each other. The lots were sixty feet in width and one hundred and eighty feet in depth.

Only twenty-seven of these lots were at first located, and not all of those built upon, Mathew Medcalf, Samuel Harrison, John Reading, William Harrison, Thomas Bull, and Richard Bull being among the first settlers. In 1689 the plan was enlarged, extending from Newton Creek on the north to Little Timber Creek on the south, with streets at regular intervals from the river to the town line, nearly half a mile from the shore. No cross streets were laid out, and these lands as so divided, are in some of the old papers called "The Liberties of Gloucester."

The political divisions of the territory were peculiar, and

showed the care of the founders in designating each. First was the county of Gloucester; then the town of Gloucester, with the suburbs and liberties before named; then Gloucester town, extending eastwardly to a line still in existence, east of Mount Ephraim, between the farms of Benjamin and Joseph Lippincott and the farm of Samuel E. Shivers, and running from the south branch of Newton Creek to Little Timber Creek.

The fourth division was Gloucester township, lying between Great Timber Creek on the south, and to the south branch of Cooper's Creek (excepting Newton township) on the north to the head of each stream; so into the woods by land- and water-lines to the boundary dividing the ocean and river townships. Gloucester County, Gloucester township, and Gloucester town were for many years maintained as separate corporations; but the wants of the inhabitants, political rivalry, and the change of population have nearly destroyed the original outlines as known one hundred years ago.

The county is now divided into Gloucester, Atlantic, and Camden Counties, the town into Gloucester City and part of Centre township, and the township into parts of Centre, Gloucester, and Winslow townships, with prospective subdivisions as the improvement of the territory and the increase of population may demand.

It was soon discovered that a ferry on the river Delaware between Gloucester and Philadelphia was needed to accommodate the people passing between Lower West Jersey and William Penn's "brave town." In 1688, William Roydon was granted the exclusive right of ferry between Gloucester and Wickaco, the grand jury fixing the rates. The long distance to be traversed by water made this ferry unpopular, and the same person established a ferry from near Cooper's Point (in Camden) and Shackomaxin, which much reduced the water carriage. In 1707 the General Court granted a license to John Spey to keep a ferry at Gloucester, fixing the rates as before. In 1722, Joseph Hugg, and in 1730, Richard Weldon, were severally authorized to dis-

charge the same service. The court appears to have had general control, fixing the charges, and from time to time appointing the persons to manage the same. The boats were worked with oars and sails, but their movements were controlled almost entirely by the wind and tide, thus making this kind of travel tedious, exposing, and uncertain.

During the winter season, however, the strong ice made a safe road on the river, which was taken advantage of by all, either for pleasure or business. This embargo on navigation frequently continued for several weeks, there being no appliances at that time powerful enough to break or move the heavy masses of ice that accumulated in the river.

Every historian writing of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and many of the emigrants sending letters home, mention the various streams of water as teeming with fish. Among these were shad, the most popular and palatable from that day to the present; and as this particular kind could not be taken with bait or hook, the system of shore-fisheries was soon developed. Custom and the common law gave each shore-owner the exclusive right to fish the pool in front of his land; and as the population increased, these fisheries became more valuable, and other shores fronting the Delaware were used to the same end.

The first mention of a shad-fishery at Gloucester is that made in the will of Saral Bull of 1742. This fishery was "above the wharf," extending to Newton Creek, and passed to the ownership of the Harrisons and Huggs, but was destroyed many years since by the improvements of the Manufacturing Company.

Mathew Medcalf afterwards established one "below the wharf," extending to Timber Creek. The title to this fishery passed to the two daughters of William Masters, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia,—Mary, who married Richard Penn, a grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania, and Sarah, who married Turner Camac, a descendant of one of the distinguished families of Ireland. After several changes, Josiah Shivers became the owner in 1834, in whose descendants part of the estate still remains.

In 1711 an event occurred at Gloucester the effect of which was felt for many years. The house of John Reading, the clerk of the county, was destroyed by fire, and some of the books of record, as well as many other important papers, were lost. The authorities had not provided any place of security for the records and official documents, and the clerk had to care for them in his own dwelling. John Reading placed in one of the books his affidavit of the occurrence and of the papers destroyed, so far as he could remember; but many suffered from the loss of their muniments of title, without any means of having them restored.

The first public building erected by the county was a jail. This was in 1689; made of logs, and sixteen feet square. Daniel Reading was the mechanic, and for his services was to have a lot of land in the town plan. Seven years after another log prison was erected; more secure, however, than the first, for it had a log floor and ceiling, and a partition through the middle. It was made two stories, the upper one being used as a court-room.

In 1708 this building was enlarged and a chimney added. In 1719 another and much larger court-house was erected, and made sufficiently comfortable for the court to continue there, however cold the weather, which sometimes was the cause of that dignified body removing to one of the public-houses of the town.

The same year a stocks and whipping-post were built, the terror of the doers of petty crimes, and a summary and economical manner to accomplish the ends of justice. Although this kind of punishment is considered as a vestige of the barbarity of ancient times, yet the refiners of our criminal code cannot but admit that as a reformatory means it contains every element of success. In 1787 the public buildings were destroyed by fire, and at once the project was set on foot to change the seat of justice. The Legislature passed an act submitting this momentous question to the people, which at once excited the inhabitants, and a spirited contest was entered into.

One hundred years had brought about a large increase in the number of people within the bounds of Old Gloucester. Several villages had come into existence, and were naturally rivals for the coveted prize. Straight roads had been laid and bridges built, thus shortening the distances to be travelled. Public meetings were held, and much home-made eloquence disposed of. The centre of population had changed, but no two of the advocates could agree where that centre should be. At last the election was had, and Woodbury selected as the proper place, and the buildings were accordingly there erected.

From that time Gloucester lost its importance among the people, and made no material advancement for many years after. Annually the fisheries infused some life into the place, but the season over and all vitality seemed to depart.

The Gloucester Fox-Hunting Club cannot be lost sight of in a historical sketch of this town. The club was organized in 1766, and comprised some of the best blood in West Jersey and Philadelphia. The "meet" was always at the Ferry Hotel, and frequently occurred through the winter months. The extensive reaches of unbroken forest, the level country and fordable streams; the good covers and abundance of game, made it one of the most spirited and popular associations in the country. The kennel of hounds was kept here, and contained the best dogs that could be relied on for nose and endurance. The gradual encroachment of settlers upon the timber-lands, which rendered game scarce and more distant, was one of the reasons why this manly sport lost its attractions, and the club was disbanded in 1818, much to the regret of many young Jersey-men, who entered fully into this dangerous but exciting pastime.

Although the influence of Friends was felt throughout the Province, which influence extended to the political and social condition of the people, yet the Established Church had a few followers. These were too widely separated to accomplish much, but never lost their identity or abandoned their forms of worship. Dr. Daniel Coxe, who had large

interests in West New Jersey, was an ardent churchman. In 1699 he was elected a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which society had its headquarters in the city of London.

Seven years before that date, however, he made overtures to the Rev. Thomas Bridges, then in Bermuda, and a clergyman of that denomination, to settle in West Jersey. The offer was so tempting that this gentleman came to the Province, and settled in one of the lower counties, where he made many proselytes. The coming of Lord Cornbury into the Province gave more strength and infused more life into this branch of the Christian church, and many of those now in existence may trace their foundation to that period.

As early as 1722, Thomas Bull, then a resident of Gloucester, used the following language in his will: "I give my file or tier of shore lots at Gloucester including the burial ground near my house to be set apart for a church of England, when the Congregation shall see fit to build." The services were probably held in the court-house, and the congregation was kept together for many years after, for Nathaniel Evans, who died in 1767, preached regularly at Gloucester previous to that date. There is no evidence that a building was ever erected, and the burial-ground is entirely lost sight of at this time.

The Harrisons, the Huggs, and the Bulls, with other families there, were of the Episcopal Church, but as these died or removed from the neighborhood, regular service was abandoned and the interest lost sight of. The indefatigable and aggressive Methodist soon occupied the place thus left vacant, and through many discomfitures and discouragements still kept pace with other like denominations.

Although the ferry was changed to Greenwich Point, making it the shortest on the river, yet the bad roads through the meadows from that place towards the city prevented it from being profitable.

The questionable character of many of the visitors from Philadelphia, and the scenes of drunkenness and rioting that often occurred there during the summer months, did

much to delay its progress as a town. These and other like conditions served to shadow Gloucester for several years, and made it truly a deserted village, although so advantageously situated.

Its history runs back to the first attempt at settlement by foreigners along the shores of the river. Its Revolutionary incidents are many, and have often been told; yet its prosperity is within the memory of those of the present generation, and came out of the irresistible advancement of a progressive people. Every day develops its advantages, and capital is steadily making it one of the leading suburban towns of a great city. Nothing but bad government and excessive taxation will check its prosperity, and nothing save ill-advised and reckless legislation can now hinder its growth.

DIARY OF JAMES ALLEN, ESQ., OF PHILADELPHIA,
COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW, 1770-1778.

INTRODUCTION.

James Allen was the third son of Chief Justice William Allen and his wife Margaret, daughter of Andrew Hamilton, Attorney-General of the Province. He was born about 1742, and graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1759. He studied law with Edward Shippen and afterwards at the Temple. He was elected a Common Councilman of Philadelphia October 6, 1767, and in May, 1776, was sent to the Assembly from Northampton County. He died in Philadelphia, September 19, 1778, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, two months and four days after the last entry in his Diary. He married (March 10, 1768) Elizabeth, only child of John Lawrence, son of Thomas Lawrence.

His children were:

Anne Penn, born February 19, 1769, married James Greenleaf.

Margaret Elizabeth, born April 21, 1772, died September 9, 1798, married July 1, 1794, William Tilghman.

Mary Masters, born January 4, 1776, married Henry Walter Livingston.

James Hamilton, born January 24, 1778, died —, aged ten years.

The brothers and sisters of James Allen were John, who married Mary Johnson; Andrew, Attorney-General of the Province, who married Sarah, eldest daughter of William Coxe; William, who died unmarried; Ann, who married John Penn (Governor from 1763 to 1771, and from 1773 to 1776); and Margaret, who married James de Lancey.

The position of the Allen family during the Revolution was a trying one. Possessed of great wealth, and occupying positions of emolument and honor, its members were held in high respect and exercised considerable influence. They naturally felt that the countenance of the established form of government was necessary for the protection of property and the enforcement of the laws. For the support of this government they had individually in assuming the offices they held pledged their honor. Nevertheless, they were Americans by birth and attached to their country. They could not remain passive witnesses of the invasion of her rights, and their sympathies were enlisted in her favor. It was through the influence of Chief Justice Allen, we are told, that the passage of the Stamp Act was delayed for a year, and the remonstrance against it which is on the minutes of the Assembly was in part from his pen. At the beginning of the Revolution his sons warmly supported the cause of the Colonies. They declared, however, that their opposition to the Royal Government would not be continued should the independence of the Colonies become the declared object of the war. In this

conservative view they were supported by many who subsequently approved the most extreme measures of Congress. John Allen, the eldest son of the Chief Justice, at the beginning of the Revolution was a member of the Committee of Inspection and Observation for the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, and was a delegate to the Provincial Convention of New Jersey in 1776. In December of that year he put himself under the protection of the British army under General Howe.

In 1774, Andrew Allen was First Lieutenant of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry. On June 30, 1775, he was a member of the Committee of Safety, and the same year was appointed a delegate to the Continental Congress. He did not attend the sessions of the latter body after the question of independence was virtually decided upon. In December of that year he put himself with his brothers under the protection of General Howe.

William, the fourth son of the Chief Justice, was Lieutenant-Colonel of a Pennsylvania Regiment serving under St. Clair in Canada. He resigned upon the passage of the Declaration of Independence and shortly afterwards joined the British. He raised a corps known as the Pennsylvania Loyalists, which he was commander of until the close of the war.

Of James Allen's conduct the following Diary treats.

PHILADA Chesnut Street Nov^r 6th 1770

I have often thought that committing to writing little occurrences in private matters might in some future period of life afford amusement in the perusal, & have frequently regretted, my inability of recalling to mind many past scenes of my earlier days. To run over the employments of times past with the catalogue of former acquaintance, thro' all their changes, must be an high gratification. These reflections have led me into the design of keeping a Diary, in which I do not propose to admit any occurrences of a publick nature; I shall leave those to Gazettes & Magazines, and only preserve the remembrance of such private interesting scenes & conversations as will be entertaining in a review. And I will take special care, not to make my Diary a register of such things as ought to be forgotten, or can possibly do an injury to any one; & on this principle neither the follies or vices of any one shall find admission, here.

November 6th, 1770.—Two days ago I returned from Trout Hall,¹ (a name I have just given my house) where I had been

¹ Now within the limits of Allentown.

with Mr. Lawrence, my Brother Billy & Jemmy Tilghman.¹ We were at Hellers² near the Gap of ye mountain, but to our surprize did not kill one Grouse. In my absence M^r Powel³ gave a cold dinner to the corporation on account of his being elected a common council man; I had done ye same some time ago on account of my being made an Alderman.⁴ This was a new regulation made in the corporation, and in gen^l was not well relished & 'tis thought will go no farther. This day I bro't all my school manuscript books from my father's & read over great part of the treatise on Logic which I had learned under D^r Smith;⁵ & resolved soon to brush up some of my college learning & particularly the Greek.

November 7th.—My Wife endeavoured to prevail on me to have my youngest daughter Betsey christened; but I did not consent, telling her, I thought, that ceremony should be deferred till the parties were capable of judging for themselves. NB My eldest daughter had been christened, tho' ag^t my Judgment. I spent the evening at Club, where M^r Hamilton⁶ was present and I could not help remarkg to M^r Humphreys⁷ who sat next to me,—“how uncommon it was to see a man like him, who tho' past his sixtith year, had all the faculties of his mind in their fullest vigor; with a constitution unbroken.

¹ James Tilghman, Secretary of the Land-Office.

² Now known as the Wind Gap. The name of Hellers is still used by some persons residing in the neighborhood.

³ Samuel Powel, subsequently Mayor of Philadelphia.

⁴ Mr. Allen was chosen Alderman October 2, 1770, the same day Mr. Powel was elected Common Councilman.

⁵ The Rev. William Smith, D.D., first Provost of the College of Philadelphia.

⁶ James Hamilton, Governor of the Province from 1748 to 1754, and from 1759 to 1763. When Governor John Penn was obliged to visit England on account of the death of his father, Mr. Hamilton was President of the Provincial Council, and acted as Governor. He was the son of Andrew Hamilton, and uncle of Mr. Allen. He was born 1770, and died at New York, August 14, 1783, aged seventy-three years.

⁷ Probably James Humphreys, Jr., printer of a paper called the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, subsequently a Loyalist.

April 25th, 1771, I moved into M^rs Brochden's¹ house & leased my house in Chesnut Street to my father in law.

May ye 3^d, 1771, or thereabout, the Governor² & My Sister & Brother John went to England, on occasion of the death of old M^r Richard Penn.³

Sept. 13th, 1771.—Lord Dunmore⁴ passed thro' this town in his way to Virginia; I dined & supped with him. This day I set off for Trout hall with my Wife and child and M^rs Lawrence; they have not been there since I finished my house.

Tho' I have advanced so little ways in my diary I find the fatigue and trouble of keeping it regularly too great & makes too great a waste of time; & am apprehensive It will fall thro', or at least grow irregular.

May 29th, 1772.—I am now convinced that I shall not be able to continue this journal; finding my business will not admit of so much leisure as a journalist should have. This day I moved into my house in Chesnut Street, where I hope to end my days.⁵ I am at present much engaged in prosecutions for breaches of the laws of Trade & have libelled four of five Vessels & Cargoes for Capt^a Talbot of the Lively Man of War. I am doing, as a Lawyer what I would not do as a politician; being fully persuaded of the oppressive nature of those laws. I have however refused to prosecute two or 3 persons on the penal clauses, as thinking it invidious & rigid.

May 19th, 1773.—I have just returned from a curious conversation with George Emlen about the workes of Jacob Behmen⁶ which I looked into & which he pretends to under-

¹ The widow of Charles Brockden, Master of the Rolls and Recorder of Deeds from 1715 to 1767.

² John Penn, who married Ann, sister of Mr. Allen.

³ Youngest son of the founder, and father of Governors John and Richard Penn.

⁴ John Murray, fourth Earl Dunmore. He was appointed Governor of Virginia July, 1771.

⁵ This house probably stood on the site of the present Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, and will be remembered by many of our citizens. It was subsequently occupied by his daughter, Mrs. Greenleaf.

⁶ Jacob Behmen, a mystic philosopher of the seventeenth century.

stand, tho' he acknowledged some parts a little crabbed; particularly how to make out human Nature to be compounded of Sulphur Mercury & Salt. I promised him Peter Millar the Dunkards Book of the God-femality in the stile of Behmen.¹

Governor Eden & Coll. Washington are in Town come to the races.² Waters's horse Herod won the £100 yesterday & Mr Delancey's Sultana £50 today The Town is very gay

¹ Peter Miller, of Ephrata. The work spoken of is entitled "A Dissertation on Man's Fall. Translated from the High-German Original Printer: Ephrata Anno MDCCLXV. Sold at Philadelphia by Messieurs Christopher Marshall and William Dunlap." A copy is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Robert Eden, last Royal Governor of Maryland. Of Colonel Washington it is unnecessary to speak. The races mentioned were run under the auspices of the Philadelphia Jockey Club, an organization formed in 1766 "To encourage the Breeding good Horses and to promote the pleasures of the Turf." The Register of the club is in the Historical Society's library. Nearly all the principal citizens outside of the Society of Friends belonged to it. The races were run at Centre Square, and were events of importance in the fashionable circle of the day. The course was marked by ropes. The bellman was sent around the city requesting the citizens to keep their dogs at home on the day of the races. Some years subscriptions were taken up among the ladies, and plate was purchased to be competed for. So great was the excitement created by these gatherings that in 1769, when the committee inadvertently decided to hold the races at the same time that the Yearly Meeting of Friends took place, the clerk of the meeting called the attention of the Vice-President of the club to the fact, and out of respect to the Society the time was changed. Whether the Presbyterians of those days looked upon horse-racing with less severity than the Friends, or whether they preferred to beard the lion in his den, we will not pretend to say, but certain it is there is no evidence of a word of remonstrance when the members of the Jockey Club and the General Synod of New York and Philadelphia met in the latter city on the same day. The only possible remark which we can discover that could in any way have connected the two events is that Rev. Mr. Joseph Treat preached a "sermon suitable to the occasion." In this he may have given his opinion of horse-racing. The meeting of 1773 seems to have been of more than ordinary interest. Among the visitors present at a meeting of the club held the night before the races were Lord Stirling, Colonel Washington, Governor Eden, and Mr. Custis,—the latter was probably Washington's step-son. Governor Eden owned one of the horses which was run the first day. It came in second. The winning horse was owned by Mr. Israel Waters, and was named King Herod.

& invitations frequent. I asked Gov. Eden & Coll. Washington to dinner but they are engaged during their stay.

August 23^d.—The 20th of this Month Mr John Penn, my Sister, & Brother John, arrived at New York in the Governor Mast Ship & are daily expected here. He comes to assume the Government & to supersede his Brother; to his great dissatisfaction. This step, tho' highly approved by Mr. John Penn's friends, it is thought, will lay the foundation of a lasting animosity between the brothers. Mr John Penn's reasons for this measure are that his Brother has set up a claim to the Proprietary Estate in reserved Lots & Manors, & immediately on his coming to the Government entered a Caveat in the Proprietary Offices, declaratory of his right, which he still reserves notwithstanding his signing Patents as Governor.

The further I engage in law matters, I find it necessary to put a guard on my Virtue. Independant of the "auri sacra fames," being habituated to exercise one's ingenuity in inventing arguments on the wrong side, at least warps the Judgment, & will in time corrupt the heart, unless constantly opposed by an active virtuous principle. I am so sensible of this that I have just written in the first blank leave in my Coke on Littleton a Lawyers prayer as a memento to myself and future "Jurisprudents."

August 30th.—This day Mr John Penn was proclaimed Governor at the Court house, where there was a greater Concourse of people than has been seen on a similar Occasion. The late Governor was still absent at Black Point.

Sept. 8th, 1773.—last Night at Club The Governor & his brother met for the first time since his arrival, but they took no Notice of each other, Mr Penn having never visited his Brother & being determined to continue at variance.¹

Octob. 19th, 1773.—Yesterday morning about 5 o'clock as I lay in Bed I felt a severe pain in my instep & on getting up found that the sinew was strained As I had received no injury to my foot from any external cause & was not sen-

¹ For information regarding the difference between John and Richard Penn, see note to Journal of Miss Sarah Eve, PA. MAG., Vol. V. p. 197.

sible of having a fit of the Cramp my friends pronounced it a gouty symptom. I continued in great pain for 4 or 5 hours but towards evening the sinew recovered its Tone. This morning I am lame with a pain under the Instep in the bottom of the foot resembling a strain also. I make this Memorandum, that if I should ever be afflicted with the Gout, I may date it from this Period. NB I eat no supper & have been very sparing in that Article for a long time.

Octob. 30th, 1773, Sunday.—Dined this day with the family at Bushill;¹ where Mr Hamilton declared at table that the friday before (viz 29th) he was sixty three years old. His faculties of mind & body are at this time very perfect. Last week my old acquaintance Harry Cruger² of Bristol in England came to Philad^a in order to see me & my Brothers & spent a fortnight with us.

I am labouring to persuade my father to resign his Office of Chief Justice as he has now entered into his 70th year; which he is inclined to do but is anxious to know who is like to be his successor.³ I despair of his quitting the As-

¹ Bush Hill, the residence of the Hamilton family. Mr. Westcott, in his *Historic Mansions*, says, "In 1726 and 1729, Andrew Hamilton purchased from the Penns portions of the Springettsbury Manor, and received a patent for the whole tract of one hundred and fifty-three acres of land and meadow on January 24, 1734. It was north of Vine Street, except between Schuylkill Fifth and Sixth Streets (now Eighteenth and Seventeenth) where it touched Race Street. Northwardly the estate extended as far as Vineyard Lane, afterwards Coates Street, now Fairmount Avenue. In width it stretched from Twelfth to Nineteenth Street. Here Mr. Hamilton erected a spacious and elegant mansion, and to the property he gave the name of Bush Hill." John Adams lived there during a portion of his term as Vice-President. During the period when the yellow fever raged in Philadelphia, in 1793, the mansion was used for a hospital. Subsequently the old building was altered and fitted up as an oil-cloth manufactory. It was torn down in 1875. The site upon which it stood was on the north side of Buttonwood Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth.

² Henry Cruger was a son of Henry Cruger, of New York. He was a colleague of Burke, and at one time was Mayor of Bristol, England. He died in New York in 1827, aged eighty-eight. See *Drake's Dictionary*.

³ He resigned in 1774. For sketch of his life, see *PA. MAG.*, Vol. I. p. 202.

sembly I often reflect how happy it was for me that I took to the practice of the law. Added to the uneasiness that it gave my father & all my friends to find that after having served a regular clerkship & been three years at the temple, I should continue an Idle man I say added to this consideration I have now made myself easy in my circumstances. I compute my business this year 1773 will be between £3 & 400, which added to my estate will fall but little short of £1000 p anm. For these last two or three years, which is the time that I resumed the practice of the Law, I have read pretty diligently & have overcome the difficulty of speaking in publick. In short both the study & practice are become agreeable to me.

Novr. 13th, 1773.—The first Ice I heard of this year was seen at Bushill this morning; the weather was seasonable & not colder than common.

Feby. 16th, 1774.—I heard M^r Turner¹ say to myself that my Father never undertook the Executorship of Wallis's estate, to which he and M^r Turner were jointly left Executors. M^r Hamilton, M^r Bremner,² Miss Oswald & M^{rs} Oswald were present in M^r Turner's back parlour—

Hiatus in manuscript—

Jany. 19th, 1775.—Yesterday at twelve o'clock My wifes Uncle M^r Thos. Lawrence, was struck with a violent stroke of the Palsey, & fell down senseless. He was carried home instantly in my Father's Coach, and as yet continues almost insensible, & incapable of speech; God knows whether he will survive it; it is probable his limbs will never be perfect; his whole right side being dead, except a small motion in his right Leg. This is a dreadful calamity & distressing to his family beyond description, especially as till the moment he was struck he was in the most perfect health and spirits, no man chearfuller—What is remarkable is that his Brother M^r John Lawrence my wife's Father, had a paralytic stroke the fifteenth of last month & is scarcely yet recovered; It

¹ Joseph Turner, partner of Chief Justice Allen in the Union Iron-Works, Hunterdon Co., N. J., and elsewhere.

² Mr. Bremner was organist of Christ Church.

was but a slight one compared to this. The sincere friendship I have for M^r Tho^s Lawrence, who is a worthy man, universally esteemed, has made this an affecting scene to me. It is remarkable that this Fall & winter, more persons have had paralytic Strokes than in many years before; tho the Physicians do not pretend to account for it.

The variance subsisting between M^r Masters's family & mine is like to be healed,¹ as the Ladies, (who have on all sides been uneasy, lent from a fatality attending female differences, can never make mutual advances,) have by consent met together at M^{rs} Lawrences & when my wife returns from New-York she will visit them. I have ever had an abhorrence of family quarrells & am convinced that good Temper & civility will make friends & carry a man peaceably thro' the world, without any unworthy condescension.

M^{rs} Allen has now been absent 3 weeks on a Journey to Newyork with the Governor & M^{rs} Penn, & is expected home this Evening. It is the first excursion she has made since her marriage.

Jany. 21, 1775.—This day at 12 o'clock died M^r Thomas Lawrence a worthy goodnatured, honest man; for whom I had a great friendship. It is a severe Loss to his family & friends. Great Interest is making with the Magistrates to get the Office continued to his eldest son for the benefit of his Widow & Children; & I believe it will succeed, tho' there is another Candidate. My wife returned from Newyork at $\frac{1}{2}$ past one o'clock after an absence of three weeks & a day; she was much affected at her uncles death.

July 26, 1775.—The Congress² is now sitting here & have just published their Declaration & address to the inhabitants of Great Britain. Hitherto our arms have been successful; but God knows what will be the event of this war, as there seems to be a thorough determination on both sides to prosecute it. Many thinking people believe America has

¹ The families were connected. The father-in-law of James Allen, John Lawrence, was the brother of Mary, widow of William Masters.

² The Continental Congress.

seen its best days, & should it even be victorious, peace & order will with difficulty be restored. The inconveniences are already sensibly felt; Debts as yet are paid & suits commenced, but it cannot last long; as people already plead inability. My profession is visibly on the decline, & when it is no longer useful, I shall suffer considerably. My last years profits were £600 & this year would have increased, & the Governor has given up my house; these two articles would fall heavy on me; & reduce me to the necessity of retiring to my house at Northampton. I cant conceive what will become of all those who have no estates, but live genteely on their annual profits of business, when that business ceases. On the other hand, the distress will be general & being equally divided, will be less felt. The South never yielded more than at present of every production. We have no hopes but that the struggle will be soon over: if it continues, America is ruined whoever gets the better. These reflections are in the mouth of all thinking people. We however keep up our spirits & gloomy as things appear, prefer our situation to a mean acquiescence. It is a great & glorious cause. The Eyes of Europe are upon us; if we fall, Liberty no longer continues an inhabitant of this Globe: for England is running fast to slavery. The King is as despotic as any prince in Europe; the only difference is the mode; & a venal parliament are as bad as a standing army.

October 11th, 1775.—Johnny Mifflin¹ came this day to study Law with me.

About 2 Months ago I heard Mr Hamilton say that he formerly knew every person white & black men women, & children, in the City of Philadelphia, by name.

Oct. 14, 1775.—Yesterday the Gridiron Grove Club² gave an entertainment in their usual frugal style to 23 Ladies; we danced till 10'clock & were very chearful; I was in remarkable good spirits; Miss Sally Robinson bore the belle;

¹ John F. Mifflin, born 1759; admitted to practice November 10, 1779; died 1813.

² A social club of which little is known.

she is a very fine woman both in person and understanding.

Last Thursday & the preceding Tuesday I appeared in Battalion in my uniform, as a private man in Captⁿ Shees¹ company. I have no opinion that this association, will be very useful in defending the City: as they have refused to be bound by any Articles & have no subordination. My Inducement principally to join them is; that a man is suspected who does not; & I chuse to have a Musket on my shoulders, to be on a par with them; & I believe discreet people mixing with them, may keep them in Order. At this time there seems to be a determined resolution in England & here, to continue the War; What the Congress are about, who are now sitting, I know not. With all my zeal for the great cause we are engaged in, I frequently cry out—Dreadful times!

March 6, 1776.—The plot thickens; peace is scarcely thought of—Independancy predominant. Thinking people uneasy, irresolute & inactive. The Mobility triumphant. Every article of life doubled. 26,000 troops coming over; The Congress in *Aquilibrus*:² on the question, Independence or no? Wrapt in the contemplation of these things I cry out—"O! *Rus quando ego te aspiciam* &c. I love the Cause of liberty; but cannot heartily join in the prosecution of measures totally foreign to the original plan of Resistance. The madness of the multitude is but one degree better than submission to the Tea-Act.

May 15, 1776.—I am now a political character; having been chosen a Representative in Assembly the first of this month for Northampton County, without any opposition; having 853 votes & only 14 against me. The 20th of this Month the Assembly meets but I believe we shall soon be

¹ John Shee, a native of Ireland, who married a daughter of Thomas Lawrence, whose death is mentioned on p. 184. On January 3, 1776, he was appointed Colonel of the Third Battalion Pennsylvania Troops. After the war he was Collector of the Port of Philadelphia. He died August 5, 1808.

² *Equilibrio*.

dissolved. The Congress have resolved to recommend it to the different Colonies to establish new forms of Government, to get rid of oaths of allegiance &c. I think the Assembly of this province, will not consent to change their constitution; and then heigh for a convention! A Convention chosen by the people, will consist of the most fiery Independants; they will have the whole Executive & legislative authority in their hands. Yesterday the Resolve of Congress was read by Bradford at the Coffee-house.¹ One man only huzzaad; in general it was ill received. We stared at each other. My feelings of indignation were strong, but it was necessary to be mute. This step of Congress, just at the time commissioners are expected to arrive, was purposely contrived to prevent overtures of peace. It was carried by a majority of 7 Colonies to 4. Moderate men look blank, & yet the Majority of the City & province are of that stamp; as is evident from the Election of new members. Peace is at a great distance, & this will probably be a terrible Summer. Every article of life is extravagantly dear. I am very obnoxious to the independants; having openly declared my aversion to their principles & had one or two disputes at the coffee-house with them. I am determined to oppose them vehemently in Assembly, for if they prevail there; all may bid adieu to our old happy constitution & peace.

June 16, 1776.—This day I set off with my family for Northampton, with the Chariot, Phaeton, and Sulky. I have met the Assembly & sat from 20th May to this time & have been very active in opposing Independance & change of Government; but the Tide is too strong, we could not prevent a change of instructions to our Delegates. We took no notice of the Governor, gave away military commissions, and by a Resolve agreed to indemnify the Trustees

¹ These resolutions must have been those of May 10, which proposed to the Colonies the establishment of new forms of government. The action of Congress regarding oaths of allegiance will be found in the Preamble of said Resolution, which was not adopted by Congress until May 15, the date of Mr. Allen's entry in his Diary.

of the loan office from the penalty of an Act of Assembly. We took our Seats without any qualification, whereupon Mr Webb¹ of Lancaster left the house, & Mr Ross² declared he would have done the same, had all been qualified. The names of those 13 members, (of whom I was one) that voted ag^t changing the instructions were put on the Coffee house books.³ We were undone by false friends in Assembly, who have since turned out warm independants tho' they affected to oppose it then.

Jany. 25, 1777.—A long interval in my Diary to fill up. The Assembly met according to adjournment & sat the 28 Aug^t & 28 Sept. the pretence of their sitting was to settle the publick accounts. It was a strange scene at the State house, where the Congress, Assembly, Convention & Admiralty Court were sitting, all at the same time. Bad however as our Situation was, we finished the Year with some eclat, having paid the Governor & all other publick officers their full Salaries, tho' it was contended the Governmt ceased on the Declaration of Independance, on 4 July, 1776, & passed 2 Resolves desiring our Constituents to disregard 2 Ordinances of the Convention & called them daringly arbitrary &c. A Meeting at the State house of about 600 persons, all military, & the several battalions thro'out the Province, having resolved to have a Conference of Deputies from each County accordingly in Nov^r the Conference met & soon after in consequence of their accommodation a Convention was chosen. Instead of immeadiately framing a new Government the Convention, unwilling to part with their power, continued exercising all power till the Voice of the people, i. e. the Whiggist part, obliged them to frame a Government & dissolve themselves; having made it a necessary qualifica-

¹ James Webb, of Lancaster County.

² George Ross, of Lancaster County, subsequently a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

³ The vote of the Assembly on changing the instructions to the Pennsylvania Delegates in Congress was taken on June 5. The names of the thirteen who voted against it are not given in the minutes of the Assembly. The only remark is that the Resolution was carried by "a large majority."

tion for electors & elected to swear to preserve their frame. This split the Whigs to pieces, the Majority disliking the frame & therefore not voting for the new assembly, which was of course chosen by very few. In some of the Counties the Oath was dispensed with. The papers now teemed with strictures on the frame of Government. The Assembly were chosen & sat. The minority who disliked the Frame threatened to leave the rest if they proceeded to business, which would have left less than a Quorum; till the Congress when the Enemy were expected in Philad^a in December, sent them Word, if they did not agree to act as an Assembly, they wou'd take the Government of Pensylvania into their hands. Thus impelled, they took some steps to call out the Associators—From that time to the present, they are scarcely heard of, nor is it known out of Philad^a whether they are sitting or not. This Province is now Governed by the Council of Safety, who by their Resolves continue to oppress the Non-associators & have put the execution of their decrees & the whole dispensation of Justice into the hands of the field-officers of the several battalions. The Congress having in June resolved to have new Governments & in July declared us independant, have ever since persevered. They have held out the hopes of foreign alliance to the people, whom they endeavoured to conciliate by a conference with Lord Howe & his brother, which has shewn, as is pretended, that the Comissioners have no powers but to grant Pardons. They however told the Comissioners, they could not negotiate without a previous acknowledgment of their Independancy. Whereupon L^d Howe broke up the Conference. After having issued 20 millions of paper Dollars, they resume the old scheme of borrowing, giving 4 per cent Interest. But I have not heard of one person lending them a shilling. In November they resolved on a Lottery of 100,000 tickets at 10 dollars each to raise by way of Loan ten millions (10,000,000) dollars, to be drawn in April. I have not heard of any Tickets yet disposed of. They have in aid of these endeavours to get money, lately issued a severe edict, backed by one from our Council of Safety. ag^t

those who refuse their paper money. The penalties; loss of Debt, imprisonment & banishment to remote places. On the expectation of the Enemy coming to Phila^{da} the beginning of December, the Congress with their accounts moved to Baltimore, where a few members only met & still continue there. The summer campaign about New-York began by the Victory of Gen^l Howe at Long-Island: the surrender of New-York, &c. Gen^l Washington having evacuated the Island of New-York in October, retired to the White plains & were followed by Gen^l Howe, who in a fight defeated part of Gen^l Washington's Army; Soon after Gen^l Howe marched towards New-York, took fort Washington, Fort Lee, & marching thro' Jersey pushed down to Trenton, Burlington &c & was expected in Philad^a in a few days after. Being stopt by the River & having no Boats, Gen^l Howe went to New-York & left his Army commanded by L^d Cornwallis scattered in parties of 2000, from Amboy to Trenton. Gen^l Washington who from an Army of 2000 was reinforced by the Militia of this & the Southern provinces so as to make near 15000 on 26 Dec^r 1776 crossed the Delaware at Trenton, surprised a party of Hessians & took 800 prisoners, then marched to Princetown with about 5000 men, where he was attacked by L^d Cornwallis & drove back to Trenton; while just in the Enemy's hands in the night he decamps, makes a forc'd march to Princetown, where he was met by 17th 44th & 55th Reg^{ts} in all 700 men, an engagement ensued & about 100 were lost on each side: Gen^l Washington march'd on to Morris Town, where he still is. L^d Cornwallis arrived at Princetown an hour after, Gen^l Washington left it & marched to Brunswick; which place, together with Amboy he now occupies. This will defeat his intention of coming to Philad as soon as he expected & will probably postpone it till spring. Our Bay & Coast are full of Men of War.

Having let my House to Carter Braxton & some of the Virginia Delegates, with a great part of my Furniture @ £150 pr Anm. and left Phila^d which from the current of Politics, began to grow disagreeable; I thought myself

happy in having so good a Retreat in Northampton County. My Brother John about this time moved his family to the Union,¹ my Brother Andrew soon after, moved to his place at Neshaminy, which he had just purchased; and my Brother Billy returning from Ticonderoga, soon after the Declaration of Independence, immediately resigned his commission of Lieu^t Col; as he always determined to do in case of such declaration. It gave great offence & it was insinuated to him, y^t if he would not resign his advancement, should be equal to his wishes. A few weeks, before this unhappy declaration my Brother Andrew, with M^r Willing and M^r Humphries² left the Congress; all the other Delegates, tho' ever opposed to Independance, remained & have since become great Converts to it. So much for Ambition! He was of course, with the two Gentlemen abovementioned left out of the next appointment by the Convention. My Brother John having been elected a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, finding all opposition vain, soon left it & never returned. I had signed, the association in May, hoping by this means to have some right to speak freely, but had never exercised since, nor indeed long before, & on the Declaration of Independance, thought myself discharged from the obligation of it. Law business having languished from March to June, totally stopt then, all the Courts declining to proceed; the Magistracy of the City also ceased & we have ever since continued without Justice, in a State of nature. The Country was to me delightful, & my Neighbour M^r Benezet, Captⁿ Symes³ a Prisoner together with occasional Visits made the time agreeable enough. In August I got a regular fit of the Gout, which began in my left foot, & after a weeks stay, adjourned to the right, & after another weeks visitation left me. My swimmings in the head were less frequent before & more frequent after the Gout. The latter end of Sept^r I set out from Philad^a with D^r Smith, thro' mere curiosity to view the stat^e of

¹ Union Iron Works, Hunterdon County, N. J.

² Thomas Willing and Charles Humphries.

³ Captain Richard Symes of the 52d Foot.

both armies. At Amboy I visited my old friend Gen^l Dickenson & Major Gen^l Mercer,¹ who commanded there, & who was lately killed in the engagement at Princetown. From thence I went to Bergen lodged with Gen^l Roberdeau² & had a view of the City and Harbour of New-York. The sight was grand from the number of ships in the harbour & shocking from the burnt ruins of that noble City; set on fire, as is supposed, by some of our army on their leaving it; at least as the enemy alledge. Thence to Fort Constitution, now Fort Lee commanded by my old Acquaintance Gen^l Ewing,³ with whom I dined, & same day crossed the River to Head Quarters. Gen^l Washington received me with the utmost politeness; I lodged with him & found there Mess^r J. Reed, Tilghman, Grayson, Mayland, L. Cadwalader⁴ & many others of my Acquaintance, & was very happy with them. Nothing happened while I was there, except an attempt of our army to bring off grain from Harlaem, in which they did not succeed & which had well nigh brought on an engagement. Next day I recrossed the North River to Fort Lee & came thro' Hackensack in company with

¹ Philemon Dickinson and Hugh Mercer. For an account of the former, see "Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania," by Charles P. Keith, p. 390.

² Daniel Roberdeau.

³ James Ewing. Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution," says, "The name of this officer is variously given. Washington, in his despatch to the President of Congress, wrote it Euing; Marshall, in his Life of Washington, spells it Irvine; Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, has it Irvin; Botta, Irwin; and Gordon, Erwing.

"Ewing is the correct name. He was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1736. He commenced his military career under Braddock in 1755, and was with that general when he was slain. . . . He was Vice-President of the Commonwealth under President Dickinson in 1782, and was several times member of the State Legislature. He died at his country-seat in Hellam township, York County, in March, 1806, aged seventy years."

On July 4, 1776, he and General Roberdeau were chosen Brigadier-Generals of the Pennsylvania Militia.

⁴ Joseph Reed, Tench Tilghman, William Grayson, Stephen Moylan, and Lambert Cadwalader. All were from Philadelphia but Grayson, who was a Virginian.

Cap^{tn} Charles Craig¹ & thence thro' Morris town to Union, where I found my Wife & Child & M^{rs} Lawrence. During October & November I remained at Trout-hall a calm spectator of the civil War, but occasionally gave great offence to the violent whigs in Northampton by entertaining the regular officers, our prisoners, & was often threatened on that account. December produced Events, that have given me great uneasiness. When Gen^l Howe was expected in Philad^a a persecution of Tories, (under which name, is included every one disinclined to Independance tho' ever so warm a friend to constitutional liberty and the old cause,) began; houses were broken open, people imprison'd without any colour of authority by private persons, & as, was said a list of 200 disaffected persons made out, who were to be siezed, imprisoned & sent off to North Carolina; in which list, it was said, our whole family was set down; My Brothers under this dreadful apprehension fled from Philad^a to the Union, where I went over to them. Soon after, against my Judgmt, they all went to Trenton & claimed protection from Gen^l Howe's army. From whence they went to N. York where they now are, unhappily separated from their families and like to be so for some time. I was informed of this by Gen^l Gates at Bethlehem—and of course became alarmed for my own safety. Accordingly on Thursday 19 Dec^r 1776 at 7 o'clock A.M. my house was surrounded by a Guard of Soldiers with fixed Bayonets; I got up & when I came down stairs the officer who was at the front door produced a Warrant from the Council of Safety to seize me & bring me before them. I accordingly went to Philad^a & appeared before them, & opened the scene, by saying, that they had drawn me from my retirement unexpectedly; M^r Owen Biddle² then said, that they had re-

¹ Of Allen township, Northampton Co., Pa.

² Owen Biddle, son of John Biddle and Sarah Owen, and brother of Colonel Clement Biddle. He was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and with his brother Clement signed the celebrated Non-Importation Agreement of 1765. He was a member of many public bodies called into being by the Revolution, among others of the Council of Safety, before

ceived accounts of the unwillingness of the Militia of Northampton County to march, that they knew my influence and property there, & were afraid of my being the cause of it, & added that my brothers being gone over to the enemy the publick would expect that I should be put on my Parole & hoped I wou'd have no Objection to stay within six miles of Philad^a. M^r Matlack¹ said "at least M^r Allen may chuse his place of Residence." I told them that my political principles were well known, to be unfriendly to the present views of Independance, which I had strenuously opposed before it was declared, that since I had not interfered in publick matters, further than in confidential conversations with my friends & I wished always to remain so during the present unhappy war. I then produced some certificates which I had the precaution to procure, testifying the truth of the above. I told them I would incline to go to dinner & wait on them in the afternoon if they approved. They agreed & took my word to return; I appeared again in the afternoon. Before I went away in the forenoon I endeavoured to defend my brother's conduct, & frankly told them what had passed between them & me previous to their taking this step, while they were at the Union. I drew a picture of the state of the province, the military persecutions the invasions of private property, imprisonments & abuses, that fell to the share of those whose consciences would not let them join in the present measures. I particularized two of their own Ordinances authorizing field officers to invade & pillage our houses & imprison our persons on mere suspicion & concluded by saying, that I was almost frightened into a determination of seeking the same protection, that my brothers had done. M^r Biddle acknowledged Mr. Allen was examined. He was an early and active member of the American Philosophical Society, one of its curators from 1769 to 1772, and secretary from 1773 to 1782. He was one of the thirteen appointed by the Society to observe the transit of Venus on June 3, 1769. Mr. Biddle was born in the year 1737, and died on the 10th of March, 1799. There is no notice of the arrest or of the examination of Mr. Allen on the Minutes of the Council of Safety.

¹ Timothy Matlack, member of the Council of Safety.

knowledged the truth of what I said & excused the necessity of the present arbitrary measures, by the divided state of America. I told him conciliatory measures would make more converts; that it was hard to forget we were once freemen, who had lived under the happiest & freest Government on earth; & I believed these violences inclined a majority of the people to wish for Gen^l Howe's arrival. In the afternoon, they produced a certificate, which they hoped I would not object to; wherein they set forth, my brothers departure & the backwardness of our Militia as reasons for sending for me, that I had given them satisfaction respecting my prudent conduct, that my conduct did not appear unfriendly to the cause of Liberty, nor inconsistent with the character of a Gentleman; & I in return pledged my honor verbally not to say or do any thing injurious to the present cause of America. So we parted amicably & as we began, with great politeness on both sides. This disagreeable business over I spent five or six days in Philad^a & near it with great pleasure at being in company with my relations and friends after so long absence. Philad^a seemed almost deserted & resembled a Sunday in service time. The Quakers are almost the only people determined to remain there. They pressed all persons walking the streets to work in trenches surrounding the Town; I was stopt & with difficulty got off by walking on and taking no notice of 'em. 28th got home & continued quiet & happy for some time, amusing myself with my family; having opened my poetic vein, which had long been dormant by an Ode on the Birthday 4th Jan^y 1777 of my daughter Polly.

This happiness was unfortunately interrupted; by an unlooked for accident. Being ignorant that any of the Militia were in the Town M^{rs} Allen with her daughter Peggy & Lyddy Duberry went to visit M^{rs} Bond in the Chariot: entering the street a company of the Militia met them in front; Samson endeavoured to drive out of the Road, but was stopt by a hollow way. The soldiers beat him with their muskets, & pushed at him with their Bayonets, on which to defend himself he made use of his Whip. This so enraged

them, that they pushed their Bayonets into the Chariot, broke the glass & pierced the chariot in 3 places; during the whole scene my wife begging to be let out & the children screaming; they also endeavoured to overset it, while they were within it. David Deshler¹ happening to be present prevented it & led the horses on, by which means they escaped. Their design was to destroy the Chariot. I having walked across the field saw nothing of this till it was over & the company had marched on. Soon after the Major Boehm & the Capt^a Buckhalter returned.—The former, a violent man, countenanced the attack, whereupon a rencounter ensued between him & me, in which he attempted to draw his sword on me. This accident has disturbed my peace, as I for some time expected the violence of the people, inflamed by some Zealots would lead them to insult my person or attack my house. But as nothing of that kind has happened, I grow easy & hope it has blown over.

To describe the present state of the Province of Pennsylvania, would require a Volume. It may be divided into 2 classes of men, viz. Those that plunder and those that are plundered. No Justice has been administered, no crimes punished for 9 months. All Power is in the hands of the associators, who are under no subordination to their officers. Not only a desire of exercising power, in those possessed of it, sets them on, but they are supported & encouraged. To oppress one's countrymen is a love of Liberty. Private friendships are broken off, & the most insignificant now lord it with impunity & without discretion over the most respectable characters. Not only the means of subsistence are cut off, but every article of consumption is raised six fold. Coffee 7/6 pr lb, Salt 7 dollars—the coarsest linen 8/6 p^r yard, some @ 25/. A pair of shoes 30/. Wheat & Rye 10/ pr bu :

¹ David Deshler was Commissioner of Army Supplies for Northampton County.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN DELAWARE.

BY REV. MORGAN EDWARDS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY HORATIO GATES JONES.

(Concluded from page 61.)

The next church in order of time is

BROAD CREEK.

The church is distinguished, as above, from the hundred where the bulk of the people reside, and the hundred from the creek which runs through it, about 106 miles towards S. B. W. H. W. from Philadelphia; the families which usually make up the congregation are about 50, whereof 23 persons are baptized and in the communion, here administered quarterly. The minister is Rev. John Benson; his income about 20 pounds, including perquisites. No temporality. No meeting-house. They hold worship at private houses. The above is the present state of *Broad Creek*, March 13, 1791.

History.

This church originated the same way with that of the *Sounds*, and by the same means, viz.: the ministry of Messrs. Baker and Hughes. The names of the persons whom they converted and baptized in this neighbourhood are the following: *Edward Blades, Mary Blades, Joshua Gibbins, Ann Gibbins, John Gibbins, Sarah Gibbins, Samuel Gibbins, Joshua Gibbins, Jr., William Dusky, Leah Dusky, Edmond Hitchen, Tabitha Hitchen, John Benson* (pres. minister), *Leven Bacon, Adare Bacon, William Mattocks, Alexander Mattocks, Sarah Mattocks, William Loyd, Sarah Loyd, Edward Noles, Thomas Noles, Emanuel Walker, Philip Waller, Thomas Grace, Sarah Grace, Thomas Oglesby, Sarah Oglesby, Rachel Calleway, Jaen Smith, Elizabeth Baker, Moses Gordy,*

Eunice Gordy, Rebecca Cormin, Sophia Shahavane, Comfort Boyce, Sarah Phillips, James Perdue, Ann Perdue, William Oliffin, Elizabeth Oliffin, Rhoda Pointer, Delilah Perdue, George Davis, and Mary Davis, and two negroes, Neal and Rachel: these 47 persons were constituted into a church (May 31, 1781) by Rev. Messrs. E. Baker and John Gibbins.

Remarkables.

This is the second church in Sussex, and the third in the State, and one of the ten which formed the Salisbury Association in 1782. (2) This church hath in ten years decreased from 47 to 23: the reason is, several families have moved from hence to Georgia and other southern parts about the year 1784; and a large number was dismissed to form a church at Gravelly Branch in 1785.

Ministry.

The first ministers of this church were the fathers of it, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Baker and Hughes: they visit their children at seasons to this day. Mr. Baker was here since my arrival (March 10, 1791); and Hughes last Sunday (March 20): but the first that settled among them was

Rev. John Gibbins.

He was born in this neighborhood in the year 1739; bred a Presbyterian; embraced the sentiments of the Baptists among the first of Baker's and Hughes's converts; ordained at Fouling Creek; then he travelled till he settled with this church in 1784; died Nov. 6, 1786. His wife was Mrs. Dingle, widow of a clergyman of the Church of England. He had to his brother, Rev. Samuel Gibbins, to whose occasional labors the churches in Delaware and other States are much beholden. He remedied the defects of his education by personal industry (and the help of Rev. Jer. Walker) so far as to be master of his mother-tongue; and (in a conversation I had with him in 1786) he lamented that he could not read the gospel in the language of Christ

and his apostles, without which knowledge (of Greek) he deemed it impossible to study his Testament critically, as so much depends on the little particles, viz.: prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, etc. He was therefore determined to visit R. I. College; but the smallpox stopped his progress at Wilmington, where he died soon after. I contracted intimacy with said Walker in my tour through Virginia in 1772. I found him remarkable for strength of memory and industry; the English grammar he published is much thought of. Mr. Gibbins's successor is the present minister,

Rev. John Benson.

He was born in Worcester County in Maryland July 22, 1758; bred a Presbyterian; after he became a Baptist he was employed in reading sermons to the people when no minister happened to be present: afterwards he was desired to preach in the assembly of the church. He continued this course to June 14, 1790, when he was ordained and took the oversight of the church in conjunction with that of Gravelly Branch. He has an assistant of the name of Joshua Gibbins. The family of the Gibbins (like that of the Suttons) have furnished the churches with many ministers, and are the first fruit of Sussex (as that of Stephanas was of Achaid), and, like his family, have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints. Eight were in the constitution of the Sounds Church, six in that of Broad Creek; five of the same family became preachers. The next church in order of time is

COWMARSH.

The church is distinguished as above from a tract of land of the same name, in Murderkill Hundred and county of Kent, about 92 miles toward s. s.w. e.w. from Philadelphia. They hold worship chiefly at the house of Job Meredith, Sr., for a meeting they have not; the families, about 30, whereof 27 persons are baptized and in the communion, here celebrated once a quarter. No minister. No fixed salary; nor many rich. The above is the present state of Cowmarsh, March 4, 1791.

History.

The first Baptist minister who preached at Cowmarsh was Mr. John Sutton, then minister of Welsh-Tract; this was in 1770. After him Rev. Messrs. Stelle, Kelsay, Worth and others visited the parts. In 1772 Rev. James Sutton (from Tuckiho) came and baptized four, viz.: *John Price* and his wife, *Grace Reynold*, *Elizabeth Reynold*. Others were baptized here, and some at Welsh-Tract, viz.: *William Price*, *Rebecca Price*, *John Patten*, *Elizabeth Patten*, *Job Meredith*, *Jacob Meredith*, *Jacob Meredith, Jr.*, *David Meredith*, *Elizabeth Meredith*, *William Betts*, *Elizabeth Betts*, *Jacob Growell*, *Susanna Robinson*, *Sarah Lewis*, *Sarah Goodwin*, *Lucretia Bostwick*, *Daniel Carter*, *Joshua Dewees*, *Elizabeth Dewees*, *Mary McGifford*, *Elizabeth Patten, Jr.*, *Alce* a negro. These 26 persons (some of whom had joined Welsh-Tract Church) were formed into a body ecclesiastic by Messrs. Boggs and Fleeson, July 18, 1781; and in 1786 joined the Association.

Remarkables.

This little church hath existed for ten years, and is but one more in number than at the constitution in 1781. One reason is, the detachment that was made from it to form a church at Mispillion. (2) A resolution was formed in 1781 to build a meeting-house, and a considerable sum was subscribed; but their active friend (Luff Meredith) dying, the design failed: but they talk of putting it in execution this coming summer. (3) This church and that of Mispillion are, in part, the offspring of Welsh-Tract Church. (4) The principal families, viz.: the Prices and Merediths, are of Welsh extraction.

Ministry.

The ministers who officiated at Cowmarsh from the beginning have been mentioned already; the only one they have had since was

Rev. Eliphaz Dazey.

He took the oversight of this church April 21, 1787, in

conjunction with that of Duck Creek; but resigned Oct. 25, 1788. Since that time Messrs. Ferrel, Dewees, and others have ministered to them. Mr. Dazey was born near Indian River, in Sussex County, Oct. 26, 1754; called to the ministry at the *Sounds* in the month of April, 1782; ordained July 12, 1784. Next fall went to Mispillion, and in 1787 to Cowmarsh and Duck Creek, and thence to Chester, in Pennsylvania; there he married Miss Jemima Leonard, by whom he had a daughter named Harriet. The next church in point of age is

Duck Creek.

So named from the hundred where most of the people reside in the county of Kent, about 72 miles to s. s.w. n.w. from Philadelphia. The meeting-house is of bricks, built in 1771, and accommodated with a good stove. It stands on a lot of one acre, the gift of John and Philemon Dickinson; their conveyance is dated Nov. 17, 1772. The dimensions of the house are 30 feet by 25; the families about 60, whereof 74 persons are professed Baptists and in the communion, here administered the fourth Sunday in the month. The church consists of three branches; one near, another at Eastlanding where a meeting-house is to be built,¹ the third at Georgetown in Maryland. This branch sprouted in the following manner: towards the end of July, 1785, Messrs. Flee-son and Boggs preached in the neighborhood at the request of a certain Methodist of the name of Parsons; other ministers visited the parts until about 16 persons were proselyted to their way: these joined Duck Creek Church. The Lord's Supper is administered to this branch by Rev. Mr. Ferrel once a quarter. He and the two following are the present ministers of Duck Creek; the revenue is unknown, but supposed to be about 100 pounds. The above is the present state of Duck Creek Feb. 2, 1791.

¹ And was built in 1791—its dimensions are 25 feet by 20; it is accommodated with a stove, and stands on a lot of half an acre, the gift of Hugh Durborow: his conveyance is not yet signed. The Presbyterians contributed to the building of the house, and therefore have the use of it.

History.

The tract of land which is known, at present, by the name of Duck Creek Hundred was settled in the year 1733 by a number of Welsh families, some of the Independent and some of the Baptist denomination. The Independents built a meeting-house near the spot where the Baptist meeting-house now stands, and called it Brynson, viz.: *Mount Zion*. They had divine service performed in it by Presbyterian ministers, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Thomas Evans, Rees Lewis, David Jemison, etc., but in process of time this Independent society dwindled away, and the Baptists made use of their house while it stood. The Independents neglected to have the lot conveyed over to them, by which means it reverted to the Dickinsons, and continued in their hands till conveyed to the Baptists at the time before related.¹ The Baptist families who settled in the same district were about nine: the names of the heads of them were James Hyatt, Nathaniel Wild, David Evan, Evan Rees, David Rees, James Howel, Evan David Hughs, Joshua Edward; this last preached to them till he went to Peedee in South Carolina; I saw him there in 1772. These Baptist families came hither from Welsh-Tract, and were members of that church; and the ministers of Welsh-Tract preached and administered ordinances among them, viz.: Enoch Morgan, Nov. 18, 1734; and again July 19, 1737; Rev. Hugh Davis (of the great valley), May 18, 1735; he preached at Brynson meeting-house; otherwise they met at the house of James Hyatt. Rev. David Davis, Sept. 18, 1737, worship was then held at the house of Evan David Hugh. In 1749 Rev. Griffith Jones settled at Duck Creek and continued with this branch of Welsh-Tract Church to his death, Dec. 4, 1757

¹ The above particulars and some which follow, I have gleaned from an old manuscript that was put into my hands by Risdon Bishop, Esq.: it was written by an Independent of the name of *Joshua Evans*. The writer was a scholar, as appears by the correctness of his English and some sprinklings of Latin. I received further information from Mr. Joseph David (father-in-law to my step-daughter), who is now in his 77th year, and well remembers all the settlers and their proceedings.

(see his history in Vol. I. p. 24).¹ In the spring of 1766 Rev. William Davis (of New Britain) settled here and continued with the people to his death, Oct. 3, 1768 (see Vol. I. p. 52).² After him Rev. Messrs. David Davis, John Sutton, John Boggs, Thomas Fleeson and others preached here till the number of Baptists had increased to 30 souls; then they petitioned Welsh-Tract Church for leave to become a distinct church. The names of constituents follow: *Daniel David, Rachel David, Lydia Jones, Samuel Griffin, Mary Griffin, Martha Griffin, Rachel Griffin, Mary Griffin, Jr., Elizabeth Griffin, Lydia Griffin, Lewis Williams, Ruth Williams, Rhoda Wallis, Eleanor Spruance, Elizabeth Roe, Cæsar Roe, Martha Meredith, Deborah Dickinson, Hugh Durborow, Martha Durborow, Mary Anderson, Rebecca Mc Vay, Rhuhamah Parkerson, Martha Owens, Mary Thompson, Elizabeth Greely, Moleston Curry, James Darkling, Andrew Lockart, Mary Lynch.* These 30 persons were constituted a church by Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs, Nov. 24, 1781, and in 1786 were received into the Association of Philadelphia. Note (1) The covenant of this church is without date and without signers, and therefore no covenant; the dates I obtained from Mr. Fleeson's journal. Note (2) The names of the members run in one continued list without any distinction between the constituents and the members afterwards added; the above 30

¹ From volume I. p. 24.—Griffith Jones. He was born Oct. 8, 1695, at a place called *Alltfawr* in the parish of Llanon and County of Carmarthen. Entered on the ministry in the nineteenth year of his age. Settled first at *Penysai*, and afterwards at *Chesenhengoed*. Came to America in 1749, and settled at Duck Creek. Died Dec. 4, 1754, and was buried at Pencader. He had two wives, by whom he had children, Mary, Samuel, Morgan (now minister of Hempstead in England), John Benjamin, Robert, and Rachel.

² From volume I. p. 52.—He was born in 1695, at Castellneth in Glamorganshire. Came to this country first in 1722, but soon went back again. He returned in 1737, and settled at Vincent; thence he removed to New Britain, and had the joint care of the church to his death, which came to pass Oct. 3d, 1768. He was buried at James' hundred in Kent county. He had two children, William and Mary, who married into the Evans and Caldwell families, and have raised him fourteen grandchildren.

were pointed out to me, by Dr. Jones, as the persons who formed the corporation in 1781.

Remarkables.

The people of Duck Creek continued a branch of Welsh-Tract from 1733 to 1781, which was a period of 48 years. (2) Since they became a church their number hath increased from 30 to 47 in the space of ten years.

Temporalities.

A lot in the town of Duck Creek Crossroads measuring 7 perches square, the gift of Isaac and Mary Griffin; their deed bears date July 1, 1789.

Ministry.

The ministers who officiated at Duck Creek before the people became a church have been mentioned; but since the constitution the following had and have the care of them, viz. :

Rev. Eliphaz Dazey.

I find that he was received into membership in this July 23, 1784, which I suppose was the time he began to act the pastor among them; however, he resigned Oct. 25, 1787 (see his history under Cowmarsh). His successors are the present ministers, viz. :

Rev. James Jones.

He took the joint oversight of the church April 8, 1789, when he was ordained by Rev. Messrs. Fleeson, Boggs, Dazey, and Dewees. Mr. Jones was born in Welsh-Tract April 6, 1756; was licensed in that church Nov. 2, 1782. Had his education at Newark Academy, and in the same Newark studied physic. His wife is Mary Crayton, by whom he hath children Sarah, Susanna. His colleague is

Rev. John Patten.

He took the joint care of the church at the same time

with Mr. Jones; for they were ordained the same day and by the same persons. Mr. Patten was born in Cowmarsh Dec. 15, 1752. Was licensed in that church June 14, 1788. His wife is Elizabeth Lockwood, by whom he has children, James, Richard, Margaret, Samuel. Their colleague is

Rev. Gideon Ferrel.¹

He is a native of Maryland; born in Talbot County, Sept. 2, 1763; brought up a Quaker; became a Baptist at the Sounds, where he was licensed in the month of June, 1788; ordained at Churchill, Jan. 1790. He resides near Georgetown, and has the care of one branch of this church which reside there. His wife is Mary Tull, by whom he has children Jacob and Mary. The next younger church is

GRAVELLY BRANCH.

This church is distinguished by the above name, which is the name of a branch of Nanticoke River, and in Nanticoke Hundred and county of Sussex, at the distance of 99 miles towards s. b. w. from Philadelphia. The families about 62, whereof 69 persons are professed Baptists and in the communion, here administered once a quarter. The minister is Rev. John Benson; his income about 30 pounds. No meeting as yet, but soon will be as materials are prepared. They hold worship at the house of John Willis, where a movable pulpit is prepared. The above is the present state of *Gravelly Branch*, March 10, 1791.

History.

The rise and settlement of this church are owing to the ministry of the forementioned Baker and Hughes. When

¹ Since the above was written Messrs. Patten and Ferrel have resigned all care of this church and have gone elsewhere, but another has risen up among themselves to supply their place; his name is William Davis, and (if I understand my informer right) he is grandson of the Rev. William Davis, whose history may be seen in Vol. I. p. 52. Be that as may, our William Davis was born at Duck Creek May 9, 1757; licensed Sept. 27, 1794.

they had made and baptized 23 disciples in the neighborhood they formed them into a church July 30, 1785; their names are *Milbern Dukes, Rachel Dukes, John Willis, Ann Willis, Mathew Marine, John Hinson, Richard Crockett, Elizabeth Crockett, Anna Crockett, John Graham, Ann Graham, Edward Carter Dingle, Comfort Boys, Marjery Hins, Pricilla Carter, Isaac Fisher, Elizabeth Fisher*; and the following negroes, *Rachel, Francis, Marian, Bonny, Jenny.*

Remarkables.

This church hath now existed for six years and increased from 23 to 69. (2) It was received into the Salisbury Association in 1785. (3) A revival took place in this church in 1788 whereby 35 members were added to it.

Ministry.

The original preachers and fathers of this church have been often mentioned, viz.: Messrs. Baker and P. Hughes: since the constitution

Rev. Jonathan Gibbins

hath had the care of them (see his history under the Sounds Church). His successor is the present minister, viz.:

Rev. John Benson.

He took the oversight of the church (June 14, 1790) when he was ordained; the ordainers were Messrs. Hughes, Pollard, Gibbins, and Dingle. Mr. Benson was born (July 22, 1758) in Worcester County in Maryland. Bred a churchman. His wife is Tabitha Hitchins, by whom he has children William, Elijah, Gideon, Tabitha. The next church in order of time is

MISPILLION.

It is so distinguished from the hundred where the people reside, in the county of Kent, about 90 miles s. b. w. westerly from Philadelphia; the families about 18, whereof 11 per-

sons are baptized and in the communion, here administered quarterly. The minister is Rev. Joshua Dewees. No fixed salary. No meeting-house. No temporality. Worship is commonly held at the house of Cornelius Dewees. The above is the present state of Mispillion, March 7, 1791.

History.

The Baptist interest got footing at Mispillion by means of Rev. Messrs. Boggs and Fleeson, who were invited to preach here about the year 1781. They repeated their visits and baptized some, five of whom joined Cowmarsh. After them Rev. Messrs. Baker, Hughes, and others preached and baptized till 20 Baptists were made at Mispillion: their names were *Joshua Dewees, Elizabeth Dewees, Rachel Dewees, Cornelius Dewees, Cornelius Dewees, Jr., Ann Dewees, John Dewees, Mary Dewees, Isaac Dewees, Mary Furchase, Martin Furchase, Peter King, Ann King, Ruth Merony, Cælia Jester, Avery Draper, William Merony, Esther Draper, James Thisslewood*: these were formed into a church by said Fleeson and Boggs, May 10, 1783.

Remarkables.

This church hath decreased in eight years from 20 to 11, owing to deaths, emigration, and no additions equal to losses; and, it is to be feared, will soon come to nothing, as their minister purposes going to the western world in May next. (2) This church joined the Association of Philadelphia in 1785, but was dismissed to the Salisbury Association in 1790.

Ministry.

The first who labored in these parts have been mentioned. Since they became a church

Rev. Eliphaz Dazey

ministered to them; he was received into membership July 23, 1784, which must have been the beginning of his pastorate, but he resigned Dec. 24, 1785. His successor is the present minister,

Rev. Joshua Dewees.

He was born in this neighborhood May 3, 1742. Bred a Presbyterian. Called to the ministry in this church in 1785. Ordained by Rev. Messrs. Fleeson, Boggs, and Dazey, Dec. 26, 1785. His first wife was Elizabeth Bowman; his second, Hannah Birch; his third, Elizabeth New, by whom he had children, Anna, Thomas, Lewis, Samuel, William, James, Jethro, Joshua, Elizabeth, Jr., Mary. The two first are married into the Brandel and Spencer families. The reason of his going to the back-woods was, that he might have land for his great family, which, I think, is a very good reason. Mr. Dewees's transition from a state of nature to a state of grace was tedious and distressing: his account of that transition put me in mind of what John Bunyan saith of himself in his *Grace abounding*, etc.; but it will not be long before he make another transit from a state of grace to a state of glory, for his lungs are wasting fast. The youngest church is

WILMINGTON.

This church is distinguished, as above, from the town where the meeting-house stands, in Christiana Hundred and county of New Castle, 27 miles towards s. w. B. w. H. w. from Philadelphia. The dimensions of the house are 40 feet by 35; it was built of bricks in 1785, on a lot of 210 feet by 60, the gift of Joseph Steadham, Esq.; but a part is reserved by the donor for his own use. His conveyance is dated Aug. 23, 1784. The house is accommodated with a stove, and will be a neat building when finished, for as yet it is but a shell. The families which usually make up the congregation are about 36, whereof 54 persons are baptized and in the communion, here celebrated quarterly. No temporality. Salary uncertain till the debt of the meeting-house be discharged. The above is the present state of Wilmington Church, May 9, 1791.

History.

There were Baptists in Wilmington long before a Baptist Church existed in town; particularly Mrs. Ann Bush (a

member of Welsh-Tract Church); she settled here in 1748. In 1764 Mrs. Elizabeth Way (a member of Brandywine) came to the same place. In 1769 Mr. John Stow (member of Philadelphia) arrived here with his family. The residing of these Baptists here induced Baptist ministers to preach in town, but made no proselytes; in so much that Wilmington was supposed not to be a proper soil to plant Baptists in. The first time that a prospect opened to the contrary was between the years 1782 and 1784; the means were (1) the preaching of Rev. Messrs. Boggs, Fleeson, and Hughes. (2) A religious society kept at the house of Mr. (now Rev.) Thomas Ainger; he settled in town in the month of April, 1783. Mr. Hughes came hither in 1782, and again in 1784. By the above means some (who had been converted long before) were quickened to do their duty; these were baptized by Mr. Boggs (May 25, 1784); their names are *Thomas Ainger, Rachel Ainger, Noah Cross, Mrs. — Ferris*. The same year Mr. Hughes baptized four more, viz.: *Robert Smith, John Redman, Henry Walker, James* (now Rev.) *Macklaughlan*; the last is a New England convert; two of the other attribute their conversion to the said society. Mr. Hughes came to this town (in 1782) to print a volume of hymns, most of which are of his own composing; and in 1784 to print an answer to a Virginia clergyman on the subject of baptism. This detained him in town for several weeks, during which time he preached constantly, sometimes at Mr. McKennan's meeting-house, and sometimes at the town school-house, and gained much attention. Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs continued to visit the place alternately and baptized others; their names are *Thomas Williams, Joseph Tomlinson, John McKim, Curtis Gilbert, Sarah Stow, Elizabeth Hopkins, Mary Matson*: to these twelve must be added four more who had been baptized elsewhere, viz.: *John Stow, Thomas Stow, Elizabeth Way, and Abigail Ainger*: these 16 persons were formed into a church Oct. 8, 1785, by Rev. Messrs. Griffiths, Fleeson, Boggs, and Dazey, and the next year were received into the Association.

Remarkables.

Though the church of Wilmington hath existed but six years yet hath it increased from 16 to 54, besides deaths and detachments to other churches. (2) Several ministers sprang up in this church, young as it is, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Thomas Ainger, James McLaughlan, and Curtis Gilbert. Another has been licensed upon an appearance of pulpit-talents; his name is Henry Walker; he now resides at Alexandria in Virginia. (3) When *believers-baptism* starts up in any place it raises commotions and outcries, because the little image (*infant sprinkling*) "which fell down from Jupiter, and whom Asia and all the world worship, is like to be set at naught and its magnificence despised" it happened so at Wilmington; for three societies (votaries of said little image) combined to preach down the monster *Anabaptism*. The minister of one congregation said not much against it, but exhibited a Swedish picture which shewed the manner in which John baptized Jesus, and which satisfied some who had been alarmed at hearing that neither *sprinkling* nor *pouring* was baptism. The minister of the other congregation showed no mercy to the said minister, but assured his congregation that, after studying his Greek Testament for three weeks, he could aver that *το βαπτίζειν* signified to *sprinkle* and *pour* as well as to *dip*: he also introduced father Abraham as the author of said little image, though the seed of Abraham were refused baptism on that plea, and forbidden the use of it in future (Mat. III. 9). Add to the above that he took a Baptist pamphlet to the pulpit and made some pleasant remarks upon it and the author: this pamphlet was written by Rev. Philip Hughes in answer to a Virginia clergyman of the Church of England; let any unprejudiced person read the pamphlet and he will know what to think of our *pert censor's* pleasantry. During the said commotion a veteran divine of a third society taught his people to *love their neighbors as themselves*; his name is McKennan.

Ministry.

Some of the ministers who labored at Wilmington have been mentioned already, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Hughes, Boggs, and Fleeson: the two last deserve further notice, for they not only preached often to the people, but exerted themselves to collect money towards building their meeting-house, the first stone of which was laid by Mr. Fleeson; he also saved (from the care of his own church) much of his time to serve them between 1785 and 1788, when one of their own members rose up to take the pastoral care of the church, viz.:

Rev. Thomas Ainger.

Somewhat of his history hath occurred already; to which may be added that he was born in Philadelphia May 12, 1755; bred a Presbyterian, and continued in that communion to May 25, 1784, when he was baptized by Rev. P. Hughes. Called to the ministry April 15, 1786. Licensed May 19, 1787. Ordained by Rev. Messrs. Dr. Jones, David Jones, Eliphaz Dazey, Oct. 28, 1788; at which time he took on him the care of the church. His wife is Abigail Scull (widow of William Ferris), but no issue. He received serious impressions (of the religious kind) when young, which wore off; when he advanced to manhood they returned with more vigor and permanency. He followed them to what Presbyterians call *full communion*, but was all the while a stranger to the liberty of the children of God; this liberty he obtained about the beginning of 1780; the means were his reading the eighth chapter of Romans, particularly the first verse, *There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus*. This he read (as it were) with new eyes, and consequently with new sensations, in so much that fears vanished and confidence took their place. He had frequent doubts relative to the validity of infant baptism while in the Presbyterian communion which he strove to suppress; but being on the banks of Schuylkill (when baptism was celebrated in that river by Rev. P. Hughes) all his doubts vanished: so con-

formable to the gospel history of baptism appeared the whole transaction that he determined to *go and do likewise*.

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Postscript.

In the preface to the second volume I advised the purchasers not to bind their books for a reason there given. I repeat the same advice with regard to this volume ; because three volumes more will complete the history of the Baptists in the Middle States. I also requested that if any error or defect should be discovered in that volume I might be informed of it, for the sake of correcting or supplying the same. No person (except he should try the experiment) can imagine the difficulty, if not impossibility, of correctness and accuracy in such an undertaking as I and others have been engaged in. Truth is the daughter of time. By it have mistakes in all histories been corrected.

THE UNITED STATES THROUGH ENGLISH SPECTACLES IN 1792-1794.

LETTERS FROM EDWARD THORNTON, ESQ., TO SIR JAMES BLAND BURGESS, BART.

[The following letters are copied from the lately published "Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burgess, Bart., sometime Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, edited by James Hutton, *London*, 1885." The writer, Edward Thornton, Esq., was secretary to Mr. George Hammond, the first minister from Great Britain to the United States.]

PHILADELPHIA, April 2, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR:

I promised you in a former letter a description of the President of the United States, General Washington. Conscious as I am of the difficulty and danger of describing again what has been so often described before, I will yet attempt to convey to you my idea of him. His person is tall and sufficiently graceful; his face well-formed, his complexion rather pale, with a mild philosophic gravity in the expression of it. In his air and manner he displays much *natural* dignity; in his address he is cold, reserved, and even phlegmatic, though without the least appearance of haughtiness or ill-nature; it is the effect, I imagine, of constitutional diffidence. That caution and circumspection which form so striking and well-known a feature in his military, and indeed in his political character, is very strongly marked in his countenance, for his eyes retire inward (do you understand me?) and have nothing of fire of animation or openness in their expression. If this circumspection is accompanied by discernment and penetration, as I am informed it is, and as I should be inclined to believe from the judicious choice he has generally made of persons to fill public stations, he possesses the two great requisites of a statesman, the faculty of concealing his own sentiments and of discovering

those of other men. A certain degree of indecision, however, a want of vigour and energy, may be observed in some of his actions, and are indeed the obvious result of too refined caution. He is a man of great but secret ambition, and has sometimes, I think, condescended to use little arts, and those, too, very shallow ones, to secure the object of that ambition. He is, I am told, indefatigable in business, and extremely clear and systematic in the arrangement of it; his time is regularly divided into certain portions, and the business allotted to any one portion rigidly attended to. Of his private character I can say little positive. I have never heard of any truly noble, generous, or disinterested action of his; he has very few who are on terms of intimate and unreserved friendship; and what is worse he is less beloved in his own State (Virginia) than in any part of the United States. After all, he is a great man, circumstances have made him so; but I cannot help thinking that the misconduct of our commanders has given him a principal part of that greatness.

Believe me, ever your faithful

and affectionate servant,

EDWARD THORNTON.

PHILADELPHIA, June 11, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your character of the Americans, from their writings in the magazine I sent you, is perfectly just; and you will perceive by several passages in different letters of mine that I have the happiness of coinciding in opinion with you. But there is one trait which you neglected to mention—it is impossible you could have overlooked it—their vanity as a nation. This tinctures the whole of their character. In arts, in arms, in literature, in political economy, they think that they take the lead, and have pointed out a new road to Europe. If they have any genius or original invention, I believe it is in the mechanic arts; but even then how far do they fall short of the discoveries of our manufacturing counties? They borrow, or rather steal, the models of our

machinery, add some small improvement and call the whole their own invention. Nor is this vanity confined to the less informed class of people, but it extends to the highest. In his history of Virginia, Mr. Jefferson discovers the same spirit. Because Hadley and Godfrey, an American, invented, independently of each other, the instrument known by the name of Hadley's Quadrant, poor Hadley is a plagiarist, and the American has been robbed of the merit of the discovery. It is in vain for an Englishman to allege that it is very possible two men might hit on the same idea without any previous communication, and to assert in proof of the possibility (which is an undoubted fact) that Sir Isaac Newton had the same idea, which he communicated to Dr. Hadley, and which, from some curious circumstances, neither Hadley nor Godfrey could have known anything of. All this is of no avail, the verdict of plagiarism is given against Hadley,¹ and he must abide by it. And because Rittenhouse made an orrery of his room, the man who really invented that instrument, I believe before Rittenhouse was in being, is a plagiarist too. For my part I see nothing in this country of talents, in politics or literature, that can endure for an instant a comparison with those of the luminaries of the past and present day in England. Nor, however rapid the improvement may have been in civilization, can it be expected in a country whose very existence has not been known more than three centuries. If America assume a rank in literature and arts to which she has no claim, she must not be surprised to be told that, on the scale of original invention, she is rated very low indeed. The effect which you so kindly intended to be produced, by con-

¹ John Hadley also invented a five-feet reflecting telescope. He was vice-president of the Royal Society, and died in 1744. [As Godfrey's Quadrant was in use in America two years before Hadley's claim, Americans, and Philadelphians in particular, will plead guilty to still possessing some of the vanity to which Mr. Thornton takes exception, when the question of its invention is discussed. Had Mr. Hutton had access to a copy of Dr. Emerson's address on Godfrey, he might have given a more extended note on the subject.—ED. OF MAG.]

veying through my hands Sir Isaac Heard's¹ Packet to the President, has certainly taken place. Since his return from Virginia, prior to which journey he had desired me to forward a packet for Sir Isaac Heard which I addressed to you, or to Mr. Boyd for you, by the ship *George Barclay*, since that time I have been honoured by an invitation to dine with him. Except in the honour, believe me there is nothing pleasant in the circumstance, for it is of all others the most dull and unentertaining. The President's reserve, the effect partly I think of pride, partly of constitutional diffidence, throws a restraint on the whole party. The conversation was in consequence uncommonly phlegmatic and trivial, though as the party contracted into a smaller circle, the Secretary of State's strictures on monarchs began to throw a certain portion of animation into it. This gentleman (Thomas Jefferson) is, or affects to be, a most rigid republican; a warm admirer of Thomas Paine, and a vigorous stickler for revolutions and for the downfall of all aristocracy. The death of the King² of Sweden made it extremely probable, he said, that there would be a revolution in that country during the minority of his successor.

The most dignified character in this country (Washington) has a good deal of (I cannot call it republicanism, for he affects state, he loves to be treated with great respect, and (by the by) is not a little flattered, I conceive, by the particular attention of Mr. Hammond not to visit him but in full dress, but of) a certain dislike to monarchy. If Kings were Presidents, or if the President were a King, I believe that aversion would cease. At present he cannot but conceive himself much inferior in dignity and importance to any of them. When he travels, it is in a very *kingly*

¹ Garter King-at-arms.

² Gustavus III., assassinated by Captain Ankarstroem, at a masqued ball on March 16, 1789. He lingered for twelve days. Shortly before he expired, he said, "I should like to know what Brissot will say of my death." Ankarstroem's bust was placed in the hall of the Jacobin Club, next to that of Brutus. The Duke of Sudermania, the minor's grand-uncle, governed as Regent and maintained a strict neutrality.

style ; for on his last journey he foundered five horses, and I am informed that his secretaries are not admitted into his carriage, but stand with their horses' bridles in their hands till he is seated, and then mount and ride before his carriage.

With regard to that same "*lengthy*," Mr. H. says that he bows with submission to your superior knowledge ; but he cannot avoid thinking, yet, that the word is a good word ; and if it be not English, it deserves to be so. For my own justification, I must observe to you, that at the time of reading over the dispatch which contains it, I noticed to him that the word, as far as I could recollect, had not been adopted into our language. But you must have observed numerous instances of new words coined, or old ones applied to a new sense, in the same magazine that has given you such an insight into the manners of the Americans. They plead, I presume, revolution and the rights of man for these innovations in language, and the liberty of talking in bad English is, I suppose, considered as indefeasible as that of doing wrong, when the people unite in such a resolution. What will be the language, or what the national character of a people composed of such heterogeneous particles, collected and huddled together from all parts of the world, it is impossible to say. The mischief of it is, that in the Eastern States, whose inhabitants are almost entirely English, or descendants of Englishmen, they retain all the local idioms and barbarisms from the country from which they migrated. Thus a barbarous dialect becomes a national language, and its corruption is perpetuated. They must act on this point as they have done in their government, and as they have borrowed the most beautiful and useful parts of their constitution from the English model, they must in future ages refer to the language of the same country as the standard by which the purity of their own is to be regulated.

I am ever, my dear Sir,

Your grateful and affectionate

E. THORNTON.

PHILADELPHIA, March 5, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR :

* * * * *

I was present yesterday at the ceremony of administering the oath of office to Mr. Washington on his re-election for the next four years as President of the United States. It was administered by one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in the Senate Chamber, in the presence of the Senators and as many individuals as could be crowded into the room. The President first made a short speech, expressive of his sense of the high honour conferred on him by his re-election. There was nothing particular in the ceremony itself.

Our innovating demagogues in England will, I suppose, draw strong inferences in favour of the electing of the first executive magistrate from this instance, which is certainly an uncommon one, of an unanimous choice of a whole people repeated in his favour. I confess I am not disposed to consider this circumstance as so highly honourable to the object of it, as others might be who take a slight view of it. I consider it rather as a mutual concession of prejudices on the part of the people, than as the unanimous acknowledgment of incontestable superiority of merit; and as far as it is honourable to have conciliated opposite tempers and suppressed partial dislikes, I allow that credit to the President. The circumstance which proves incontestably, I think, that I am right in this opinion, is that a great number of votes for Vice-President, his second; and in certain events his successor, was given to a man whose principles are diametrically opposite to those of the President, and who has been, and still is, the decided opponent of the measures of the present Government, and of the Federal constitution itself. This conduct can be explained on no ground, I think, but either of most strange inconsistency, or of the kind of mutual concession which I mention. After all, it must be said that he is the only man in the whole Continent for whom such concessions would be made.

There was one thing, which I observed yesterday in the Senate Chamber, which, if not accidental, will serve to

mark the character of the people, though it was trifling in itself. The portraits of the King and Queen of France, which were presented, I believe, during the war, were covered with a curtain, a circumstance which was not the case most certainly when I have been there on former occasions. Alas! poor Louis!

“Deserted at his utmost need
By those his former bounty fed!”

The French, those murderous imitators will, I fear, supply the rest of this passage, and in the very spirit, too, which actuated the assassins of the unfortunate Darius. I don't know whether I mentioned to you formerly that the key of the Bastille, given to a certain great man here by La Fayette, is hung up in a glass frame in the principal room of the great man's house, with an engraving of Louis XVI., *le patriote Roi des Francais*, opposite to it. In the drawing-room of Mr. Jefferson there are three busts,—of Franklin, Paul Jones, and La Fayette, three gentlemen, the first of whom had talents without virtue, the second *deserved* hanging, and the last, not improbably, may meet with that fate. The French principles are gaining ground fast in this country; you will have heard of their rejoicings at the late successes of the French; you will have heard of the attacks upon the President himself for his levees and other *appendages of monarchy and aristocracy*; the name of “citizen” is banded about, and in the course of last month a motion was made in the House of Representatives, in the very spirit of Cromwell and democracy, that the mace of that House should be broken up as a useless bauble, and the silver, of which part of it is composed, sent to the public mint. The mace is somewhat in the form of the ancient Roman Fasces; it consists of thirteen arrows bound together, and an eagle on the top.

With most sincere wishes for the continued happiness of Mrs. Burges and my young friends,

I am, Most faithfully yours,

EDWARD THORNTON.

PHILADELPHIA, May 27, 1794.

MY DEAREST SIR:

I presume that I shall very shortly resume my post. I cannot say that I look forward to this period with particular satisfaction; as, since the present causes of dispute have arisen between Great Britain and this country, the *general* malignity against the British name is so much increased when concentrated and pointed against a known Englishman, especially if he has any public employment, that a residence in any part of this country is become extremely unpleasant. At Baltimore solitude or insult is almost my only alternative. In that town, since I left it, the most violent outrages have been committed against persons accused of being friends to Great Britain, and I enclose you a handbill¹ which, after one of these riots, the Chief Justice of Maryland (Samuel Chase) found himself obliged to circulate in order to insure from the orderly part of the community protection to his own person in the exercise of his duty. Captain Braithwaite, whom I find to be an intimate friend of yours, my dear sir, and who appears to have very superior talents, can relate to you very particularly the nature of the temper which actuates the people of that part of the country, as he has passed through the most inflammatory portions of it (an absolute ordeal), and I believe was actually in Baltimore at the time of the above riot. Whatever may be the termination of the present disputes between the two countries, some most important lessons have been given in the course of them as to the nature and extent of our commercial connections with this continent. Our merchants must hereafter in their accounts of profit and loss calculate

¹ The handbill inclosed by Mr. Thornton is too prolix to be inserted. It may be enough to state that Mr. Chase warns the inhabitants of Baltimore that he will maintain the peace of the city at any cost. Two individuals,—a Captain Ramsdell and the commander of a privateer named Linton, had been tarred and feathered, seemingly at the instigation of a Captain Stodder, who afterwards defied the magistrate to proceed against him. Nevertheless, he intended to commit Captain Stodder and all others who had been arrested, and would refuse to accept bail.

the risk of a confiscation of their debts in a given period of years, in the same manner as a West India planter looks forward to a hurricane; and I would beg them to reflect whether a less extensive but *certain* trade (or at least with very little danger of loss and none of confiscation, which is by no means impracticable) be not preferable to one which, though it may produce considerable profits, may encounter a tempest which will sweep off the whole at once. The other lesson which respects the West Indies is a still more momentous one. The late embargo on vessels in the United States has discovered a spirit of refined hostility (which has been happily harmless in the present instance, but) which may one day operate most fatally to the colonies in the West Indies and to Great Britain. If they continue to look to the United States *alone* as the source of supply for the necessities of life (I mean flour and Indian meal), let them beware of any period of national calamity in Great Britain. Whenever that moment shall occur, let but any motive of pique, or caprice, or hostility, or even a commercial speculation actuate the people of this country, and the *sudden* suspension will plunge the West Indies in distress, if not in ruin. While the States are the only source of supply, the suspension *can* be *sudden* and must be effectual, and I beg to observe that it can only be so by being unexpected. I am therefore of opinion, my dear sir, that it is the duty and interest of Great Britain to seek out one or many other markets for the West Indies, even at an additional expense to those islands. Let the United States have a share in that trade if necessary; but do not let us encourage a *monopoly* which can never be advantageous to us, and may be made the instrument of our destruction. My most affectionate remembrances ever attend Mrs. Burges and my dear young friends. May every blessing of Heaven attend you and yours,

Is ever, my dear sir,

The wish of your faithful servant,

EDWARD THORNTON.

A PARTIAL LIST OF THE FAMILIES WHO RESIDED
IN BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, PRIOR TO
1687, WITH THE DATE OF THEIR ARRIVAL.

[In volume VIII. of the Magazine (p. 382) we printed a partial list of the families who arrived at Philadelphia between 1682 and 1687. In introducing it to our readers we explained that it must not be looked upon as a "List of Arrivals," made up of entries recorded at the time the several families mentioned in it landed. It was, in fact, a record made in conformity with a law passed in 1684, directing the inhabitants then in the province, and those who should thereafter arrive, to register in their respective counties. The following list is a similar one relating to Bucks County. It was prepared under the same statute, and while not a complete record, is probably nearer so than the Philadelphia list. In printing we have followed a certified copy of the original in possession of the Historical Society.]

GEORGE POWNALL and ELLENOR, his wife, of Layloch, in the County of Chester, in old England, yeoman. Came in the ship the "Friend's Adventure." The Master, Thomas Wall. Arrived the 28th of the 7th Month, 1682. *Children*, Reuben, Elizabeth, Sarah, Rachel, and Abigail Pownall. *Servants*, John Brearley, Ro. Layler, Martha Worrall. *Time of Service & Freedom*, To serve 4 years; loose the 29th of the 7th Month, 1686. *Wages & Land*, 50s. at the end of their time and 50 Acres of land apeice.

WILLIAM YARDLEY and JANE, his wife, of Ransclough, near Leeke, in the County of Staford, in old England, yeoman. Came in the ship called the "Friend's Adventure." The Mr., Thomas Wall. Arrived in Delaware River the 28th of the 7th M^o., 1682. *Children*, Enoch, Thomas, & William Yardley. *Servant*, Andrew Heath. *Time of Servitude & Freedom*, to serve 4 years; Loose the 29th of the 7th M^o., 1686. *Wages & Land*, 50 acres of land.

LUKE BRINLEY, of Leeke, in the County of Staford, mason. Came in the ship aforesaid. Arrived the 28th of the 7th M^o., 1682.

JOHN CLOWS, JR., of Gosworth, in the County of Chester, and JOSEPH, his brother, & SARAH, his sister. Came in the ship aforesaid. Arrived the 28th of the 7th, 1682. *Servant*, Henry Lingart, to work his passage money at — p. the day, and then to be free.

JOHN BROCK, near Stockport, in the County of Chester, in old England, yeoman. Came in the ship called the "Friend's Adventure." The M^r., Thomas Wall. Arrived in the Delaware River the 28th of the 7th M^o., 1682. *Servants*, Job Houle, Eliza Eaton, to serve 4 years; Loose the 29th 7th Mo., 1686, and William Morton, his servant. Came in the ship called the "Freeman." The M^r., Jon Southren. To serve 4 years; Loose the 6th of the 6th M^o., 1686. Each to have 50 acres of land apeice.

ANN MILCOM, of Armaugh, widow, in Ireland. Came in the ship called the "Antilope." The M^r., Edward Cooke. Arrived the 10th of the 10th M^o., 1682, in this river. *Children*, Jane, Grace, and Mary Milcom. *Servant*, Francis Sanders, to serve 4 years; loose the 10th of the 10 M^o., 1686. To have 50 acres of land.

WILLIAM VENABLES and ELIZABETH, his wife. Came in the ship the "Friend's Adventure." Arrived in Delaware River the 28th of the 7th M^o., 1682. He came from Chatkill, in Eccleshill parish, in the County of Staford, husbandman. *Children*, Joyce and Francis Venables.

JOHN HEYCOCK, of Slin, in Eccleshill parish, in the County of Staford, husbandman. Came in the "Friend's Adventure." Arrived in Delaware River the 28th of the 7th M^o., 1682. *Servant*, James Morris, to serve 4 years; loose the 28th 7th M^o., 1686. To have 50 acres of land.

HENRY MARJORUM and ELIZABETH, his wife, of Cheverell, in the County of Wilts, husbandman. Arrived in the "Bristol Merchant," the M^{rs}. name W^m. Smith, in the 12th M^o., 1682.

WILLIAM BEAKES, husbandman, of the parish of Backwill, in the County of Summerset. Came in the "Bristol Merchant," the 12th M^o., 1682. *Children*, Abraham Beakes.

ANDREW ELLET, a Seller of small wares, and ANN, his

wife, of the parish of Fifer, in the County of Summerset. Arrived in Delaware River in the ship called the "Factor," of Bristol. The Mr., Roger Drue. *Servants*, John Roberts and Mary Sanders.

JOHN WOODS, of Attercliffe, in the parish of Sheffield, in the County of York, husbandman. Arrived in Delaware river in the "Shields," the Mr., Daniel Foos, in the 10th M^o., 1678. *Children*, John, Joseph, Esther, Mary, and Sarah Woods.

JOHN PURSLOW, of Dublin, in Ireland, husbandman. Arrived in Delaware river in the "Phenix," the Mr., Mathew Shaw, in the 6th M^o., 1677.

JOHN ROWLAND, of Billingshurst, in Sussex, husbandman. Arrived in Delaware river with his wife, PRISCILLA, in the "Welcome," the Mr., Robert Greenaway, in the 8th M^o., 1682. *Servant*, Hannah Mogdridge; loose in the 3^d M^o., 1684. To have 50 Shillings P. Annum, & 50 acres of land.

THOMAS ROWLAND, of Billingshurst, in Sussex. Came in the "Welcome," at the time abovesaid.

JOSHUA BOARE, of Drainfield, in Darbyshire, husbandman. Arrived in Delaware river in the "Martha," of Hull, the Mr., Thomas Wildbuys, the 7th M^o., 1677. *Children*, Joshua Boare, born the 29th 4th M^o., 1681. MARGARET, his wife, of Horton, Barent in Wiltshire. Arrived in the "Elizabeth and Sarah" the 29th of the 3^d M^o., 1679.

WILLIAM BUCKMAN, of the parish of Billingshurst, in the County of Sussex, carpenter. Arrived in the Delaware river in the "Welcome," the Mr., Robert Greenaway, with his wife, SARAH, in the 8th M^o., 1682. *Children*, Sarah and Mary Buckman.

GIDEON GAMBELL, of Hevizes, in the County of Wilts, Slaton. Arrived in Delaware River, in the "Bristol Factor," the Mr., Richard Drue, in the 10th M^o., 1681.

WILLIAM BILES, of Dorchester, in the County of Dorset, vile monger, and JOHANNAH, his wife. Arrived in Delaware river in the "Elizabeth & Sarah," of Waymouth, the 4th of the 4th M^o., 1679. *Children*, William, George, John, Elizabeth, Johanah, Rebecca, and Mary Biles. *Servants*, Edward Han-

cock, to serve 8 years; loose the last of the 3^d M^o., 1687. To have 50 acres of land. Elizabeth Petty, to serve 7 years; loose the last of the 3^d M^o., 1686. To have 50 acres of land.

CHARLES BILES, of the town and County above. Arrived in the ship aforesaid, the time aforesaid.

THOMAS JANNEY,¹ of Shiall, in the County of Chester, yeoman, and MARJORY, his wife. Arrived in Deleware River the 29th of the 7th M^o., 1683, in the "Endeavor," of London. The M^r., George Thorp. *Children*, Jacob, Thomas, Abel, & Joseph Janney. *Servants*, John Nield, to serve 5 years, and have 50 acres of land. Hannah Falkner, to serve 4 years; loose 29th 7 M^o., 1687. To have 50 acres of land.

JOHN CLOWS, of Gosworth, in the County of Chester, yeoman, and MARJORY, his wife, arrived in the aforesaid ship, the time aforesaid. *Children*, Marjory, Rebecca, and William Clows. *Servants*, Joseph Chorley, to serve 2 years; loose the 29th 7th M^o., 1685. To have 50 acres of land. Samuel Hough, to serve 4 years; loose the 29th 7th M^o., 1687. To have 50 acres of land. John Richardson, to serve 4 years; loose the 29th 7th M^o., 1687. To have 50 acres of land.

GEORGE STONE, of Frogmore, in the parish of Charlton, in the County of Devon, serge wavor. Arrived in Maryland in the "Daniel & Elizabeth," of Plymouth, the M^r., William Ginney, in the 9th M^o., 1683, and from thence transported to this river. Arrived here in the 10th M^o., 1683. *Servant*, Thomas Dyer, to serve 4 years; loose the 9th M^o., 1687. To have 50 acres of land.

GILBERT WHEELER, of London, fruiterer, and MARTHA, his wife. Came in the ship "Jacob & Mary." The M^r., Dan^l. Moore. Arrived in this river the 12th 7th M^o., 1679. *Children*, William, Briant, & Martha Wheeler. *Servants*, Charles Thomas, Robert Benson, & Cathrin Knight.

RICHARD HOUGH,² of Macclesfield, in the County of Chester, chapman. Arrived in Deleware river in the "Endeavor," of London, George Thorp, M^r., the 29th 7th M^o., 1683. *Servants*, Francis Hough, to serve 2 years, and to

¹ See Vol. VIII. p. 330.

² Ibid., p. 331.

have 50 acres of land; loose the 29th 7th M^o., 1685. Thomas Wood and Mary Wood, his wife; he to serve 5 years, and she 4 years, and each to have 50 acres of land. James Sutton, to serve 4 years, to have 3£ 15s. per Annum, and 50 acres of land at the expiration of the term.

JOHN CHAPMAN, Aged about 58 years, and JANE, his wife, about 42 years. Came from Stangnah, in the parish of Skelton, in the County of York, yeoman. Came in the ship the "Shields," of Stockton. The M^r., Daniel Foos. Arrived in Maryland in the beginning of the 8th M^o., 1684, and arrived in this river the latter end of the same Month. *Children*, Marah, born the 12th 2^d M^o., 1671; Ann, born 18th 3^d M^o., 1676; John, born the 9th 11th M^o., 1679; Jane, his daughter, came at the same time, and died at sea.

ELLIN PEARSON, of Kirklydam, in the County of York, aged about 54 years. Came at the aforementioned time in the abovementioned ship.

ANN PEACOCK, of Kildale, in the County of York. Came at the same time in the same ship abovementioned.

HENRY PAXSON, of Bycot house, in the parish of Slow, in the County of Oxford, aged about 37 years. Came in the ship the "Samuel," of London. The M^r., John Adee. Arrived in the Middle of the 7th M^o., 1682. His wife came at the same time, and died at sea in the last of the 5th M^o., 1682. His son, Henry, died at sea the day before his Mother. John Paxson died about the middle of the 5th M^o. aforesaid.

THOMAS PAXSON, brother of the said Henry. Came in the said ship, and died at sea about the beginning of the 7th M^o., 1682. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, born about the 5th 9th M^o., 1675.

JOHN PALMER, of Cheadland, in Yorkshire, husbandman, and CHRISTIANA, his wife. Arrived in this river in the "Providence," of Scarborough, the M^r., Robert Hopper, the 10th of the 9th M^o., 1683.

RICHARD RIDGWAY and ELIZABETH, his wife, of Welford, in the County of Bark, Taylor. Arrived in this river in the ship "Jacob & Mary," of London, in the 7th M^o., 1679.

Children, Thomas, born the 25th 5th M^o., 1677, and Richard, born the 27th 2^d M^o., 1680.

SAMUEL DARK, of London, Callenderer, arrived in this river in the ship the "Content," of London, the M^r., William Jonson, in the 8th M^o., 1680. *Servants*, James Craft, to serve 4 years. Had in hand 10 Bushels of Corn. At the expiration of the time to have one cow and calf and 50 acres of land. Mary Craft, to serve one year. To have 4£ wages.

ANN KNIGHT arrived in the ship "Society," of Bristol, the M^r., Thomas Jordon, in the 6th M^o., 1682.

JOSHUA HOOPS, of Skelton, in Clunland, in Yorkshire, yeoman, and ISSABEL, his wife. Came in the abovementioned ship, the "Providence," the 10th 9th M^o., 1683. *Children*, Daniel, Margaret, & Christian.

WILLIAM BENNET, of Hammondsworth, in the County of Middlesex, yeoman, and REBECCA, his wife. Arrived in this river the 9th M^o., 1683, in the ship the "Jeffery," of London. The M^r., Thomas Arnold.

LYONEL BRITTAIN, of Alny, in the County of Bucks, Blacksmith, and ELIZABETH, his wife. Arrived in this river in the "Owner's Advise," of Barmoodes, the M^r., George Bond, in the 4th M^o., 1680. *Child*, Elizabeth, his daughter, died as they came up the bay, and was buried at Burlington.

THOMAS FITZWATER, of Hanworth, in the County of Middlesex, near Hampton Court, husbandman. Arrived in this river the 28th 8th M^o., 1682, in the "Welcome," of London. The M^r., Robert Greenaway. MARY, his wife, and Josiah and Mary, his children, died at sea coming over. *Children*, Thomas and George. *Servants*, John Hey, to serve six years; loose 28th 8th M^o., 1688. To have 50 acres of land.

ROBERT LUCAS, of Deverall, Longbridge, in the County of Wilts, yeoman. Arrived in this river the 4th of the 4th M^o., 1679, in the "Elizabeth and Mary," of Waymouth. ELIZABETH, his wife, arrived in the ship the "Content," of London, the M^r., William Jonson, in the 7th M^o., 1680. *Children*, John, his son, born the 11th 11th M^o., 1654, Giles, Edward, Robert, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Mary, & Sarah.

DANIEL BRINSON, of Membary parish, in the County of Devon. Arrived in this river the 28th of the 7th M^o., 1677, in the "Willing Mind," of London. The Master's name was Lucome. Married, the 8th of the 8th M^o., 1681, to Frances Greenland, of East Jersey.

JOHN HOUGH, of Hough, in the County of Chester, yeoman, and HANNAH, his wife. Arrived in this river in the 9th M^o., 1683, in the ship "Friendship," of Liverpool, the M^r. Rob^t. Crosman *Child*, with John Hough, their child. *Servants*, George Glaire and Issabel, his wife, to serve 4 years; George Glaire, their child, till 21; and Nathaniel Watmough & Thomas Hough to serve 4 years each.

WILLIAM DARK, aged about 58 years, of Rysing, Camden, in the County of Gloster, glover. Arrived in this river about the middle of the 4th M^o., 1680, in the "Content," of London. The M^r., William Jonson. ALICE, his wife, aged about 63 years, came in the ship the "Charles," of London. The M^r., Edward Paine. Arrived in this river the latter end of the 6th M^o., 1684. *Child*, John Dark, their son, born the 4th 3^d M^o., 1667. Arrived with his mother.

RANDULPH BLACKSHAW, of Hallingee, in the County of Chester, and ALICE, his wife, arrived in Maryland the 2^d of the 9th M^o., 1682, in the ship "Submission," of Liverpool. Randolph arrived in this province at Appoquinimine the 15th 11th M^o., 1682. Alice, his wife, arrived at Apoquinemene the 9th 3^d M^o., 1683. *Children*, Phebe arrived in this province with her father. Sarah, Jacob, Mary, Nathaniel, Martha, arrived in this province with their mother. Abraham died at sea the 2^d 8th M^o., 1682. *Servants*. These servants below came in the ship the "Friend's Adventure." The M^r., Thomas Wall. Arrived in this river the 28th 7th M^o., 1682. *Servants to Randolph Blackshaw*, William Beasy, Ralph Nuttall, and Ralph Cowgill, each to serve 4 years, and to have 50 acres of land apiece. Roger Bradbury, Sarah Bradbury, to serve 4 years, and have 50 acres of land. These arrived in this province with Randolph. Elenor, the wife of the said Roger Bradbury, and Roger, Jacob, and Joseph, sons to the said Roger and Elenor, the said Ran-

dulph sold in Maryland. Martha Bradbury arrived with his wife, to serve 4 years, and to have 50 acres of land.

JAMES HARRISON, of Bolton, in the County of Lancaster, aged about 57 years, Shoemaker, and ANN, his wife, aged about 61 years. Sailed from Liverpool for this province in the ship the "Submission," of Liverpool, the Mr., James Settle, the 5th of the 7th M^o., 1682, and arrived at Choptank, in Maryland, the 21st 9th M^o., following, being brought thither through the dishonesty of the Master, and arrived at Apoquinemene, in this province, the 15th of the 11th M^o. following. ROBERT BOND, came at the same time. AGNES HARRISON, his Mother, came at the same time, aged 81 years. *Children*, Phebe, his daughter, wife of Phineas Pemberton. *Servants*, Alice Dickerson and Jane Lyon, each to serve 4 years, and to have 50 acres of land.

PHINEAS PEMBERTON, aged 33 years, of Bolton aforesaid, Grocer. Came at the same time with PHEBE, his wife, aged 23 years, and arrived at the same time as above, in Maryland. Phebe, his wife, arrived at Apoquinimene, in this province, the 9th of the 3^d M^o. following, 1683. *Children*, Abigail, born the 13th 11th M^o., 1679; Joseph, born the 11th 3^d M^o., 1681. *Servants*, Joseph Stew, William Smith. Came in the "Friend's Adventure." Arrived the 28th 7th M^o., 1682. To serve 4 years, and to have 50 acres of land, being the Governor's allowance. Joseph Mather and Elizabeth Bradbury, to serve 4 years, and to have 50 acres of land each.

RALPH PEMBERTON, Father of the said Phineas, aged 72 years. Arrived at the same time abovesaid, in Maryland and in this province 9th 3^d M^o., 1683.

ROBERT BOND, Son of Thomas Bond, of Waddicar Hall, near Garstang, in Lancashire. Came aboard the ship "Submission," of Liverpool, at the time aforementioned. Aged about 16 years, being left by his father to the tuition of James Harrison. The said Robert Bond died, and was buried at a place betwixt Jon. Clows & W^m. Yardley. The time will appear in the record of burials.

ELLIS JONES, of Wales, in the County of Denby, or Flint, and JANE, his wife. Came in the said ship "Submission,"

and arrived at the time aforesaid. *Children*, Barbara, Dorothy, Mary, and Isaac. *Servants* to the Governor these came.

JANE MODE and MARGERY MODE, daughters to Thomas Winn, of Walley. His wife came and arrived at the time aforesaid. Harriet Hodges, servant to the said Thomas Winn.

LYDIA WHARNBY, of Bolton aforesaid. Came in the said ship "Submission," at the time aforesaid. Aged about 42 years.

JAMES CLAYTON, of Middlewiche, in the County of Chester, blacksmith, and JANE, his wife. Came in the said ship "Submission" at the time aforesaid. *Children*, James, Sarah, John, Mary, Joseph, & Lydia.

DAVID HALL, of Maxfield, in the County of Chester, shoemaker, and MARY, his wife, arrived in Maryland the 3^d day of the 12th M^o., 1684, in the "Friendship," of Liverpool, the M^r., Edmund Croston, and afterwards transported to this river, where his family arrived the 28th 3^d M^o., 1685. *Children*, Jacob, born the 8th 12th M^o., 1679, Sarah, and Joseph. *Servants*, Ephraim Jackson, to serve 4 years, and to have meat, drink, washing, & lodging, and £6 per annum. John Reynolds, to serve 4 years, and to have meat, drink, washing, & lodging, and 2£ 10s. per annum. Joseph Hollinshead, to serve 4 years, and to have necessaries as above & 4£ per annum. Jno. Evans, to serve 2 years, and to have necessaries as above and 6£ per annum. William Fowler, to serve 4 years, to have for 3 of the last years 5£ 6s. 8d. per Ann., and otherwise necessaries as above during the term. Isaac Hill, to serve 4 years, to have necessaries during the time. Jon. Jackson, to serve 7 years, to have necessaries during the time. Jane Gibbons, to serve 4 years, to have meat and drink, washing & lodging, and 35s. per annum. *Servants of Jacob Hall aforesaid & Thomas Hudson*, John Bolshaw, to serve 4 years, died, and was buried at Oxford, in Maryland, the 2^d M^o., 1685. Thomas Rylands, to serve 4 years, died, and was buried at Oxford aforesaid the 1st M^o., 1685. *Servants to the said Thomas Hudson and Jacob Hall*, which arrived in the ship the "Amity," of London, Rich^d.

Dyamond, Mr., in this river the 28th 3^d M^o., 1685. Joseph Hull, to serve 2 years, to have one new suit of apparel and other necessities during the term, and at the expiration thereof to have one new suit of apparel and 100 acres of land. William Haselhurst, to serve 3 years, and to have apparel and necessities during the term, and the land allowed by the Governor. Randolph Smallwood, to serve 3 years, to have necessities during the term, and land as above. *More Servants to the said Thomas Hudson & Jacob Hall* came in the ship "Richard & William," of Boston, and arrived in this river the 24th July, 1685. William Thomas, to serve 4 years, to have necessities and land accustomed. Daniel Danielson Vanbeck and his wife, Ellenor Brand Vanbeck, to serve three years and an half a peice, to have necessities and land accustomed. *More Servants to the said Hudson and Hall* came in the "Francis & Dorothy," of London. Arrived in this river the 10th of the 7th M^o., 1685. Polycarpus Rose, to serve 4 years, to have necessities during the term and land accustomed.

RICHARD LUNDY, of Axminster, in the County of Devon, son of Sylvester Lundy, of the said town, in old England. Came in a Catch from Bristol (the Mr., William Browne) for Boston, in New England, in the 6th M^o., 1676, and from thence came for this river the 19th of the 3^d M^o., 1682.

ELIZABETH BENNET, daughter to William Bennet, late of this County of Bucks, and now the wife to the aforesaid Richard Lundy. Came from Longford, in the County of Middlesex, in the ship the "Concord," of London. The Mr., William Jefferay. Arrived in this river the 8th M^o., 1683.

EDMUND CUTLER, of Stateburn, in Bowland, in Yorkshire, webster. Came in the ship the "Rebecca," of Liverpool. The Mr., James Skinner. Arrived with his wife, ISABLE CUTLER, in this river the 31st day of the 8th M^o., 1685. *Children*, Elizabeth, born the 14th of the 3^d M^o., 1680; Thomas, born the 16th of the 9th M^o., 1681; William, born the 16 of the 10th M^o., 1682. *Servants*, Cornelius Netherwood, to serve one year, and to have necessities during the term.

Richard Mather, to serve 2 years, and to have necessities during the term. Ellen Wingreen, to serve 4 years, to have necessities and 16s. wages at the expiration of the term.

JOHN CUTLER, brother of the said Edmund Cutler. Came at the time aforesaid, in the ship aforesaid, and at the time aforesaid. *Servants*, William Wardle, to serve 4 years and a half; loose the 30th of the 2^d M^o., 1690. James Molinex, son of James Molinex, late of Liverpool, about 3 years of age, and is serve to the age of 22 years. Looke the Court roles.

[I have given C. Taylor an acct. thus far 1st 3^d M^o., 1686.]

DAVID DAVIS, Son of Richard Davis, of Welchpoole, in the County of Montgomery, Chirurgeon. Came in the ship the "Morning Star," of Liverpool. The M^r., —. Arrived in this river the 14th day of the 9th M^o., 1683.

RICHARD AMOR, of Buckebury, in Barkshire, husbandman. Came in the ship "Samuel," of London, John Adee, M^r. Arrived in this river the 22^d day of the Seventh Month, 1682.

JAMES DITWORTH, of Thornley, in Lancasshire, husbandman. Came in the ship the "Lamb," of Liverpool. The Master, John French. Arrived in this river in the 8th M^o., 1682, with William, their son. *Servant*, Stephen Sands, to serve 11 year, and to have 50 acres of land.

EDWARD STANTON, Son of George Stanton, of Woster, Joyner. Came in the ship the "Francis & Dorothy," of London. The M^r., Richard Bridgman. Arrived in this river the 10th 8th M^o., 1685.

PETER WORRAL, and MARY, his wife, of North Witch, of the County of Chester, Wheelright. Came in the ship the "Ann & Elizabeth," of Liverpool. The M^r., Thomas Getter. Arrived in this river the 7th day of the 8th M^o., 1687.

¹Christopher Taylor was Register-General. The above entry is no doubt a memorandum made by the Register of Bucks County.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE.—We are indebted to C. P. Humrich, Esq., of Carlisle, for a copy of the following letter. The original is in his possession.

D^R SIR

CAMP VALLEY FORGE June 4th 1778.

I thought to have wrote you long ago but indeed have had little time—great pains is taken (by Baron Stubin Inspector Gen^l & his Deputies) in Exercising & training the Army—my attention to this & other Common Duty—(having the Command of a Brigade) as oldest Col. leaves me little time. We have been almost in motion for five or six days past—orders to be ready to move at a moments Warning have been Repeated dayly on a supposition that the Enemy are about to Evacuate the City—Indeed hourly Inteligence is Received that they have all prepared for Decamping & half hourly Contradicts that again but my Opinion is that they are only Manœuvring to gain time till they are Reinforced—however a Contrary opinion prevails (I fear too Generally here) I wish we may not Suffer for it. I must Conclude here & only add farther that I am just going to attend at the Execution of a Spy who was condemned yesterday—he was formerly an Officer in our Service—Shanks his name. I am D^r Sir with Compliments to Mrs. Bostealthwait & young Ladies—

Your Most Obt Humble Servant

CAPT. POSTLETHWAIT.

WM IRVINE

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS.—A friend has recently called my attention to an unfortunate typographical error in "History of the Virginia Company," which passed through the Munsell Press when I was abroad. In quoting from Hamor, on page 91, he is made to write that Pocahontas "and *her* two sons" witnessed her marriage. The *her* should have been *his*, meaning Powhatan's sons.

By copying from the "Virginia Company" the error is reproduced in "English Colonization of America," published, in 1871, by Strahan & Co., London. It is my desire to make the correction as wide as possible. In this connection I would call attention to a *lapsus pennæ* in "Virginia Vetusta," published this year by Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y.

The preface to the work correctly mentions the children of John Rolfe as named Thomas and Elizabeth, but on page 141 Elizabeth is called Jane, the name of her mother.

St. Paul, Minnesota.

EDWARD D. NEILL.

CHANDLER GENEALOGY.—On p. 418, Vol. IV., of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, mention is made of the widow of George Chandler. There are reasons for supposing that George Chandler came from the neighborhood of Marlborough in Wiltshire, England, but it appears that he never reached the shores of America, and there is a tradition that his death was occasioned by smallpox.

The following is "A True Inventory of the goods and Chattells of George Chandler who Deceased the xiii Day of December 1687, in his passage

to pensilvania; Taken & Apprized by us Whose Names are heer under-written The xth Day of the Seaventh mo' 1688.

	fb	s	d
first His wearing Apparrell,	iii	- 00	- 00
Pt one fether bed & two bolsters, 2 blankots	iiii	- 00	- 00
1 Covered, 1 pare of Sheets,			
Pt in other beds & Bedding,	vi	- 00	- 00
Pt in pewter,	oi	- xi	- 00
Pt in Brass,	iii	- x	- iii
Pt in tools & other Ironware,	oi	- x	- 00
pt in navles, Saws, Aug'rs, Chessells, Gouges,			
wedges, Locks, Keys, Riphooks & all	ii	- ix	- ix
other Iron Lumber,			
pt 2 gunns & powder & shot & powder Horne,	oi	- xii	- 00
pt 2 Chests & five Boxes and 2 bedsteds,	oi	- xi	- 00
pt in Sacks,	00	- x	- 00
pt one Barrell, 1 pare of Bellows, 4 Kevers,			
1 Doe trough, 2 pailles, 10 botles, & all	oi	- 00	- 00
other Lumber,			
pt one Sow & 9 piggs,	ii	- 00	- 00
pt 4 yards & halfe of Sarge at 4 s per yard,	00	- xviii	- 00
pt in whittles & Childbed Linnen,	00	- xviii	- 00
pt 1 Ell of holland or Scotch Cloth, thred,			
pins & tapes,	00	- v	- 00
pt one Covered yt paid toward the byeing of	oi	- iiii	- 00
one Horse,			
pt paid towards one Hundred Acres of Land,	viii	- x	- 00
	in the whole	xl	- viii - 00

Debts.

paid A Debt to John Chandler,	xxvii	- 00	- 00
To William Hues,	00	- xii	- 00
To philip Rummin fors shooes,	00	- x	- 00
To William Hawks for worke & provission,	00	- xv	- 00
To Fra'cis Chadsey,	00	- ov	- 00
To meat,	00	- iii	- 00
To William Clowd,	oi	- ii	- 00

JOHN CHANLOR.

The whole xxx vii 00

THOMAS RAUELLSION.

GEORGE STRODE."

[Indorsed, "no adm'ra'n granted hereon — hee dyed Intestate."]

He left a widow, Jane, and seven children,—Jane, George, Swithin (born 6mo. 24th, 1674), William, Thomas, Charity, and Ann. John Chandler, a brother to the elder George, emigrated from England the same year, 1687, and settled in Chichester township, (now) Delaware County, Pa., but does not appear to have left any family,—George's children receiving nearly all of his estate. He died about 1703. A Jacob Chandler settled in Chichester township as early as 1685, but whether related to the others has not been ascertained. Whether the widow Chandler landed at Chester or Philadelphia is uncertain, but if at the latter she did not long remain there, for we find that in the 1st month (March), 1687-8 she and her brother-in-law, John Chandler, were purchasing land in Chichester, and also that in the 7th month (September), 1688, she was the wife of William Hawkes of that township. Her second husband died about the year 1694, and in 1695 we find her the wife of

James Bayliss, who probably died in Philadelphia about 1716, leaving her a widow for the third time.

Jane Chandler, Jr., married Robert Jefferis, of Chichester, and afterward of East Bradford, Chester County. George, Jr., married Ruth Bezer and remained in Chichester, where he died in 1714. Swithin married Ann — and settled in Birmingham township on the Brandywine, but subsequently removed to Christiana Hundred, Delaware. William married Ann Bowater (?) and after some years settled in Londongrove township, where he died in 1746. Thomas married Mary — and settled on the Brandywine in Birmingham. He left no children, but made his nephew Thomas, son of William, his principal heir. Charity probably died young. Ann married first Samuel Robbins, and second George Jones. She died in Philadelphia.

As far as has been ascertained the following are the names of the

CHILDREN OF

JANE.	GEORGE.	SWITHIN.	WILLIAM.
Patience. George.	Jacob,	2 9, 1705.	Jane, 3 1, 1713.
Charity. Ruth.	Charity,	1 20, 1707.	Lydia, 8 2, 1714.
William. John.	Ann,	2 1, 1709.	Samuel, 3 17, 1716.
James. Isaac.	Jane,	3 11, 1711.	William, 2 20, 1718.
Robert. Rachel (?).	Sarah,	3 20, 1713.	John, 1 20, 1719-20.
George. Susanna (?).	Swithin,	10 1, 1715.	Ann, 12 27, 1721.
Jane. & others (?).	Thomas,	10 3, 1718.	Thomas, 6 11 1724.
Anne.	Margaret,	5 6, 1721.	Moses.
Mary.	Mary,	5 18, 1723.	Mary.
Benjamin.	Phebe,	3 31, 1726.	—
Thomas.	Betty	1 25, 1729.	OF ANN.
John.	Hannah	4 4, 1732.	Sarah & others (?).

Any person having records of births, deaths, marriages, or other interesting information of the Chandler family or their descendants of other names, will confer a favor by forwarding them to

GILBERT COPE,
5 26, 1870. West Chester, Penna.

OUTLAWS OF THE DOAN FAMILY OF BUCKS COUNTY.—An article in Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" (Vol. I. p. 453) on this subject is so essentially erroneous that I venture to present a restatement of the facts as they have been collected by me from public and private records.

Of the so-called outlaws, five of them—Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Levi, and Mahlon—were the sons of Joseph and Hester (—) Doan, of Plumstead; and Abraham, their cousin and confederate, was the son of Israel, a younger brother of Joseph.

They all participated, in connection with some others, in a raid upon the collectors of military and other taxes in Bucks County, in 1781, and carried off the public funds in their possession; for this they were charged with burglary and robbery, and, by proclamation of the court, were ordered to appear for trial. Omitting to do this, they were in five days, by proclamation, published for the crime of outlawry and a reward offered for their apprehension.

Joseph married his cousin Mary, the sister of Abraham, and took refuge in Canada, where a large posterity has succeeded him.

Moses was captured at Halsey's Cabin on Gallows Run, in Plumstead, by Major Kennedy, William and Samuel Hart, a Mr. Grier, Robert Gibson, and others, on the first day of September, 1783. He was bound and thrown upon the floor, when Robert Gibson shot him in the breast,

killing him instantly. (Davis's History, p. 637.) He was buried on his father's farm in Plumstead, and the stones that marked his grave remained in place until within a few years.

Aaron was captured, and remained a long time in prison, but was pardoned on condition of leaving the country. He accepted the exile, and settled in Canada near to his brother Joseph, the refugee; a numerous family succeeded him, and the Doans of that region are accredited as having ever been of the most orderly and law-abiding citizens of that country. While the Doans were in prison in Philadelphia and under sentence of death, a negro was employed to act as executioner, and was promised his pardon for the service. After they were respited he became alarmed for his safety from the inmates, and on application by the jailer, was pardoned by the Supreme Executive Council.

Levi and Abraham were captured, and on the 24th of September, 1788, were publicly executed on the commons in the city of Philadelphia for the crime of outlawry, though the Legislative Assembly made an effort in their behalf.

Mahlon was captured and placed in prison at Bedford, from whence he broke jail, released all the prisoners save one, who had been convicted of robbing an old woman. He, it is believed, escaped to New York, where he took refuge with the British, and was transported with about four hundred other refugees to Nova Scotia at the evacuation of New York in 1783.

They all were young, the oldest being not more than twenty-one years of age at the close of the war.

Their grandfather, Israel Doan, was a member of the Society of Friends, but was disowned for non-conformity with the discipline in marriage; but to the end of his days maintained a steadfast adherence to their principles, and inculcated the principles of the sect into the minds of his children. These, in their turn, adhered to the faith of their ancestors, and no children of the neighborhood were more highly respected for their truthfulness, honesty, integrity, and morality.

By virtue of their Quaker principles of opposition to war they gave their moral support to the existing government, hence were loyalists. The boys, not possessing the fortitude and forbearance of their fathers, were not able to endure the taunts of their neighbors, hence were branded as Tories, the personal property of their father confiscated, and their names coupled with obloquy and disgrace. With the infatuation of youth they sought recovery by reprisals upon the tax collectors, from whence all subsequent misfortunes followed.

E. D. BUCKMAN, M.D.

WASHINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.—The following letter from Washington to Governor Dinwiddie describing the defeat was printed in "Old and New," February, 1872. By way of introduction the editor said:

"We have Washington's own account of this battle in two or three letters, one of which Mr. Sparks has printed. Another of them, of which he cites a part in a foot-note, is his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, approaching as nearly as possible the character of an official report. As such, Dinwiddie published it at the time; and it appears in the contemporary Virginia, Philadelphia, and Boston papers, as a letter from a Virginian officer. Mr. Sargent, the accomplished historian of Braddock's defeat, quotes from this letter, as he found it in the 'Pennsylvania Gazette,' the fine phrase, 'The Virginia officers and troops behaved like men and died like soldiers.' But he was not aware that in these words he was quoting the language of the first soldier of Virginia. Mr.

Irving has the same letter, and used it. We copy it now from the original letter-book, not remembering to have seen the whole of it in print elsewhere."

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

TO THE HON. ROBERT DINWIDDIE, ESQ., Williamsburg.

FORT CUMBERLAND, July 13, 1755.

HONORABLE SIR,—As I am favored with an opportunity, I should think myself inexcusable was I to omit giving you some account of our late engagement with the French on the Monongahela, the 9th inst.

We continued our march from Fort Cumberland to Frazer's (which is within seven miles of Du Quesne) without meeting any extraordinary event, having only a straggler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place we were attacked (very unexpectedly) by about three hundred French and Indians. Our numbers consisted of about thirteen hundred well-armed men, chiefly regulars, who were immediately struck with such an inconceivable panic that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered; there being near sixty killed and wounded, a large proportion out of the number we had.

The Virginia companies behaved like men and died like soldiers; for, I believe, out of three companies that were on the ground that day, scarce thirty were left alive. Captain Peyroune and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Captain Polson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped.

In short the dastardly behavior of the regular troops (so called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and at length, in spite of every effort to the contrary, [they] broke and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and in short every thing, a prey to the enemy, and when we endeavored to rally them in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains, or rivulets with our feet; for they would break by in despite of every effort that could be made to prevent it.

The General was wounded in the shoulder and breast, of which he died three days after; his two aides-de-camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of recovering. Colonel Barton and Sir John St. Clair are also wounded, and I hope will get over it. Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave officers, were killed in the field. It is supposed that we had three hundred or more killed: about that number we brought off wounded; and it is conjectured (I believe with much truth) that two-thirds of both received their shot from our own cowardly regulars, who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, ten or twelve deep; would then fire and shoot down the men before them.

I tremble at the consequence that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who, I suppose, will all leave their habitations, unless there are proper measures taken for their security.

Colonel Dunbar, who commands at present, intends, as soon as his men are reunited at this place, to continue his march to Philadelphia for winter quarters: consequently there will be no men left here, unless it is the shattered remains of the Virginia troops, who are totally inadequate to the protection of the frontiers.

As Captain Orme is writing to you, however, I doubt not but that he

will give you a circumstantial account of all things, which will make it needless for me to add more than that I am, honorable sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

A COURT DINNER BILL OF 1752.—We have received from Horatio Gates Jones, Esq., a copy of the following interesting paper:

June 4th 1752.

M ^r JOHN LAWRENCE		Dr
To cash lay'd out for Court Diner	. . .	£4.12.6.
To 2 Bowls punch	@ 5/ }	
2 Do at	3/ }	.16.—
5 Bottles Wine	. . .	13.4
4 Bottles Beer	. . .	6.—
Table Beer	. . .	1.6
To Dressing Diner and attendance	. . .	1.10.—
		<hr/>
		£7.19.4

July 13th Then rec^d the above Contents
per me.

W^m BIDDLE.

FAMILIES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.—George B. Kulp, Esq., of the *Luzerne Legal Register*, proposes to publish, in book-form, "The Biographical, Genealogical, and Historical Sketches of the Members of the Bench and Bar of Luzerne County," which have appeared in his journal. These sketches have been revised and corrected with care. They will be contained in two octavo volumes, the first of which is nearly ready to be issued. The price will be about fifteen dollars for the two volumes.

ANDREW JACKSON AND INTEMPERATE OFFICE-HOLDERS.—The following original letter of Andrew Jackson is in the Executive series of MS. autograph letters deposited by Frank M. Etting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

March 16th 1830.

My D^r Sir

I have rec^d your note of this day & sincerely regret to learn the Mr. — removed, is brother to Gov^r & Gen^l —. When you read the recommendation of Mr. P—— you will find that he requests the removal of Mr. — & the appointment of Mr. Ewing because the incumbent Mr. — is incompetent from intemperance to discharge the duties of the office. Col. Benton has coincided with Mr. P. in this request. This charge therefore coming from such a high source, could not be overlooked consistent with the rule that intemperate men cannot be permitted to remain in office, civil naval nor military, we must pursue principle, & deal out uniform justice to all, altho' I regret when it falls upon the connection of our friends.

Yours respectfully

ANDREW JACKSON

The Sec. of the Treasury

Queries.

DUNLAP FAMILY.—Mr. Fayette Dunlap, of Danville (Ky.), will be glad to receive information regarding the Dunlaps of the Cumberland Valley. His grandfather, William Dunlap, resided either in Pennsylvania or Virginia at the close of the Revolution or beginning of the present century.

FOX FAMILY.—Information is wanted regarding the ancestors and descendants of Jonathan and Deborah Fox, who resided near Mount Holly, N. J. Their children were George, Sarah, William, and Jonathan. William married, 9th mo. 19, 1822, Esther Rodgers, daughter of William and Martha. His parents were then dead. They are spoken of in the Mount Holly Meeting Records as of Hanover township.

Can you give me any information of the following book and its author. The book is in my possession:

"Time an Apparition of Eternity."

Philadelphia, Printed by Zachariah Poulson, Jun., No. 30 Fourth Street near the College, 1791.

It is divided in eight parts, each part commencing thus: "Arm, or the Tree of Knowledge of Good & Evil," and adorned with a copper-plate bearing mystical characters.

The author signs himself, *John William Gerar de Brahm*. Philadelphia 2nd 1. month, vulgar 31st. III. month 1793.

The first section is dated 1791 and the last 1793.

It is intensely mystical and allegorical, savoring strongly of Jacob Behmen.

H. E.

Philada., May 22, 1885.

COOK.—Arthur Cook, one of the five commissioners appointed by Penn., February 9, 1688, to December 18, 1688, by his wife, Margaret, had four sons,—*John*, who married, in 1688, Mary, daughter of John Simcock, and left issue; *Thomas*, who married — Bickley, daughter of Abraham Bickley, and left issue; *Joseph*, and *Benjamin*. The names of the male children of Joseph and Benjamin, and of their grandchildren bearing the name of Cook, is desired.

T.

Replies.

JOHN BRANDMILLER, THE MORAVIAN PRINTER.—By way of supplement to my notes, "Rev. John Brandmiller, the Moravian Printer" (PENNA. MAG., Vol. VI. p. 249), and "The Friedensthal Printing-Office" (PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII. p. 108), I have ascertained from the diaries kept by the Moravian Missionaries at Wechquetanc (Monroe County), Nain (near Bethlehem), Friedenshuetten (Bradford County), and Friedenstadt (above Pittsburg), that the "Harmony of the Gospels," translated into Delaware by Rev. B. A. Grubé, was in use at these Indian mission stations between 1763 and 1773.

June 3, 1885.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

WILCOX, JENKINS (Vol. VIII. p. 441).—*Barnabas Wilcox*, with his wife, Sarah, and children, came from Bristol, England, to Pennsylvania during the year 1682, or shortly afterwards, and settled in Philadelphia. They were members of the Religious Society of Friends, and brought a certificate from Bristol Monthly Meeting, England. Their children were George, born 6, 22, 1667; Joseph, born 4, 19, 1669; Hester, born 6, 30, 1673; and Abigail, born 7, 28, 1679. Abigail was married, 12, 19, 1700, to Samuel Powell.

T.

William Jenkins, of Tenby, England, was married, 7, 2, 1673, to Elizabeth Griffith, daughter of Lewis Griffith. Their children were Margaret, born 3, 23, 1674; Sarah, born 10, 7, 1675; Elizabeth, born 5, 2, 1678; and Stephen, born 9, 24, 1680. Their names are recorded at South Wales Monthly Meeting of Friends, England. The family came to Pennsylvania about the year 1682, and settled in Haverford township, Delaware County.

J.



Effigies Illustrissimi
 Baronis BALTEMORE
 Liborniz Absoluti
 Provinciarum Terre
 America etc.

Dñi Cecilij Calvert,
 de Baltimore in Regno
 Dñi et Proprietarij
 Mariæ et Avalorniz in

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No. 3.

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE BETWEEN MARYLAND
AND PENNSYLVANIA.

BY WALTER B. SCAIFE.

§1. One of the most important points of Pennsylvania colonial history, and the one perhaps least generally understood, is that of the true grounds of the dispute between the Penns and the Lords Baltimore in regard to their respective boundaries. This notable quarrel continued more than eighty years; was the cause of endless trouble between individuals; occupied the attention not only of the proprietors of the respective provinces, but of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, of the High Court of Chancery, and of the Privy Councils of at least three monarchs; it greatly retarded the settlement and development of a beautiful and fertile country, and brought about numerous tumults which sometimes ended in bloodshed. The ultimate cause of the difficulty is to be found in the lack of exact information on the part of Europeans generally in respect to the topography

of America, and the reckless extravagance of European monarchs in parcelling out a continent to their subjects. Immediate survey and complete possession of these immense tracts were alike impossible, so that the fixing of definite, certainly known boundary-lines was impracticable. The consequence was that the grants of different monarchs often conveyed a paper title to the same region, while the same sovereign not unfrequently granted to a later favorite a part of a former gift. The practical result was that possession gave title,¹ which title, however, had sometimes to yield to the power of might over right.

§ 2. The immediate points of dispute in this particular case were, (1) whether the words "*hactenus inculta*," used in Baltimore's patent of 1632,² were words merely of description, or were a condition and limitation of the grant; and (2) what was intended, by the words of the charter, as the northern limit of Maryland.

An examination of the English colonial charters, from Raleigh's to Baltimore's, shows that invariably the grant excepted lands actually in possession of Christian peoples. The royal charter of 1584 conferred on Raleigh the right to colonize "such remote, heathen and barbarous lands,

¹ Lord Hardwicke's decision. 1 Vesey, Sr., Rep., p. 452. "For in these countries it has been always taken that that *European* country which has first set up marks of possession has gained the right, though not formed into a regular colony; and that is very reasonable on the arguments on which they proceeded."

² Extract from the Charter of Maryland, 1632. From Poore's "Charters and Constitutions." Carolus Dei Gratia Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex Fidei Defensor &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ nostræ pervenerint *Salutem* Cum per dilectus et perquam fidelis subditus noster CÆCILIVS CALVERT, Baro de *Baltimore* in Regno nostro Hiberniæ Filius et Hæres GEORGHII CALVERT Militis nuper Baronis de *Baltimore* in eodem Regno *Hiberniæ* Patris inherens vestigiis laudabili quodam et pio Christianam Religionem pariter et imperii nostri territoria dilatandi studio flagrans licentiam nobis ut copiosam Anglicanæ Gentis Coloniam Industria ac Impensa sua ad certam quandam Regionem inferius describendam in Terra quadam in Partibus Americæ hactenus inculta et Barbaris nullam devini numinis notitiam habentibus in Partibus occupata deducere possit totamq; &c., &c.

countreys, and territories, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People." . . . The Virginia charter of 1606 granted lands "either appertaining unto us or which are not actually possessed by any *Christian Prince or People*." . . . Precisely the same language was used in the charter of 1609; while that of 1611-12, enlarging Virginia's jurisdiction so as to include more remote islands, only conferred the right, "Provided always, that the said Islands or any Premises herein mentioned, or by these Presents intended or meant to be granted, be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or Estate." . . . The New England charter of 1620 recited that, "forasmuch as We have been certainly given to understand . . . that there is noe other the Subjects of any Christian King or State, by any Authority from their Sovereignes, Lords, or Princes, actually in Possession of any of the said Lands or Precincts, whereby any Right, Claim, Interest, or Title, may, might, or ought by that meanes accrue, belong, or appertaine unto them, or any of them . . . Wee therefore . . . have . . . graunted." . . . But more specific in its limitations than any of these is the charter of Massachusetts Bay, issued in 1629, the last one granted before the drawing of Lord Baltimore's patent. The words of condition in this one are: "PROVIDED always, That yf the said Landes, Islandes, or any other the Premisses herein before menconed, and by this presents, intended and meant to be graunted, were at the tyme of the graunting of the said former Letters patents, . . . actuallie possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State. . . . That then this present Graunt shall not extend to any such partes or parcells thereof, soe formerly inhabited, . . . but as to those partes or parcells soe possessed or inhabited by such Christian Prince or State, . . . shal be utterlie voyd, theis presents or any Thing therein conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding."¹ From an examination of these examples two things are made clearly to appear: (1) that in their

¹ All these charters are in Poore's "Charters and Constitutions of the United States."

early colonizing of America the English did not wish to come into direct and immediate collision with other European powers; (2) that England then recognized as indisputable the title of other Christian peoples already in possession of American soil. That she pursued a different policy later, when the colonies had become valuable to her, and she herself felt more able to cope with other powers for American territory, does not falsify the above estimate of her early policy, but merely goes to show that in the days of her strength she abandoned that policy. With such an array of precedents can it be thought that Charles I. used similar language, but with a different meaning, when issuing Baltimore's patent? To be sure, the words "*hactenus inculta*" are to be found only in the preamble of the grant; but if the history of the grant be examined, there can be no reasonable doubt that they were in fact intended as words of condition. Having been disappointed in an attempt to make a settlement in Newfoundland, Lord Baltimore visited Virginia, with which country he was much pleased, but where he was personally not well received. "In February, 1631, [he] secured a tract of land south of James River, and a charter was prepared; but Clayborne, Secretary of Virginia, and ex-Governor Francis West, . . . made such representations that it was revoked. Undaunted, he persevered, and on the ground that it was not occupied by English subjects, obtained a grant for lands north and east of the Potomac."¹ On the latter point we have evidence also from the second Lord Baltimore, who, in 1635, published a "Relation" of Maryland, wherein is an English translation of the charter, according to which he is granted "a certaine Countrey hereafter described, in the parts of *America*, [N.B.] not yet cultivated and planted [*hactenus inculta*], though in some parts thereof inhabited by certaine barbarous people, having no Knowledge of Almighty God."² To this can be added the still more specific evidence of Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland, who stated in the

¹ Neill. *Founders of Maryland*, p. 47.

² Sabin's Reprints, No. 2, p. 80.

conference of 1683: "My Father had a grant of more of Virginia then than Now my Nephew Enjoyeth, but that the Patent giveing only Unplanted Land, he was Advised to Let it fall Least he forfeited the Whole."¹

At the very founding of his colony, Baltimore came into collision with Clayborne, who had planted, under the jurisdiction of Virginia, a trading station on Kent Island, which place lay within the lines of Baltimore's grant. Clayborne appealed to the King for the preservation of his rights against the jurisdiction of Maryland. The decree of July 3, 1633, was that the Council "did think fit to leave the Lord Baltimore to his Patent, and the other Parties to the Course of Law, according to their desire."² In 1685, and again in 1734, the Baltimores produced a paper which purported to be a copy of a royal decree of April 4, 1638, confirming them in the possession of Kent Island. But careful search by agents of the Penns failed to bring forth the original of any such decree, though the original records of that very day were still extant.³ On the other hand, Neill quotes a letter of the Earl of Strafford which says that there was a decision of the Commissioners of Plantations on that date, but entirely in Clayborne's favor.⁴ But

¹ Penna. Archives, Vol. I. p. 74.

² Breviat, in the case of the Penns vs. Lord Baltimore, p. 34.

³ Ibid., p. 35. "Is the copy of a pretended fictitious Order of the Lords of the Council, insisted on by the Defendant now; first produced and made an ill use of, before the Board of Trade, by his Grandfather, in 1685, and afterwards by the Defendant himself, *ex parte*; again, in 1734; tho' there was not then, neither is there now, any Thing like an original, or an authentick Copy of it; notwithstanding that the Council Registers, of *that very Day*, are extant, and *many other* Orders are found therein of that very Date." On pp. 76-7 are the depositions of three men who searched the records for the purpose of finding the order. Ibid., p. 77. "What adds to this proof is, that the pretended Order of the 4th April mentions a supposed prior *Reference of Clayborne's* Petition to that Committee. But there is no such *Reference* neither to be found, so that it's manifest the *whole* is an *Invention*."

⁴ Founders of Maryland, p. 55. "On the 4th of April, 1638, the Commissioners of Plantations reported the right and title to the Isle of Kent to be absolutely with him [Clayborne], and that the violence

at any rate that case is different from Penn's, and is given only to show that Baltimore's title was from the first open to dispute because of the phrase "*hactenus inculta*." Virginia was, at the time of the alleged decree, a royal province; and as such, in those days, was practically at the arbitrary disposal of the sovereign. On the other hand, the Delaware Bay region was then in the actual possession of the Dutch; and it is not to be supposed for a minute that, had Baltimore claimed that territory at once, and the Dutch had resisted, Charles I. would have risked a war with the Netherlands to put Baltimore in possession. On the whole, then, the natural conclusion seems to be that "*hactenus inculta*" were words not of description merely, but, in fact, of condition and limitation.

The second ground of controversy was as to the northern boundary of Maryland. The patent of 1632, after describing the southern boundary, continues: "And between that boundary on the south, unto that part of the bay of Delaware on the north, which lyeth under the fortieth degree of latitude, where New England is terminated; and all the tract of land within the following limits, to wit, passing from the said Delaware Bay in a right line with the degree aforesaid."¹ . . . On what geographical authority this description was founded it is difficult to say. John Smith's map of Virginia, based on his survey of 1607, can scarcely be complained of, by him, to be left to the courts of justice." P. 56. "He [Lord Baltimore] is therefore commanded to allow the planters and their agents to have free enjoyment of their possessions without further trouble, until the cause is decided."

Breviat, p. 114. Baltimore's witness testifies that the paper produced is a true copy of the order still to be found amongst the records of the Plantation office. With such conflicting testimony, it seems impossible for us now and here to decide the matter with certainty.

¹ McMahon's History of Maryland, p. 1; Poore, Charters and Constitutions, Vol. I. p. 811. "Et inter Metam illam a Meridie usque ad Partem illam Estuarii de *Delaware* ab Aquilone quæ subjacet quadragesimo Gradui Latitudinis Septentrionalis ab Æquinoctiali ubi terminatur *Nova Anglia* totumque illius Terræ Tractum infra Metas subscriptas (videlicet) Transeundo a dicto Æstuario vocato *Delaware Bay* recta Linea per Gradum prædictum." . . .

have been the only one; for it neither represents nor mentions Delaware Bay. Yet we are assured,¹ and may believe that that was then the only *detailed* map extant of the Maryland region, while the supposed position of the head of Delaware Bay was doubtless founded on some more general and, as it proved, less reliable source of information. One thing is certain,—that not only in the first part of the seventeenth century, but for a long time thereafter, information concerning the nature and position of those regions was conflicting, and accurate knowledge unattainable by men residing in England. Take one instance, out of many, a very elaborate atlas containing thirty-three maps, published in London in 1721, wherein it is stated that “the maps . . . are laid down according to observations communicated to the English Royal Society, the French Royal Academy of Sciences, and those made by the latest travellers.”² Although the position of the fortieth parallel had

¹ Breviat, p. 34. “We [the plaintiffs] say *no other English Map*, of those Parts, was then extant, but Captain *Smith's* only.” Baltimore offered no other map; and recent Maryland authorities accept the Penns’ statement,—*e.g.*, “Report and Journal of Proceedings of the Joint Commissioners to adjust the Boundary Line of the States of Maryland and Virginia.” Annapolis, 1874, p. 73. “His [Smith’s] history and map were published in 1612 and in 1629, and being the only map then extant containing the names of places mentioned in Lord Baltimore’s charter, was doubtless the guide of the King and Lord Baltimore in describing the boundaries of the Province granted by the charter.”

² “A New General Atlas, containing a Geographical and Historical Account of all Empires, Kingdoms, and other Dominions of the World.” London, 1721. This work is specially referred to because it is the finest early atlas known to the writer. He has examined also a large number of other early maps of this region and finds them varying in accuracy, from a Dutch map of 1615 (?) copied in O’Callaghan’s *New York*, Vol. I., which represents the Delaware River flowing at right angles to the Hudson, to the better but still inaccurate ones of the eighteenth century. In Baltimore’s own map of 1635, the head of Delaware Bay is placed far south of that of Chesapeake Bay, while the latter is represented as extending almost as far north as the fortieth degree of latitude. A map published in 1698 by Gabriel Thomas, who had been in Pennsylvania, places New Castle on the fortieth parallel; while one published in 1670 by Augustin Herman, a Marylander, represents the fortieth parallel as

then for thirty-eight years been the subject of remark and trouble in America, one of the maps represents the heads of both bays as extending north of that parallel, while another map in the same work leaves the head of Chesapeake Bay almost as far north as the fortieth degree, within Pennsylvania, and places the head of Delaware Bay just on the fortieth circle. If thus a fine production of nearly a century later than Baltimore's patent, and evidently prepared with great care, is still so inaccurate, the conclusion is natural that the royal knowledge also was defective when Baltimore's patent was issued.

The original Maryland settlement was placed well within the charter lines; so no thought was taken of the northern bounds, and no effort made to determine them. The matter became important only when the adjacent territory was granted to another, and the limit of the respective jurisdictions had to be settled. Baltimore naturally wished his province to be as large as possible; while to Penn it was not size of territory, but the absolute necessity of water-frontage for the growth and prosperity of his colony, that made him so tenacious as to his southern boundary. He therefore insisted that Baltimore's northern line be fixed according to the designated topographical points, which are easily recognizable and permanent, rather than by the more general description of the fortieth degree of latitude,—an imaginary line shifting with the varying accuracy of instruments and the knowledge of observers. Baltimore, on the other hand, as constantly claimed jurisdiction to the fortieth parallel wherever it might be found.

§ 3. The Delaware region was in the possession of the Dutch from 1623 until 1659¹ without their title being in the least disputed by the proprietor of Maryland. Moreover, according to the treaty of peace of April 5, 1654,

lying fully fifteen minutes of arc north of its true position. A good many of the old maps of this region are entirely without lines of latitude and longitude.

¹ It is not necessary to the argument to take notice of the years of Swedish supremacy.

between England and the United Provinces, everything was to be restored to the status of 1652,¹ and all injustices on either side were to be settled within one year, or at farthest, eighteen months.² Now was Baltimore's time to lay claim to the territory and call for its surrender if he believed it to be really his. The Marylanders could not contend that they were ignorant of the presence of strangers on the Delaware; for in the very year of the treaty the Council granted to Thomas Adams license "to trade or traffic with those of the Swedish nation in Delaware Bay."³ Suddenly, in 1659, Colonel Utie appeared at New Amstel⁴ with an informal letter from Philip Calvert, Governor of Maryland, demanding that the Dutch vacate the territory forthwith, or within three weeks submit themselves to Lord Baltimore's government. This enterprising agent of Maryland did more: he went "from house to house to draw and seduce the inhabitants into a revolt against their right, lawful Lords, Sovereigns, Governor, and Province, threatening, in case of no immediate voluntary submission and obedience, to come again and bring the people thereto by force of arms, fire and sword, whereunto he saith a great multitude were expressly kept in readiness."⁵ The

¹ Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, 1631-1666, Part II., p. 74, § III. "Item, quod omnes offensæ, injuriæ, sumptus & damna, quæ Pars una ab altera partulit, post $\frac{1}{2}$ mensis Maji Anni 1652, delebuntur atque è memoria eradentur, eo modo, quo neutra dictarum Partium alteri negotium facesset, ob ali quod istiusmodi damnum, offensam, injuriam, aut sumptus, sed omnis & cujuscum que eorum perfecta erit hunc in usque diem abolitio, atque omnes eo nomine lites actionesque cassæ nullæque erunt."

² *Ibid.*, § XVI. "Tantummodo illi ipsi, qui contra Fœdus prædictum conuenerint, singuli punientur, & nemo alius, Justitiæ reddetur & satisfactio dabitur illi somnibus, quorum it interest, ab iis omnibus, qui Terra, Mari, aut aliis Aquis contra hoc Fœdus quidquam commiserint, ulla in parte Europæ aut ubivis locorum, intra Fretum Gaditanum, sive in America, . . . intra Anni spatium, quand Justitia postulabitur: In omnibus autem, uti suprædictum est, ultra prædictum Caput, locis, intra menses octodecim quand Justitia prædictomodo poscetur."

³ Hazard's *Annals*, p. 147.

⁴ Now Newcastle, Del.

⁵ New York Colonial Documents, Vol. II. p. 80.

Dutch, though weak in numbers, had no thought of submission, but sent a delegation to Maryland to settle the difficulty amicably. They had not supposed themselves encroaching on the rights of others, and could not see why Baltimore wished to oust them, when he had not settlers sufficient to improve the country already in his possession. These delegates asked to see the Maryland charter, and immediately on reading it caught at the words "*hactenus inculta*," and demonstrated their right of title by priority of occupation. Still, seeing no reason for enmity when all would prosper better by peace and mutual intercourse, the Dutch offered to survey jointly with the English a line dividing the peninsula equally between the colonies; but to this proposition the Marylanders would not listen. Not only that, but they declared that the States-General had expressly disowned the colony to the supreme authority in England. This was unanswerable by the Dutch, who, however, did not believe it; and a perusal of the records of the proceedings of the authorities in Amsterdam will go far to show that this statement was a pure fiction invented for the occasion. In the following year Lord Baltimore sent an agent to Amsterdam to insist on the submission of the Dutch colony to his government. The firm answer returned by the Dutch officials indicates a strong resolution on their part to maintain their ground; for they declare that they "have, . . . after mature deliberation, resolved to give you, the Protestor, for answer, that they have, with good right for a long series of years, the aforesaid demanded place possessed, and still occupy under the government the High and Mighty Lords and States General of the United Netherlands, without the said Baron of Baltimore or any one else, having put forth the least claim thereto, and that they, accordingly, do intend the same to hold their settlers in their good right to maintain and to defend against whomsoever it may be."¹ And the Dutch did retain possession until overcome by the Duke of York's commissioner in 1664. There is another point, however, going to show that as yet

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86 *et seq.*

the Maryland authorities had no idea of the true locality of the fortieth parallel; for Acrelius, writing of these troubles, says: "My Lord Baltimore . . . was enquiring about the boundaries which were not yet settled. He maintained that his right extended to within two miles of New Amstel, and gave various deeds upon land to that point."¹ The same ignorance was displayed in the proceedings of the Maryland Council in 1661, "when it was resolved, that as it was a matter of doubt whether New Amsterdam [Amstel] lay below the fortieth degree of north latitude."² . . . Thus with boundaries yet undetermined, the Dutch colonies pass into the hands of the Duke of York.

§ 4. That the Duke of York had at first but a weak title to the region west of the Delaware is a self-evident fact,—that river and bay forming his western limit according to the royal grant. But as that territory had been in the possession of the Dutch, and as the evident intention of York's expedition was to oust the Dutch completely from their position between the English colonies north and south,³ his agents took it upon themselves to conquer the Dutch on the Delaware, and organize a government there auxiliary to that at New York. The title thus gained was to be sure imperfect, and was so recognized by the authorities at the time.⁴ Now again, as in 1654, had Baltimore an opportunity to make good his claim to jurisdiction over this little community as lying within his chartered limits, while entirely outside of York's. But the latter retained possession for fifteen years, while Baltimore remained quiescent; about the only

¹ History of New Sweden, p. 94.

² McMahon's History of Maryland, pp. 24-5.

³ N. Y. Coll. Doc., VII. p. 596. "Hence it appears, that the grant to the Duke of York, in 166 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Lands westward of the Connecticut River, . . . was intended to include all the lands which the Dutch held here."

⁴ Hazard's Annals, p. 363. Carr's Instructions. After claiming the territory for the King it is added: "And if my Lord Baltimore doth pretend right thereto by his patent (which is a doubtful case), you are to say that you only keep possession till his majesty is informed and otherwise satisfied."

evidence of a claim on his part coming in the form of a threat of an invasion of Jones' Falls by his colonists.¹ Later it was urged as an excuse for this lack of action that he did not wish to dispute the title of the heir-presumptive to the throne.² Though practically this feeling might have had strong influence on his action, legally it was not a valid excuse; for it enabled York's mere right of possession³ to pass into an equitable title by lapse of time and because of the improvements added to the colony under his government.⁴ Moreover, according to the then recognized rules of war, Baltimore no longer had any right to the land in dispute, even if he had had any at first: for what was conquered from an enemy in war became the property of the King. James, Duke of York, recognized the operation of this rule, when, in 1674, after the restoration of New York to the English by the treaty of Westminster, he secured from the King a new grant of his province. So the matter stood when Penn's charter was issued in 1681. As has been said before, water-frontage was absolutely necessary at that time to the prosperity of a colony. No one appreciated this fact better than Penn, who, immediately on receiving his patent, began to urge York to convey to him the Delaware

¹ Hazard's Annals, p. 521.

² New York Coll. Doc., VII. pp. 596-97.

³ The Delaware region was governed as an appendage of New Amsterdam by the Dutch, and was regarded in the same light by the English authorities. Chalmer, 4to ed., p. 655. Letter of Sir John Werden to Sec. Blathwayt, June 23, 1680. "What I have now to say is this: That by all which I can observe of the boundaries mentioned in Mr. Pen's petition, they agreed well enough with that colony, which hath been hitherto (ever since the conquest of New-York by Colonel Nichols) held as an appendix and part of the government of New York, by the name of Delaware colony, or more particularly Newcastle colony, . . . all which hath been under the actual government of his royal highness's lieutenant at New York."

⁴ 1 Vesey, Sr., p. 454. Decree of Lord Hardwicke. "But now in cases of this kind, of two great territories held by the crown, I will say once for all, that long possession and enjoyment, peopling and cultivating countries, is one of the best evidence of title to lands, or district of lands in *America*, that can be."

Bay district. So on August 24, 1682, York executed two warranty deeds¹ conveying respectively to Penn, on different conditions, the district formed by a circuit of twelve miles' radius about New Castle and the country lying south thereof to Cape Henlopen. He not only warranted the title he actually possessed, but promised, if necessary, to secure and convey a perfect title at Penn's request at any time within seven years.² On the 22d of the following March he actually did secure a further grant from Charles II.,³ which document he placed in Penn's hands,⁴ instead of drawing up a new instrument of conveyance. Later, York was about to receive still another grant of this region; the paper was actually drawn up,⁵ when proceedings were stayed at the instigation of Baltimore, who demanded possession of the region. Before the matter was settled Charles died, and York ascended the throne as James II. If conquest in war made the territory royal property, if possession and improvement under the consent of the King gave York an equitable title, then was James II. as King bound in equity to confirm the deeds which he had guaranteed as Duke of York.⁶ By the decree of 1685 the territory in dispute was

¹ Haz. Reg., I. p. 429; II. p. 27; Penna. Arch., 1664-1747, p. 52.

² Haz. Reg., I. p. 430. "And his said Royal Highness . . . doth covenant and grant . . . That his said Royal Highness . . . will at any time or times hereafter, during the space of seven years next ensuing the date hereof, upon the request . . . of the said *William Penn*, . . . do, make, and execute, . . . all and every such further act and acts, conveyances and assurances, in the law whatsoever, for the further conveying and assuring the said tract of land, and all and singular other the premises, with the appurtenances, unto the said *William Penn*, . . . as by the counsel learned in the law of the said *William Penn*, . . . shall be reasonably devised, advised, or required."

³ Penna. Arch., II. p. 202; Haz. Reg., II. p. 27.

⁴ Breviat, p. 3. The Duke of York "did deliver over the same Original last recited Letters Patent under the Great Seal to the Plaintiff's Father, and the same is now in the Custody and Possession of the Plaintiff, ready to be produced to this Honourable Court."

⁵ Breviat, p. 58.

⁶ Lord Hardwicke's decree. 1 Vesey, Sr., p. 453. "In 1683 the Duke of York takes a new grant from the crown; and, having granted before,

adjudged to the King, who then held as trustee of Penn. Royal documents perfecting Penn's title to the Lower Counties were ready for the King's signature when the unhappy monarch fled, and his reign came to an end.

§ 5. When Penn applied for his patent, as was usual in such cases, formal notices were sent to the agents of the neighboring colonies, asking if they had reasonable grounds of objection to the proposed grant. York's agent replied that it appeared to agree with the Delaware colony, "which hath been under the actual government of his royal highness's lieutenant at New York hitherto. But what are its proper boundaries (those of latitude and longitude being so very little known, or so ill observed, as experience tells us, in all the West Indies) I am not able to say."¹ Baltimore's agent requested that Penn's boundary be specified as limited by the Susquehannah Fort and lines running east and west therefrom, and that the former's rights be specifically reserved.² Penn agreed to this. But Lord North, who settled the boundaries, drew the patent as originally intended, ignoring this agreement "because the notice sent to the agents of Maryland was merely formal."³ Accordingly, Penn's charter, issued March 4, 1681, bounded the province "on the South, by a Circle drawne at twelve miles' distance from New Castle Northwards, and Westwards vnto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northerne Latitude; and then by a streight Line westwards, to the Limitt of Longi-

was bound to make further assurance, for the improvements made by Penn were a foundation to support a bill in equity for further assurance . . . and if King *J. II.*, after coming to the crown was a royal trustee, his successors take the legal estate under the same equity; and it is sufficient for plaintiffs if they have an equitable estate." Wallace, Report on the Pea Patch case, p. cxxx. In reference to the "Great Law" of Pennsylvania: "Looking at the recital and enactments of that act, and its preamble, it is impossible to avoid saying that the crown assented to them, thus acknowledging the validity and legal operation of the two deeds from the Duke of York, the boundaries defined in them, the possession and right of possession according to those boundaries, and the rightful exercise of the powers of government under them."

¹ Chalmers's Annals, 4to ed., 1780, p. 655.

² *Ibid.*, p. 656.

³ *Ibid.*

tude above menconed." In accordance with a royal order of April, 1681, directed to both Penn and Baltimore to have the boundaries settled, the former directed his deputy, Markham, who preceded him to America, to meet Lord Baltimore and have the boundary-lines fixed. There was a meeting at Upland, and an observation made, when, to the surprise of all parties, it appeared that the fortieth parallel was considerably north instead of south of Upland, the place of meeting. This made it impossible for the boundary-line to comply with all the descriptions; for Baltimore's northern limit was to touch Delaware Bay, which the fortieth parallel does not; while Penn's southern line was to intersect a circle of twelve miles' radius drawn round New Castle, which was equally impossible if the true fortieth parallel were to be the southern limit. Baltimore at once claimed to the fortieth degree complete, and this Markham had no power to allow. So the matter awaited Penn's arrival.

§ 6. From that moment the proprietaries of the two colonies were enemies. Baltimore determined to have all that the most literal interpretation of the letter of his patent gave him, while Penn was no less zealous to gain what the spirit of his charter conferred on him. In the fall of 1682 they met, with a show of cordiality, but parted with mutual dissatisfaction. Baltimore still claimed all, while Penn would gladly have compromised and had the matter finally settled for the peace and prosperity of his colony. He went further and offered to purchase at a fair price Baltimore's claim to sufficient territory to give Pennsylvania a port on the Chesapeake.¹ But the Maryland proprietor refused to

¹ Colonial Papers, No. 49. Letter of Baltimore, June 11, 1683. Penn proposed to buy "Susquehannah River for an Inlett and Land Enough on Each Side the Said River Sufficient for his occasions and that I would let him know certainly under my hand what price or value I would Sett upon the same." MSS. Penna. Hist. Soc., Report of the conference of October, 1682, signed C. Baltimore. "Mr. Penn very earnestly p^{re}sed for a Port and Harbour att the head of the bay, Saying to My Lord Baltemore that otherwise all that great tract of land his Matie had given

and about 1800. In 1800, the population of the United States was about 3,000,000. In 1850, it was about 23,000,000. In 1900, it was about 76,000,000. In 1950, it was about 150,000,000. In 2000, it was about 281,000,000. In 2010, it was about 312,000,000. In 2020, it was about 331,000,000. The population of the United States has grown rapidly since 1800, and is expected to continue to grow in the future. The growth of the population has been due to a number of factors, including immigration, a high birth rate, and a low death rate. The population of the United States is now one of the largest in the world, and it is expected to remain one of the largest in the future.

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entertain the proposition or name a figure at which he would sell. Penn's purchase of the Lower Counties from the Duke of York had irritated Baltimore, who wanted himself to possess that region, and he seems on that account to have been more than ever determined to get and keep all the territory possible; and now that the Delaware was no longer in royal hands, he entered upon a long and desperate struggle to gain possession thereof. As the proprietaries were unable to agree, a higher power was resorted to, and the judgment of the King's Privy Council was sought. In 1685, when Penn's grantor occupied the throne in the person of James II., a decision was rendered commanding the proprietors to divide the peninsula, which had become the chief source of trouble between them. Various causes delayed the fulfilling of this command. In 1689 new monarchs were on the throne, and the proprietors, each fearing for his own, suspended their quarrel. Later, both colonies were taken under royal control, and for a time there was quiet. In 1694 Penn's province was restored to him, and at the same time his right to the Lower Counties was recognized.¹ As both colonies were then under the complete control of the crown, this disposition of the Lower Counties should have forever set at rest the question of jurisdiction over them, just as Baltimore's grant of 1632 of a portion of Virginia settled the jurisdiction of that region. But Baltimore's rights to the soil of his province had not been taken away, so his territorial interest in the Lower Counties continued. Hoping for more favorable consideration from Queen Anne than he had received from William and Mary, in 1708 he petitioned the crown to settle him in possession of the whole peninsula according to the terms of his charter; but to his chagrin, the result of that petition was a confirmation of Penn's title, with a peremptory command to carry

him to the Northward of Chesapeake bay, wou'd prove but a Dead lump of earth to him."

¹ Haz. Reg., II. p. 71. Royal letter of August 21, 1694, restores to Penn the "country of New Castle, and the Territories depending thereon, whereof you are proprietor."

out the decree of 1685.¹ Again the policy of delay was adopted, the troubles on the border increased, and year after year dragged its slow length along, and the boundary-line was not yet fixed. There were crimination and recrimination, not only between the proprietors, but also between the governors of the respective provinces; the people not being sure to whom taxes were actually due, many of them paid none to either government, while officials of the respective colonies insulted one another and invaded the homes and rights of private citizens.² Penn in despair at the difficulties of his position was on the point of selling his province to the crown, when disease rendered him incapable of performing legal duties. He lived on for six years, then lay down to his final rest, leaving to his heirs the struggle to retain the province for which he had sacrificed so much. At length, in 1732, Charles Lord Baltimore offered to come to a final agreement. He himself produced the map on which the boundaries agreed upon were drawn; and after much discussion, and the help of an expert, the agreement, with Baltimore's map attached, was formally signed; and it now seemed as if all causes of dispute were finally sunk in oblivion. As this agreement was the basis of the final settlement of the boundaries of Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, its terms are of interest. In the first place, Baltimore's map located Cape Henlopen about twenty miles south of the mouth of Delaware Bay, just where the Penns had always insisted the original English maps represented it. The agreement then was to run a line due west from this point across the peninsula, which line should form the southern boundary of the Lower Counties. From the centre of this line as a base, another line was to run in a northerly direction tangent to a circle of twelve miles' radius around New Castle. From the point of contact it was to continue due north to a point fifteen miles south of the most southerly part of Philadelphia. A west line from this

¹ Proud, I. p. 294; Mem. Penna. Hist. Soc., I. p. 208.

² For details, see Vol. I. Penna. Archives, a large portion of which is filled with documents bearing on this wearisome quarrel.

point, together with the arc of the New Castle circle, was to form the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. Though the way to permanent adjustment of all difficulties now seemed clear, many years were destined to pass before the agreement was finally carried out.

§ 7. The papers were scarcely signed when Baltimore desired to retreat from the position he had taken. Wherever the wrong may have lain before, nothing can excuse him from now refusing to carry out an agreement drawn at his own suggestion, entered into after the most careful consideration, wherein he had the advice of expert legal talent. In this work of delay he was ably seconded by his deputy-governor, Ogle, who, in the lengthy correspondence with Pennsylvania officials that ensued, descends to the pettiest trivialities for the sake of protracting the quarrel.¹ The truth is that Maryland officials had employed underhand methods in this contest from the day when Colonel Utie received the following ill-worded commission from Philip Calvert: "That in case he find opportunity he insinuate unto the people there seated [New Amstel] that they do make application to his Lordshipp's government they shall find good conditions according to the conditions granted to all commers into this province which I [promise?] shall be made good unto them, and that they shall have protection in their Lives, Liberties and estates [which] they shall bring with them."² That Utie took care to fulfil this part of his commission is shown by the words of instruction to a return commission to Maryland sent by Alrichs.³ When the country was received by Penn, Baltimore issued a proclamation

¹ Penna. Arch., Vol. I. One must read for himself the correspondence to gain an adequate idea of the contemptible character of this man.

² Haz. Reg., Vol. IV. p. 97 *et seq.*

³ Ibid. The commissioners are instructed "to lay before the said Governor and his Councill what has passed relating the arrival and coming of one Colenell Nathaniel Vtie in the said settlement of New Amstel—endeavouring to suborn and induce the subjects of their high and mightynesses to sedition and Rebellion against their lawful government and their own nation."

offering lands on the Delaware at just one-half the price at which he sold them in Maryland.¹ That this was no new method for the Baltimores is illustrated by the fact that in 1661, Lord Baltimore adopted similar tactics in reference to his southern borders which were the subject of controversy with Virginia.² During his interview with Penn he had a reporter secretly take down the conversation, and then sent to the Lords of Plantations in England a one-sided account of it which Penn felt it necessary to correct.³ That Penn had ground to complain of Baltimore's methods is at least indicated by the latter's refusal in the following spring to adopt Penn's suggestion that all their intercourse be in writing, so that thereafter no possible ground of misunderstanding or suspicion could arise.⁴ The fifth Lord Baltimore was no better; nay, he appears in even a worse light. Two years after he had entered into a solemn agreement with the Penns to fix the border lines without delay, he, directly contrary to that agreement, applied to the crown for a confirmation of his original grant.⁵ He also circulated a report that the Penns had deceived him and imposed upon him a false map;⁶ when in truth the map was his own, and the agreement therewith was the result of long and careful deliberation. On the other hand, whatever may be said as to the motives actuating William Penn and his heirs, read on their face, their actions and words always in this matter showed a desire to arrive at some definite final settlement of the difficulty, that the energy of themselves and their colony might be devoted to the building up of the infant state.

§ 8. The dispute continued with mutual misunderstanding-

¹ Proud, Vol. I. p. 265-66, note.

² McMahon, p. 19. Land was offered "on very favorable terms to emigrants from the counties of Northampton and Accomack [of Virginia]. Their offers to the emigrants appear to have been gladly accepted."

³ Proud, Vol. I. p. 267 *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217; Mem. Penna. Hist. Soc., Vol. I. p. 185; Indenture of Agreement 4th July, 1760, p. 9. Phila., 1851.

⁶ Breviat, p. 73; Penna. Arch., Vol. I. p. 375.

ings and reproaches; the most noticeable feature being that, while both parties were always seeking a peaceful settlement, the Pennsylvanians constantly demanded a certain permanent and specific arrangement, while the Maryland officials as constantly required an agreement in general terms which might leave an opportunity to reopen the discussion in the future. Meantime, the border troubles increased so that the better class of people in both colonies longed for peace and quiet. The matter was more than once forced on the attention of the crown; and in 1737 a royal order was issued commanding the proprietors to run a temporary line which both should recognize as their mutual boundary until a final settlement should be reached.¹ Meantime, neither proprietor was to grant lands in the disputed territory; but each might still exercise jurisdiction over those colonists already settled there who voluntarily acknowledged allegiance to him. The latter part of this order had a disastrous result, as it offered an excuse for the sheriffs of the hostile governments to make raids into the enemy's territory in order to arrest obnoxious individuals. The temporary line was to be surveyed by the joint action of the agents of both proprietaries. The Maryland agents insisted on measuring the twelve miles' radius from New Castle superficially instead of horizontally,—a preposterous demand to which the other party could by no means consent; they then proposed to make unusually large allowances for defects of chain measurement; but this also was denied. Failing in this, they exhibited orders from the Maryland government authorizing them to run the line alone,²—which was in direct opposition to the royal command. However, after a time, the differences were adjusted, and the survey commenced. From time to time there were minor difficulties which the commissioners settled among themselves; and the work was progressing quite well when, unfortunately, one of the Maryland commissioners received word of a death in his family, which necessitated his departure. The work was delayed

¹ Col. Rec., Vol. IV. p. 254; McMahon, p. 37.

² Penna. Arch., Vol. I. pp. 568-69.

for his return; but after a time as neither he nor a substitute appeared, and as his Maryland colleagues refused to proceed without him, the Pennsylvania commissioners applied to their government for permission to continue the survey *ex parte*. This being granted, they surveyed the line to a point eighty-eight miles west of the Susquehannah River,¹ the limit of land as yet purchased from the Indians. The Maryland government, however, refused to recognize the line so run, and continued to grant lands to the north of it in spite of royal orders to the contrary. The Pennsylvania rulers declare that they obeyed the order; and the only substantiated charge against them seems to be that Logan, the secretary of the province, wrote a letter to some settlers in the Susquehannah region telling them to uphold Pennsylvania's rights.²

§ 9. In 1735 the Penns, in obedience to royal orders, filed a bill in chancery to compel Baltimore to carry out the agreement of 1732. Among the matters in defence urged by the Maryland proprietor were that the court had no jurisdiction; that the Penns had imposed a false map on him; that "defendant grossly mistook his original right; and under that mistake and ignorance the articles were founded and framed."³ A decision was not reached until 1750. Before giving the decree of the court, it will be well to state the character of the man who made the decree, that the probability of the justice or injustice of the judgment may be taken into account. At the close the case was five days in arguing, so there is no reason to believe that either party failed to present his case in the most favorable light possible. Lord Hardwicke, who at this time was Chancellor of England, had by his talents worked himself up from the position of a commoner at the bar, through the offices of attorney-general and chief justice of the King's bench, to the highest rank of his profession. As attorney-general,

¹ Penna. Arch., Vol. I. pp. 575-76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 334.

³ For the papers in detail, see the Breviat, a copy of which is in the Penna. Hist. Soc. Library. For *résumé* and decree, see Vesey, Senior, Vol. I. p. 440 *et seq.*

said one of his contemporaries, "he spoke with the veracity of a witness and the impartiality of a judge."¹ As chief justice, "he uniformly displayed, in addition to the strictest impartiality, much acuteness of intellect and great depth of legal erudition."² Speaking of him as chancellor, Campbell declares that "viewed as a magistrate sitting on his tribunal to administer justice, I believe that his fame has not been exceeded by that of any man in ancient or modern times;"³ and that "when occupying the judgment-seat [he] exhibited a pattern of all judicial excellence."⁴ Such was the man who was called upon to decide this famous suit, which involved the governmental and territorial rights to two and a half million acres of land in one of the fairest portions of America. After hearing the evidence and arguments he decided that the court had jurisdiction; that "as to any imposition or surprise, the evidence is clearly contrary thereto; . . . [that] the agreement was originally proposed by defendant himself: he himself produced the map or plan afterward annexed to the articles; he himself reduced the heads of it into writing, and was very well assisted in making it; and farther, that there was a great length of time taken for consideration and reducing it to form; . . . that the true situation of *Cape Henlopen* is as it is marked in the plan, and not where *Cape Cornelius* is, as the defendant insists." He further declares that "in *America* the defendant's commissioners behaved with great chicane;" and finally awards "plaintiffs the costs of this suit to this time." He then orders the agreement of 1732 to be carried out in all its details; that the court-house of New Castle shall be taken as the centre of the circle to be drawn round that city; that the twelve-mile radius shall be measured horizontally and not superficially, and the other lines according to the letter of the agreement. Notwithstanding such definite orders from court, further difficulties were raised by Baltimore's agents: as, for instance, they insisted that the peninsula had been crossed when the first creek flowing into

¹ Quoted in Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, Vol. VI. p. 92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Chesapeake Bay was reached, instead of the shore of the bay itself. It required another application to court on the part of the Penns to have this point settled. A little later Charles Lord Baltimore died, and was succeeded by his son Frederick. With him a final agreement was made in 1760, ratifying that of 1732 with but slight change. In accordance therewith the respective boundaries were finally settled by the survey of the famous Mason and Dixon's line, completed in the year 1767.

§ 10. Let us examine this quarrel from a legal point of view. In the first place it will be found interesting and instructive to note the gradual narrowing of territory granted, as well as of the prerogatives conferred, from the charter of Columbus in 1492 to that of Cecilius Calvert, one hundred and forty years later. Columbus was "to discover and subdue some Islands and Continent in the ocean," of which he was to be "Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governor," and to enjoy "all the perquisites, . . . all the honours, graces, concessions, preheminences, prerogatives, immunities, and other things" belonging to his high state. This concession was too sweeping to suit the Portuguese, who were also interested in geographical exploration, and they therefore applied to Pope Alexander VI. to restrain the Spanish ambition. This resulted in the famous bulls of May, 1493, by which the non-Christian world was divided between the rival powers. But not thus were the other nations of Europe to be deprived of any wealth or glory that might be obtained in the new field of activity. English and French navigators were soon sailing for unknown regions, and the Dutch followed later. Sir Walter Raleigh's grant of 1584 limited him to lands "not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People;" wherein he was to enjoy "all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and preheminences, . . . whatsoever we by our letters patents may graunt." Spanish commissions after that of Columbus limited the grantee to more specific portions of America,—*e.g.*, that of Florida granting as far north as the fortieth degree of latitude; while the French

patent of 1604 granted south to that line. The English charter of 1606 was still indefinite, allowing the London Company to settle any locality between thirty-four and forty-one degrees north latitude, and the Plymouth Company from thirty-eight to forty-five degrees. The London Company charter of 1609 was more precise, granting the sea-board for two hundred miles north and south of Point Comfort, etc. The New England charter of 1620 granted the land from sea to sea between the parallels of forty and forty-eight degrees. Maryland itself was carved out of Virginia, while the territory given to the Plymouth Company in 1620 was later the seat of seven out of the original thirteen States, not to mention Canada. Under such a system there could be only one reliable method of proving title, and that was by actual possession. Such a title to the disputed territory Baltimore could not possibly show. As Penn well put it: "He never was in possession, and he consequently looseth nothing by the want of it, that he ever had. . . . To this I add, he never run his line, nor fixt his bounds; and with submission, where there are no boundaries, possessors, nor claymant, there can be no title pleadable against the planter; the maxim of the civil law holding good in this case, *Quæ nullius sunt in bonis dantur occupante.*"¹ There can be no doubt of the right, as then interpreted, of Charles I. to grant Maryland to Calvert, as Virginia was at that time a royal province. The patent to George Calvert was drawn and ready to pass the seals when the grantee died. Another paper was then drawn to convey the same territory to his heir. A slight and apparently insignificant alteration was made in the wording of the second paper, which, however, proved of really great consequence.² By the first, territory was granted whose northern and southern bounds were respectively the fortieth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude. The second charter, the only one which passed the seals, specified Watkins Point

¹ Penn to the Marquis of Halifax, 9th 12th month, 1683; *Mem. Penna. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 420.

² Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. II. pp. 65-6; *Bozman*, Vol. II.

as the southern termination, and said nothing of its latitude. As the charters were evidently intended to convey exactly the same property, the natural inference is that Watkins Point was supposed by the authorities to lie upon the thirty-eighth parallel; and that Maryland's extension north and south was intended to be two degrees of latitude as then measured. It is a general rule of interpretation of written documents that "since the lawful interpretation ought to tend only to the discovery of the thoughts of the author, as soon as we meet with any obscurity, we should seek for what was probably in the thoughts of those who drew it up, and to interpret it accordingly."¹ But as the specific takes precedence of the general, so Watkins Point remained the southern boundary of Maryland, though the Virginians had discovered, ten years before the issue of Penn's patent, that Baltimore had thus encroached twenty miles on their northern borders.² In like manner there was a specific description of what was intended and then understood as the fortieth degree of north latitude; for Maryland's northern line was to pass "from the said Delaware Bay in a right line with the degree aforesaid to the true meridian of the first source of the Potomac River."³ Reading the charter boundaries with Smith's map in hand, which was certainly the main basis of that description,⁴ one can have no reasonable doubt that King Charles intended to grant to Baltimore only the northeastern corner of Virginia. Had the northern border been settled by the same rule of law as the southern was, and which by the soundest rules of interpretation was truly intended to be that border, Maryland would now possess less instead of more territory. From the nature of things, viewed in the light of later knowledge, it was impossible to comply with the entire description of the north-

¹ Vattel, quoted in Porter on Statutes, p. 127.

² Mem. Penna. Hist. Soc., Vol. I. p. 420.

³ McMahon's Maryland, p. 1; Sabin's Reprints, No. 2, p. 81, for Baltimore's own translation; Poore, U. S. Charters and Constitutions, Vol. I. p. 811, for the Latin.

⁴ See above, § 6, and note 1, page 247.

ern line. But as "languages vary incessantly, and the signification and force of words change with time; therefore, when an ancient act is to be interpreted, we should know the common use of terms at the time when it was written."¹ Some maps of even a later period show the head of Delaware Bay above the fortieth degree; some, as Baltimore's of 1635, far below it; while, unfortunately, Smith's map does not represent it at all. So we must be guided by the words alone; and the only interpretation of them which does not lead to an absurdity, and hence the only reliable one,² is to conclude that the patent of 1632 only conveyed lands lying south of a parallel of latitude intersecting Delaware Bay at or even below its head.

Before Penn's charter was issued Calvert requested that the Susquehannah Fort should be considered the northern boundary of his province, and its latitude, Penn's southern line. He thus avoided the direct question whether Penn's proposed grant to the fortieth parallel interfered with his rights, and laid himself open to the suspicion that he conceived the fort as perhaps lying beyond his true bounds. Penn promised compliance. But Lord North ignored Baltimore's request, drew the patent so as by its letter to give the same boundary-line as Maryland, and thus released Penn from his promise. In April, 1681, the King sent a letter to the proprietors requiring the settlement of the boundary-line between them. The observation taken in consequence thereof resulted in the discovery, alike astonishing to all, that the fortieth degree lies considerably north of any portion of Delaware Bay. Thus the running of the lines according to both the general and specific descriptions was found to be impossible. So in the following year a new royal command was issued directing in effect that the line be run as intended by the spirit of the charters. To this Baltimore positively refused obedience, and opposed it by the order of the year previous,—entirely ignoring the fact that a succeeding royal order, like a recent legal decision, always takes precedence of all former ones.

¹ Potter, p. 127.

² Ibid., p. 128.

Failing in this, Penn tried to get Baltimore to measure his two degrees north from Watkins Point, allowing sixty miles to the degree, and accept the point so reached for his northern limit. This also was in accordance with the King's order, but was indignantly rejected by Maryland's proprietor. At present this appears to be a strange proposition, until it is recalled that up to that very year (1682) sixty miles were commonly reckoned in England as the length of a degree of latitude. Only in this same year did even Sir Isaac Newton learn that this was not the true length. About that time Picard's measurement and work of ten years previous were set forth in a meeting of the Royal Society, from which meeting Newton hurried forth to take up again the calculations by which he finally demonstrated his law of gravitation. Earlier he had accepted the customary reckoning of sixty miles to the degree, and found his theory and facts in discord. But with better knowledge of facts he proved his theory true, and was thus enabled to announce to the world one of the most wonderful discoveries in modern science.¹ Was there any injustice, then, in ordering Baltimore to run his line according to the old computation? His charter had been issued fifty years before; and should he by his own negligence, in so long leaving undetermined the boundaries of his province, profit at the expense of another by the knowledge gained in half a century's advance in science? Baltimore exposed himself to further censure by having observations taken privately, and a line surveyed from near the mouth of Octoraroe Creek to the Delaware, claiming this as his northern boundary. Such action was in express violation of the royal order, as the line was to be run jointly. However, at a later time he discovered that his surveyors had made a mistake, and the line was still south of the fortieth parallel. Though he should certainly have been estopped by this action from claiming a more northerly boundary, he no sooner learned of the error than he abandoned his own line, and strove to obtain the land to the true par-

¹ See *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed.; article on Sir Isaac Newton; also *Edinburgh Rev.*, Vol. 45; article, Newton and his Contemporaries.

allel. Penn finding the fortieth circle so far north adopted another interpretation of his charter, and maintained that the words of his patent, "unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude," signified a point immediately north of the thirty-ninth degree. This was laughed at by Baltimore as absurd; but that it was no mere verbal quibble is made to appear by the fact that the northern line of Pennsylvania was settled in the middle of the eighteenth century on an exactly similar basis, New York maintaining that "the beginning of the three and fortieth degree" meant the point just beyond the forty-second degree, which now constitutes the northern boundary of the Keystone State.¹ Taking all the facts into consideration, judged by the rules of law, it appears that Baltimore rather made than lost by the agreement of 1732; and that the decree of 1750, enforcing performance of that agreement, was eminently just and impartial.

§ 11. But even allowing that Penn had a legal right to all that his heirs ultimately obtained, it remains a legitimate question whether morally he was justified in thus precipitating a quarrel which resulted in so much evil. Almost fifty years before Penn's grant Cecilius Calvert had planted his colony in the wilderness; that colony had grown in population and wealth, and was doing much not only to subdue the wilderness, but by its freedom in civil and religious life to advance the general enlightenment of mankind. During those fifty years, however, Baltimore had never found possession of the disputed tract to the north necessary or even desirable for the welfare of his colony; and had only at a late day tried to coerce the Dutch to the east of his colony into subjection to his government. He had done nothing to improve the land which was now for the first time claimed when another was about to obtain possession thereof. That his charter was intended to convey only two degrees of latitude from Watkins Point was well known.² Yet the Lords Baltimore ever insisted upon the most rigidly literal con-

¹ Penna. Arch., Vol. II. p. 65.

² Relation of Maryland, p. 17; Colonial Papers, No. 49.

struction of their charter; they refused William Penn's fair offers of compromise and purchase, which would have quieted matters at once; they declined to obey the royal orders except when in their favor; they protracted the chancery suit by every means possible; and, finally, they time and again failed to comply with their own agreements. To the very last the Maryland authorities tried to find means of prolonging the quarrel, and as late as 1774 attempted to prevent the Pennsylvania government from exercising jurisdiction over the territory on its own side of Mason and Dixon's line.¹ But again the royal decree was against them; and just as Pennsylvania joined her sister colonies in the Revolutionary struggle, she closed this dispute which had accompanied her from her birth. The Penns always showed themselves willing and anxious to carry out their formal agreements, and with but few exceptions kept to their engagements punctiliously. For those exceptions there existed adequate cause.² Can it, then, be justly charged that on the Penns must fall the moral responsibility of this evil and protracted quarrel? It might be urged that Penn's agreement to recognize the Susquehannah Fort as Baltimore's northern limit bound him morally. Technically he was released therefrom by Lord North.³ The position of that fort is a mooted point; but the fact that Lord Charles Baltimore never urged that agreement upon Penn is good negative evidence that its location was south of the true fortieth parallel; while reliable positive evidence goes to show that the *old* fort of that name was near the mouth of Octoraro Creek;⁴ though it is a well-known fact that in the eighteenth century there was a Susquehannah Fort far to the north of that point. There should also be taken into consideration the grounds of acquisition of their territories

¹ See correspondence and decree, Col. Rec., Vol. X. pp. 220, 221, 240, 241.

² See letter of Markham, MSS. Penna. Hist. Soc.; Proud, Vol. I. p. 277 *et seq.*

³ Chalmers's Annals, ed. 1780, p. 657.

⁴ Breviat, p. 77.

by the respective proprietaries; Baltimore receiving his purely as a mark of royal favor, while Penn rendered for his a *quid pro quo*. Had Baltimore's charter been in dispute with the crown, then was it entitled by the terms thereof to a liberal construction. But when it came to be a matter of justice between him and another subject, and the dispute had been rendered possible only because of his former negligence in fixing no boundary, then equity demanded a strict interpretation of his charter; and on moral grounds he is responsible for not yielding thereto.

§ 12. Viewed from any and all points, this entire quarrel was unfortunate and productive of evil. It caused two men who should have been in cordial co-operation to become bitter enemies. Both had the best interests of their respective colonies at heart, and were doing much to make civil liberty a fact in the world, instead of a mere speculative principle as it had been in past ages. So this quarrel absorbed in unprofitable ways the energies of those men who would otherwise have been employed in perfecting their respective governments. The ignorant and untrained settlers left without strong guiding hands, failed to reach that high standard of self-government aimed at by the proprietors. In the disputed territory a community of pugnacious individuals collected which was hostile to the best interests of both provinces; so colonists of a good class were kept out, because they desired lands whose title was clear and in whose possession they would be secure. Furthermore, constant fighting among themselves led the settlers to disregard the rights of the neighboring Indians; and thus the good effect of Pennsylvania's peace policy was threatened, and the hostility of the savages was allayed with difficulty.¹ Finally, this was one of the means whereby the natural legal development of Pennsylvania was frustrated. The constant turmoil was charged as a weakness of Quaker government, which would not put it down with a strong hand. It brought the colony into disrepute, and thus retarded its settlement and improvement; it alarmed the people with

¹ Penna. Arch., Vol. I. p. 321 *et seq.*

fear of an Indian attack, and thus restrained agricultural activity; but worst of all, it necessitated the presence of Pennsylvania's first proprietor in England, while his strong will and ready tact were needed in America to shape the policy of his young colony and guide the people in the to them unusual and difficult labors of self-government.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO PITTSBURGH
IN 1825.

[The particulars of Lafayette's visit to Pittsburgh in 1825 have lately excited some interest in that city, and as no very detailed account appears to have been preserved, we copy the following from the *Pittsburgh Mercury* of June 1, and *Pittsburgh Gazette* of June 3, 1825, which were reprinted in the Philadelphia papers of the day. These with a letter from a citizen of Pittsburgh, addressed to a former resident of that city now living in Philadelphia, giving the writer's recollections of the event, will furnish our Pittsburgh readers with a graphic account of the visit of the Nation's Guest to their city.—ED. OF MAG.]

Our time permits us at present to do little more than announce the arrival of the General at Pittsburgh, and to give a mere outline of his reception and entertainment in this city. We could have wished that our day of publication had not come so immediately on the heels of this interesting event, because we were desirous of doing at least something like justice to the most imposing spectacle we ever witnessed; a scene in which a whole population expressed its gratitude, its veneration, and its love for one of the founders of the republic.

The General and family came down the Youghiogany from Elizabeth town¹ in a barge, and arrived at Braddock's fields; at the hospitable mansion of Geo. Wallace, Esqr., on Sunday evening last. Early on Monday morning the committee of arrangement and Captain Murray's troop of light dragoons and a number of other respectable citizens were introduced to him there; and tendered to him their

¹ There is evidently an error in this statement, as Elizabethtown is on the Monongahela. According to Levasseur, Lafayette proceeded from Wheeling to Uniontown, *via* Washington and Brownsville. On May 28 he left the latter place for Elizabethtown. He arrived there about twelve o'clock, when he was taken upon a boat propelled by four oars, upon which he descended the river to Braddock's Field.

affectionate congratulations on his arrival. He was conducted by the committee and the troop to the U. S. Arsenal, to breakfast with Maj. Churchill, the commandant; after breakfast the General spent a short time in viewing the public works.

From the arsenal he was conducted along the turnpike to Bell's clover field, where the volunteer troops, consisting of the battalion of Pittsburgh volunteers, and several volunteer corps from the country, under the command of Maj. General Wilkins, were drawn up in line to receive him. Here the General alighted from his carriage and reviewed the troops, which presented a very imposing and interesting spectacle.

At the turnpike gate, the General, accompanied by the mayor, was handed into a barouche, drawn by four white horses; and a procession formed agreeably to the previous arrangements, conducting him into the city to his lodgings at Darlington's hotel, which were fitted up for the occasion in a style of elegance highly creditable to the taste of the proprietor, and which we believe has seldom been surpassed.

The progress of the General through the city to his lodgings was marked with abundant manifestations of the hearty welcome with which he was received. The streets through which he passed were filled to overflowing, as also were the doors, windows, and every place where a view could be obtained. Every countenance beamed with pleasure, and every eye sparkled with delight. It was the grateful homage of a free people flowing from the heart towards the early distinguished and unwearied champion of freedom.

At Darlington's the General received and was introduced to a crowd of admiring visitors. All were received with cordiality and affection, and none more so than our old revolutionary veterans, his compatriots in arms.

The Hon. Charles Shaler, in behalf of the citizens of Pittsburgh, delivered the eloquent and affecting address which follows. Mr. E. D. Gazzam, in behalf of the young men, also delivered an address, but we had not obtained a copy of it at the time of drawing up this article. The

General dined with the committee of arrangement and several distinguished strangers; among whom were Gov. Morrow, of Ohio, and his aids, Majors Pendleton and King, who had accompanied the General to this city.

In the evening, a splendid ball was given at Col. Ramsay's, in which the youth, the beauty, and the fashion of the city paid their homage to their venerated and beloved guest.

But a scene not less interesting than any which had preceded it, took place on Tuesday morning. The children of the city headed by their respective teachers were arranged along Wood street in the front of the General's lodgings. The General saluted them in passing along the line uncovered, and he appeared greatly pleased with this testimony of affection. Incidents like these strike at once on the tenderest sensibilities of the heart. May the rising generation profit by the example of disinterested virtue and patriotism, which his whole life has displayed.

The General visited the different manufacturing establishments of the city, and appeared much pleased with the ingenuity of our artists, and our progress in the arts.

A public dinner was given to him at Col. Ramsay's, in every respect suitable to the occasion, but we had not received the account of the proceedings at the time our paper went to press.

The family of the General consists of his son, Maj. G. W. Lafayette, Col. Levasseur, and —, who engaged the particular attention of all the visitors not only by their personal worth, but also as the companions of their country's benefactor. The General departed this day (Wednesday) for Erie and proceeds eastward, by way of the Lakes.

We stated in our opening that we could give only an outline of the proceedings on this interesting occasion. Many incidents of an interesting character occurred, the account of which we must defer for the present. We shall only add that the greatest harmony and good order prevailed throughout the whole of the occasion.

[The addresses of General Shaler and of Lafayette conclude the *Mercury's* account.]

From the Pittsburgh Gazette, June 3.

Perhaps the most interesting incident attending the General's visit to our city was the introduction to him, at Darlington's Hotel, of the revolutionary veterans, who with Capt. Patterson, had occupied the three carriages next to his during the Procession. Their names are: Alexander Gray, Galbreath Wilson, Richard Sparrow, Thomas Vaughn, David Morse, Thomas Roe, Elijah Clayton, and John Barnwell. Old Alexander Gray and Galbreath Wilson seemed to grow young again. The latter asked the General if he remembered the young man who assisted him over the fence immediately after he had received the wound in his leg at the battle of Brandywine which caused his lameness? The General instantly recognized in Wilson the gallant young soldier who had performed that service, and a very cordial embrace followed. The old soldiers dined with the General at Darlington's on Monday, and at Ramsay's on Tuesday.

Captain Gabriel Peterson, of Elizabeth-Town in this county; a brave and worthy officer of the Revolution, accompanied the General to this place and remained with him during his stay.

Among the persons introduced to the General at Elizabeth-Town, was Mr. Bollman, brother of the celebrated Dr. Bollman who risked his life in the attempt to rescue the Marquis de La Fayette from the Castle of Olmutz in the dominions of the King of Prussia.

On Tuesday morning the General was waited on by the clergymen of the different denominations of this city, accompanied by a considerable number from the country who were here attending a Synod. Several interesting revolutionary anecdotes were related, in a conversation between the General and the Rev. Joseph Patterson, who it appeared, had carried a musket during two or three arduous campaigns and resided at Germantown during the famous battle at that place.

At the battle of Brandywine, as above stated, General Lafayette received a wound in the leg. A number of officers

immediately gathered around him, and while the surgeon (Dr. Magaw of Franklin County) was endeavoring to repress the profuse flow of blood, expressed their apprehensions for his safety, perhaps rather too hastily—"Never mind, gentlemen," said the General, looking at the wound, "never mind, I wouldn't take fifteen hundred guineas for *that*."

The General left this early on Wednesday morning, for Erie. He was escorted out of town by the Committee of Arrangement, Capt. Murray's Troop of Light Dragoons, and the Battalion of Pittsburgh Volunteers. Harmar Denny and Charles H. Israel, Esquires, of this city, accompanied him to Erie. He intends going by land to Albany.

Letter from a Resident of Pittsburgh.

Gen. Lafayette's Visit here in May 1825 is stamped in my memory vividly. He came early in the morning in an open carriage with the Military escort & Citizens. Opposite Dr. Herron's residence on the "Commons" a large tract of vacant ground, the children of the schools were assembled. I was one of them—we all had, as indeed most persons old and young were decorated with, silk badges with portraits of Lafayette and Washington and the words the Nations Guest etc. I have one of them now. The cortege proceeded to "Darlington's Hotel"—during the morning the General received visitors. I was introduced by Judge Riddle—afterwards had opportunity of speaking to him or rather being spoken to by him. He stood all morning directly before the fire place in the front parlor on Wood Street—the room was decorated for the occasion with flags and pictures of revolutionary scenes. Over the fire place was placed a large and splendid painting (attributed to Trumbull) of Lafayette and Washington on horseback at Yorktown. A body of French Troops in the back ground. This fine painting was loaned by Harmar Denny and now belongs to his daughter Mistress May O'Hara Spring and is hanging in her parlor on Penn street. A public dinner was given to Lafayette in the same house on that day. I was in the room, I soon tired of it—the toasts,

speeches &c. being above my comprehension or appreciation. Judge Baldwin, Harmar Denny, Charles Shaler, James Ross and indeed all the leading men of the city and some from other places were there. In the evening a ball was given to the General at Ramsay's Hotel, corner of Third and Wood st. Of course I was not there, but I heard a great deal about it. The room in which Lafayette slept at the Mansion House, to my boyish notions, was the most magnificent ever constructed. It had for many years been the Lodge Room of the Free Masons. The ceiling was arched, painted with figures of the Sun, Moon and Stars. When the Masonic lease expired the decorations were allowed to remain. The bed prepared for Lafayette was a large Mahogany four-poster with a Canopy surmounted by a large gilt Eagle. Each post had the names of Revolutionary Generals inscribed thereon. I remember those of Wayne and Mercer while the names of Washington and Lafayette were on long silken streamers from the Eagle's beak.

The General and his Suite left in the morning early in the regular Stage coach for Erie escorted to Butler by the City Light Troop, Captain Magnus M. Murray. S. P. Darlington (now residing in Philadelphia) was Sergeant and I think is the only surviving member of that brilliant body of Pittsburgh Cavalry of the olden time. With two or three other boys I accompanied the cavalcade over the Allegheny bridge and up the river to Pine Creek where the stage stopped to water the horses at Buffington's tavern (still standing) when my uncle, who was in the Troop espied me and ordered me home.

Fred Fogle the Trumpeter sounded his bugle, the Driver cracked his whip, the cortege disappeared in the winding Valley of Pine creek and I getting a lift behind a country boy on a horse bound to town reached there in an hour or two and so ends this long and tedious story of personal recollections of Lafayette's visit here in 1825.

DIARY OF JAMES ALLEN, ESQ., OF PHILADELPHIA,
COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW, 1770-1778.

(Continued from page 196.)

Feby 17, 1777.—The alarm of taking Philad^a being over matters are returning to the old channel. Our assembly have been sitting for some time. They have issued a new writ to elect 4 persons for the county of Phila^d in the room of Mess^r Dickenson, Gray, T. Potts & Isaac Hughes, who have never met to take their seats:¹ & have passed 2 laws: one to continue & revive suits & Courts of Justice: the other declaring all offices void excepting the Trustees of the loan office, and appointing a time for electing Justices of the Peace according to the frame of Government. It is said a Militia Law is also passed, but it is not published. The assembly have appointed Gen^l Roberdeau, J. B. Smith, W^m Moore & reappointed R. Morris & D^r Franklin Delegates in Congress & left out G. Clymer, J. Wilson, J. Smith, G. Ross, D^r Rush, G. Taylor & J. Morton.² The reason for

¹ John Bull, John Moore, William Coates, and Robert Loller were elected in their stead.

² The new members, who were chosen on February 5, were Daniel Roberdeau, Jonathan Bayard Smith, and William Moore. Daniel Roberdeau was a native of the island of St. Christopher, British West Indies. His father, Isaac Roberdeau, was a native of Rochelle, in France. His mother was Mary, daughter of Robert Cunyngham, of St. Christopher. He was born in the year 1727. After the death of his father his mother removed to Philadelphia, bringing her son with her. He became a successful merchant, and was a liberal citizen. He occupied many positions of honor and trust in Philadelphia, and warmly supported the cause of Independence. On July 4, 1776, he was elected First Brigadier-General of the Pennsylvania Associators, and took part in the campaign in New Jersey in that year. He was a member of Congress from 1777 to 1779, and signed the Articles of Confederation. After the war he removed to Alexandria, Va., and subsequently to Winchester, where he died January 5, 1795, aged sixty-eight.

He was twice married, first, in 1761, to Mary, daughter of Rev. David

leaving out so many old members, it is said, is that the new light Presbyterian Party have the ascendant in Assembly: the 2 former of the new Members, being of that Class. The campaign in Jersey has ended in a few small skirmishes of no consequence. The enemy are strong & encamped 2 miles above Brunswick & so along to Amboy. Gen^l Washington is also strong in numbers & at Morris Town. It is supposed Gen^l Howe has lost in killed & prisoners since he left Trenton above 1500 men. It is said he is making great preparation to attack Phila^d early in y^e Spring. Next

Bostwick, a minister of the Presbyterian Church, residing in New York. She died at Lancaster, Pa., February 15, 1777. On December 2, 1778, he married Miss Jane Milligan, of Philadelphia. She lived to an advanced age, and died September 3, 1835. For a sketch of his life and character, and notices of his descendants, see "Genealogy of the Roberdeau family," by Roberdeau Buchanan.

Jonathan Bayard Smith was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born in 1741. His father came from New England. He graduated at Princeton College in 1760. He was very active in public affairs during the Revolution, and was chosen a member of a number of committees. He was Grand Master of the Masons of Pennsylvania. He died in 1812. His son, Samuel H. Smith, was the founder and editor of the *National Intelligencer*.

William Moore was the son of Robert Moore, who was a native of the Isle of Man. He declined to serve as a delegate to Congress. He was chosen Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in 1779, and in 1781 President. In 1783 he was commissioned a judge of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. In 1784 he was a member of the Assembly. He died July 24, 1793. His wife, Sarah, was the daughter of Thomas and Susannah Lloyd. He had two sons,—Thomas Lloyd Moore, a major in the Revolutionary army, who married Sarah, daughter of Joseph Stamper and Robert Kearny Moore. His daughter Elizabeth married Francois Barbè Marbois, a native of Metz, who, in 1780, was sent to the United States with the title of Consul-General. He was created a count by Napoleon. See Keith's "Provincial Councillors," p. (23).

Of the two members who were reappointed, Robert Morris and Franklin, it is unnecessary to speak.

The retiring members, George Clymer, James Wilson, James Smith, George Ross, Benjamin Rush, George Taylor, and John Morton, had all signed the Declaration of Independence. On the 22d Clymer was reappointed in the place of William Moore, who had declined to serve, and James Wilson was again added to the delegation.

Summer, bids fair to be a hot campaign, & Phila^d will probably fall. The Men of War have left our Harbour & some Vessels with salt & Rum arrived; which has reduced those articles a little. The King's speech of 30th last Nov^{br} says all is peace in Europe, but it is necessary to be in a state of Defence at home, & prepare for another campaign in America. Our Newspapers are full of a War brewing between France & Great-Britain: others say they are on the best terms. The Congress certainly have made very tempting offers to France; some say to name their own terms. No news of their Ambassador D^r Franklin or Silas Deane. Gen^l Washington has put out a Proclamation declaring, all those who have joined Gen^l Howe & taken oaths of Allegiance to the King, enemies if they do not, renounce & take oaths of Allegiance to the united States in 30 days: but gives any one liberty to go into the enemies lines with their families. This is either contradictory or unintelligible. My brothers are still at New-York, but by their letters think Phila^d will soon be reduced. I am very uneasy about them, as their company at this time would be very agreeable to me. Gen^l Washington has also forbid the militia & soldiery to molest any one on pretence of being Tories, & the Governor & Council of Jersey have done the same. This is highly necessary, tho' it comes, like Venetian succours, rather late. No country has ever been more harassed than Jersey; those who are called Tories, tho' they have been passive, having been plundered & imprisoned without mercy.

My particular situation has been of late very uneasy, owing to the Battalion of Militia of this district, assembling in the Town of Northampton, to the number of 600 men, where they continued a fortnight & marched off the day before yesterday viz. 15 Feby inst—They are generally disorderly, being under no discipline; & I was particularly obnoxious, on account of my political opinions, & the conduct of my brothers, but particularly for the late assault I made on the Lieut: Coll. when my chariot was attacked & which the whole Battalion highly resented. Eight or nine

parties of 15 or 20 men each came to demand Blankets, one party of which, was very uncivil. But by prudence I escaped without any insult, having parted with 10 Blankets. The principal officers behaved with great civility & the Coll. Boehm whom I had the rencounter with, came to my house, to assure me he was innocent of the attack on my chariot & we buried the affair in Oblivion. He assured me, that the soldiers were ripe for doing some violence to my house, which he with difficulty prevented, & upon the whole I had great good fortune to escape without some injury from a riotous incensed soldiery, & am at present pretty easy on that head. Notwithstanding this I am uneasy & wish to be in Philad^a. My wife is often alarmed; I am afraid to converse with persons here, or write to my friends in Philad^a; & a small matter, such as a letter intercepted or unguarded word, would plunge me into troubles. I never knew, how painful it is to be secluded from the free conversation of one's friends, the loss of which cannot be made up by any other expedients. I am considering whether I shall not leave this place in May & adjourn to Philad^a & am in that state of uncertainty, that has hitherto distressed me so much. I should prefer continuing here, were I not in so conspicuous a point of light. It is odd to reflect that I am taking as much pains to be in obscurity, as others are to blaze in the publick Eye & become of importance.

6 June, 1777.—A great gap in my diary. Gen^l Howes army has remained since the Winter at Brunswick & Amboy, confined to their quarters & harassed by our Army. Contrary to the expectations of every one, he is still inactive; most unaccountably so, as our army does not at present exceed 7 or 8000 & till lately was not half so numerous. It is supposed that Howe's army, tho' large enough to drive our's before it, is insufficient for the garrisons he must have & therefore, he waits for reinforcements from England & Canada, that are daily expected. Delaware Bay has a long time [been] & still is full of men of War & of course Trade is at an end & every article of importation enormous. Privateering is also almost over, as the men of War scour the Seas &

nothing escapes 'em. Washington, will, in my opinion have but an indifferent army, recruiting goes on heavily; all over the continent. His present supplies are from the Southern provinces; very few from New-England; it is said those provinces, who were the most forward in Independence are sick of the war. America is more divided than ever, & tories increase. There is no doubt but a vast majority of the people wish a reconciliation. It is evident from the temper of the people of Philadelphia. Tho' the Congress have always sat there & given most of their offices to people living in it, yet they can hardly find reputable men to accept employments & complain much of the disaffection there. In short the cause is now an up-hill business & I think almost desperate. No men to be enlisted, the money loathed, & the necessaries of life almost wanting. One defeat puts an end to it. Loaf Sugar per pound 10/ brown 4/. Salt 12 dollars, nominally, but not to be purchased. The congress lately ordered all stores in private families in Philadelphia, & flour, Iron &c to be removed; of course houses have been searched & their things carried off, & all the satisfaction, the owners have, is being told that one day or other they shall be paid. The rights of property are no longer preserved, impressing waggons, horses, blankets &c is done by inferior officers for their own convenience.

The Government of this province or state as they term it, is truly ridiculous; Not one of the Laws of the Assembly are regarded; No courts open, no Justice administered. A New Justice issues his warrant to a Constable under the old Govern^t. Few of the Justices elected thro'out the state, accept their offices. It is a mockery of Justice.

A Month ago, the Congress sensible of the weakness of our Government, took it into their own hands, & vested it in the President & such Counsellors as occasionally are in Town, the Board of War & Navy.¹ They continued to be Legislative & executive, till lately the Assembly have

¹ We find no evidence of such action having been taken by the Continental Congress in the published proceedings of that body.

again assembled. Immediatly a number of the most respectable Whigs apply to them to dissolve themselves & appoint another Convention to make a better Government, declaring they will pay no regard to the present one. The committee of true whigs send up a counter address encouraging the assembly to go on. This produces altercations in the papers, to the great amusement of the Tories, & which both sides are much hurt by, but still attack each other. The congress seem daily to sink in the opinion of the people, & I believe they are much at a loss how to proceed. They have not lately put on the buskin & talked in the old Rhodomontade style. They are composed at present of the middling class of people & by acknowledgment of the Whigs by no means as respectable in their members as formerly. Last Winter the Delaware State nominated ten successively as delegates, who refused; & three for Governors, the two first of whom refused it. I question now if any man of tolerable credit, would accept the Governm^t of Pennsylvania.¹ I was told about a Month ago by a member of Congress & several principal officers, and others, that the Continent had in pay 10,000 officers, when at the same time Gen^l Washington had not 3,000 men. Colonel Wood² told me lately, that he had not $\frac{1}{3}$ of his Battalion (an old one) full & most of the others were weaker than his, & they had no hopes of getting men. The notion of assistance from

¹ To understand this passage the spirit in which it was written must be remembered. This is shown in the remark made under date of July 2, where, in writing of the Assembly, Mr. Allen says, "They are indeed a wretched set. This convulsion has indeed brought all the dregs to the top." The government was then being administered under the Constitution of 1776, and although some irregularities occurred in putting it in force, its authority was recognized by the majority of those who supported the war.

Thomas Wharton, Jr., had been inaugurated President of the Supreme Executive Council on March 5 previous, an office which had superseded that of Governor under the colonial charter.

² Probably Colonel Joseph Wood, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. His health having been much impaired by wounds received in the Canada Campaign, he resigned July, 1777. He resided in Jonestown, now Lebanon County, in 1785, and died there some time in 1789.

France is partly given up, at least there is a silence on that head. An english paper says Silas Dean one of their ambassadors is taken. A Gentleman of Credit, who left New-York about two months ago, assured me, that Gen^l Gage & M^r Knox secretary to the Treasury wrote to New-york, that D^r Franklin had assured L^d Stormont¹ the English Ambassador that he waited on him to acquaint him, he was no longer a politician, but had left America to spend the remainder of his days in a Philosophical retirement. From the complexion of things at present, unless something very fortunate turns up, America will be in Obedience to his Majesty by next Winter, in the opinion of the Tories.

As to myself, I am now fixed here, & am very busy in gardening, planting &c. I visit Philad^a once in 2 months; Should Gen^l Howe get there, all my friends will remain & I shut out, yet I shall think myself happier here. I have made shift to keep within my income as yet, tho' it is reduced, & it would be impossible to support my family in Town. I long most ardently to see my brothers, whose society would at this time be peculiarly desirable; There are few families who live on terms of purer love & friendship than ours; which is owing not only to natural affection, but the conviction of each others integrity and disinterestedness.

2 July, 1777.—The beginning of last month Gen^l Howe marched from Brunswick to Somerset Court-house with 7000 men & was daily expected to be in Philadelphia; whither it was supposed he was destined. I happened to be in Philad^a at this time, & the alarm was very great. The stores were moved out, the Militia called upon & harangued twice by Gen^l Mifflin, & attempts made to force out the unwilling: Alarm Guns firing continually & the Signal flag displayed. Had Gen^l Howe meant to come forward he might certainly have done it.² But after waiting

¹ Lord Stormont.

² From *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of Tuesday, June 17, 1777:

"On Wednesday last a town-meeting was held in the State-house yard in this city, when Major-General Mifflin addressed the citizens with his usual eloquence, and recommended it to them to turn out under the

some days at Somerset Court house, he retired to Brunswick & on the 22 June evacuated Brunswick, retiring to Amboy. Part of the continental Army advanced to Brunswick just as he left it & a small skirmish ensued but few lives lost. A little affair happened near Amboy a few days ago, when Coll: Morgan was nearly surrounded & narrowly escaped with the loss of 16 men only; as our people say. In consequence of this Retreat of Gen^l Howes, the Whigs are in great spirits & think he will attempt nothing this Summer, nay some even say he means to carry his army to England; & they would have it understood that he was driven from Brunswick. On the other hand the Tories think his army in a respectable state, superior to ours, that he is preparing to embark & come to Philad^a by water, as we find he is actually embarking at Staten Island. They say his leaving Brunswick could not be compulsory as he was never even threatened with an attack, & his dividing his force by going 9 miles to Somerset shews it was neither timidity or weakness. Be this reasoning as it may the Whigs consider him as a flying enemy. But it is their property to be easily elated or depressed. The Conduct of Gen^l Howe is extraordinary: his force has ever been considerable, his intelligence perfect, yet he has been idle when Gen^l Washington had no army to oppose him, nor is it to be accounted for but by supposing he is waiting for the reinforcements from England which he thinks will enable him to act decisely.

Our assembly have at length in their wisdom prepared a test act obliging all to vow allegiance to their state & abjure the King; the penalty is being in effect outlawed, *ie* unable to sue or be sued or travel out of their county. But it is little regarded like the rest of their Laws; They are indeed a wretched set. This convulsion has indeed brought all the dregs to the Top. The rapid increase of provisions is militia law in opposing the common enemy. And on Friday near two thousand men appeared on the common near this city, who resolved, *unanimously*, to conquer or die in the defence of the liberties of their country."

amazing. Last month the Courts of Bucks & Northampton sat. I have not heard of the other counties. They well deserve the titles of *Curiae indoctæ*. The wise ones talk of discharging their enormous paper debt by sales of Crown lands & tho' not much talked of, by forfeitures. As yet we have had no confiscations, owing not to a principle of Justice or humanity but a doubt of the Issue of things.

July 30th, 1777.—We are now in a state of great anxiety, as Gen^l Howe has at length commenced his operations; having sailed with his whole army from Sandy hook the 20th inst. & been seen off Egg-harbour the 26th & daily expected in Delaware Bay. Gen^l Washington with his whole army is marched to Philad^a & great preparations making for the defence of that city. It will be a very important siege & go near to decide the fate of Independance. If it is besieged, I think it will be taken, as the Americans have as yet made poor defences in their forts &c. The Whigs who are easily elated and soon depressed are at present somewhat dejected; They affected to say that there would be no attempt from the Canada army this year, as their stores were burnt & the Canadians disaffected, & our army at Ticonderoga strong, in high spirits & well fortified. But to their disappointment about 3 weeks ago, Burgoyne invested Ticonderoga, which was, as far, as yet appears, shamefully evacuated, our army pursued to Sken'sborough 40 miles, many cut off & all the stores, boats & every thing but small arms taken. This is the last of our Fortresses, which all together have cost immense sums, & not one been defended. The distresses in the necessaries of life very great & prices ridiculously high; but one privateer belonging to Philad^a has escaped the enemy, & the trade from, Statia & the West indies totally interrupted by the Men of War. Next Winter, if this dispute continues, will be distressing. Salt is not to be had; coarse sugar 7/6 & loaf 15/ per lb. Many people in Philad^a have sworn allegiance, but none as yet compelled. Few have sworn in Northampton County near me, & I believe out of the City. I much fear, if Philad^a cant be defended it will be burnt; it is said meas-

ures are taking to remove all the Women & Children, but where to, is hard to guess. My late neighbor in the Country Mr. John Benezet, is just arrived here; he is now a Commissioner of Claims, & a staunch Whig. He informed me this morning of the death of my wifes uncle M^r Turbut Francis, who has been many years a great invalid, with an inflammatory Rheumatism.¹ He was a very honest man & I am much concerned at his death: he was very averse to the present American measures. I am very uneasy about my brothers, but hope they will soon see their families, when we shall once more meet together; which is the first wish of my heart. Melancholly as the state of this wretched Country is, to one not embarked in the present pursuit; yet I keep up my spirits, & stand my ground amongst the Whigs, with whom it is my lot to associate in this quarter. The Tories seldom venture from home, as they run a risk of being stopt. I have not been at Philadelphia these six weeks & tho' I long to see my friends there, do not think it prudent to venture. My family have happily enjoyed a great share of health & tho' I have lived well & entertained all my old acquaintance & many strangers who come this way, yet I have lived within bounds, tho' I am consuming my old stocks. Poor old Gen^l Prescott is again taken Prisoner by a Coup de main on Rhode Island, having seperated himself from his army with his Aid de Camp only.²

¹ Turbutt Francis was the son of Tench Francis, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Foster Turbutt, of Kent County, Md. He was the brother of Elizabeth Francis, who married John Lawrence, father of Mrs. Allen. He was a captain in the Sixtieth Foot, and subsequently lieutenant-colonel of the Pennsylvania regiment which served in Boquet's expedition. Charles Biddle, in his Autobiography, says that when in the spring of 1776 the British vessels "Roebuck" and "Liverpool" came into Delaware to attack the American galleys, a number of persons gathered on the banks of the river at Marcus Hook to witness the engagement. One of these was Colonel Francis. He was then suffering from an attack of the gout, and could not walk. He had his chair placed where he could see the engagement, and although the shots from the ships would sometimes pass over him, he would not change his position.

² The capture of General Prescott appears to have been an act of

Sept. 5, 1777.—This last month has been very interesting. Burgoyne has advanced no further than Saratoga; some skirmishes have happened, in one of which a party of his army about 1500 were defeated and some hundred prisoners taken. Gen^l Sullivan attacked Staten island, which was defended only by the new levies under Gen^l Skinner. At first he had some advantage & made 120 prisoners, but afterwards was defeated & lost 130.¹ Gen^l Howe with the grand army & fleet after disappearing so long, is at length arrived in Chesapeak bay & landed at the head of Elk & took post with 25000 on Iron hill. Gen^l Washington with a considerable strength of men including Militia marched down & is now within a few miles of him; so that a battle is daily expected. The Conduct of Gen^l Howe is unaccountable, nor do we conceive what is his object; he has suffered America to collect her whole strength. In the Spring he might have done any thing; the Whigs are in great spirits. Oppressions multiply & it seems determined to make this country intolerable to all who are not actively its friends. The most discreet, passive, & respectable characters are dragged forth & tho' no charge can be made, yet a new Idea is started, (which like all other beginnings of oppressive schemes soon become general,) of securing such men as hostages. This circumstance makes me think my brothers happily out of the way. I daily expect, notwithstanding my present parole, to be further harrassed, as I am extremely obnoxious. Men's former characters for integrity, & virtue, instead of availing them only expose them, as it is supposed their influence must be greater. On the arrival of the enemy in Delaware bay, the Congress resolved to put the Governor & all the retaliation for the capture of Lee. The party who took him prisoner (July 10, 1777) was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel William Barton, of Rhode Island. General Richard Prescott was appointed major of the Thirty-third Foot, December 20, 1756. He served in Germany as brevet-colonel of the Seventh Foot, and came to Canada with it in 1773. He held the local rank of brigadier-general. He was taken prisoner in 1775, after the capture of Montreal, while endeavoring to reach Quebec. He died October, 1788. He was of irascible temperament.

¹ See Pa. Mag., Vol. III. p. 167.

officers of the old Government on their parole, & accordingly, they have signed a parole not to leave the province & to go wherever they are ordered. The Governor & M^r Chew¹ who held out some time were to have been sent next day to Fredericksburg in Virginia. These oppressions on men who have never given offence are justified by the Whigs as necessary for the security of all Government; while the Tories think, that few cases can happen, where men of virtue ought innocently to [be] persecuted. If necessity is a plea, who created it, or where will it stop? Massacres, proscriptions & every species of iniquity may be justified by necessity.

I returned 2 days ago from a visit to Shrewsbury where I went with M^r T. Lawrence & his brother Stacy²—& spent 10 days. We had a pleasant tour; & tho' considering my known sentiments, I run some risk in continuing in Jersey, where, the wantonness of oppression has exceeded all description; that Government being in the hands of the most low lived, hot-brained presbyterians. I passed thro' Brunswick, & notwithstanding the charges brought against the Enemy for wilful devastation, there did not appear to me to be more than what might have been expected from so large an army; especially considering it was an Enemy's country. The prospect of next Winter is terrible; the quantity of paper currency has together with the total stoppage of trade, risen all articles to a monstrous pitch. Green tea £20, Bohea £5 Sugar £50 p^r Cwt. Loaf Sugar 25/ per lb, shoes 35/ & every thing in proportion. But this is not felt by those in employment, who are paid accordingly, & money is plenty in every department. Men who could scarcely maintain their families, now live in splendor. In short this Country is agitated to its foundations, & will probably soon be overturned.

Octobr. 1, 1777.—The last month has produced great events. Gen^l Howe took immense stores at Elk river, & in

¹ Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of the Province.

² Thomas and Staats Lawrence, sons of Thomas Lawrence and first cousins of Mrs. Allen.

endeavoring to possess himself of Iron hill had a brush with a considerable party of militia whom he defeated with the loss of some hundreds; On Thursday 11th inst.: a day which will be long remembered, as both armies lay on Brandywine creek, & as Gen^l Washington was meditating an attack next day; Gen^l Howe began a general attack in front, which was made with great bravery by the Grenadiers in the face of the artillery, and well defended; during this L^d Cornwallis with 5000 men crossed the Creek 5 miles above & came on the flank of that part of the army commanded by Gen^l Sullivan who immediately threw down their arms & blankets & run; soon after the retreat became general, nor did Gen^l Washington stop till he reached Chester where next day his army collected—Gen^l Howe took 8 pieces of brass artillery & many waggons. A few days after, he marched to Chester & so to the White horse on the Lancaster road. Our army lay on this side the Schuylkill to prevent Gen^l Howe crossing the River at the Swede's ford. In this situation the armies continued, on different sides of the river. Gen^l Howe by his movements alarmed the Town of Reading where our Magazines were, which were moved off to Bethlehem, and the prisoners from there & Lancaster to Easton—On Thursday 18th The Congress & the city of Philadelphia were alarmed at midnight with an account that Gen^l Howe had crossed the River & would be there in a few hours; in consequence of which the Congress, all the publick boards, Officers, & all the Whigs in general left the City at midnight, in the utmost consternation. It is said the scene exceeded all description—Many of the Congress passed by this place (Northampton) & are since assembled, together with the officers of this Government at Lancaster; This alarm came from one of Gen^l Washington's Aid de camps riding post to Philad^a & informing that Gen^l Howe had suddenly stole a March & probably crossed the River & could not be withstood.¹ When this subsided after a few days & it was found Gen^l Howe had

¹ The dispatch advising Congress to leave Philadelphia was sent by Col. Hamilton. It did not state that Howe had crossed the Schuylkill, but that he would probably do so.

not crossed the Whigs resumed their courage & pronounced that he never would reach Philad^a, that his loss at Chadsford on Brandwine was 2500 men, out of 10000, of which his army at first consisted, that he had now but 7000 men & Gen^l Washington's army had increased to 30,000. The Congress who were here & their Secretary M^r Thomson, said Philad^a was as safe as any where & they supposed they should soon assemble there again. Nevertheless some people suspected more in it, as they had always declared they would stay in the City till the enemy were in the suburbs—And so it turned out; for Gen^l Washington suffered Gen^l Howe to cross the Swedes ford, without any opposition, & he entered Philad^a on Thursday the 25th of September. This is a great event & tho' our people affect to consider the loss of this metropolis as nothing yet it strikes deep. Many of the whigs have great property there, which is infallibly lost unless the City is regained; an event that is scarcely looked for by the most sanguine. It is also a proof of the superiority of the british arms, as no expense has been wanting to defend it & it was determined to defend it to the last—It is said Gen^l Howe's situation will be distressed cooped up there, but as yet the markets are plenty & all the Country below is in his possession & has shewn dispositions friendly to him, at least we complain that the country wherever he goes is poisoned. Our accounts from Philad^a are very imperfect; we do not learn whether any Men of War have passed up the river, & it seems the Galleys are yet at the fort-Island. The Crew of one of our Frigates called the Delaware, confined their officers & delivered her up to Gen^l Howe.¹ All our ships, boats &c are up at Bristol, except the Merchant Vessels that lay unrigged at the Wharves & the Galleys & Five Ships below. Gen^l Howe has dealt severely by those who have been active and yet chose to remain in Philad^a imprisoning them to the amount, as is said of some hundreds. Gen^l Washington's army is moving down towards Chesnut hill from whence they are but a few miles distant.²

¹ This rumor was not confirmed. See PA. MAG., Vol. I. p. 9, footnote.

² The recording of this movement on October 1 shows that Allen's

Our accounts from the Northward are confused—but as far as we can collect, Gen^l Burgoyne has had an advantage over Gen^l Gates & will probably be soon at Albany; while to balance this a party of Militia under Gen^l Brown have marched to Ticonderoga, surprised an outpost & taken 293 prisoners & most of the boats on Lake George; & have invested Mount-Independence;¹ as we are ignorant of the Garrison, we can't say, with what probability of taking it. It would seem as if Gen^l Burgoyne has great difficulties to struggle with; for his progress is far inferior to the language of his Proclamation or the supposed strength of his army. It is reported that in the engagement he lately had with Gen^l Gates at Stillwater, he received a wound in his shoulder, & some say he is since dead of it. It is said Gen^l Clinton either has or is about to enter Jersey with a considerable body of troops; if so it must have a great effect. As to my smaller circle: Mr. Hamilton² is now at my house, whither he was sent by our ruling powers, in consequence of the Resolve of Congress; he arrived here the 17th of last month; & is very happy that he is so well situated. Had he been sent to seek shelter in any country town amongst strangers, it would have greatly affected him. I am very happy at having it in my power to afford him a retreat, as I have the most sincere friendship for him. The Governor [Penn] & M^r Chew are sent to the Union Forge in Jersey; while to my great surprize M^r Lawrence & M^r Shippen³ are suffered to remain in Philad^a, where they now are. While Gen^l Howe was at Brandwine the Congress directed our Executive Council, their Creatures, to apprehend many of the principal Inhabitants of Philad^a, chiefly Quakers; they were accordingly sent off to Staunton in a

information regarding the army was received with but little delay. He was at the time in Northampton County, and Washington did not leave Pennybacker's mill until the 29th of September.

¹ For an account of this attack, see Bancroft (Centenary Edition), Vol. VI. p. 5. The commander was Col. John Brown, of Pittsfield.

² Governor Hamilton, uncle to the writer.

³ Edward Shippen, subsequently Chief Justice. See PA. MAG., Vol. VII. p. 11.

remote part of the frontier of Virginia,¹ without being admitted to a hearing, charged with no offence, but being in their "general conversation,"—inimical to the cause. These proceedings bear the mark of the most wanton Tyranny ever exercised in any Country. Many people who disapprove Independance, have no other wish than to remain at peace, & secure their persons without influencing the minds of others. This some of the members of Congress have acknowledged to be the temper of most of the disaffected Gentlemen of Philad^a & yet they are sent into banishment to a remote part of the country, exposed to the insult, of the rabble, wherever they go. Among those sent to Stanton are many of my intimate acquaintance. They have published a very spirited Address to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania² & it is said, many of the warmest Whigs think this an instance of unjustifiable oppression. This civil war has rendered the minds of our Governors desperate & savage: they not only trample on the most express laws of their own Government, but those of natural Justice & humanity. The Chief Justice M^r M'Kean having granted an Habeas Corpus on their application, the Assembly prevented its execution by a law to suspend the Habeas Corpus act; thereby making a law, *ex post facto* & *pendente lite*; the very extreme of Tyranny. Since the battle of Brandywine many thousand Waggons passed my door & are continually passing in great numbers. All the baggage of our Army is at Bethlehem & here; & what with Hospitals & artificers these little towns are filled.—Every day some of the inhabitants of Philad^a are coming up to settle here. The road from Easton to Reading, by my house, is now the most travelled in America. The Congress

¹ The place of their banishment was subsequently changed to Winchester. See *Exiles in Virginia*. By Thomas Gilpin.

² An Address to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania by those Freemen of the City of Philadelphia who are now confined in the Mason's Lodge by virtue of a general Warrant signed in Council by the Vice President of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell in Third Street, MDCCLXXVII.

have removed to York over Susquehannah & our Council & Assembly sit at Lancaster. The minds of people are much changed by the loss of Philad^a & the prospect of a total stop to the necessaries of life, becomes alarming. This will be a terrible winter.

October 15, 1777.—Last Saturday week, being the 4th inst. happened the most general & important battle ever seen in America. Gen^l Washington left his quarters about 30 miles above Philad^a & marched down all night, & by 6 o'clock on Saturday morning arrived at Chesnut hill; having disposed his army in three divisions: One went by the Falls, the Center, where himself commanded, thro' Germantown, & the third down the old York Road. They surprized the Enemy & drove them a considerable distance. The Center division drove thro' Germantown, the Enemy fighting & retiring in good order, as far as the Church in the middle of the town where most of them took shelter. Many actions happened in the streets of Germantown, where houses were attacked & defended; particularly a bloody one at M^r Chew's, where our people suffered much & were unsuccessful. Gen^l Howe having brought up most of, if not his whole army the scale turned, our people gave way on all sides, were totally routed & pursued, on each road for 6 or 7 miles, as far as Whitemarsh, where the pursuit ended, but Gen^l Washington did not stop till he reached his former camp, having marched his army 40 miles without any respite.—The loss on each side is unknown; ours is undoubtedly great, as they were closely pursued & much fatigued, having reached Whitemarsh by 11 o'clock A.M.

Since this event, Gen^l Clinton with a considerable army, it is said of recruits newly arrived from England, went up the North River & has taken fort Montgomery & the fort opposite; which were built at a narrow part of the river & very strong. The Garrison are said to consist of 600 men, & great stores. There was little or no resistance.

Thus every thing seemed to look black on the part of America & it was confidently said, the Congress thought of treating; but yesterday arrived Intelligence that nearly

balances this great train of success; I mean the defeat of Gen^l Burgoyne by Gen^l Gates.—As yet our accounts are imperfect, but it is generally believed that, Gen^l Burgoyne is totally defeated, 15 cannon taken, & his baggage & that he is endeavoring to retire to Ticonderoga, where he will with difficulty reach. This is a great blow, as much depended on Burgoyne's success. Indeed his conduct has no ways answered the style of his proclamation nor the opinion of his force; ever since the taking of Ticonderoga he has been unsuccessful & embarrassed.¹ The defeat of his party of 1500 men under Coll: Baum, on which he depended for supplies has reduced him to difficulties & it is supposed the badness of his situation obliged him to hazard this battle. This will raise the drooping spirits of our people, till now quite sunk. Last Saturday the 11th the Frigates & men of War attacked the Fortifications in the river & report says were unsuccessful; but we have no particulars. It is painful to be so much at a loss as we are, about the truth of events; which is encreased since Gen^l Howe is in Philad^a as all accounts come thro' the hands of the army, the only line of communication, & are delivered out as they please. Gen^l Washington has issued orders to take the blankets, shoes, stockings &c of private families for the use of the army. This together with the licentiousness, plundering stealing & impressing of the military, will sink this country to perdition. Misery begins to wear her ghastliest form; it is impossible to endure it. Three fourths of my income arises from my estate in Philad^a, from which I am cut off. My rents here being paid in continental money, which is now depreciated as 6 to 1 & I obliged to pay in all articles four fold; in some, as butter, meat, cheese &c nine fold,

¹ General Burgoyne, in his proclamation issued on June 20, 1777, after reciting the arbitrary actions of the Americans, said, "Animated by these considerations; at the head of Troops in full powers of health, discipline, and valour; determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I, by these presents, invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this army may point,—and by the blessing of God I will extend it far,—to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their Lands, habitations, and Families."

ruin can't be very distant. The prevailing idea now is, that no man has any property in what the publick has use for, & it is seldom they ask the owner; so wanton is this species of oppression called pressing, that if they could by fair means get any thing by a little trouble, they chuse to take private property by violence if somewhat nearer at hand. This I have seen in many instances, & felt in my own case. When the hospital & publick works were erected in this little town, I offered to supply them with wood at a reasonable rate, to avoid being plundered; yet they have hitherto gone on cutting my timber, burning my fences & taking bricks from me, rather than employ some of the many idle men they have, in cutting wood. The militia who occasionally assemble here, & have now met for near a month plunder without ceremony, all who do not turn out in Militia; Horses, Waggon, Cows, Turkeys are daily brought into Town. Yesterday a farmer, sold me his whole brood of Turkeys & Fowls, on receiving information that a neighbour with whom he had a law suit 3 years ago, had informed the Militia, who were setting out to take them away. It is probable they will soon plunder me of them, as every night they steal my poultry. The officers of militia never think of punishing them, neither are they able or disposed to do it. It is a fine time to gratify low private revenge, & few opportunities are lost. My tenants whose rents are due in sterling, often pay off arrears of 6 or 7 years in continental money at the old Exchange, and yet I dare not object, tho' I am as much robbed of $\frac{5}{6}$ ths, of my property, as if it was taken out of my Drawer.

(To be continued.)

VIRGINIA CAROLORUM:

THE COLONY DURING THE DAYS OF CHARLES THE FIRST AND SECOND.

BY EDWARD D. NEILL.

(Continued from page 166.)

CHAPTER SECOND.

From the death of Governor Yeardley until the arrival of Governor Harvey.

In the commission to Yeardley as Governor, it was provided that in case of his death John Harvey should be acting Governor, and after him Francis West should occupy the office. Harvey had not been in Virginia for several years, and about the time of Yeardley's death was in command of the "Rainbow," one of the ships of the naval expedition of the Duke of Buckingham. On account of his absence, Francis West, brother of the late Lord Delaware, became the temporary Governor.

GOVERNOR FRANCIS WEST.

He had been identified with the Colony for many years,¹

¹ Henry Spelman, in his "Relation of Virginia," a manuscript first published for Jas. F. Hunnewell in 1872 at the Chiswick Press, London, gives an incident of West's early career in the Colony. He writes: "I was caried by Capt. Smith our Presidant to y^e litell Powhatan wher unknowne to me, he sould me to him for a towne caled Powhatan, and leauinge me w^t him he made knowne to Capt. Weste how he had bought a toune for them to dwell in . . . desiring that Captaine West would come & settle himself there, but Captaine Weste hauing bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place, misliked it: and unkindness thereupon arising between them Capt. Smith at that time replied litell, but afterward conspired w^t the Powhatan to kill Capt. Weste, wth plott took but small effect, for in ye meane time Capt. Smith was apprehended, and sent aboard for England."

Edward Winslow, in a "Relation" published in 1624 in London,

and by birth, education, and experience was admirably adapted for the position.

On the 20th of December, 1627, the Virginia authorities sent a communication to the Privy Council notifying them of the death of Yeardley, and asking protection from the tobacco monopolists of London; and in another letter, not long after, they expressed the hope that their official declaration might "rather obtain credit, than the information of men who only respect their private ends."

CAPTAIN HENRY FLEET.

During the year 1627 the London merchants were surprised by the arrival of Henry Fleet from Virginia, who had been in captivity for several years among the Indians of the Potomac, the site of whose former dwelling-place is not far from the monument of Washington in the capital of the Republic. He was one of an expedition of twenty-six men who, under Henry Spelman, early in 1623 went to trade for beaver and corn with the Anacostans and other Indian bands between Potomac Creek and the Falls of the Potomac. The pinnace in which they sailed belonged to John Pountis, a well-known colonist. Spelman, Fleet, and twenty of their companions went ashore, presuming upon the friendship of the savages, and while absent the vessel, with only five men on board, was surrounded by Indians in canoes, some of whom clambered on to the deck, to the surprise of the sailors, one of whom at random fired a cannon, which so frightened the assailants that they jumped overboard and swam ashore. The sailors then heard the

wrote: "Captain Francis West ben in New England about the latter end of May past [1623], sailed from thence to Virginia, and returned in August. In September, the same ship and company being discharged by him at Damarin's Cove came to New Plymouth, whereupon our earnest inquiry after the state of Virginia since that bloody slaughter committed by the Indians upon our friends and countrymen, the whole ship's company agreed that upon all occasions they chased the Indians to and fro, insomuch as they sued daily unto the English for peace, who for the present would not admit of any, that Sir George Early [Yeardley] was at that present employed upon service against them."

noise of conflict, and soon saw a man's head roll down the bank, when they weighed anchor and returned to Jamestown.¹ Spelman was among the slain, and Fleet was taken prisoner.

Edward Hill, of Elizabeth City, on the 14th of April, 1623, wrote² to his brother John, a mercer of Lombard Street, London,³ that "more than 400 persons had perished in the first massacre [March, 1621]; more than 20 in the second; and a pinnace, shallop, and a small boat, with twenty-six men, had been cut off on March 23, by the Indians," and that a great famine was imminent, for the colonists had not been "suffered to plant as much corn as they would," and were afraid "to step out of doors either for wood or water."

Mede, the great scholar at Cambridge University, on the 8th of June, 1627, received a letter from London, with these words: "Here is one, whose name is Fleet, newly come from Virginia, who being lately ransomed from the Indians, with whom he hath long lived, till he hath left his own language, reporteth he hath oftentimes been within sight of the South Sea; that he hath seen Indians besprinkle their paintings with powder of gold; that he had likewise seen rare precious stones among them, and plenty of black fox, which of all others is the richest fur."

Quick-witted, fond of trade and adventure, Fleet's residence among the savages for several years made him useful to London merchants disposed to send goods to the Indian tribes, and valuable as an interpreter to the colonists. William Cloberry and associates were impressed by his descriptions, and gave him, in September, 1627, the command of the "Paramour," a vessel of one hundred tons. By his exertions a trade was opened between the Massachusetts settlements and Potomac River.

¹ Smith's "General History."

² Eighth Report Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Appendix, p. 41.

³ Richard Boyle, of London, married his sister. He was probably the Edward Hill, of Elizabeth City, buried on May 15, 1624.

VIRGINIA-BOUND SHIP WRECKED.

A ship containing some planters and their servants, chiefly Irish, on their way to Virginia in 1627, after a boisterous voyage ran aground in Barnstable Bay. The principal persons were Fell and Sibsie.

The Governor of Plymouth Colony visited the wreck, provided for the sufferers, and until they could make arrangements to go to Virginia they were allowed land to cultivate for their benefit. Puritan sentiment was shocked when common rumor charged Fell with living with one of his servants and treating her as a concubine, and he, to avoid arrest, ran away with her in a small boat to Cape Ann, and from thence to Massachusetts Bay.

Toward the latter end of summer the whole party were carried in two barks to Virginia, and, writes Bradford, "have acknowledged their thankfulness since."

THE SHIP "TEMPERANCE."

Private planters began to take their tobacco to England. The ship "Temperance," probably built in Virginia, and named in compliment to the wife of Governor Yeardley, commanded by Marmaduke Rayner, who had piloted, in 1619, the Dutch vessel which brought the first negroes to Jamestown, arrived at Southampton in 1628 with the old planter Samuel Sharpe, who had come to Virginia in 1610 with Gates and Somers, and twelve other colonists. As they were unable to pay the duty on their tobacco, they begged that it might be admitted free.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF A.D. 1628.

King Charles made a kind response to the memorial of the Virginia authorities in 1627, and by William Capps, an old settler, who had been on a visit to England, he sent over instructions allowing a General Assembly, and urging the cultivation of staple commodities, as heretofore they had depended too much "upon smoke." To Capps also was

given the privilege of erecting salt-works. He arrived in Virginia on the 22d of February, 1627-28, O. S., and on the 26th of the next month the colonial Legislature met,¹ the first during the reign of Charles, and four or five days after, Governor West left on a visit to England.

During Governor West's term of office the principal topic of discussion was the tobacco trade. The Legislature of 1628 asked the King to take 500,000 pounds of tobacco, properly inspected, at 3s. 6d. per pound, delivered in Virginia clear of freight and customs, or at 4s. delivered in England, the contract to continue for seven years, with the privilege of disposing of their surplus in New England, West Indies, or Turkey, by paying the usual duty.

The colony was supposed at that time to contain a population of three thousand, and it was estimated that every family could raise 200 pounds of tobacco, and each servant 125 pounds, in the aggregate 412,500 pounds. It is quite remarkable that the authorities should refer to the want of pitch and tar. While near one of the best pine forest districts in the world, they were without horses, had opened no roads, depending upon boats for intercourse with the plantations, and fearing to go far into the woods, lest they should be attacked by Indians.

HENRY, THE FOURTH LORD DELAWARE.

Lord Delaware was written to, asking his influence, as his deceased father's had been given, and the Earl of Dorset was thanked for the aid he had rendered in annulling the contract of tobacco, and their friends in England induced the House of Commons to write a letter to the King,² dated June 25, 1628, in which he was informed that "by the patent granted by the late King the Colonists were free of customs except taxes upon their commodities, 1£ per centum, but of late years these privileges had been disregarded, and that now 3£ per centum was imposed."

¹ Thirty-one representatives were present.

² Fourth Report Royal Historical Commission.

CONDITION OF WHITE SERVANTS.

The demand for laborers in the tobacco-fields continued to increase. Any person going to Virginia at his own charges, who declared his intention to reside there, was entitled to fifty acres of land, and an additional fifty for each member of his family. If he brought other persons into the colony at his own cost, he was also entitled to fifty acres for each immigrant. He was liable to pay an annual quit-rent of a shilling for every fifty acres, and required to plant thereon within three years from the date of the grant.

Planters, under these conditions, brought over a large number of indented white servants.¹ While some of these

¹ The following is a servant's indenture, which was printed in the *Richmond Standard* by R. A. Brock, Secretary of Virginia Hist. Soc., from a transcript of the original, owned by W. Bushell, of Philadelphia, Pa.:

"THIS writing indented made the first day of July Anno dom 1628 And in the yare of the regne of our sovraigne Lord Charles by the grace of god King of England, Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defender of the faith Etc Betweene John Logward of Bling in the County of Surry husbandman of th one party And Edward hurd Cittizein and Ironmonger of London of the other party WITNESSETH that the said John Logward hath hired himselfe and is become and by theis prste doth Covenant and agree and bind himselfe to be remayne and Continue the Obedient Servant of him the said Edward hurd his heires and assignes and to be by him or them sente transported unto to the Countrey and land of Virginia in the partes beyond the seas to be by him or them employde upon his plantation there for and dureing the space of ffour yeares to begin from the day of the date of theis prste dureing ye said terme the said John Logward shall and will truely employ and endeavour himselfe to the uttermost by his power knowledge and skill to doe and pforme true and faithfull service unto ye said Edward hurd his heires or assignes in for and concenteing all such Laboures and businesses as he or they shall think good to use and ymploy him ye said John Logward in And shall and wilbe tractable and obedient and a good and a faithfull servant onyst to be in all such things as shalbe Comanded him by the said Edward hurd his heires or assignes in Virginia aforesaid or elsewhere dureing the said service In consideracon whereof the said Edward hurd for himselfe his heires executours and administrators and assignes and for any of them doth Covenant p-mise and graunt To and for ye said John Logward his heires executours

CONDITION OF WHITE SERVANTS.

The demand for laborers in the tobacco-fields continued to increase. Any person going to Virginia at his own charges, who declared his intention to reside there, was entitled to fifty acres of land, and an additional fifty for each member of his family. If he brought other persons into the colony at his own cost, he was also entitled to fifty acres for each immigrant. He was liable to pay an annual quit-rent of a shilling for every fifty acres, and required to plant thereon within three years from the date of the grant.

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were treated with kindness, others received no more consideration than "dumb, driven cattle."¹

administrators and assignes by theis prste that he the said Edward hurd his heires executours administrators or assignes shall and will (att his and their one charge) transporte and furnishe to the said John Logward to and for Virginia aforesaid and these find p-vide and allowe unto him sustenance meate drink apparell and other necessaryes for his livelyhood and sustenance dureing the said service In Witnesse whereof the said pties to this writeing have indented interchangeably have sett their handes and seales unto this bond above written.

"Ye marke of ✕ JOHN LOGWARD [Seal.]

"Sealed and deliverede
in ye prsnce of

"THO. THOMSON servt
and JO DAVIES his servant"

¹ The sufferings of these white and occasionally intelligent servants were often intense. In the Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Royal Historical Commission is the following abstract of a letter from Martin's Hundred, written in April, 1623, by Richard Frethorne to his parents, every word of which seems to weep. He wrote that since he landed he had eaten nothing "but pease and loblolly," and had to "work both early and late for a mess of water gruel and a mouthful of bread and beef,—a mouthful of bread, for a penny loaf must serve for four meals." The people cried out day and night, "Oh that they were in England without their limbs . . . though they begged from door to door."

"He had nothing at all, not a shirt to his back but two rags, nor no clothes but one poor suit, nor but one pair of shoes, but one pair of stockings, but one cap, but two bands." His cloak had been stolen by one of his fellows; he had not a penny to help him to "spice or sugar, or strong waters." He had "eaten more in a day, at home," than was now allowed him for a week, and his parents had often given more than his present day's allowance to a beggar at the door. Goodman Jackson had been very kind to him, and marvelled much that he had been sent "a servant to the company." He begged his father to "redeem" him, or at least send over provisions, which might be sold at a profit, especially cheese that might be bought for 2½ or 2½*d*. If his father could not afford this, he might "get a gathering, and entreat some good folks to lay out some little money" for the purpose. Unless the ship "Sea Flower" came shortly with provisions his master's men would have, but half a penny loaf each for a day's food, and might be "turned up to the land, and eat barks of the trees, or moulds of the ground. Oh! that you did see my daily and hourly sighs, groans, tears, and thumps that I afford mine own breast, and rue and curse the time of my birth

The privilege of taking land was greatly abused. Not only were fifty acres claimed for the servant, but the captain of the ship who brought him claimed fifty acres, the merchant also who sold his services to the planter, as well as the master who bought him; thus four times as many acres as the law intended were ceded. Vast tracts of land under this law were held by persons uncultivated; the colony was sparsely settled, and its development retarded. As late as 1713, Governor Spotswood alludes to this bad system, which was still in operation.

ACCESSION OF AFRICAN SLAVES.

During the summer of 1619 the consort of the ship "Treasurer" landed about twenty "negars," in the language of a document of the period. When the census was taken, in January, 1625, there were only twenty persons of the African race in Virginia, but during the government of West there was a large increase. Captain Arthur Guy, in the ship "Fortune," of London, met and captured a slaver from the Angola coast, and brought many negroes to Virginia and exchanged them for tobacco.¹

with holy Job! I thought no head had been able to hold so much water as hath, and doth daily flow from mine eyes."

The Goodman Jackson was probably the John Jackson of Martin's Hundred, who, with his wife and infant, arrived in 1621 in the ship "Warwick." A few months after this letter was written the unhappy writer died. In a list of persons who died at Martin's Hundred between April, 1623, and February, 1624, appears the name of Richard Frethran, evidently a misprint for Frethorne. Loblolly referred to in Frethorne's letter was a word in use among sailors for gruel, chowder, or spoon meat.

¹ Nicholas, Secretary of State, received a letter, dated May 13, 1628, informing him that there had arrived at Cowes a frigate from the "West India," taken by Arthur Guy, of the "Fortune," of London, with 900 or 1000 hides, 30 tons and upward of ebony, and some Indian wax, and that the "Fortune" hath also taken an Angola man, with many negroes, which the captain bartered in Virginia for tobacco, which was sent home in a ship called the "Plantation." As Winthrop was leaving England, on Easter Monday, March 29, 1630, over against Yarmouth he "met with a ship, the 'Plantation,' newly come from Virginia."—*Savage's Winthrop*, vol. i. p. 3.

PLANTERS VISIT ENGLAND.

During the year 1629 Governor West and several prominent Virginians visited England, one of whom was the old planter and prominent colonist William Pierce, whose daughter Jane was the widow of the well-known John Rolfe. In a narrative which was prepared by him he alluded to his twenty years' experience in the colony, and thought that by degrees the planters would raise more staple commodities. A letter-writer of the period alludes to his wife in these words: "Mistress Pearce, an honest and industrious woman, hath been there near twenty years, and now returned, saith she hath a garden at Jamestown containing three or four acres, where in one year she hath gathered near a hundred bushels of excellent figs, and that she can keep a better house¹ in Virginia for three or four hundred pounds than in London, yet went there with little or nothing."

After West's departure for England, Doctor John Pott was chosen temporary Governor. During this period the Virginians were surprised by the arrival of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Avalon, in New Foundland.

VISIT OF GEORGE, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.

Born in Yorkshire, of comparatively humble parentage, a graduate of Oxford, a good scholar, able writer, and of pleasant address, he entered upon a public career as the private secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards the Earl of Salisbury. His efficiency was recognized by his appointment as Clerk of the Privy Council. In 1613 he was associated with Sir Charles Cornwallis as a Commissioner to Ireland² to inquire into certain grievances; four years later

¹ George Sandys, when Treasurer of the Colony, lived in Pierce's house, and on April 8, 1623, wrote to John Ferrar of "his own chamber at Lieutenant Peirce's, the fairest in Virginia."—*Sainsbury*.

² August 24, 1613, Sir Humphrey Wynde, Kt., Sir Roger Wilbraham,

he was knighted by King James, and, after two years, was commissioned as principal Secretary of State.

By education and temperament he was fitted to be a courtier, and none of the sycophants of King James were more successful than he in pandering to the tastes and prejudices of the coarse and pedantic monarch. He was a firm defender of the King's position in the speech at the opening of a Parliament, "It is the King that makes laws, and ye are to advise him to make such as will be best for the Commonwealth," and the active opponent of the people's party, which was yearly increasing.

Confident that it would promote his advancement, he was enthusiastic in the advocacy of the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain, and, to the displeasure of the House of Commons, kept up an intimacy with Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and later, with the Duchess, the mother of Buckingham, entered the Church of Rome. After the match failed, he lost standing with Buckingham,¹ his fortunes began to decline,² and he retired from the secretaryship, but just before the King's death Kt., Sir C. Cornwallis, Kt., and George Calvert, Esq., were chosen Commissioners for Ireland to hear complaints.

February 22, 1613-14, John Latham and William Peasley, servants of George Calvert, Esq., Commissioner to Ireland, were given forty pounds, by way of reward, for "their travail and pains in engrossing all the business, using twenty-six quires of paper, besides vellum."

Peasley subsequently married Anna, the daughter of Secretary Calvert, who was at the above period a girl of about seven years of age.

¹ Buckingham, in 1624, wrote to King James, "I hope to have the happiness to-morrow to kiss your hands, therefore I will not send you the letter you wrote to the Pope, which I have got from Secretary Calvert. When he delivered it to me, he made the request that your Majesty would as well trust him, in a letter, you were now to write, as you had heretofore, in the former. I did what I could to dissemble it, but when there was no means to do it, I thought best to seem to trust him absolutely, thereby the better to tie him to secrecy. If this be a lie, as I am sure it is, you may bear to think that with little more stock he may cry quittance."—*Hardwick Papers*.

² Archbishop Abbot wrote about this time, "Secretary Calvert hath never looked merrily since the Prince's coming out of Spain. It was thought he was much interested in the Spanish affair."

was ennobled as Baron of Baltimore, in the County of Longford, Ireland.

While Charles, upon ascending the throne, retained his friendship for him, and would have kept him in the Privy Council, yet, as he refused to take the required oath of office, it was impossible. Retiring to Ireland, Calvert soon determined to visit Avalon, in New Foundland, a colony which he had planted some years before he left the Church of England, not from any religious motive, but in the hope that it would yield pecuniary profit. In May, 1627, just before he sailed, he wrote to his old friend Wentworth, soon made the Earl of Strafford, that he had "rather be esteemed a fool by some for the hazard of one month's journey, than to prove myself one certainly for six years by-past, if the business be now lost for the want of a little pains and care."

In the autumn he returned from America; but the next spring went again to Avalon, and made an effort to remain there, but the climate, sickness, and opposition made him faint-hearted, and, on the 19th of August, 1629, he wrote from his residence at Ferryland to King Charles: "I have had strong temptations to leave all proceedings in plantations, and being much decayed in my strength, to retire myself to my former quiet, but my inclination carrying me naturally to these kind of works, and not knowing how better to employ the poor remainder of my days than with other good subjects to further the best I may the enlarging your Majesty's empire in this part of the world, I am determined to commit this place to fishermen, that are able to encounter storms and hard weather, and to remove myself, with some forty persons, to your Majesty's dominion in Virginia, where, if your Majesty will please to grant me a precinct of land, with such privileges as the King your father, my gracious Majesty, was pleased to grant me here, I shall endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to deserve it."

Without awaiting a reply, and without notifying the authorities of Virginia of his intended visit, early in October he appeared at Jamestown, and while they were dis-

posed to treat him with kindness, they could not break the law which required the administration of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to every person arriving in the colony. As he refused to obey the laws, he was requested to depart by the first ship, which he did, leaving there, for a time, his wife and servants.

Capps left for England, without permission of the Governor and Council, about the last of October, and as he sailed probably in the first ship that departed, after Baltimore was requested to leave, the latter may have been his fellow-passenger.

STATEMENT OF VIRGINIA COUNCIL AS TO BALTIMORE.

The communication of the Council in Virginia to the Privy Council in England relative to their action is a calm, reasonable, and courteous paper, worthy of being preserved. It is dated November 30, 1629, and is as follows: "May it please your Lords'ps to understand that about the beginning of October last, there arrived in this colony, the Lord Baltimore from his plantation in Newfoundland, wth an intention as we are informed rather to plant himself to the Southward, than settle here, although since, he hath seemed well affected to this place, and willing to make his residence therein wth his whole family.

"We were readily inclined to render unto his lordship all those respects w^{ch} were due unto the honor of his person, or w^{ch} might testify wth how much gladness we desired to receive and entertain him, as being of that eminence and degree, whose presence and affection might give greater advancements to this plantation. Whereupon, according to the instructions from y^{or} Lord'h'pps, and the actual course¹ held in this place, were tendered the oaths of su-

¹ Governor Wyatt, on the 24th of July, 1621, Governor Yeardley, on the 19th of April, 1626, Governor Harvey, on the 6th of August, 1628, were directed to see that every person who arrived in the Colony took the oath of allegiance and supremacy. The History of Maryland, by William Hand Browne, published in 1884 by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, makes this erroneous statement:

premacie and aleidgiance to his lordsh'p, and some of his followers, who making profession of the Romishe religion, utterly refused to take the same, a thing w^{ch} we would not have doubted in him, whose former employm'ts under his late mat'y might have endeared to us a persuasion he would not have made denyall of that, in poynt, whereof consisteth the legaltie and fidelitie w^{ch} every true subject oweth unto his soveraigne. His lord'hp then offered to take this oath, a copy whereof is included, but in true discharge of the trust imposed on us by his Ma'tie, wee could not imagine that soe much latitude was left for us to decline from the prescribed formes so strictly exacted and soe well justified and defended by the pen of our late Soveraigne Lord, King James, of happy memory.

"And among the many blessings and favors for w^{ch} wee are bound to blesse God, and w^{ch} the colony has received from his most gracious ma'tie, there is none whereby it hath been made more happy than in the freedom of our religion, w^{ch} wee have enjoyed, and that no Papists have benee suffered to settle their aboade amongst us. The continuance whereof wee most humbly implore from his most sacred ma'tie, and earnestly beseech y^{or} lord'h'ps, that by your meditations and concells the same may be established, and confirmed unto us. And ever as our duety is with the whole colony shall always pray for his ma'ties long life and eternall felicity, from whose royal hands the plantation must expect her establishment, and for whose honor God hath reserved so glorious a worke as p'fection thereof."

Before Lord Baltimore arrived in England, Charles the First, on the 22d of November, 1629, in a reply to his letter of the preceding August, wrote: "We out of our princely

"Of course Baltimore, believing the Pope to be the spiritual head of the Church, neither could or would take this oath. He might very well have challenged their right to offer it, since while it is true that the President and Council of the Virginia Company had been empowered to administer this oath, no such power was given to Pott or any authority in the Province, after the Company's dissolution, and in offering it they incurred the penalties of a high court."

care of you and well weighing that men of y^{or} condition and breeding are fitter for other employments than the forming of new plantations, which commonly have rugged and laborious beginnings, and require much greater meanes in managing them than usually the power of one private subject can reach unto, have thought fit hereby to advise you to desist from further prosecuting y^{or} designs that way, and with your first conveniency to returne back to y^{or} native countrie.”

LORD BALTIMORE'S WIFE.

In a letter ¹ to Lord Dorchester, Secretary of State, written after his arrival in England, Baltimore asked that the Governor of Virginia might be instructed to assist his wife, in coming home, in recovering debts due to him, and in disposing of her servants; and then he requested permission to choose a portion of land not already granted, with a charter like that of Avalon, and he, with the assistance of gentlemen and others, though he did not go in person, would found a colony. John Pory, late Secretary of Virginia, wrote to Joseph Mede, the distinguished scholar and theologian, upon February 12, 1629–30, that Baltimore was “preparing a bark to send to fetch his Lady² and servants from thence, because the King will not permit him to go back again.”

¹ The letter in full was first printed in “*Founders of Maryland.*” Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell, 1876.

² Lord Baltimore's first wife was a most charming woman, a devoted wife, and exemplary mother of many children. Her maiden name was Ann Mynne. Her death occurred on August 18, 1622, and Camden, the annalist, in noting it, calls her “*modestissima mulier.*” But there is no record of his second marriage. It must have occurred after he ceased to be Secretary of State and retired to Ireland. This wife is never mentioned in books on the Baronetage. Lord Baltimore's most intimate friend, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, lost his first wife, the daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, about the same time, in the summer of 1622, as Baltimore lost his first wife. The Earl of Strafford's second wife, a daughter of the Earl of Clare, died in October, 1631. Lord Baltimore wrote from Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where he was then lodging, on the 11th of the month, in which he alludes to Strafford's loss, and adds, “There are few, perhaps, can judge of it better

JAMESTOWN IN A.D. 1629.

Jamestown, during the administration of Governors West and Pott, was an insignificant hamlet. The houses of the colonists were small wooden buildings, with not the faintest resemblance to the baronial halls of England, and the place for God's worship was of the same material as the dwellings, and quite as plain.

The brick church whose ruins are still seen was not erected until about a half-century after this period, although often represented as the church in which the first colonists worshipped.

The minister at this time was the Rev. Francis Bolton, who in 1621, upon the recommendation of the Earl of Southampton, had come to Virginia. After preaching for a period at Elizabeth City and on the Eastern Shore¹ of the Chesapeake

than I, who have been a long time a man of sorrows." In less than a year Strafford was living with Elizabeth Rhodes, whom he did not for some time publicly acknowledge as a wife.—*Forster's "Statesmen of the British Commonwealth."* Baltimore in his letter seems to be alluding to the loss of his wife, who died in the year 1622, and it is possible that his wife, who left Virginia in 1630, and is said, in a sketch of Baltimore among the Ayscough Manuscripts, to have been lost at sea, may have been one to whom he was privately married. Philip Calvert, Secretary and Governor of Maryland, Governor Stuyvesant calls his illegitimate son.

¹ In a book of manuscript records in the Library of Congress is the following, which shows the salary Bolton received as the first minister on the Eastern Shore of Virginia:

"Whereas, it is ordered by the Governor and Council that Mr. Bolton shall receive for his salary this year, throughout all the plantations at the Eastern Shore, ten pounds of tobacco and one bushel of corn for every planter and tradesman above the age of sixteen years, alive at the crop. These are to require Captain William Eps, commander of the said plantation, to raise the said ten pounds of tobacco, one bushel of corn, to be levied accordingly throughout all the said plantations, charging all persons there residing to yield ready obedience, and to be aiding and assisting unto the said Captain William Eps in the execution of the warrant, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Given at James City, November 21, 1623.

"FRANCIS WYATT."

he became the minister at Jamestown, where Richard Buck and Hawte Wyatt had been his predecessors in the parish.

The principal merchant was Thomas Warnet, once of Southwark, London, son of John Warnet, of Hempstead, Sussex. He died in February, 1629-30, a few weeks before the arrival of Governor Harvey. His will,¹ witnessed by Bolton the minister and John Southerne, indicates that he was a prominent man in social life, and gives an idea of the style of dress of the period. To Dr. John Pott, acting Governor, he bequeaths five thousand pounds of nails, of great value to one commencing a plantation; to Elizabeth Pott, his wife, he gave one corfe and cross cloth of wrought gold; and to Francis Pott, his brother, a debt of eighty pounds of tobacco. The minister, Francis Bolton, received very useful supplies,—a firkin of butter, a bushel of salt, six pounds of candles, a pound of pepper, a pound of ginger, two bushels of meal, a roundlett of ink, six quires of letter-paper, and a pair of silk stockings. The wife of John Johnson was given six pounds of soap, six pounds of blue and a pound of white starch. To the wife of John Browning was bequeathed a thousand pins, a pair of knives carved, with two images upon them, twelve pounds of white and two pounds of blue starch. The wife of Mr. John Upton was remembered by the present of a sea-green scarf, edged with gold lace, two pounds of blue and twelve of white starch. To his friend Thomas Burgess he gave his best felt hat and his second-best sword; and to the wife of John Grevett a pair of sheets, six table-napkins, three towels, a table-cloth, six pounds of soap, a pound of blue and six pounds of white starch. The wife of Sergeant John Wane received four bushels of meal, four gallons of vinegar, a half-pound of different-colored threads, twenty needles, six dozen silk and thread buttons, a pewter candlestick, and a pewter *pot de chambre*. The wife of Thomas Key was left a gilded looking-glass; and of Roger Thompson, a jar of oil, a pound of pepper, and a half-bushel of salt. Benjamin Symes, who became the first

¹ See Gleanings of H. F. Waters in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, April, 1884.

American benefactor to the cause of education, received a weeding-hoe; the wife of Michael Batt, two bushels of meal. His own wife, Thomasine, daughter of William Hall, of Woodalbury, County Norfolk, England, received the rest of his estate; and John Southerne and James Stomes were overseers of the will. Southerne received a black beaver hat and gold band, a doublet of black camlet, a pair of black hose, a Polander's cap furred, and a pair of red slippers; and Stomes his best horse and a gold belt. Warnet certainly loved his neighbors. John Browning, whose wife is mentioned, in October, 1629, represented Elizabeth City in the Legislature, and in that of 1630 sat John Southerne, Thomas Key, John Upton, Thomas Burges.

LEGISLATURE OF A.D. 1629.

The only Legislature which assembled during the period Doctor John Pott acted as Governor met in October, and was largely composed of the earlier colonists.¹ The Assem-

¹ BURGESSES OF THE ASSEMBLY CONVENED AT JAMESTOWN, OCTOBER 16, 1629.

College Plantation, on Henrico.

Lt. Thomas Osborne. Arrived in 1619 in *Bona Nova*, and was now 35 years old. Justice in 1632.

Matthew Edlowe. Came in 1618 in *Neptune*, died in 1668, his wife Tabitha in 1670. His son John was under the guardianship of Col. Robert Wynne.

Neck of Land, Charles City Corporation.

Sergt. Sharpe. Samuel Sharpe came in 1610, with Gates and Somers, and had been a member of the first Legislature in 1619. He married a girl who came in 1621.

Chene Boise. Arrived in 1617 in the *George*, and was now 35 years old.

Shirley Hundred Island.

Mr. Thomas Palmer. He and his wife, and daughter seven years old, came in 1621 in the *Tiger*. Justice in 1632.

John Harris. Had been several years in Virginia.

Henry Throgmorton's Plantation.

William Allen. Came in 1623 in *Southampton*.

bly authorized the beginning of a plantation on the York, then called Pamunkey River. As early as 1624 the King's

Jordan's Journey, Charles City.

William Popleton. Came in 1622 in the *James* as a servant of John Davies.

Chaplain's Choice, Charles City.

Walter Price. Came in 1618 in *William and Thomas*.

Westover, Charles City.

Christopher Woodward. Aged 35, came in 1620 in *Trial*.

Fleur Dieu Hundred.

Anthony Pagett. Aged 40, came in 1623, a servant, in *Southampton*.

James City.

Mr. Menefie. Arrived in July, 1623, in the *Samuel*. A merchant.

Mr. Kingsmell (perhaps Kingswell). Came in the *Delaware*. His wife in the *Susan*.

Pace's Pains, James City.

Lt. William Perry.

John Smyth. Came in 1611 in *Elizabeth*.

Over the River.

Capt. John West. Brother of late Lord Delaware and Gov. Francis West.

Capt. Robt. Fellgate.

Pasbehay, James City.

Thomas Bagwell. An old settler.

Neck of Land, James City.

Richard Brewster.

Archer's Hope, James City.

Theodore Moyses. Came in *London Merchant*.

Thomas Doe.

Between Archer's Hope and Martin's Hundred.

Mr. John Utie. Came in the *Francis Bona Ventura*. A man of influence.

Richard Townsend. Now about 24 years old. Came in the *Abigail*, 1620; had been a servant of Doctor John Pott.

Hog Island.

John Chew. Came in the *Charity*.

Richard Tree. Arrived in the *George* with his son, 12 years old.

Martin's Hundred.

Thomas Kinston. In the colony several years.

Thomas Fawcett. In the colony several years.

Commissioners had recommended the planting of "Chiskiake, situate upon Pamunkey," and to build a pale across from thence to Martin's Hundred, seven miles below James City.

INDIAN HOSTILITY.

Joseph Mede, in a letter¹ to Sir Martin Stuterille, in January, 1629-30, after referring to Lord Baltimore's return to London from Virginia, continues: "About the time of his being there, a certain Indian, dwelling some four or five days' journey off, came and offered himself, his wife, and four children;" and "to ensure them of his fidelity, he conducted them against the Indians, their enemies, upon whose

Mulberry Island.

Thomas Harwood. Came in 1622 in *Margaret and John*.

Phettiplace Close. An old settler, who came in the *Star*.

Warwick River.

Christopher Stokes. Had been five years in colony.

Thomas Ceeley. A county justice in 1632.

Thomas Flint. Came in 1618 in *Diana*. A county justice in 1632.

Zachary Cripp. Came in 1621 in *Margaret and John*. A county justice in 1632.

Warosquoyake.

Capt. Nath. Basse. Was about 40 years old, and came in 1622 in *Furtherance*.

Richard Bennett. Afterwards Councillor.

Robert Savin.

Thomas Jordan. Justice in 1632.

Nutmeg Quarter.

William Cole. Now about 31 years old. Came in 1618 in *Neptune*. His wife came in 1616 in *Susan*.

William Bentley. About 41 years of age. Came as a hired man in 1624 in the *Jacob*.

Elizabeth City.

Lt. Thomson.

Adam Thorowgood. Brother of Sir John, of Kensington, London. Came in 1623 in *God's Gift*.

Mr. Rowlston.

John Browning. About 27 years old. Came in 1621 in *Abigail*.

John Downeman. When a boy, came in 1611; married a maid sent out in 1621 in *Warwick*.

¹ "Court and Times of Charles the First."

persons, by his guidance," they obtained "more spirit and revenge than they had done since the great massacre there. And this action had so much the more of justice in it by reason that of late those treacherous savages assailed the house of one Mr. Poole,¹ a minister, and slew him, his wife, and all his family."

The action referred to was probably that of Captain Claiborne, who attacked and defeated the Indians at Candayak, now West Point, at the junction of the York and Pamunkey Rivers.

CAROLANA, AFTERWARDS CAROLINA.

Sir Robert Heath, formerly Recorder of London, when Attorney-General of England, on the 10th of February, 1629-30, a few weeks after Lord Baltimore's return, for himself and associates, asked that two degrees of land; upon which to settle a colony, with power "to create and establish, or confirm forever, officers, ministers, and agents of all qualities and conditions, touching as well the church, as the military and political point of the government, according to the general orders and laws of the whole province; paying and causing to be paid to these officers, ministers, and agents all their entertainment and wages."

Antoine Rideoute, the Baron de Sancé, a French refugee, and his son George, were made subjects of England at this time, with the intention of planting a colony of members of the Reformed Church of France, south of the James River. A charter was granted to Heath, and the usual phraseology relative to zeal for Christianity, and desire to enlarge the bounds and increase the trade of the kingdom, and the region ceded between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, in compliment to the King was called Carolana, a few years later written Carolina. On the 15th of April, 1630, the Proprietor was informed that those who settled in that country must acknowledge the Church of England. The next month, under this charter, an agreement was made with George, Lord Berkeley, Sir William

¹ A Grivell Pooley, minister, came in 1622 in the ship *James*.

Boswell, Samuel Vassall, Hugh L'Amy, and Peter de Licques,¹ by which they could form a settlement in Carolina, with power to appoint a Governor and other officers, and that no appeal should be taken from the General Assembly of the Province. This plan was not carried out, and in 1631 the charter was modified, in which Heath is referred to in these words: "He beeing about to lead thither a Colonye of men large and plentifull, professing the true Religion, sedulously and industriously applying themselves to the culture of ye sayd lands and to merchandising, to be performed by industrye at his own charges, and others by his example."

By this instrument he was made "sole Lord Proprietor in chiefly Knight's service, and by paying for it, to us, our heirs, in necessary, one circle of Gold in the fashion of a crown of the weight of twenty ounces, with the inscription ingraued upon it 'Deus coronet opus suum.'"

¹ Peter de Licques, of Picardy, had been naturalized.

(To be continued.)

JOURNAL OF MISS SALLY WISTER.

The following Journal has appeared in type several times, but always under circumstances which have greatly limited the number of its readers. It is true that extracts from it are given in "*Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*," but they are meagre, and fail to convey the lively picture which the whole presents. It is certainly one of the best things of the kind that has been preserved, and our readers will find that Miss Wister was a person who would have proved a congenial companion of the amusing Virginian, William Black, and the sprightly Sally Eve, whose Journals have appeared on our pages.

The writer of the Journal was Sarah Wister, the eldest daughter of Daniel Wister, of Philadelphia, whose wife was Lowry, daughter of Owen Jones, Sr., of Wynnewood, Lower Merion. Shortly after the battle of Brandywine, when it became evident that the British would occupy Philadelphia, Daniel Wister removed his family to Gwynedd, Montgomery County. They were quartered at Penllyn,—the Foulke Mansion, then occupied by Hannah, widow of William Foulke, and her unmarried children, who are alluded to in various places in the Journal. When it was written the author was about fifteen years of age.

The Journal was addressed by its author to her friend, Deborah Norris, subsequently the wife of Dr. George Logan, of Stenton. Mr. Howard Jenkins lately printed it in his interesting "*Historical Collections Relating to Gwynedd*," and in an introduction, said: "Its descriptions of persons and events, and especially the view it gives us of social conditions in the very midst of some of the most important military operations of the Revolutionary struggle, makes it an extremely interesting historical document aside from its charms as a *naïve* and perfectly frank narrative of personal experience." It may interest some of the readers of the Magazine to know that Miss Wister died April 25, 1804, unmarried. Her manners became quite serious after she grew to womanhood.

We are indebted to Mr. Jenkins for many of the notes which are appended to the Journal.—ED. OF MAG.

TO DEBORAH NORRIS:—

Though I have not the least shadow of an opportunity to send a letter, if I do write, I will keep a sort of journal of the time that may expire before I see thee: the perusal of

it may some time hence give pleasure in a solitary hour to thee and our S. J.

Yesterday, which was the 24th of September, two Virginia officers called at our house, and informed us that the British army had crossed the Schuylkill. Presently after, another person stopped, and confirmed what they had said, and that General Washington and army were near Pottsgrove.¹ Well, thee may be sure we were sufficiently scared; however, the road was very still till evening. About seven o'clock we heard a great noise. To the door we all went. A large number of waggons, with about three hundred of the Philadelphia militia. They begged for drink, and several pushed into the house. One of those that entered was a little tipsy, and had a mind to be saucy. I then thought it time for me to retreat; so figure me (mightily scared, as not having presence of mind enough to face so many of the military) running in at one door, and out at another, all in a shake with fear; but after a little, seeing the officers appear gentlemanly and the soldiers civil, I called reason to my aid. My fears were in some measure dispelled, tho' my teeth rattled, and my hand shook like an aspen leaf. They did not offer to take their quarters with us; so, with many blessings, and as many adieus, they marched off.

I have given the most material occurrences of yesterday faithfully.

FOURTH DAY, September 25th.²

This day, till twelve o'clock, the road was mighty quiet, when Hobson Jones came riding along. About that time

¹ The battle of Brandywine had occurred on September 11th, and the surprise and massacre at Paoli on the night of the 20th. Howe crossed at Gordon's Ford (now Phoenixville) and Fatland Ford, on the 23d, to the east side of the Schuylkill, and moved down to Philadelphia. Washington was at Pottsgrove for several days, and then moved over to the Perkiomen.

² This date, presuming the day of the week to be accurately given, should be the 24th, and it may be here observed that the dates of the month are not for some time correctly given in the journal, being a while one day ahead, and then two days, until December 5th, when they become correct.

he made a stop at our door, and said the British were at Skippack road; that we should soon see their light horse, and [that] a party of Hessians had actually turned into our lane. My dadda and mamma gave it the credit it deserved, for he does not keep strictly to the truth in all respects; but the delicate, chicken-hearted Liddy¹ and I were wretchedly scared. We could say nothing but "Oh! what shall we do? What will become of us?" These questions only augmented the terror we were in. Well, the fright went off. We seen no light horse or Hessians. O. Foulke² came here in the evening, and told us that General Washington had come down as far as the Trap,³ and that General McDougles's brigade was stationed at Montgomery, consisting of about 16 hundred men. This he had from Dr. Edwards, Lord Stirling's aide-de-camp; so we expected to be in the midst of one army or t'other.

FIFTH DAY, September 26th.

We were unusually silent all the morning; no passengers came by the house, except to the mill, and we don't place much dependence on mill news. About 12 o'clock, cousin Jesse⁴ heard that General Howe's army had moved down towards Philadelphia. Then, my dear, our hopes and fears were engaged for you. However, my advice is, summon up all your resolution, call Fortitude to your aid, don't suffer your spirits to sink, my dear; there's nothing like courage; 'tis what I stand in need of myself, but unfortunately have but little of it in my composition. I was standing in the kitchen about 12, when somebody came to me in a hurry, screaming, "Sally, Sally, here are the light horse!" This was by far the greatest fright I had endured; fear tack'd

¹ Lydia Foulke, who afterwards married John Spencer. She was some six years the elder of Miss Sally.

² Owen Foulke, son of Caleb. He was Miss Sally's first cousin, their mothers being sisters.

³ The village of Trappe, Upper Providence Township, Montgomery County, Pa.

⁴ Jesse Foulke, a "connection by marriage," but not of kin, at all; the term "cousin" is purely complimentary.

wings to my feet; I was at the house in a moment; at the porch I stopt, and it really was the light horse. I ran immediately to the western door, where the family were assembled, anxiously waiting for the event. They rode up to the door and halted, and enquired if we had horses to sell; he answered negatively. "Have not you, sir," to my father, "two black horses?"—"Yes, but have no mind to dispose of them." My terror had by this time nearly subsided. The officer and men behaved perfectly civil; the first drank two glasses of wine, rode away, bidding his men to follow, which, after adieus in number, they did. The officer was Lieutenant Lindsay, of Bland's regiment, Lee's troop. The men, to our great joy, were Americans, and but 4 in all. What made us imagine them British, they wore blue and red, which with us is not common. It has rained all this afternoon, and, to present appearances, will all night. In all probability the English will take possession of the city to-morrow or next day. What a change it will be! May the Almighty take you under His protection, for without His divine aid all human assistance is vain.

"May heaven's guardian arm protect my absent friends,
From danger guard them, and from want defend."

Forgive, my dear, the repetition of those lines, but they just darted into my mind.

Nothing worth relating has occurred this afternoon. Now for trifles. I have set a stocking on the needles, and intend to be mighty industrious. This evening our folks heard a very heavy cannon. We suppose it to be fired by the English. The report seem'd to come from Philadelphia. We hear the American army will be within five miles of us to-night. The uncertainty of our position engrosses me quite. Perhaps to be in the midst of war, and ruin, and the clang of arms. But we must hope the best. . . .

Here, my dear, passes an interval of several weeks, in which nothing happen'd worth the time and paper it would

take to write it.¹ The English, however, in the interim, had taken possession of the city.²

SECOND DAY, October 19th.

Now for new and uncommon scenes. As I was lying in bed, and ruminating on past and present events, and thinking how happy I should be if I could see you, Liddy came running into the room, and said there was the greatest drumming, fifing, and rattling of waggons that ever she had heard. What to make of this we were at a loss. We dress'd and down stairs in a hurry. Our wonder ceased. The British had left Germantown, and our army were marching to take possession. It was the general opinion they would evacuate the capital.³ Sister B.⁴ and myself, and G. E.⁵ went about half a mile from home, where we cou'd see the army pass. Thee will stare at my going, but no impropriety, in my opine, or I should not have gone. We made no great stay, but return'd with excellent appetites for our breakfast. Several officers call'd to get some refreshments, but none of consequence till the afternoon. Cousin P.⁶ and myself were sitting at the door; I in a green skirt, dark short gown, etc. Two genteel men of the military order rode up to the door: "Your servant, ladies," etc.; ask'd if they could have quarters for General Small-

¹ We are unfortunately given nothing in relation to the battle of Germantown, which occurred October 4th, in this interval. The omission is difficult to understand, because she alludes, later, to "the battle of Germantown, and the horrors of that day."

² They had occupied the city September 26th, two days after the first date in the journal.

³ On this date the British withdrew from Germantown into Philadelphia, and the Americans moved down the Skippack road, and the roads adjacent, to take a nearer position. Washington's headquarters, for some days, were at "James Morris's, on the Skippack road," and on the 2d of November, at Whitmarsh, at the residence of George Emlen, here mentioned. It was the movement of troops down the Morris road, no doubt,—“half a mile away,”—that Miss Sally and her friends went to see.

⁴ Miss "Betsy,"—Elizabeth—the writer's sister.

⁵ George Emlen.

⁶ Priscilla Foulke, sister of Jesse; "Cousin" simply by courtesy.

wood. Aunt F.¹ thought she could accommodate them as well as most of her neighbors,—said they could. One of the officers dismounted, and wrote “Smallwood’s Quarters” over the door, which secured us from straggling soldiers. After this he mounted his steed and rode away. When we were alone, our dress and lips were put in order for conquest, and the hopes of adventures gave brightness to each before passive countenance. Thee must be told of a Dr. Gould, who, by accident, had made acquaintance with my father,—a sensible, conversible man, a Carolinian,—and had come to bid us adieu. Daddy had prevailed on him to stay a day or two with us. In the evening his Generalship came, with six attendants, which compos’d his family. A large guard of soldiers, a number of horses and baggage-waggons, the yard and house in confusion, and glitter’d with military equipments. Gould was intimate with Smallwood, and had gone into Jesse’s to see him. While he was there, there was great running up and down stairs, so I had an opportunity of seeing and being seen, the former the most agreeable, to be sure. One person, in particular, attracted my notice. He appear’d cross and reserv’d; but thee shall see how agreeably disappointed I was. Dr. Gould usher’d the gentlemen into our parlour, and introduc’d them,—“General Smallwood, Captain Furnival,² Major Stodard,³ Mr. Prig, Captain Finley,⁴ and Mr. Clagan,⁵ Colonel Wood,⁶ and Colonel Line.” These last two did not come with the General. They are Virginians, and both indispos’d. The General and suite, are Marylanders. Be assur’d, I did not stay long with so many men, but secur’d a good retreat, heart-safe, so

¹ Aunt F., wife of Amos Foulke, and sister to Miss Sally’s mother.

² Alexander Furnival, of the Maryland Artillery, from Baltimore County.

³ This gentleman, frequently and fully spoken of in the journal, is presumed to be Major Benjamin Stoddert, of Maryland, who was Secretary of the Navy from 1798 to 1801, under Adams and Jefferson.

⁴ Of the Maryland Artillery.

⁵ Possibly Horatio Clagett, then a 1st Lieut. in the 3d Maryland Battalion.

⁶ James Wood, subsequently Governor of Virginia.

far. Some sup'd with us, others at Jesse's. They retir'd about ten, in good order. How new is our situation! I feel in good spirits, though surrounded by an army, the house full of officers, the yard alive with soldiers,—very peaceable sort of people, tho'. They eat like other folks, talk like them, and behave themselves with elegance; so I will not be afraid of them, that I won't. Adieu. I am going to my chamber to dream, I suppose, of bayonets and swords, sashes, guns, and epaulets.

THIRD DAY, MORN., October 20th.

I dare say thee is impatient to know my sentiments of the officers; so, while Somnus embraces them, and the house is still, take their characters according to their rank. The Gen'l is tall, portly, well made: a truly martial air, the behaviour and manners of a gentleman, a good understanding, and great humanity of disposition, constitute the character of Smallwood.¹ Col. Wood, from what we hear of him, and what we see, is one of the most amiable of men; tall and genteel, an agreeable countenance and deportment. The following lines will more fully characterize him:—

“How skill'd he is in each obliging art,
The mildest manners and the bravest heart.”

The cause he is fighting for alone tears him from the society of an amiable wife and engaging daughter; with tears in his eyes he often mentions the sweets of domestic life. Col. Line is not married: so let me not be too warm in his praise, lest you suspect. He is monstrous tall and brown; but has a certain something in his face and conversation very agreeable; he entertains the highest notions of honour, is sensible and humane, and a brave officer; he is only seven and twenty years old, but, by a long indisposition and constant fatigue, looks vastly older, and almost worn to a skeleton, but very lively and talkative. Capt. Furnival—I need

¹ He commanded Maryland troops in the Revolutionary army, from 1776 to 1780, and served with credit. He was Governor of Maryland from 1785 to 1788.

not say more of him than that he has, excepting one or two, the handsomest face I ever saw, a very fine person; fine light hair, and a great deal of it, adds to the beauty of his face. Well, here comes the glory, the major, so bashful, so famous, etc., he should come before the Captain, but never mind. I at first thought the Major cross and proud, but I was mistaken; he is about nineteen, nephew to the Gen'l, and acts as Major of brigade to him; he cannot be extoll'd for the graces of person, but for those of the mind he may justly be celebrated; he is large in his person, manly, and engaging countenance and address. Finley is wretched ugly, but he went away last night, so I shall not particularize him. Nothing of any moment to-day; no acquaintance with the officers. Cols. Wood and Line and Gould dined with us. I was dress'd in my chintz, and looked smarter than night before.

FOURTH DAY, Oct. 21st.

I just now met the Major, very reserv'd: nothing but "Good morning," or "Your servant, madam;" but Furnival is most agreeable; he chats every opportunity; but luckily has a wife! I have heard strange things of the Major. With a fortune of thirty thousand pounds, independent of any body, the Major is vastly bashful; so much so he can hardly look at the ladies. (Excuse me, good sir; I really thought you were not clever; if 'tis bashfulness only, will drive that away.)

Fifth day, Sixth day, and Seventh day pass'd. The General still here; the Major still bashful.

FIRST DAY, EVENING.

Prepare to hear amazing things. The General was invited to dine, was engag'd; but Colonel Wood, Major Stodard, and Dr. Edwards¹ din'd with us. In the afternoon, Stodard, addressing himself to mamma, "Pray, ma'am, do you know Miss Nancy Bond?" I told him of the ami-

¹ Dr. Enoch Edwards, brother of Major Evan Edwards, and after the Revolution a prominent citizen and judge of the Philadelphia courts. He lived in Byberry, on a farm left him by his father, and died there in April, 1802. He served on the staff of Lord Stirling.

able girl's death. This major had been at Philadelphia College. In the evening, I was diverting Johnny at the table, when he drew his chair to it, and began to play with the child. I ask'd him if he knew N. Bond. "No, ma'am, but I have seen her very often." One word brought on another one. We chatted a great part of the evening. He said he knew me directly as he seen me. Told me exactly where we liv'd. It rains, so adieu.

SECOND DAY, 26th October.

A rainy morning, so like to prove. The officers in the house all day.

SECOND DAY, AFTERNOON.

The General and officers drank tea with us, and stay'd part of the evening. After supper I went with aunt, where sat the General, Colonel Line, and Major Stodard. So Liddy and I seated ourselves at the table in order to read a verse-book. The Major was holding a candle for the General, who was reading a newspaper.¹ He look'd at us, turn'd away his eyes, look'd again, put the candlestick down, up he jumps, out of the door he went. "Well," said I to Liddy, "he will join us when he comes in." Presently he return'd, and seated himself on the table. "Pray, ladies, is there any songs in that book?" "Yes, many." "Can't you favor me with a sight of it?" "No, Major; 'tis a borrow'd book." "Miss Sally, can't you sing?" "No." Thee may be sure I told the truth there. Liddy, saucy girl, told him I could. He beg'd, and I deny'd; for my voice is not much better than the voice of a raven. We talk'd and laugh'd for an hour. He is clever, amiable, and polite. He has the softest voice, never pronounces the *r* at all.

I must tell thee, to-day arriv'd Colonel Guest² and Major Leatherberry; the former a smart widower, the latter a lawyer, a sensible young fellow, and will never swing for want of tongue. Dr. Diggs came Second day; a mighty dis-

¹ Such was "the light of other days!"

² Probably the celebrated Mordecai Gist, then in command of the 3d Maryland Battalion.

agreeable man. We were oblig'd to ask him to tea. He must needs pop himself between the Major and me, for which I did not thank him. After I had drank tea, I jump'd from the table, and seated myself at the fire. The Major follow'd my example, drew his chair close to mine, and entertain'd me very agreeably. Oh, Debby; I have a thousand things to tell thee. I shall give thee so droll an account of my adventures that thee will smile. "No occasion of that, Sally," methinks I hear thee say, "for thee tells me every trifle." But, child, thee is mistaken, for I have not told thee half the civil things that are said of us *sweet* creatures at "General Smallwood's Quarters." I think I might have sent the gentlemen to their chambers. I made my adieus, and home I went.

THIRD DAY, MORN.

A polite "good morning" from the Major, more sociable than ever. No wonder; a stoic cou'd not resist such affable damsels as we are.

THIRD DAY, EVE., October 27th.

We had again the pleasure of the General and suite at afternoon tea. He (the General, I mean) is most agreeable; so lively, so free, and chats so gaily, that I had quite an esteem for him. I must steel my heart! Captain Furnival is gone to Baltimore, the residence of his belov'd wife. The major and I had a little chat to ourselves this eve. No harm, I assure thee: he and I are friends.

This eve came a parson belonging to the army. He is (how shall I describe him?) near seven foot high, thin, and meagre, not a single personal charm, and very few mental ones. He fell violently in love with Liddy at first sight; the first discover'd conquest that has been made since the arrival of the General. Come, shall we chat about Col. Guest? He's very pretty; a charming person; his eyes are exceptional; very stern; and he so rolls them about that mine always fall under them. He bears the character of a brave officer: another admirer of Liddy's, and she of him. When will Sally's admirers appear? Ah! that indeed. Why, Sally has not charms sufficient to pierce the heart of a

soldier. But still I won't despair. Who knows what mischief I yet may do?

Well, Debby, here's Doctor Edwards come again. Now we shall not want clack; for he has a perpetual motion in his head, and if he were not so clever as he is, we should get tired.

FOURTH DAY, October 28th.

Nothing material engaged us to day.

FIFTH DAY, October 29th.

I walked into aunt's this evening. I met the Major. Well, thee will think I am writing his history: but not so. Pleased with the rencounter. Betsy, Stodard, and myself, seated by the fire, chatted away an hour in lively and agreeable conversation. I can't pretend to write all he said; but he shone in every subject that was talk'd of.

Nothing of consequence on the 30th.

SEVENTH DAY, October 31st.

A most charming day. I walked to the door and received the salutation of the morn from Stodard and other officers. As often as I go to the door, so often have I seen the Major. We chat passingly, as, "A fine day, Miss Sally." "Yes, very fine, Major."

SEVENTH DAY, NIGHT.

Another very charming conversation with the young Marylander. He seems possessed of very amiable manners; sensible and agreeable. He has by his unexceptional deportment engaged my esteem.

FIRST DAY, MORN.

Liddy, Betsy, and a T—y prisoner of state went to the mill. We made very free with some Continental flour. We powder'd mighty white, to be sure. Home we came. Col. Wood was standing at a window with a young officer. He gave him a push forward, as much as to say, "Observe what fine girls we have here." For all I do not mention Wood as often as he deserves, it is not because we are not sociable: we are very much so, and he is often at our house. Liddy and I had a kind of adventure with him this morn. We were in his chamber chatting about our little affairs,

and no idea of being interrupted: we were standing up, each an arm on a chest of drawers; the door bang'd open! —Col. Wood was in the room; we started, the color flew into our faces and crimson'd us over; the tears flew into my eyes. It was very silly; but his coming was so abrupt. He was between us and the door. "Ladies, do not be scar'd, I only want something from my portmanteau; I beg you not to be disturbed." We ran by him, like two partridges, into mamma's room, threw ourselves into chairs, and reproach'd each other for being so foolish as to blush and look so silly. I was very much vex'd at myself, so was Liddy. The Colonel laugh'd at us, and it blew over.

The army had orders to march to-day; the regulars accordingly did.¹ General Smallwood had the command of militia at that time, and they being in the rear, were not to leave their encampment until Second day. Observe how militaryish I talk. No wonder, when I am surrounded by people of that order. The General, Colonels Wood, Guest, Crawford, and Line, Majors Stodard and Leatherberry, din'd with us to-day. After dinner, Liddy, Betsy, and thy smart journalizer, put on their bonnets to take a walk. We left the house. I naturally look'd back; when, behold, the two majors seem'd debating whether to follow us or not. Liddy said, "We shall have their attendance;" but I did not think so. They open'd the gate and came fast after us. They overtook us about ten poles from home, and beg'd leave to attend us. No fear of a refusal. They inquir'd when we were going to neighbor Roberts's.² "We will introduce you to his daughters; you us to General Stevens." The affair was concluded, and we shorten'd the way with lively conversation. Our intention of going to Roberts's was frustrated; the rain that had fallen lately had raised the Wissahickon too high to attempt crossing it on foot. We alter'd the plan of our ramble, left the road, and walk'd

¹ This was the movement to Whitmarsh.

² John Roberts's, in Whitpain, a short distance away. He was the father of "Squire Job," and two of his daughters, at least, were then at home, unmarried.

near two miles thro' the woods. Mr. Leatherberry, observing my locket, repeated the lines :

“On her white breast a sparkling cross she wore,
That Jews might kiss and infidels adore.”

I repli'd my trinket bore no resemblance to a cross. “’Tis something better, madam.” ‘Tis nonsense to repeat all that was said ; my memory is not so obliging ; but it is sufficient that nothing happen’d during our little excursion but what was very agreeable and entirely consistent with the strictest rules of politeness and decorum. I was vex’d a little at tearing my muslin petticoat. I had on my white dress, quite as nice as a First-day in town. We returned home safe. Smallwood, Wood, and Stodard drank tea with us, and spent the greater part of the evening. I declare this gentleman is very, very entertaining, so good natur’d, so good humor’d,—yes, so sensible ; I wonder he is not married. Are there no ladies form’d to his taste ? Some people, my dear, think that there’s no difference between good nature and good humour ; but, according to my opinion, they differ widely. Good nature consists in a naturally amiable and even disposition, free from all peevishness and fretting. It is accompanied by a natural gracefulness,—a manner of saying everything agreeably ; in short, it steals the senses, and captivates the heart. Good humour is a very agreeable companion for an afternoon ; but give me good nature for life. Adieu.

SECOND DAY, MORN, November 1st.¹

To-day the militia marches, and the General and officers leave us. Heigh ho ! I am very sorry ; for when you have been with agreeable people, ’tis impossible not to feel regret when they bid you adieu, perhaps for ever. When they leave us we shall be immur’d in solitude. The Major looks dull.

¹Second day—Monday—was November 3d. The dates are here two days wrong, and as the reader may perceive for himself, are inconsistent with those heretofore given, which were one day wrong.

SECOND DAY, NOON.

About two o'clock the General and Major came to bid us adieu. With daddy and mammy they shook hands very friendly; to us they bow'd politely. Our hearts were full. I thought the Major was affected. "Good-bye, Miss Sally," spoken very low. We stood at the door to take a last look, all of us very sober. The Major turn'd his horse's head, and rode back, dismounted. "I have forgot my pistols," pass'd us, and ran up-stairs. He came swiftly back to us, as if wishing, through inclination, to stay; by duty compell'd to go. He remounted his horse. "Farewell, ladies, till I see you again," and canter'd away. We look'd at him till the turn in the road hid him from our sight. "Amiable major," "Clever fellow," "Good young man," was echoed from one to the other. I wonder if we shall ever see him again. He has our wishes for his safety.

Well, here's Uncle Miles.¹ Heartily glad of that am I. His family are well, and at Reading.

SECOND DAY, EVEN.

Jesse, who went with the General, return'd. We had a compliment from the General and Major. They are very well disposed of at Evan Meredith's, six miles from here. I wrote to P. F.,² by Uncle Miles, who waited on General Washington next morn.

THIRD DAY, MORN.

It seems strange not to see our house as it used to be. We are very still. No rattling of waggons, glittering of musquets. The beating of the distant drum is all we hear. Colonels Wood, Line, Guest, and Major Leatherberry are still here; the two last leave to-day. Wood and Line will soon bid us adieu. Amiable Wood; he is esteem'd by all that know him! Everybody has a good word for him.

Here I skip a week or two, nothing of consequence

¹ Samuel Miles, Colonel of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, and subsequently Mayor of Philadelphia. His wife was Catharine Wister, sister of Miss Sally's father.

² Polly Fishbourn, a young lady representative of a well-known Philadelphia family, and an intimate friend of Miss Sally. She was at Whitemarsh.

occurring. (Wood and Line are gone.) Some time since arriv'd two officers, Lieutenants Lee and Warring, Virginians. I had only the salutations of the morn from them. Lee is not remarkable one way or the other; Warring an insignificant piece enough. Lee sings prettily, and talks a great deal; how good turkey hash and fried hominy is (a pretty discourse to entertain the ladies), extols Virginia, and execrates Maryland, which, by-the-by, I provok'd them to; for though I admire both Virginia and Maryland, I laugh'd at the former, and praised the latter. Ridiculed their manner of speaking. I took a great delight in teasing them. I believe I did it sometimes ill-natur'dly; but I don't care. They were not, I am certain almost, first-rate gentlemen. (How different from our other officers.) But they are gone to Virginia, where they may sing, dance, and eat fry'd hominy and turkey hash all day long, if they choose. Nothing scarcely lowers a man, in my opinion, more than talking of eating, what they love, and what they hate. Lee and Warring were proficients in this science. Enough of them!

December 5th, SIXTH DAY.¹

Oh, gracious Debby, I am all alive with fear. The English have come out to attack (as we imagine) our army, three miles this side.² What will become of us, only six miles distant? We are in hourly expectation of an engagement. I fear we shall be in the midst of it. Heaven defend us from so dreadful a sight. The battle of Germantown, and the horrors of that day, are recent in my mind. It will be sufficiently dreadful, if we are only in hearing of the firing, to think how many of our fellow creatures are plung'd into the boundless ocean of eternity, few of them prepar'd to meet their fate. But they are summon'd before an all-merciful judge, from whom they have a great deal to hope.

¹ The dates are now accurate; December 5th fell on Sixth day,—Friday.

² This was Howe's famous demonstration against Washington's position at Whitemarsh, which was fully expected to be a general battle. The British left the city on the afternoon of December 4th.

SEVENTH DAY, December 6th.

No firing this morn. I hope for one more quiet day.

SEVENTH DAY, NOON, 4 o'clock.

I was much alarm'd just now, sitting in the parlour, indulging melancholy reflections, when somebody burst open the door. "Sally, here's Major Stodard." I jumped. Our conjectures were various concerning his coming. The poor fellow, from great fatigue and want of rest, together with being expos'd to the night air, had caught cold, which brought on a fever. He cou'd scarcely walk, and I went into aunt's to see him. I was surpris'd. Instead of the lively, alert, blooming Stodard, who was on his feet the instant we enter'd, he look'd pale, thin, and dejected, too weak to rise, and "How are you, Miss Sally?" "How does thee do, Major?" I seated myself near him, inquir'd the cause of his indisposition, ask'd for the General, receiv'd his compliments. Not willing to fatigue him with too much chat, I bid him adieu. To-night Aunt H—— F——, Sen'r,¹ administer'd something. Jesse assisted him to his chamber. He had not lain down five minutes before he was fast asleep. Adieu. I hope we shall enjoy a good night's rest.

FIRST DAY, MORN, December 7th.

I trip'd into aunt's. There sat the Major, rather more like himself. How natural it was to see him. "Good morning, Miss Sally." "Good morrow, Major, how does thee do to-day?" "I feel quite recover'd, Sally." "Well, I fancy this indisposition has sav'd thy head this time." Major: "No ma'am; for if I hear a firing,² I shall soon be with them." That was heroic. About eleven I dress'd myself, silk and cotton gown. It is made without an apron. I feel quite awkwardish, and prefer the girlish dress.

¹ Hannah Foulke, widow of William.

² Though no firing seems to have been heard, it was on this day that two severe skirmishes occurred between the armies,—one on Edge^h Hill, near Mooretown, and the other in Cheltenham, probably near Shoemakertown. There were a number killed, and many wounded.

(To be continued.)

HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY BENJAMIN SMITH BARTON.¹

Mr. John Pemberton says that he has heard Mr. Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and Henry Pelham speak, and that he never met with such eloquence from them as he had from many of the American Indians. He particularly mentions the superior eloquence of the Beaver Chief, who had been a very great warrior, whose Indian name he does not remember. He was a Delaware Chief, born in New Jersey, somewhere about Raccoon Creek. This man, Mr. Pemberton says, offered his assistance to General Braddock at the time that general was slain and his army defeated, but meeting with no encouragement from the haughty general, he became Braddock's inveterate enemy. Mr. Pemberton says that Mr. George Washington strongly persuaded Braddock to listen to the counsel of the Indians, but Braddock disdained such counsel. Mr. Pemberton also says that the eloquence of Tidiuscung was great. The Indians, Mr. Pemberton says, used to compare General Braddock and his army to a large tortoise, which crawls along very deliberately, but on meeting with a trunk of a tree, being unable to get over it, falls flat back. Mr. Pemberton seems to think very highly of the Indians in several respects. He also mentions the eloquence of a chief among the Oneida

¹ The following notes were made on board the ship *Apollo*, in 1789, in a voyage to England, by Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D., the naturalist. He was a son of Rev. Thomas Barton, of Lancaster, Pa., where he was born February 10, 1766. He died December 19, 1815. His mother was a sister of David Rittenhouse. The John Pemberton mentioned was an eminent Quaker preacher. He was a son of Israel and Rachel Pemberton; was born at Philadelphia 27th of November, 1727, died at Pyrmont, Westphalia, in Germany, 31st of January, 1795. A sketch of him will be found in *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. viii. p. 49.—ED.

Indians, called in English Thomas King. He says that many years since an Indian was executed at Philadelphia for having killed a man in Lancaster County, whose name, he thinks, was Armstrong.

Mr. Pemberton informed me that Captain White Eye, a famous Delaware Chief, I believe, had been troubled with the King's Evil or scrophula, of which he was cured. He says that the King's Evil is known among the Indians.¹ I believe it is not generally known to be one of their diseases. Dr. Rush has not enumerated it in his catalogue of the diseases of the Indians. Mr. Pemberton says White Eye had the scrophula on his neck, below the ear. He believes White Eye was cured of the disease by the Indians.

The same gentleman informed me that the meaning of Tidiuscung, the name of a celebrated chief of the Indians, is "One who makes the earth tremble." He received this name from his being a very large and portly man.

Tidiuscung, Mr. Pemberton says, was a man of a strong mind; that he was, however, a great drunkard, and used to say that after he had drunk a half a gallon of rum he was a match (he meant in thinking, deliberating, etc.) for the then Governor of Pennsylvania, Mr. Denny. Denny, Mr. Pemberton says, was a poor, weak-minded creature,—he was a native of Ireland.

MR. WEST.

Mr. Benjamin West was born at Newtown, in Chester County, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia. His father was not a Quaker, although he frequented the meetings of the Friends, and brought up his children to the same, but neither the father nor his son, the Historical Painter, were ever received, as the term is, into the Society of the Friends. Old Mr. West was a very sober man. A brother of Mr. West is now living at Newtown, above mentioned; he is a very hard-working man, and poor. This brother was

¹ This is not improbable, as I have been told by Mr. Evans that the consumption is known among the Indians, and the consumption is a very frequent consequent of the scrophula.

received into the Society of the Friends. He is older¹ than Mr. Benjamin West. Mr. Benjamin West went to Rome with Mr. Samuel Powel, of Philadelphia, about the year 17[60]. Mr. Powell bore Mr. West's expenses to Rome, for Mr. West, it seems, had no resources in pecuniary matters of his own. The above information respecting Mr. B. West is from Mr. John Pemberton, on board the ship *Apollo*, 1789.

Mr. Pemberton considers Mr. West's Picture of the Treaty of the Indians, as in a great measure, at least, fabulous, or rather imaginary. In the first place, by the reading, if I mistake not, at the bottom of the copper-plate print of the Treaty, it appears that it was held in 1681; and yet, on this subject, Mr. Pemberton remarks that Penn, who is introduced in West's Picture, was not at the Treaty of 1681, but at that on the following year. This is not a license which, I think, Historical Painting warrants. Chronology and Truth are sacrificed, and yet what beauty or embellishment is acquired? In the second place, but this is not a remark of Mr. Pemberton's, it has been observed that Mr. West rather preposterously has represented the first houses in Philadelphia rather too high.² Thirdly, Mr. Pemberton says that Mr. West has made Mr. William Penn, in height, too tall. Penn, he says, was a short man. But I suppose Mr. West, who, from what I have seen of him, is a man of but very little education, and but of a very slender intellect, never inquired very minutely into the History of this Treaty, not that I have ever, that I recollect, spoken with Mr. West on the subject of the Treaty; so I can readily account for such neglects as these; slight neglects, perhaps, in the opinion of many who may not be altogether regardless of the Essential Truth which ought, always, to be held in view in a composition of the Didactic Kind.

There are no real portraits of any of the persons who were present at the Indian Treaty in Mr. B. West's, except the

¹ Of this, however, Mr. Pemberton is not certain.

² It is said these houses were in the course of erection at the time of the Painting.—ED.

portrait of William Penn. The other principal portraits are taken from Mr. West's family. This I had from Mr. Pemberton, on board the *Apollo*.

The first Treaty in Pennsylvania, between the Friends and the Indians, was by Commissioners sent over to Pennsylvania, by Penn, in the year 1681. He had mentioned, by means of the Commissioners, that he was to be over himself the following year. Mr. Pemberton does not know what was the exact spot on which this first treaty was held. Penn landed at New Castle in 1682; this year he held his treaty with the Indians. Mr. Pemberton does not know the spot on which this treaty was held; he thinks, however, it was at the place now called Kensington. There were a great number of Indians present at this treaty; they were principally of the Lenapi or Delaware Tribe. The articles which Penn gave to the Indians on this occasion were guns, flints, etc., etc., but chiefly blankets and duffils. About the year 1702, a short time before he returned to England, Penn held a treaty with the Indians at Pennsbury.

Mr. Pemberton says that the village of Gloucester, in the Jersey, below Philadelphia, was settled prior to Philadelphia, about the year 1675. One of the earliest settlers in Gloucester was Samuel Carpenter, who came over to America several years before William Penn. This is the same Carpenter who built the house in which William Penn afterwards lived.¹

John Pemberton was informed by Mrs. Wright that her husband, John Wright, a native of Yorkshire, England, settled on the River Susquehanna about the year 1726. At that time there were no settlements in that neighborhood except two on the opposite side of the river, in the present county of York, a part of the county of Lancaster. There were at that time several large and very thick settlements of Indians all about him, Wright, who says they were principally of the Conestoga Tribe, but belonged to the Six Nations. Nearly about the same time, 1726, the Delaware

¹ The famous Slate-Roof House in Second Street, at the corner of Norris's Alley.—Ed.

Indians were settled on the Delaware River below Philadelphia, and above it, as high as the Tohickon.

The spot on which Philadelphia now stands was not designed, Mr. Pemberton says, as the capital of Pennsylvania, by Penn. He had pitched on a spot on the West side of the Delaware for this purpose. It lay between Philadelphia and Bristol, and is the very place where at present there is a large Bake-House, called Thomas's Bake House. It is about ten miles above Philadelphia.

The first house which Mr. Penn built in Philadelphia was in the year [1682], on the spot of ground on which the Pennsylvania Coffee House is now situated.¹ Old Dr. Kearsley afterwards lived near this house. Penn afterwards lived in a second house, near Norris's Alley, which had been built by one Samuel Carpenter, which, as it was the best house, at that time, in Philadelphia, Carpenter moved out to accommodate Penn, the Governor.

Mr. John Pemberton says that the first house that William Penn lived in, in Pennsylvania, was at Pennsbury.² The frame of this house, for it was a wooden building, was made in England. During the troubles of the late American Revolution, this frame house was pulled down by one of Mr. William Penn's descendants, viz., — Penn, Esq.

Mr. John Pemberton tells me that on digging a mill-race, at his brother's Forge, in Virginia, at the depth of about fifteen feet from the surface of the ground, sometime before the year 1777, a stone coffin was discovered. Mr. Pemberton says that the coffin was imbedded in a quantity, perhaps a vein, of a stone, somewhat resembling limestone, but of a very spongy nature. Mr. P. cannot tell me, as he says he is not curious in these subjects, whether or not any remains of a body were found in this coffin.

¹ The house here referred to was no doubt the one which stood in Letitia Court, and was removed to Fairmount Park a few years ago. The Coffee-House was at the southeast corner of Front and Market Streets, and occupied ground originally included in the garden of the Letitia Street house.—ED.

² A portion of the winter of 1682-83 he spent at Chester. He then removed to Fairman's House, at Kensington. Pennsbury was not finished at the time.—ED.

CHARLES READ.

BY GENERAL JOHN MEREDITH READ.

Charles Read was born in England, and came to Burlington, in the Province of West Jersey, about the year 1678.

Removing some time afterwards to Philadelphia, he became distinguished as a merchant, and was known throughout the Colonies as a man of extended influence.

The earliest information I have been able to obtain with regard to him is to be found in the note at the bottom of page 150, 1st Vol. Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," edition of 1797.¹

In 1691, Mr. Read seems to have taken the part of George Keith in his difference with the Quakers. Proud says, in a note, p. 369, Vol. I., "Some of the principal persons who adhered to *Keith*, and were men of rank, character, and reputation in these provinces, and divers of them great preachers, and much followed, were Thomas Budd, George

¹ "In the tenth month, O. S. (December), 1678, arrived the *Shield* from *Hull*, *Daniel Towes*, Commander, and anchored before *Burlington*. This was the first ship that came so far up the river *Delaware*. Opposite to *Coaquanock*, the *Indian* name of the place where *Philadelphia* now stands, which was a bold and high shore, she went so near it in turning that part of the tackling struck the trees, some of the passengers expressing, '*It was a fine situation for a town.*' The people next morning went on shore upon the ice, so hard and so suddenly had it froze in the space of one night."—*Proud's Hist. of Penn.*, Vol. I. pages 149 and 150.*

* Note at bottom of page 150. "About this time, and a few years afterwards, arrived at Burlington the following settlers from *England*, viz.: John Butcher, Henry Grubb, William Butcher, William Brightwen, Thomas Gardner, John Budd, John Burten, Seth Smith, Walter Pumphrey, Thomas Ellis, James Satterthwaite, Richard Arnold, John Woolman, John Stacy, Thomas Eves, Benjamin Duffield, John Payne, Samuel Cleft, William Cooper, John Shinn, William Biles, John Skein, John Warrel, Anthony Morris, Samuel Bunting, *Charles Reed*, Francis Collins, Thomas Matthews, Christopher Wetherill, John Dewsbury, John Day, Richard Basnett, John Antrom, William Biddle, Samuel Furnace, John Ladd, Thos. Raper, Roger Huggins, and Thos. Wood."—*Smith's Hist. of New Jersey*.

Hutchinson, Robert Turner, Francis Rawle, John Hart, *Charles Reade*."

On the 25th October, 1701, William Penn, before sailing for England, "favored the *town* of *Philadelphia*, then become very considerable, and in a flourishing condition, with a particular memorial of his benevolence by granting the inhabitants thereof, likewise a charter of privileges, for its particular regulation, good order, government, and police."¹ After naming Edward Shippen as Mayor, Thomas Story as Recorder, Thomas Farmer as Sheriff, and Robert Ashton as Clerk of the Peace of the incorporated City of Philadelphia, the charter continues: "And I do hereby name, constitute, and appoint Joshua Carpenter, Griffith Jones, Anthony Morris, *Joseph Wilcox*, Nathan Stanbury, *Charles Read*, Thomas Masters, and William Carter, citizens and inhabitants of the said City, to be the present *Aldermen* of the said City of Philadelphia." "And I do also nominate and appoint John Parsons, William Hudson, William Lee, Nehemiah Allen, Thomas Paschall, John Budd, Junr., Edward Smout, Samuel Buckley, James Atkinson, *Pentecost Teague*, *Francis Cook*, and Henry Badcocke to be the twelve present Common Council men of the said City."²

In this list of Aldermen for the new city, in 1701, we find the names of Charles Read and his friend and executor, Joseph Wilcox. Among the members of the Common Council will be observed Charles Read's friend and executor, Francis Cook, who was afterwards the executor of Charles Read's wife, as was Pentecost Teague, another Councilman.

In October, 1703, Charles Read, then a member of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, signed "the declarations and Tests." *Vide* "Votes of the Assembly," Year 1704, page 3.

Mr. Read died on or about the first of August, 1705. His will, dated the 4th January, 1704, was proved on the 6th August, 1705, before John Evans, Lieutenant-Governor of

¹ 1st Vol. Proud's Hist. of Penn., pp. 351 and 352.

² Appendix 2d Vol. Proud's Hist. of Penn., p. 46.

the Province of Pennsylvania, and is recorded in the office of the Register of Wills of the City of Philadelphia, in Book C, pages 4, 5, 6, and 7. He styles himself in this instrument "Charles Read, of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Merchant." He mentions his sisters-in-law, Elizabeth Bussill and Martha Dumer, and their children. Also "John Tomkins, his wife and children." He gives to the Rev^d. Evan Evans, Minister of the (Christ) Church in Philadelphia, £5. To his loving friends and executors, Joseph Wilcox and Francis Cook, £5 each. To his wife, Amy Read, his silver cup and beds, furniture, and money. To his son, Charles Read, when he is of age, he gives his dwelling-house and grainery. To his daughter Rachel his silver tankard marked C^R+_cA. To his daughter Sarah his small silver tankard and "French Louis d'ore in gold" and two of the largest of his silver spoons. He sets apart to his wife one-third of the rest of his estate. One-fourth of the remaining two-thirds he gives to his son Charles, £50 to be paid to him at 20 years of age, and the remainder at 21. The other three-fourths of the remaining two-thirds he gives to his two daughters in equal portions, for whose education and maintenance, until they are of age, he amply provides. In case all his heirs die without issue, his estate is to be divided into two equal parts, the one to go to the poor of Philadelphia, the other to the maintenance of a Church of England Minister in the City of Philadelphia. The witnesses to the will are Abraham Bickley, Thom Atkins, Nicholas Pearse.

In the same book (C), at pages 13 and 14, is to be found the will of Amy Read, the wife of Charles Read. She describes herself as Amy Read, of the City of Philadelphia, widow. She gives and bequeaths unto her "*son-in-law, Charles Read,*" the sum of five pounds curr^t money of Pennsylvania. Unto the Friends of the Monthly Meeting of the City, called Quakers, she gives five pounds. All her other property she divides equally between her two daughters, Rachel Read and Sarah Read. Her executors are

Francis Cook and Pentecost Teague, of the City of Philadelphia. The witnesses are Abraham Bickley, Mary Senior, M,—her mark,—and Sarah Rathloss. The will bears date October 4, 1705, and was proved October 12, 1705. As Amy Read simply signed her initials, A. R., it is natural to suppose she was very ill when the will was made, and died within the week, say the 11th October, 1705, the day before the will was proved, and scarcely more than two months after the decease of her lamented husband.

From these two wills the following conclusions may be drawn :

1st. That Charles Read was married twice. By his first wife he had an only child, his son, Charles Read, afterwards a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, to whom he left a part of his estate, and who was called “son-in-law” by Charles Read’s wife, Amy Read.

2d. Charles Read (the elder) had two daughters by his second wife, Amy Read, of whom Rachel, who afterwards married Israel Pemberton, was the eldest, since she is named both in Charles Read’s and in Amy Read’s will before her sister Sarah, who married James Logan.¹

3d. The name should be spelled Read, because Charles Read signs his name in this manner, and his wife’s name is thus spelled in several different places.

4th. Charles Read, though perhaps originally a Friend, evidently belonged to the Church of England at the time of his death, while his wife, Amy Read, was without doubt a Quakeress.

Charles Read, the younger, was, like his father, a merchant of wealth and influence. Elected to the Common Council as early as the 9th August, 1717,² he continued to serve until the 3d October, 1722, when he was made an Alderman.³ On the 6th October, 1724, Alderman Charles Read and Councilman John Cadwalader were appointed to wait upon the Governor, to know when he would be at leisure to

¹ *Memoirs of James Logan*, p. 13.

² *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Philada.*, p. 136.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

qualify the Mayor elect.¹ On page 263 of the Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia, under date of 26th November, 1726, Charles Read first figures as Mayor of the city. This office he held until 3d October, 1727,¹ when his term expired, and he was elected Alderman. This office he held till his death, in the latter part of the year 1736.¹ Mr. Read was also Sheriff of the City of Philadelphia in 1729, 1730, and 1731.

In the third volume of the "Pennsylvania Archives," p. 546, there is a letter from Charles Read, Jr., Commissioner for Indian Affairs for New Jersey. It is dated at Burlington, September 29, 1758, and directed to Richard Peters, Esq., at Easton. May not the writer have been the son of Charles Read the younger? In fact, what could be more natural than that the grandson of Charles Read the elder should return to the first residence of his grandfather at Burlington? I am not aware that any of the descendants of Charles Read, in the male line, are in existence.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE GLASS MANUFACTURE IN SALEM COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

READ BEFORE THE SALEM COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY R. M. ACTON.

On what in some of the old surveys of this section is called "The great road to Pilesgrove" from Salem, by the way of Thompson's Bridge (now Alloway), but little more than a mile from the latter place, stands an old dwelling, built of logs neatly squared and dovetailed at the corners, carrying the scars where the joists have been sawn off, which at one time extended several feet beyond the first story to support the projecting roof, so common to the

¹ Minutes of Common Council, pp. 249, 275, 361.

homes of the early German settlers. This was the principal dwelling in the small village of Wistarburg. The kitchen of one story attached to the west end of the house has been removed within the last forty years.

The interest connected with the locality arises from the fact that here, it is believed, the first glass-works that were successfully operated in the United States were erected.¹ The store for the sale of merchandise (the removal of which has been of comparatively recent date) stood on the edge of the highway, on the same side with the dwelling and about fifty yards west of it, shaded by the stately sycamores still standing on the opposite side of the road, with the factories perhaps one hundred yards in the rear.

Caspar Wistar, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1717, in the twenty-second year of his age, came from Hilspach, in the Electorate of Heidelberg, Prussia. Having but little means at his disposal after paying his passage, it was not without a severe struggle with adverse circumstances and the labor of years that he felt himself warranted in embarking in a new and untried industry, and attempting to fill a pressing need of the time,—the manufacture of glass. In pursuance thereof, in the year 1738 he purchased of Amos Penton a tract of land containing one hundred acres, bordering on a branch of Alloway Creek, on which he erected a glass-factory, the before-mentioned dwelling and store, as well as a number of dwellings for the workmen. In the fall of the same year he agreed to pay to James Marshall 58 pounds 8 shillings for the passage in the vessel of which he was master, from Rotterdam to Philadelphia, of Johan William Wentzel, Caspar Halter, Johan Martin Halter, and Simeon Kriesmier, experts in glass-blowing, they contracting to blow glass for him at his works and to teach him, the said Caspar Wistar, and his son Richard, the art and no one else. In consideration therefor they were to receive one-third part of the profits arising from the business, whilst he, on his part, was to provide dwellings for them at the works, transact the

¹ As early as 1608 a factory was started at Jamestown, in Virginia, but not proving a success was soon abandoned.

business, and supply the funds necessary for its prosecution, for the remaining two-thirds. Thus early we see co-operation existing, and the effort of Capital and Labor combined to make the infant industry a success.

I find a clause in the will of Caspar Wistar as follows: "In case of my death before the time mentioned in an article of agreement between Johan William Wentzel, Caspar Halter, Johan Martin Halter, and Simeon Kriesmier, and myself, bearing date the 7th day of December, 1738, has expired, I direct my executors to continue the business until my part of the contract shall be fulfilled; afterward they are to be managed by my wife and son Richard."

Caspar Wistar died in 1752, after which the business was continued by his son Richard, who enlarged and increased it, purchasing additional tracts of timber for the use of the works, until, at his death, in 1781, he owned more than two thousand acres adjacent.

How long the manufacture of glass was continued after the death of Richard Wistar by his son John, who resided at Wistarburg, I have no data to inform me.

The writer has heard old residents say it was a great resort in sleighing-time, visitors coming from far and near to see a sight so rare (as it then was) and withal so interesting. After the business was discontinued at Wistarburg the hamlet gradually disappeared; except the débris of the factories, the old dwelling being the only reminder of what once had been.

The manufacture of glass, which appeared to have become a lost art in the county of Salem for a number of years, was taken up by the adjoining counties of Gloucester and Cumberland, and prosecuted with great success, adding largely to their growth and prosperity.

In the year 1862 a factory for the manufacture of bottles and other glassware was started in our city by Henry D. Hall, Joseph Pancoast, and John V. Craven, three of our enterprising citizens, which has met with deserved success; and now, under the firm-name of Craven & Brother, three factories are running, giving employment to a large number

of men and boys, and being a most important addition to the business of our city.

One year later works for the production of window-glass were erected at Quinton's Bridge, three miles from Salem, by David Smith, George Hires, Charles Hires, and John Lambert, with the firm-name of Hires, Lambert & Co., which, after contending for some years with the many obstacles inseparable to the establishment of a new and extensive industry, has now, under the management of Hires & Company, been enlarged and improved until they have become one of our most important industrial centres, changing the old, straggling village of Quinton's Bridge from its dull, lifeless aspect into the attractive town of Quinton, with neat, tasteful buildings, the homes of industrious, thrifty craftsmen.

An additional glass-works, built in the city of Salem by William Holtz, after being operated for some years by Holtz, Clark & Taylor, was discontinued until its fires were again lighted in 1879 by John Gayner, who had the misfortune to be burned out in April, 1884, but already has a new and much more complete factory, on a better site, in which he is manufacturing shades and other glass products; and I hope the misfortunes of the past will be forgotten by reason of the prosperity of the future.

From the small beginning on the border of the Alloway has grown one of the most important of our manufacturing industries, until in 1880 (see Census Report) the capital employed in the manufacture of glass the preceding year in the United States was about twenty millions of dollars, giving employment to twenty-four thousand men, girls, and boys, at wages aggregating nine millions of dollars yearly.

MARRIAGES AT CHESTERFIELD, NEW JERSEY,
1685-1730.

CERTIFICATES RECORDED IN THE MINUTES OF THE CHESTERFIELD (N. J.)
MONTHLY MEETING.

	M.	D.	Y.
Wm. Satterthwaite and Ann Bursham,	10	3	1685
Anthony Woodward and Hannah Folkes,	12	3	1686
Rich ^d Harrison and Ruth Buskman,	2	7	1687
William Walton and Bridget Bingham,	9	3	1687
Better Fretwell and Elizabeth Wright,	7	6	1688
Thomas Foulke Jr and Elizabeth Curtis,	12	7	1688
John Warin and Joane Sikes,	9	7	1689
Thomas Robison and Susanah Witham,	3	1	1690
Richard Stockton and Susanna Robinson,	9	8	1691
Steven Wilson and Sarah Baker dau. of Henry,			
Francis Davenport and Rebecka Destow,	7	1	1692
George Parker and Esther Andrews,	9	5	1692
Cornelius Empson and Sarah Wilson, dau. of Robert,	4	1	1693
Jos. Stewart and Ales Wright,	12	7	1694
Thomas Lambert and Margaret Scott,	1	7	169 $\frac{4}{5}$
John Wilsford and Rebekah Baker,	2	4	1695
John Scott and Hannah Lambert,	2	4	1695
Daniel Smith and Mary Murfin,	4	7	1695
John Abott and Ann Meliverer,	3	7	1696
Thos. Milner and Gillan Brown,	7	3	1696
Caleb Wheatly and Sarah Scholey,	9	5	1696
Matthew Forsythe and Rebecca Odling,	9	5	1696
John Leeson and Hannah Crowell,	12	4	1696
David Curtis and Rachel Wright,	7	2	1697
Aboll Jeney and Elizabeth Stacy,	1	7	17 $\frac{00}{99}$
Rubon Pownall and Mary Stacy,	1	7	17 $\frac{00}{99}$
Rich ^d Prenth and Mary King,	11	1	1701

	M.	D.	Y.
Joseph Kirkbride and Sarah Stacy,	10	3	1702
John Bakon and Mary Myers,	9	4	1703
Clement Plumstead and Sarah Royden,	1	2	170 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wm. Murfin and Sarah Bunting,	3	4	1704
Benj. Scattergood and Martha Shreeve,	3	4	1704
Rich ^d Airs and Elizabeth Brook,	8	5	1704
John Sikes and Joanna Murfin,	8	5	1704
Isaac Destow and Ann Davenport,	2	5	1705
Ambrose Field and Susanna Destow,	2	5	1705
Saml. Butcher and Silence Bunting,	2	5	1705
Wm. Beaks and Ruth Stacy,	3	3	1705
Joshua Wright and Rebecca Stacy,	4	7	1705
Nathan Alling and Margary Burnitt,	8	4	1705
Samuel Wilson and Esther Overton,	10	6	1705
Samuel Demford and Alce Bingham,	1	7	170 $\frac{5}{8}$
John Clayton and Mary Wood,	4	6	1706
John Warren and Rebekah Frettwell,	6	1	1706
George Nichelson and Hannah Woolstone,			
John King and Elizabeth Woodward,	8	3	1706
Thomas Wright and Elizabeth Parker,	9	7	1706
John Black and Sarah Rockhill,	9	7	1706
Jno. Biles and Mary Lambert,	2	3	1707
Jno. Plumbly and Mary Bainbridge,	2	3	1707
Jos. King and Marcy Nicholson,	7	4	1707
Jos. Nicholson and Frances Taylor,	8	2	1707
Hugh Hutchin and Rebecca Underhill,	11	1	1707
John Tantum and Martha Newberry,			
Henry Beck and Anne Godfrey,	6	5	1708
Wm. Thorn and Meribah Alling,	10	2	1708
Isaac Horner and Elizabeth Sikes,	2	7	1709
Nathaniel Stevenson son of Thos. and Mary Rockhill dau. of son of John,	2	7	1709
John Hains and Elizabeth Satterthwaite,	9	3	1709
Samuel Farnsworth and Damaris Howard,	11	5	1709
Joseph Wright and Mary Scholey,	2	6	1710
Samuel Large of Penna. and Rebecca Wil- son,	9	2	1710

	M.	D.	Y.
Thos. Lambert and Anne Wood,	11	4	1710
John Scholey of Burl. and Frances Nicholson,	2	5	1711
Edward Barton and Sarah Woolstone,	2	5	1711
Wm. Satterthwaite and Martha Marriot,	3	3	1711
Thos. Hunloke and Sarah Bunting dau. of Saml.,	4	7	1711
Constant Overton son of Saml. of Nottingham and Ann Haywood,	4	7	1711
Thomas Shreve and Eliz ^a Allison, of Burl.,			
Robt. Wright and Elizabeth Hierton,	9	3	1711
Ruth Lambert and Thos. Adams,	10	6	1711
Mahlon Stacy and Sarah Bainbridge,	3	1	1712
Benj. Fairman of Phila. and Susanna Field of this Mg.,	7	4	1712
Thos. Ridgway and Elizabeth Andrews dau. of Edw.,	9	6	1712
John Higby and Alice Andrews dau. of Mordeca,	9	6	1712
Jos. Lawrence of Shrusbury and Rachel Curtis widow,	10	5	1712
Jno. Cooper of New Town in the County of Glouster and Anne Clark dau. of Ben. & Anne Clarke,	1	5	171 $\frac{2}{3}$
Josiah Kay of s ^d New Town and Rebecca Davenport,	3	7	1713
Samuel Bunting Jr. and Mary Woolston of Burlington,			1713
Caleb Shreve and Mary Hunt of Burlington,	4	4	1713
Saml. Atkinson of Falls Meeting in Penna. & Ruth Beakes of this Meeting,	7	12	1714
Jas. Starky and Ruth Harrison,	9	4	1714
Jas. Lord of New Town in the Co. of Glouster & Elizabeth Clarke dau. of Benj. belonging to this Meeting,	1	3	171 $\frac{4}{5}$
Abraham Chapman and Susanna Olden,	9	3	1715
John Hodgson and Anne Whittacre,	7	6	1716

	M.	D.	M.
Robt. Rockhill, son of Edw. & Elizabeth Shinn dau. of Jno. of Burlington Meeting,	Nov	1	1716
Wm. Bunting, son of Jno. & Abigail Horseman dau. of Marmaduke of Freehold,	8	4	1716
Samuel Taylor, son of Saml. and Ann Folkes, dau. of Thos.,	9	1	1716
Jos. Reckless and Margaret Satterthwaite of Burlington,	9	1	1716
Jno. Wood and Susanna Furnis dau. of Saml. of Burlington,	9	1	1716
Geo. Nicholson and Alice Lord of New Town Glouster Co.,	4	6	1717
Saml. Danford and Mary Wright wid. of Jos.,	8	15	1717
Marmaduke Watson and Elizabeth Pancoast dau. of Will ^m , of Burlington,	12	6	1717
Saml. Shinn of Burlington and Sarah Scholey,	4	4	1718
Wm. Barraclif & Anne Burgis wid. of Saml.,	10	4	1718
Edmund Beatks & Anne Gilborthorpe,	1	5	1718
Jacob Large & Elizabeth Field,	4	4	1719
Saml. Stockton & Amy Doughty dau. of Jacob,	4	4	1719
Archibald Silver & Mary Cowgill dau. of Ralph & Susan,	2	7	1720
Rich ^d Harrison & Alice Steward,	3	5	1720
Thos. Scholey, son of Thos & Sarah, & Hannah Fowler, dau. of Jno. & Rose,	3	5	1720
Jonathan Shreve, son of Caleb & Hannah Hunt,	7	1	1720
Benj. Ellis & Mary Abbott,	9	3	1720
Joseph Rogers & Sarah Harrison,	3	4	1721
Nathan Allen & Martha Davenport,	5	6	1721
Gershom Shippey & Mary Cheshire,	9	2	1721
Thos. Johnson & Ann Woods,	9	2	1721
Robt. Field & Mary Taylor, dau. of Samuel & Susanna,	2	5	1722
Isaac Gibbs, Junr. & Mary Shreve,	2	5	1722

	M.	D.	Y.
Rich ^d Preston & Mary Williams,	2	5	1722
Thos. Folkes & Mary Pancoast (dau. of Jos.),	12	7	1722
Jno. Bunting & Alice Nicholson, widow,	1	7	172 $\frac{2}{3}$
W ^m Cook & Mary Clayton, widow,	2	4	1723
Jos. Thorn son of John & Sarah Folkes, dau. of Thos.,	3	2	1723
Thos. Coombs of or near Stony Brook & Mary Shippey,	8	3	1723
Jonathan Biles of Phila. & Anne Abbott Jun.,	8	3	1723
Jno. Watson & Hannah Marriott,	9	7	1723
Peter Harrison, son of Richard & Sarah Starky,	11	2	1723
Nathan Follwel, Jun ^r & Elizabeth Bullock,	1	5	172 $\frac{3}{4}$
Jno. Ogborn of Burlington & Sarah Shreve dau. of Caleb,	1	5	172 $\frac{3}{4}$
Thos. Newbold of Springfield tp. & Edith Coat dau. of Marmaduke of Burlington,	2	2	1724
W ^m Wood & Susanna Taylor Jr.,	3	7	1724
Jas. Paxton Buckingham, Penna. & Mary Horseman,	3	7	1724
Thos. Lambert & Mary Gardiner of Bur- lington,	2	30	1724
Edmund Beaks & Elizabeth Large of Phila.,	4	4	1724
Jno. Pancoast son of Jos. & Elizabeth Og- born of Burlington,	6	6	1724
Preserve Brown Junr. & Mary French,	7	3	1724
Giles Worth (son of Joseph) & Elizabeth Tantum (Dau. of Jno.),	8	1	1724
Jno. Severson & Margaret Wood,	9	5	1724
John Milborn & Elizabeth Chapman (dau. of Robert),	10	3	1724
Edw. Rockhil & Anne Clayton,	2	1	1725
Abraham Cowgill & Dorothy Turner,	2	1	1725
Saml Scholey & Avis Holloway,	3	6	1725
Abraham Larington & Phebe Bunting,	8	7	1725
Robt. Smith (son of Danl.) of Burl. & Eliza- beth Bacon (dau. of Jno. dec ^d),	9	4	1725

	M.	D.	Y.
Samuel Satterthwaite (son of W ^m) & Jane Osborn (dau. of Richard),	9	4	1725
Rich ^d Gibbs (son of Isaac) & Rebecca Cowgill (dau. of Ralph),	1	3	172 $\frac{5}{8}$
Edw. Page of Penna. & Rebecca Vanhagen,	3	5	1726
Jno. Antrum (son of Jas.) of Mansfield & Mary Garwood,	9	3	1726
Jos. Burs (son of Henry) & Jane Abbot (dau. of Jno.),	12	2	1726
Aaron Hews & Providence Worth (d. of Jos.),	3	4	1727
Jas. Clark (son of Benj.) & Hannah Middleton (dau. of Thos.).	3	4	1727
Saml. Robins (son of Aaron) & Margaret-Page (dau. of Jno. & Eliz ^a),	1	7	172 $\frac{7}{8}$
Francis King & Catharine Thorn (dau. of Jno. of Chesterfield),	3	2	1728
Jno. Quicksal (son of Wm.) & Elizabeth Robins (dau. of Aaron),	8	3	1728
Cornelius Clauson & Anne Burcham,	9	7	1728
W ^m Harrison (son of Richard) & Sarah Bullock, (dau. of Jno.),	11	2	1728
Wm. Shinn (son of John) of Springfield & Martha Shreve (dau. of Joshua),	11	2	1728
Joshua Wright (son of Joshua) & Thomasin Pancoast (dau. of Joseph),	2	3	1729
Benj. Shreve & Rebecca French	2	3	1729
Robt. Murbin (son of Wm.) & Sarah Wells (late of Shrewsbury),	7	4	1729
John Tantum, Jr. (son of Jno.) & Anne Davenport (dau. of Francis),	9	6	1729
Daniel Doughty (son of Jacob) & Anne Stevenson (dau. of Jno.),	11	3	1729
Thos. Biles (son of Wm. of Penna.) & Elizabeth Lambert (dau. of Thos.),	12	5	1729
Jno. Cheshire (son of John) & Sarah Wright (dau. of Thos.),	2	2	1730
Thomas Potts Jr. (not a Friend) & Sarah Beaks	7	3	1730

THREE GENERATIONS OF THE CLYMER FAMILY.

Christopher Clymer, of Bristol, England, and his wife Catherine (who was living July 8, 1734), had, besides other children, two sons who came to America.

1. Richard Clymer, m. Elizabeth —

William Clymer, whose will, naming his wife Margaret and his friend Chas. Willing executrix & executor, devises his property to his nephew William, son of his late brother Richard Clymer, dec^d., and to Daniel, son of the said William Clymer; to George, son of his late nephew Christopher Clymer, and to William, son of William Clymer of Bristol, Eng., was proven Philad^a., April 29, 1751. He was buried in Christ Ch. Ground, April 26, 1751, and his widow in the same place, March 29, 1781.

1. Richard Clymer, son of Christopher and Catherine Clymer, came to America with his wife Elizabeth prior to July 30, 1710. He was admitted a freeman of Philadelphia May 27, 1717, and then followed the trade of Blockmaker; this occupation he gradually expanded into a general shipping business, and in the course of years acquired a considerable fortune. His wife died in 1733, and was buried in Christ Church Ground, July 4th of that year. He was buried in the same place, August 17, 1734, and his will was proved two days later.

Issue:

2. John, bapt. July 30, 1710, aged 6 days, bn. Aug. 1710.
3. Christopher, bapt. Aug. 14, 1711, aged 3 days, m. Deborah Fitzab^{eth}.
4. Sarah, bapt. Sept. 30, 1713, aged 1 month, bn. May 19, 1714.
5. William, m. Ann Judith Roberdeau.

3. Christopher Clymer² (Rich^d), b. Phila., Aug. 11, 1711, m. Philada. Deborah, dau. of George Fitzwater. She was

buried in Frds. Grd., May 6, 1740. He was buried in Christ Church Ground, July 27, 1746.

Issue, two children.

6. Elizabeth, buried Feb. 16, 1739-40, in Friends' Grd.

7. George Clymer, b. 1739, m. Eliz. Meredith.

5. William Clymer² (Ric^{d1}) b. m. Philada. Christ Ch., Jan. 19, 1741/2, Ann Judith, 2nd dau. of Isaac Roberdeau, by his wife Mary Cunyngham, b. St. Christopher's, W. I., in 1725 or 6, and d. Morgantown, Berks Co., Penn^a., 1782. In 1745 commanded a Privateer, *N. Y. Post Boy*, April 1, 1745. He was lost at sea. For the descendants of Daniel Cunyngham Clymer, see the Roberdeau Family, by Roberdeau Buchanan.

Issue :

8. Richard, bapt. Jan. 8, 1743/4, aged 7 weeks, bn. Aug. 10, 1744.

9. Daniel Cunyngham, bn. April 6, 1748, bapt. July 2, 1748, m. Mary Weidner.

7. George Clymer³ (Chris.², Rich^{d1}) SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, b. Philada., 1739, m. Philada. Christ Ch., March 18, 1765, Elizabeth, dau. of Reese Meredith, who d. Northumberland, Pa., Feb., 1815. He d. Morrisville, Bucks Co., Jan. 23.

Issue :

10. William Coleman Clymer.

11. Julian Clymer.

12. Henry, b. July 31, 1767, m. Mary Willing.

13. Meredith Clymer was a memb. City Troop, and Nov. 18, 1794, on the Campaign against the Whiskey Insurgents.

14. Elizabeth.

15. Margaret, m. George McCall.

16. Ann, m. 1807, Charles Lewis. Died at Trenton, Aug., 1810.

17. George Clymer, m. Maria O'Brien.

9. Daniel Cunyngham Clymer³ (W^{m2}, Rich^{d1}) b. Philada., April 6, 1748, m. Mary, dau. of Peter and

Susan Weidner, of Berks Co., who d. Dec. 5, 1802, in her 40th year. He d. Reading, Jan. 25, 1810.

18. Anne, b. Reading, 1782, d. unm. Morgantown, Aug., 1852.

19. William, b. March 28, 1788, m. Susan Rightmeyer.

20. Edward Tilghman, b. Aug. 14, 1790, m. Maria C. Heister.

It is with extreme regret we announce the death of

MR. TOWNSEND WARD,

Secretary of the Trustees of the Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mr. Ward died August 13, 1885, in his 68th year. His death, which was very sudden, having been caused by a disease of the heart, was a great shock to his many friends, and a severe loss to the Historical Society. It would be difficult to enumerate the many services he rendered it. The Publication Fund owes its origin and success to his conception and devotion to its interests. At a meeting of the Council of the Society, a committee was appointed to prepare a memorial appreciative of his labors.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE ROUTE BETWEEN BETHLEHEM, PA., AND FAIRFIELD, CANADA.
—In January of 1801, the Moravian Mission Board requested Rev. John Heckewelder to prepare for them the best route to be taken between Bethlehem and the Indian mission at Fairfield, in Canada, as they were about to send an assistant missionary to that station in the spring. Heckewelder prepared two routes, to which he added valuable suggestions, as follows:

ROUTE No. I.

- 100 miles from Bethlehem to New York, by land.
- 160 " from New York to Albany, by vessel.
- 16 " to Schenectady, by land with wagon.
- 140 " to Fort Schuyler, by open boat up the Mohawk River.
- 2 " across the Carrying Place to Wood Creek.
- 140 " down Wood Creek, through Oneida Lake to Fort Ontario, by boat.
- 160 " up Lake Ontario to Newark and Fort Niagara, by boat.
- 7 " up Niagara River to the landing, by boat.
- 10½ " over the Great Carrying Place to Chippewa River, in wagon.
- 18 " to Fort Erie, where passengers take shipping for Detroit in British vessels or in open boats.
- 250 " to Detroit, cabin passage, two to three guineas.
- 80 " to Fairfield direct; 15 miles farther, if all the way by water.

1083½ miles from Bethlehem to Fairfield.

Remarks: Making allowances for delays occasioned by vessels not being ready, contrary winds, etc., the journey will be performed in 55 days. Granting 8 days delay on the whole, it may be performed in from 35 to 40 days. I have travelled it in less time.

Inconveniences attending this route:—Some danger in stormy weather in open boats on these lakes, and no going on shore when one has occasion for it. While the wind is fair no boat will put in shore through the whole day, and even frequently run all night,—yet on such occasions will put in towards evening, cook, and then go on again.

Conveniences attending this route:—No joggling of wagons, no danger of over-setting them, children and all ride easy, baggage convenient to hand, expenses less. Best manner of going safe in boats on the Lakes, is to be civil and friendly to the boatmen always, and to have some liquor along so as to serve out to them after a fatiguing spell, and to promise them that you will furnish them with a couple of gallons on their return home.

If this route should be decided upon, I should, for the sake of safety and to be sure of meeting with no disappointments, advise the following preparatory steps to be taken, viz.: Write to Henry Tenbrook on the

subject, and desire him to make inquiry whether the Schenectady boats carry passengers and baggage as usual between this place and Niagara? What a family would have to pay from Schenectady to the landing above Niagara Fort? Whether, if these boats only go to Fort Ontario, there be vessels there that sail backwards and forwards between these places; and next, to write to his correspondent at Schenectady, to make choice of a good, trusty boatman, and upon the whole to furnish the missionary with letters of introduction, as far as his connections reached, but above all at Schenectady.

ROUTE No. II.

310	miles to Pittsburgh by land.
68½	" Franklin "
39	" Le Bœuff "
13½	" Presque Isle "
200	" Presque Isle to Detroit in vessel thro' Lake Erie.
80	" Fairfield, 40 by water and 40 by land.

711 miles from Bethlehem to Fairfield.

Remarks: Were it practicable that loaded wagons could go through in the spring of the year, it would take them at least 5 weeks to perform the journey to Presque Isle. But from what I have seen and heard, I do not believe that even a five-horse team could go through at any rate, and with any kind of a load, without losing more or less horses, there being near 40 miles of road through an entire swamp, where the horses are continually up to their knees in the mud. To go by water in a boat from Pittsburgh to Le Bœuff takes 30 days, then there remains 13½ miles of the worst road.

Next is to be considered delays at Presque Isle, which may happen to be two, three, four or five weeks. Boarding and lodging very dear, 3 shillings per meal.

Inconveniences attending this route: Too many to enumerate.

Conveniences: None. Journey long; expenses great. J. W. J.

WHO LED THE FORLORN HOPE AT STONY POINT.—MY DEAR SIR,—The older I grow the more sceptical I become as to many *facts*, so-called, recorded in our histories of the American Revolution. A recent statement, said to have been made by Col. Grant, which has been published in many of our newspapers, viz., that his ancestor, or Captain Dent, led "The Forlorn Hope" when Wayne stormed Stony Point, does not surprise me; but perhaps General Wayne was in error when he made his official report of that event, in stating that Major Gibbon and Lieutenant Knox led the Forlorn Hope, and in praising their gallantry on that occasion. Wayne nowhere in his report mentions Captain Dent being present, or the remarkable feat performed by him as reported to have been narrated by his descendant.

Let me now give you another version of what did take place at the storming of Stony Point, as narrated by a distinguished soldier, Col. Allen McLane, of Lee's legion, to my father, some years after the war of 1812, in my presence. They were both seated in the hall of our residence, when an old soldier, Francis McDonald, who had served in the 7th Pennsylvania Continentals, and was employed by the government as a laborer at the United States Arsenal on the Schuylkill River, near Philadelphia, passed along by them. McLane exclaimed, turning towards my father, "Is that not Francis McDonald?" and rising, when

answered in the affirmative, passed over to where McDonald was, and greeted him most cordially. He afterwards stated that to McDonald Gibbon's party was indebted for their speedy entrance into the fort; that McDonald was noted not only for his bravery but also for his strength and activity; that, with the assistance of his comrades, he mounted the parapet, dropped down inside, and opened the gate, and let Gibbon and his men into the fort; that it was McDonald who struck the British flag, and not Col. Fleury, who got the credit of it; that Fleury met Francis as he was on his way to deliver the flag to the commanding officer, and took it from him; that all the reward McDonald got for his distinguished service was a leave of absence for three days from duty and whiskey "*ad libitum*."

An officer, who was not distinguished for his bravery in action, once remarked in a jocular way, "Let who will fight the battles, let me write the despatches."

Francis McDonald served bravely during the whole war. I remember well his intense race-hatred to the English nation, aggravated no doubt by his having a younger brother bayoneted to death at his side, when "No Flint Grey" surprised Wayne's troops near the Paoli.

The old man was drowned in the Schuylkill River, having walked off the wharf at the U. S. Arsenal on a dark night. He had reached his eighty-fourth year, and retained much of his early strength and activity.

Col. McLane was present at Stony Point, and could have no motive to misrepresent what occurred on that occasion.

W. A. I.

A COURT DINNER OF 1761.—The "Court Dinner Bill of 1752," published in the last number of the Magazine, reminds us that there is another bill of the same John Lawrence in our own possession, receipted by no less a personage than one who was some years later the famed and ill-fated Captain Nicholas Biddle. We give it in full as a companion to the one already published.

D. M^cN. STAUFFER.

June 9, 1761.

Mr. John Lawrence to Mary Biddle.		Dr.
To 1 Piece of Beef 7/, Gamon 6/6, calves head 2/6		£0.16. 0
To Veal 2/11, fish 7/, Ducks 5/, Lamb 4/		. 18.11
To Chickens 12/, Tongues 3/, Cabage 2/, Turnips 1/		. 18. 0
To Tarts 6/, Jellys 8/, Custard 3/, Whips 4/		1.01. 0
To Cucumbers 4/, Potatoes 9d, Peas 3/6, Butter 9/		. 17. 6
To Strawberry 2/6, Cherries 2/, Pudings 12/, Bread 1/4		17.10
Dressing		2.10. 0
		£7.19. 3
4 Bottles of wine @ 4/6.		. 18.
3 do Claret 15/, Bristol Beer 8/, Punch 12/,		1.15.
		£10.12.3

June 9, 1761. Rec^d the above Contents
Nicholas Biddle.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES IN 1756.—From the "Expense Book" of a Philadelphia house-keeper, for the year 1756, the following items and their cost are taken: Looking-glass, 6s.6d., 2 Sieves, 3s.9., Garden Water Pot, 7s.6., 1 Copy Langen's Latin Grammar, 4s.3., 2 Padlocks, 2s., Writing book bound in leather, 10s., Indian broom 4d., ½ doz Coat & 2 doz Vest buttons, 5s.4., Fustian, 4s.6. per yard, 1 yard Buckram, 2s., 1 qt. Molasses, 7d., Coffee, 9d., Tea, 6s.3., Butter, 8d., 1 peck of oysters, 8d., Sausages, 7d.,

Loin Veal, 3.8., Chocolate, 1.3., 1 Bottle Rum, 11d., 1 quire Writing Paper, 1.4., Ink Powders, 1.1., Watermelon, 4d., 1 Bbl. Beer, 5.3., 1 Stick Wax, 16d., Washwoman's wages, 1s., 2 Butter, 1.2., Sweeping two chimneys, 1.3., Dying & cleaning pair breeches, 2s., 1 deer skin for breeches, £1., 4 Strings Mohair, 1.8., 1½ yds. Linen, 2.4.

HINMAN'S PURITAN SETTLERS OF CONNECTICUT.—The first volume of this valuable work was published a number of years ago, but the second never appeared. The manuscript which its author, the Hon. Ralph R. Hinman, had prepared, together with other valuable notes, was presented to the New England Historic Genealogical Society by him shortly before his death. The papers were not in a condition to be examined by students, and for years they have remained in the fire-proof of the society. They have lately been placed in the hands of the Rev. Anson Titus, of Amesbury, Essex Co., Mass., for arrangement. While in his custody he will be happy to answer the calls of genealogists and historians for examination and transcribing upon reasonable terms.

PROFESSOR EDWARD E. SALISBURY, of New Haven, Conn., with aid from a few family friends, has "privately" printed a volume of Family Memorials, consisting of genealogical and biographical monographs on the families of SALISBURY, ALDWORTH-ELBRIDGE, SEWALL, PYLDREN-DUMMER, WALLEY, QUINCY, GOOKIN, WENDELL, BREESE, CHEVALIER-ANDERSON and PHILLIPS. It is a volume (one volume in two, on account of its size) of about 700 pages, 4to. A few copies only, out of a small edition, are now offered for sale, in cloth, bevelled boards, gilt tops, at \$20 per copy, which does not exceed the cost of printing, engraving, and binding.

A few copies of the pedigrees, by themselves, are offered at \$7.50 for the set, the cost of these having been large in proportion to the rest of the volume.

TO THE DESCENDANTS OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—The undersigned is compiling a genealogical work to be entitled "The Signers of the Declaration of Independence and their Descendants." The book will comprise the descendants of each one of the fifty-six "signers" down to the present day. All descendants of the "signers" are requested to communicate with the undersigned at an early day; and all others having knowledge of any descendants as aforesaid are requested to forward names and post-office addresses.

FRANK WILLING LEACH,
2211 Spruce Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DAVIS FAMILY.—Major Charles L. Davis, U. S. Army (present address, Fort Union, New Mexico), will be glad to receive information regarding the Davis family of the Chester Valley, Pa. His grandfather, General John Davis, whose remains lie in the cemetery of the Great Valley Presbyterian Church of Chester County, was an Associate Judge of Chester County, Pa., and a captain in the Continental army of the Revolution, and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, and resided at Howellville, near Paoli, Pa., on an estate inherited from his father, Isaac Davis, who was a justice under the reign of George III. Isaac had an elder sister, Elizabeth, and younger sister, Sarah, and brother Llewellyn, of Charlestown (Pickering), Chester Co., who married, first, Elizabeth Lewis, and second, widow Magdalene Howell. The father of Isaac, from whom he inherited, was Llewellyn, who had elder

brother, William, of Radnor, elder brother, Thomas, of Tredyffrin, and younger brothers, James and John, who settled in Tredyffrin. Information of the antecedents and descendants of these five brothers is requested, and in return similar information will be given.

SEPULTURE OF GREENE AND PULASKI.—Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., has lately published his investigations regarding the resting-places of Generals Greene and Pulaski, and of the monuments erected to their memory at Savannah, Ga. The resting-place of Greene, he shows, had passed from the memory of man as early as 1820, and no evidence has since come to light which points to its location. It is not now likely, Colonel Jones thinks, that it will ever be discovered. Pulaski, he proves beyond question, died of his wounds on board of the American brig *Wasp* on the way to Charleston, and was buried at sea, or rather at the mouth of the Savannah River. The remains which rest beneath the monument to his memory, at Savannah, are those of some unknown individual.

ESTARBROOK FAMILY.—Mr. W. B. Estarbrook, of Ithaca, New York, is compiling a Genealogy of the Estarbrook Family, descendants of Rev. Joseph and Thomas Estarbrook respectively, who came from Enfield, Middlesex, England, to Concord, Massachusetts, in 1660. Facts in regard to any branch of the family are solicited.

WELLS, HAMMOND, AND TALLMAN FAMILIES.—Miss M. J. Roe, of Zanesville, Ohio, will be glad to receive information regarding the above-named families.

LAFAYETTE AT BRANDYWINE.—A correspondent writes that: "on a recent visit to West Chester, while in conversation with several of the oldest inhabitants of that borough I was informed that the exact spot is known where General Lafayette was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine, it having been pointed out by him when visiting the grounds in 1824. The gentlemen also told me it was proposed to erect a suitable monument on the spot."

THE MUSEUM, a magazine under the editorial management of Edwin A. Barber, and devoted to the interests of young naturalists and collectors of all classes, has been combined with *The American Antiquarian*, edited by Rev. Stephen D. Peet, of Clinton, Mississippi. The editor of *The Museum* will edit a new department in *The American Antiquarian*, which will be called "The Museum." Subscribers to the last-named magazine will receive for the expiration of their present subscription copies of *The American Antiquarian*.

FAMILIES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.—Biographical, Genealogical, and Historical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Luzerne County, Pa. By George B. Kulp. In two volumes. Wilkes-Barre, 1885. 8vo, pp. 504.

In this volume we have in book form the first instalment of the series of biographical sketches of the members of the Luzerne County Bar, which have appeared from time to time, since 1881, in the *Luzerne Legal Register*. They are given in the order of professional seniority; and recent as the date is at which the publication of the sketches was begun, death has since removed the three whose names then stood at the head of the list,—namely, James Augustus Gordon, Hendrick Bradley Wright, and Ebenezer Warren Sturdevant.

The sketches, as the title implies, are more than mere biographical essays. In many instances extensive genealogical records of the subject are given. The ancestry of not a few is thus traced to early settlers of the country,—to those who came from Connecticut, and purchased land under the claim which that colony endeavored to establish to the northern portion of our State, and to others who emigrated from our older southern counties. A valuable contribution to our local historical literature is the result. The author believes that it is the first attempt which has been made here to give the biographical history of the bench and bar of a county. From the showing of the book it is evident that that of Luzerne County is a theme deserving of the labor which has been expended upon its record. We have here sketches of Ex-Governor Hoyt, Gen. Edmund Lovell Dana, Hendrick B. Wright, Judge Woodward, Steuben Jenkins, and a number of genealogical records embracing those of the oldest families of that section of our State. It is the latter, and the historical incidents which are woven into them, that give the book its chief value, and in which we have found the greatest interest. We think it would have been better had the author refrained from touching upon some subjects which do not belong to the character of his work, but with this exception there are few blemishes in it other than those incident to the plan upon which it is prepared. To write of the living is always a difficult task. No matter how brilliant the bench and bar of a district may be, it is impossible to suppose that there are not some members of the one or the other that it would be charitable to designate as failures, and many young men who in the first few years of their professional life have not risen to eminence. To speak truly of the former would be cruel, and when the genealogical records of the latter are exhausted in recording the services of older members of their families, there is little left in their careers to interest the public. When therefore it is necessary to write of *all*, a spirit of eulogy is apt to pervade the whole which destroys the relative estimation in which the several members should be held. Mr. Kulp has, however, acquitted himself with tact. He has always written in a kindly spirit, and his book shows a great deal of labor and industry. He has done for the Bar of Luzerne County a great service. The volume will always be an authority, and we shall be glad to see more of the same kind from other counties.

INDIAN LOCAL NAMES, WITH THEIR INTERPRETATIONS. By Stephen G. Boyd, York, Pa. 8vo, pp. 70.

In the compilation of this work of about seven hundred and fifty Indian names, to be found scattered over the United States, of rivers, streams, and localities, with their significations, Mr. Boyd has made considerable researches; and, furthermore, "has rejected all definitions known to be merely conjectural in their character, and received even traditional ones with extreme caution." They are alphabetically arranged and concise in signification. More space is devoted to "Tioga" than to any name in the collection, but we must differ with the compiler as to its location. We apprehend that the copyist of "Memorandum of the Names and Significations which the Lenni Lennape, otherwise called the Delawares, had given to rivers, streams, places, etc. (Bulletin Historical Society of Pennsylvania, v. p. 121), failed to follow the original manuscript of Heckewelder closely when he gives the location of Tioga as "where the east and west branches of the Susquehanna form a junction," for Prof. W. C. Reichel, who in 1872 edited for the Moravian Historical Society the same manuscript, gives the note of the missionary appended to the name in full, from which we quote: "Land lying within the forks of the Tioga

[Chemung River] and the North Branch of the Susquehanna." As early as 1745, Moravian missionaries passed through the "Gates of Tioga" to enter the country of the Six Nations; and during the time Heckewelder was an assistant in the mission at Wyalusing, on the upper Susquehanna, twenty-five years later, it was still obligatory on the missionaries or their converts, when summoned to Onondaga, to stop at Tioga and inform the "sentinel" (a chief) there of the object of their journey. As the subject of Mr. Boyd's book is of growing interest, it should meet with ready sale, it being difficult to obtain elsewhere the information it contains. But a limited edition has been published, and copies can be obtained only of him. Price \$1.25 to any address.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY, PA.—Under this title the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden has published in the *Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society* a list of works treating in any way of the history of the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. Full titles are given of every publication of this character which has come under his notice, no matter how ephemeral. The titles of one hundred and ninety-seven books and one hundred and sixteen newspapers are given. The work bears evidence of having had considerable labor expended on it, and will prove indispensable to any one studying the history of the Wyoming Valley.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., COURT-HOUSE.—The Report of the Commissioners on Decorations and Improvements of the Providence Court-House has been published, and with it two interesting addresses upon the subjects of the historical paintings which adorn the walls of the building. These were delivered when the members of the General Assembly of the State inspected the work of the Commissioners. The first, by the Hon. John H. Stiness, was on "The Return of Roger Williams with the First Charter of the Colony, in 1644;" the second, by General Horatio Rogers, on "The Importance of the Charter of 1643-4." A poem by the Rev. Frederick Denison, delivered on the same occasion, is also given.

DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS.—The Commemorative Discourses in Observance of the Centennial Year of the Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, A.D. 1885, have been published by order of the Convention. The first is on "The History of the English Church in the Colony or Province of Massachusetts Bay," by the Rev. Frederick Courtney, S.T.D., rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston; the second is on "The First Three Bishops of the Diocese," by George C. Shattuck, M.D.; the third is on "The First Century of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese," by the Rt. Rev. Benjamin H. Paddock, D.D., bishop of the diocese. Together these excellent essays form a contribution to the history of Episcopalianism in Massachusetts, which will be read by many with interest. It is beautifully printed, and can be had for the small price of seventy-five cents. Cap 4to, 128 pp.

CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD [CHARLES] MONTAGUE WITH GENERAL MOULTRIE IN 1781.—Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay, of Charleston, S. C., has had printed in beautiful style, on Holland paper, a small edition of the Correspondence of Lord Montague with General Moultrie, then a prisoner, in which the former endeavors to persuade the latter to quit the American service and go with him to Jamaica to command a British regiment. The letters were printed in Moultrie's Memoirs, but the scarcity of this work has made them accessible to but few. The sen-

timents expressed in Moultrie's answer to Lord Montague, says Mr. Courtenay, "illustrate vividly the triumph of the lofty mind and patriotic heart of the prisoner of war over his captor."

This little "edition de luxe" has been prepared for private circulation among friends and correspondents.

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—We have received from this institution the sixth volume of the Catalogue of its library. It is a handsome octavo of 820 pages, published according to an act of the Legislature, prepared by Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Isabel Durrie, assistant. It contains the titles, with cross-references of books and pamphlets received since the publication of the former volume, August 1, 1881, at which time the total number in the library was about ninety-four thousand. Since that date the number has been increased to one hundred and five thousand. From this Catalogue it is evident that through the aid extended to the Society by the State nearly all of the important works relating to the local and general history of the country published during the last four years have been secured, as well as many of earlier issue. In these branches few libraries can make so creditable an exhibit. In newspapers the library is especially rich, seven pages of the Catalogue being devoted to their titles, upwards of forty of which appear on a single page.

THE "FALL" OF THE YEAR.—The general American use of the word *Fall* instead of the word *Autumn*, to denote the third season of the year, has attracted much attention. The word *Autumn* is so commonly used in England that some have supposed that the word *Fall*, in this sense, is an original Americanism. This is, however, an error, for it is certain that the terms *Fall* and *Fall of the Leaf* have long been used on the other side of the Atlantic to denote the Autumn. The interesting question as to why *Autumn* should here be discarded and *Fall* adopted remains to be answered. The object of this note is to call attention to some facts tending to show that the autumnal season was called "the Fall of the Leaf" by the numerous Scottish settlers in East New Jersey in the seventeenth century. It is well known that East New Jersey was to a large extent a Scottish colony, and that the emigrants from Scotland had great influence in the government and legislation of that province. In March, 1683, the General Assembly of East New Jersey passed a Militia Act, providing "that there shall be four days in a year for training or mustering, two in the Spring and two in the *Fall of the Leaf*." These words are repeated in an explaining act passed by the same authority in October, 1693. (See Leaming and Spicer, pp. 277, 331.) That the Autumn was called "the Fall of the Leaf" in Scotland is shown by the following reference in Sir Walter Scott's novel of "The Black Dwarf." In the tenth chapter of that work will be found a conversation between two Scottish characters, who speak the dialect of the country. In the forty-third paragraph of the chapter cited, Mrs. Elliot says to Hobbie Elliot, "Jack Howden died o' the very same disorder Elshie pretended to cure him of, about the *fa' o' the leaf*." This passage is certainly good authority for the phrase "Fall of the Leaf," being in popular use in Scotland. It seems safe to infer from the foregoing citations, taken together, that the general use of *Fall* for *Autumn* in East New Jersey is, in a great measure at least, due to Scottish influences. Such being the case, the general American usage in question may be partially accounted for by the emigration from Scotland to various parts of the United States. It is, of course, not intended to be maintained

that the *Autumn* was not called *Fall* in England. Worcester, in his dictionary, gives quotations from Raleigh, Dryden, and William Penn, in which *Fall* is used for *Autumn*, and adds that the word has a restricted or provincial use in that sense in England. Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs, it has been said, also contain a like example. B. C.

Queries.

JOHANNES MOELICH (OR MÖLICH).—A. D. Mellick, Jr., of Nyack, New York, is desirous of obtaining information regarding Johannes Moelich from the time of his arrival in America, May 29, 1735, until 1751, at which time he erected a substantial stone house in Bedminster township, Somerset Co., N. J.,—after which time he has his record complete. He was born Oct. 28, 1702; his wife, Mariah Katrina Kirberger, was born Jan. 9, 1699. They had four children,—Aaron, b. Oct. 17, 1725; Fanny, b. Dec. 19, 1727; Andrew, b. Dec. 12, 1729; and Mariah, b. Dec. 5, 1733. He emigrated from Bendorf, on the Rhine (near Mölich). It is supposed his family came with him, as the name of Andrew appears in the list of boys under sixteen years of age who came over in the same ship he did (see Rupp's 30,000 names, pp. 93-99). The name of his eldest son for some reason does not appear on the list, but it is known he came to America, and was a person of some importance in Bedminster. Information is also wanted of John Peter Moelich, who arrived in the "Mortonhouse," on August 28, 1728.

INFORMATION is wanted regarding the brothers, sisters, parents, and ancestors of Hon. William Stone, third Proprietary Governor of Maryland. He was born in England about 1605; emigrated from London; settled in Northampton County, Va.; was high sheriff of that county, and named it; and was appointed Governor of Maryland by Lord Baltimore August 6, 1648. His ancestors lived in Northamptonshire, England.

BARCLAY WHITE.

Mount Holly, N. J.

MOMPESSON, ROGER, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania in 1706, afterwards resided in New York, and married a daughter of Chief Justice Pinhorne. Information as to his descendants wanted by

CHARLES P. KEITH,

N. W. corner 10th & Chestnut Streets, Phila.

OWEN, EVAN, Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania. Information as to his descendants wanted by

CHARLES P. KEITH.

FRENCH, COL. JOHN, of Delaware, who was a Councillor of Pennsylvania before 1733. Information as to his descendants wanted by

CHARLES P. KEITH.



BRITISH GRENADIER.

(From a drawing, after the original, in the possession of Mr. Charles J. Wister, of Germantown.)

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RELIGIOUS TESTS IN PROVINCIAL PENNSYLVANIA.¹

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

No provisions of the Constitution of the United States are more familiar to us and more clearly express the universal sentiment of the American people, or are in more perfect harmony with the historic consciousness of the nation, than those which forbid the National Government to establish any form of religion or to prescribe any religious test as a qualification for office held under its authority. Almost every other general principle of government embodied in that instrument has been discussed and argued about, and its application in particular cases resisted and questioned, until the intention of those who framed it seems lost in the Serbonian bog of controversy, yet no one has ever denied the rightfulness of the principle of religious liberty laid

¹ A paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at a meeting held November 9, 1885.

down in the Constitution, and, so far as I know, only one instance has occurred in our history (that presented by the question concerning the polygamous marriages of the Mormons, claimed by them to be religious, but declared by the laws of the United States to be criminal) in which it has become necessary for the Supreme Court of the United States to determine judicially what are the bounds of the religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution. In that case (*Reynolds vs. the United States*, 98 Supreme Court Reports) CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE thus defines these boundaries:

“Laws are made for the government of actions, and while they cannot interfere with men’s religious belief and opinions, they may with the practice. Suppose one religiously believed that human sacrifices were a necessary part of religious worship, would it be seriously contended that the civil government could not interfere to prevent a sacrifice? To permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land. Government could exist only in name under such circumstances.”

It is clear, then, that there are bounds to religious liberty, even under the Constitution and laws of the United States. The line must be drawn somewhere, and the Supreme Court has drawn it, for the present at least, at the point where the religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution is invoked to justify polygamy and human sacrifices.

It is a curious and significant fact, showing the hearty general concurrence of the American people in these provisions, that while the Constitution of the United States does not prohibit the different States from establishing any form of religion and imposing such religious tests as each may deem proper, yet in point of fact, during the last hundred years, no form of religion has ever been established by the authority of any one of the States. Religious tests for office are as unknown under our State as under our National Government, although in many of the State Constitutions there is a reverent recognition of Almighty God as the founder of all human governments.

We are so familiar in these days with the practical applica-

tion of this principle of religious liberty that we are apt to forget that up to the period when it was guaranteed by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States it had never been recognized by law-makers as one of those so-called indefeasible natural rights of man in society, such as the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, for the protection of which human governments have been chiefly designed. Of all the novel and untried experiments made by our fathers in the scheme of national government which they adopted, none was so untried and novel as this.

Theorists, especially in the eighteenth century, had talked much about religious liberty, and many philosophic writers had portrayed the evils of intolerance, and of persecution for the sake of religious opinion, as shown by the experience of mankind; but for the first time in the history of the world the framers of our National Constitution laid it down as a fundamental principle of government, that here there should be a perpetual divorce between the National Government and every form of religious establishment, and that while every man should be at liberty to express and maintain his religious opinions, those opinions should not abridge or enlarge his rights or capacity as a citizen.

What the result of the constant recognition ever since of these principles has been here it is certainly not necessary to enlarge upon. We may be permitted, however, to point with justifiable pride to the effect of our example on other nations. If the practice of universal toleration be, as Lord Brougham called it, "the noblest innovation of modern times," we must not forget that the signal for this great revolution came from this country, and that our success has made the practical application of a doctrine untried until we adopted it, because it was universally regarded as a highly dangerous theory, one of the most admirable and beneficial instruments of government ever employed for ruling mankind. This country has made at least two grand contributions to modern civilization,—the peculiarly American ideas of civil liberty and religious liberty. Both of these ideas found embodiment for the first time in history in our

national declarations and laws, and they found place there principally through the energy and philosophic insight of one man,—Thomas Jefferson. These ideas have become the most fruitful of all our political doctrines, and have gone forth from us to mould, for good or for evil, the destinies of the world.

It is important for the purpose we have in hand that we should recognize distinctly the difference between religious liberty and religious toleration. What is novel and peculiar about our system is that it establishes in its widest sense religious liberty, and that it provides for its maintenance sanctions and guarantees of the same binding force as those by which life, liberty, and property are secured, such as trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, and the provisions in regard to the obligation of contracts. What, then, is religious liberty as understood and practised here for nearly a hundred years under the protection of law? "It consists in the right guaranteed by the laws of a country to each one of its citizens to maintain and propagate any religious opinion or celebrate any form of religious worship he may think proper, provided it is not in conflict with the fundamental ideas upon which the civil community is based. It includes protection for worship and property, and recognizes the right of religious association for such objects." The first enactment of this principle into a law on this continent is found in the Constitution of Pennsylvania of 1776, and shortly afterwards in the "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom," adopted by the General Assembly of Virginia in October, 1777. This bill was drafted by Mr. Jefferson. It provides "that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief, but that all men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities."

Religious liberty thus defined excludes, of course, any

idea of a State or Established Church. Religious toleration, on the contrary, presupposes the existence of such a Church. The theory that the Church and the State are only two aspects of the same body politic (commonly called the Erastian theory) had prevailed generally in the Christian world, Catholic and Protestant, from the time of the Emperor Constantine down to that of the American Revolution. Heresy was made a crime against the State by the Roman Emperor, punishable, as other crimes, by the civil authority. So closely, indeed, were the State and the Church identified in Europe, that for fifteen hundred years to the orthodox Christian believer the heretic was worse than a foreign enemy; he was a revolted subject. Previous to the great revolution, however, which rent asunder the Church in the sixteenth century, the penalties against heresy were chiefly employed to punish defections from the faith, and as a means to restore to the bosom of the Church those who had erred. After the Reformation, a long and bloody experience taught both statesmen and churchmen that it was impossible to make men change their religious opinions by force or by the operation of penal laws. The people of Northern and Western Europe were permanently divided in their religious opinions, and it became more and more clear every day that an impassable barrier separated the populations of the different countries, which no fear of Church censures or of the penalties denounced by the State against heresy could ever bridge over.

Under these circumstances the penal laws against heresy in each country were employed for a purpose different from that for which they had been previously used. Conversion or restoration to the faith was no longer the main object. The doctrine, *cujus regio ejus religio*, that the religion of each country should be that of its ruler, Catholic or Protestant, became the prevalent one after the Reformation. This gave the power or made it the duty of the Chief of the State to prescribe for his people the religious belief and worship to which they should conform. This was not done, primarily or chiefly at least, because uniformity of belief was essential

to a due obedience of God's command, although of course such was the pretext, but rather because, as the history of that age clearly shows us, opposition to the religion of the State was the rallying-cry of those who were in rebellion against the authority of the ruler, civil as well as ecclesiastical. The laws against heresy, therefore, were used as a chief support of existing dynasties. Conformity was the test of loyalty. Non-conformity was evidence not only of heresy, but of disloyalty also. Dissenters were punished by the severest civil disabilities; indeed, they became practically aliens in their own country. In the civil and religious wars in France during the last half of the sixteenth century, in the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and to a great extent in the war of the rebellion in England, while the struggle was apparently to decide who should be the civil ruler of these countries, it was understood on all hands that the victorious party would impose its own religious creed and worship on the vanquished, and treat all subdued rebels as confirmed heretics. Of course in those days no one believed in the principle of religious toleration, still less had any one a conception of religious liberty. In this respect the Reformers and the Catholics stood on the same ground. While the Pope excommunicated Henry IV., Queen Elizabeth, and the leaders of the Reformation in Germany, Luther invoked the civil sword against the Anabaptists; Calvin burned Servetus; Cranmer burned Jane Boucher; Parker and Whitgift persecuted the Puritans; and if Cartwright, the first English Presbyterian, had been in their place, he would doubtless have persecuted in the same way the Baptists and Independents.

It was found impossible, however, to make men loyal by forcing upon them subscription to religious creeds distasteful to them, just as it had proved a hopeless task to make them religious by threats of persecution and martyrdom. It became therefore necessary throughout Northern and Central Europe, if there was to be any peace in communities hopelessly divided in religious belief, to recognize, however unwillingly, this fact, and to adopt some policy of gov-

ernment which should meet the difficulties presented by it. It was decided not to give up the theory of the State Church as rightfully claiming the allegiance of all persons in the community, but to allow to Dissenters from it as little toleration for their peculiar forms of belief and worship as might be consistent with the safety and supremacy of the State religion, in which it was supposed that the peace and safety of the State government were involved. The grant of this limited toleration was a necessity born of the peculiar conditions of each country, and we find examples of it in such well-known acts as the Edict of Nantes, issued by Henry IV. in 1598, in those articles of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 which gave a certain restricted toleration to Protestants in the Catholic States of Germany, and especially in the famous Act (strangely called an act of toleration) of the first year of William and Mary in England, in 1689, the first Toleration Act in that country, which exempted, on certain conditions, Dissenters from the Church of England (but not including in those exemptions Roman Catholics, Socinians, or Jews) from the penalties and disabilities imposed by the laws against non-conformity.

I have given this slight historical sketch of the relations between the governments of the different countries in Europe from which our fathers came, and Christianity as variously organized in those countries during the seventeenth century, in order to show how little encouragement their example and practice gave to those statesmen who embodied the principle of religious liberty in our Constitution. Everywhere was found a State or Established religion, and everywhere (except, perhaps, in Holland) civil disabilities were imposed upon those who dissented from it. It is, of course, well known that the intolerable burdens which they suffered from the laws against non-conformity formed the chief motive which induced most of the emigrants, especially the English, to seek for quiet homes on these shores; and yet it is equally well known that notwithstanding the bitter experience which so many of the exiles had had of the evils of an established religion in their native lands, and

the sacrifices which they had made to escape from them, the history of this country during the Colonial period shows that some form of religion, dissent from which involved serious civil disabilities, was established in nearly all of the Colonies by virtue of either the local or the imperial law. The principle of a State or Established religion, so far at least as it made the full enjoyment of a man's civil rights dependent in a good degree upon his conformity to it, prevailed, with the exception of a limited period during the early days, throughout the Colonies from the settlement of Virginia in 1609 down to the period of the American Revolution; and such was the case notwithstanding the principles and the example of such great founders as Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, and William Penn, of whose beneficent legislation in regard to religious toleration our Colonial codes at the time of the Revolution bore scarcely a trace. The truth is that during the Colonial period we were essentially a nation of Protestants, with fewer discordant elements outside Protestantism than were then to be found in any country of Europe, and that we, forced to do so, either by our own earnest conviction that such was the true method of supporting religion, or by the laws of the mother-country, took similar methods of maintaining and perpetuating our Protestantism, excluding those who dissented from it from any share in the government, and frankly adopting the policy which had prevailed in England from the time of Queen Elizabeth.

It seems strange that in a country and during a period when the slightest symptom of an encroachment on the part of the Crown or the Parliament upon what we claimed as our civil rights was jealously watched and warmly protested against, there should seem to have been no outspoken opposition of a general nature against ecclesiastical arrangements such as those I have described. There were, it is true, in some of the Colonies, especially New York, at times, "ineffectual murmurings" against laws which forced people to pay taxes for the support of a ministry whose teachings were not in harmony with the religious sentiment

of the great mass of the inhabitants, and in Pennsylvania there was a long and at last a successful struggle to induce the Imperial Government to regard the affirmation of a Quaker as equivalent to the oath of another man; but if there were any men in our Colonial history who, after the example of Williams, Penn, and Lord Baltimore, lifted up their voices to protest, as these men had done, against the violation of the principle of religious liberty here, I have not been able to discover their names. The only subject of a quasi-ecclesiastical nature which appears to have excited general interest and to have met with determined opposition was a scheme at one time said to have been in contemplation of sending Bishops to this country. It was opposed, not so much because it was thought to be the first step towards forming a Church establishment in this country, as because the Colonists had a peculiar abhorrence of the methods of enforcing the jurisdiction of the English Church as they were familiar to them in the old country. While the Colonists may have forgotten many of the sufferings which they had endured in England in consequence of their non-conformity, and even committed themselves to a theory of Church establishment, there was one thing they never could forget, and that was the arbitrary prelatial government of Laud and the High Commission, and upon this were founded the popular notions of the authority wielded by Bishops.

From all this it would appear that Mr. Jefferson and his contemporaries, when they sought, at the beginning of the Revolution, to embody in fundamental laws the principle of absolute religious liberty, found as little in the history of the Colonies as in that of Europe to encourage them to hope for success in their experiment.

I am well aware that these statements of the general prevalence of a principle here during the Colonial period, which in contrast to that now universally recognized I must call the principle of religious intolerance, will appear to many too wide and sweeping. But a very slight examination of the provisions on this subject in the laws of the

Colonies will, if I mistake not, produce a different impression. In Virginia, where the English Church was early established by law and endowed, men who neglected or refused to bring their children to be baptized were punished by civil penalties; Quakers were expelled from the Colony, and should they return thither a third time they were liable to capital punishment. Any one who denied the Trinity or the truth of the Christian religion was deprived by the Act of 1704 of his civil rights, and was rendered incapable of suing for any gift or legacy. In New England, except in Rhode Island, religious intolerance was very bitter. It is true that in Massachusetts, under the Charter of 1691, the power of committing those barbarous acts of persecution of which the theocracy under the old standing order had been guilty was taken away, and all Christians, save Roman Catholics, were permitted to celebrate their worship, yet none but members of the Congregational Church could be freemen, and all were taxed for the support of the ministry of that Church. In Maine, which was a District of Massachusetts, in New Hampshire, and in Connecticut the same general system of religious intolerance prevailed. Conformity was the inflexible rule throughout New England. In New York, the Dutch were protected by the provisions of the Treaty of Breda, which guaranteed them the possession of the property then held there for religious purposes, and their ecclesiastical organization. But the royal Governors of that Province expelled any Catholic priests who might be found within their territory, on the plea that they were inciting the Indians to revolt against the government, and they established the English Church, so far as it could be done in a Province where the Episcopalians were very few in number, by requiring each of the towns to raise money for the support of the clergy of that Church, by dividing the country into parishes, and by exercising the power of collating and inducting into these parishes such Episcopal Rectors as they thought fit. In New Jersey, after the surrender of the Charter, when the Colony came directly under the royal authority, in 1702, liberty of conscience was

proclaimed in favor of all except Papists and Quakers; but as the latter were required to take oaths as qualifications for holding office or for acting as jurors or witnesses in judicial proceedings, they, of course the great mass of the population, were practically disfranchised. But the story of the arbitrary measures taken by the Governor of this Colony, Lord Cornbury, to exclude from office or the control of public affairs all except those who conformed to the Church of England is too well known to need to be retold here. In Maryland the English Church was established in 1696, and one of the first acts of the newly-organized Province was to disfranchise those very Catholics and their children by whom the doctrine of religious liberty had been established in the law of 1649. In Carolina, after the fanciful and impracticable Constitution devised for it by the celebrated philosopher John Locke had been given up, by which the English Church had been established and endowed in the Colony, the Church feeling was so strong and the determination to secure its supremacy so unyielding, that an Act was passed in 1704 requiring all members of the Assembly to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Georgia, following the example of her elder sisters, gave free exercise of religion to all except Papists, and such rights in this respect as any native-born Englishman at that time possessed; a grant, as we have seen, of very doubtful value to English non-conformists, then ruled by the tender mercies of the Toleration Act.

The result of this review is to show that in all the Colonies I have named, except perhaps Rhode Island, liberty of worship was the rule, excepting, of course, in the case of the Roman Catholics. Throughout the Colonies, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the man who did not conform to the established religion of the Colony, whether it was Congregationalism in New England, or the Episcopal form elsewhere, was not in the same position in regard to the enjoyment of either civil or religious rights as he who did conform. If he were a Roman Catholic, he was everywhere wholly disfranchised. For him there was not even the legal

right of public worship. If he were a Protestant differing in his creed from the type of Protestantism adopted by the rulers, although he could freely celebrate in nearly all the Colonies his peculiar form of worship, he was nevertheless excluded from any share in public affairs. He could neither vote nor hold office, and he was forced to contribute to the support of a religious ministry whose teachings he in his heart abhorred. And this condition of things, extraordinary as it seems to us now, had not been brought about by any conscious, arbitrary despotism on the part of the rulers, but was the work of good but narrow-minded men who were simply following out the uniform practice of the Christian world, and who no doubt honestly thought that in so acting they were doing the highest service by obeying the will of God.

I have grouped together these accounts of the various civil disabilities under which dissenters from the legally established religion suffered in the different Colonies, in order to compare them with the Provincial legislation in Pennsylvania on the same subject. Of whatever sins of intolerance our forefathers in this Province may have been guilty (and I shall show presently that they were many), they were certainly not of the same nature as those of their neighbors. Here, no men or women were ever burned because they were heretics, or expelled from our territory because they were schismatics. We never punished any one on account of his speculative opinions, or because he did not conform to the rites and usages of any form of religion. We had no established Church here, whose clergy was supported by general taxation. In every period of our history we permitted the celebration here of the rites of any form of Christianity, even that of the Roman Catholics, for it is said by Hildreth, the historian, that the Catholic Church of St. Joseph in this city was the only place in the original thirteen States where the mass was permitted to be publicly celebrated prior to the Revolution. All this is true; and yet it is equally true that no one ever held office in this Province, whether under the Crown or the Proprietary, from 1693 to

1775, who was not by law required, as an indispensable condition precedent, to make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his religious faith (which he confirmed by his oath or affirmation), in which he asserted that he did not believe that in the Holy Eucharist there was any transubstantiation, at any time or in any way, of the bread and wine used therein, and that he regarded the invocation of the Virgin Mary and of the saints as superstitious, and the Popish mass as idolatrous. For many years also, I cannot tell precisely for how many, the intending office-holder was obliged to declare under oath that he believed in the Holy Trinity according to the Athanasian definition of that sublime mystery. And, more than this, none but Protestants were permitted by the Provincial laws to hold land for the erection of churches, schools, or hospitals, nor could any foreigner be naturalized unless he was a Protestant.

Certainly, if this be a correct account of the civil disabilities imposed by the laws of this Province upon Roman Catholics, Socinians, or Unitarians, Jews, and Infidels, it presents a very different picture of the condition of things here from that which has been generally accepted or given us by writers on Pennsylvania history. If we study the standard histories of the Province, such as those of Proud, Gordon, and Dr. Franklin, and the more general histories of the United States during the same period, in which accounts of Pennsylvania form so conspicuous a part, or if we consult the accounts of the life of William Penn given us by Clarkson or Janney, Dixon or Forster, we find these writers, differing in many things, all agreeing upon one point,—namely, that Pennsylvania during the Provincial period was the classic land of religious liberty; that here freedom of conscience was the corner-stone of the foundation upon which the Commonwealth was built; that consequently the fabled golden age of history actually existed in this Province from the beginning to the year 1754, when the Quakers lost control of the government; that the rapid increase of the population of the country and its wonderful prosperity during that period were chiefly due to the acceptance of Penn's

invitation by the oppressed of every creed and nation, who came here to enjoy a perfect equality of rights, civil and religious, guaranteed to them by fundamental laws. This opinion of Penn's government is not confined to our local historians. The general judgment may be summed up¹ in the statement of Edmund Burke in his "Account of the European Settlements in America." "William Penn," says Mr. Burke, "made the most perfect freedom, civil and religious, the basis of his establishment, and this has done more towards the settling of the Province, and towards the settling of it in a strong and permanent manner, than the wisest regulations could have done on any other plan. All persons who profess to believe in one God are freely tolerated, and those who believe in Jesus Christ, of whatever denomination, are not excluded from employments and posts."

It is certainly an ungracious task for a Pennsylvanian to be forced to relegate stories so flattering to our local pride to that region of myth and legend, outside the domain of true history, in which modern researches have placed so many tales of heroism and virtue long universally regarded as genuine history. Still, it is a consolation to know that if the truth must be spoken, and if we must hear it, it can in no way diminish the reverence with which we, in this generation, regard the august and imposing historical figure of William Penn. Nor can a knowledge of the truth make us doubt for a moment the earnestness of our great Founder's convictions in regard to liberty of conscience, or of his persistent efforts to obtain its universal recognition. What I propose to show is, that what was done here in violation of that principle was done by a power over which he had no control.

In regard to Penn himself, indeed, it seems to me that the more we study his life and career the grander and more heroic his character becomes. Of all the modern apostles of liberty of conscience his principles were the widest and

¹ See Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, vol. ii. p. 422, *et seq.*, where the English authorities on this point are collected.

most comprehensive of any that had been up to that time promulgated. From 1670, shortly after he began his public ministry, down to 1689, when the famous English Toleration Act was passed (of which, although its provisions fell far short of what he desired, he is the reputed father), scarcely a month passed in which he did not earnestly advocate in tract and pamphlet and in public addresses the adoption by law of that universal principle of liberty of conscience which we now enjoy. While he himself held to a religious faith novel and strange, and regarded by the generation to which it was first preached as in the highest degree fanatical, yet he never swerved from advocating the principle of universal freedom of religious opinion as the outcome of that faith. Nothing is more striking than the honesty, nobleness, and courage with which he maintained at all times the universality of that principle. In a speech before a Committee of the House of Commons, for instance, in 1678, when the people of England, panic-stricken by the terrors of the supposed Popish plot and seeking victims for their vengeance, were strangely led to assimilate the opinions of the Quakers with those attributed to the Roman Catholics and to deal out the same punishment to both, Penn thus calmly and nobly meets the storm of popular fury :

“I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, that Papists should be whipped for their consciences. No; for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room, for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have good will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand.”

It may be well said of William Penn that no one who ever suffered so much for holding unpopular opinions did more to succor those who were in a common condemnation with him. His zeal in this matter no doubt frequently out-

went the bounds of worldly prudence, and led him into some mistakes of conduct for which he suffered bitterly. Still, of no man can it be more truly said, "E'en his failings leaned to virtue's side."

He was a true apostle, his soul fired by enthusiasm for a great cause and for his "Holy Experiment." His best monument is not to be found in the religious liberty which, in spite of his best efforts, he failed to establish permanently in his Province, but in the universal practical recognition in later days of his principles, both in the great Republic of which Pennsylvania forms so important a part, and in his native England. William Penn was no wild visionary in his schemes, but a true Englishman with an eminently practical turn of mind. He knew exactly what reforms were needed, and he bent all his energies not merely to talk about their excellence, but to secure their adoption. He was no Sir Thomas More, with speculative opinions in favor of the widest liberty of conscience, yet dying on the scaffold rather than renounce the supremacy of the Church over his own particular conscience; he was no John Locke, the type and model of the modern English Whigs in matters of religious toleration, whose theory was too narrow to include the Catholics within its limits; and he certainly bore no resemblance to Condorcet, the French philosopher, who, when told that his project for the immediate emancipation of the slaves would destroy the French colonies, and with them the French power, exclaimed "*Périssent les colonies plutôt qu'un principe.*" Far different was the conduct of Penn. He advocated, it is true, liberty of conscience upon the highest grounds of right, but he did not hesitate to enforce his views by telling his countrymen that by adopting them the strength and material prosperity of England would be vastly increased. From his many writings on this subject I select as an illustration of his practical statesmanship an extract from a work called "A Persuasive to Moderation," in order to show how, when occasion required, he could use arguments which seem strange enough to us, coming from a Quaker:

“As things now stand,” he says, “no Churchman means no Englishman, and no Conformist means no subject. Thus it may happen that the ablest statesman, the bravest captain, and the best citizen may be disabled, and the Prince forbid their employment to his service. Some instances we have had since the late King’s restoration; for upon the first Dutch war, my father being commanded to give in a list of the ablest sea officers in the kingdom to serve in that expedition, I do very well remember he presented our present King with a catalogue of the knowingest and bravest officers the age had bred, with this subscribed: ‘*As to these men, if his Majesty will please to admit of their religious persuasion, I will answer for their skill, courage, and integrity.*’ He picked them by their ability, and not by their opinions, and he was right, for that was the best way of doing the King’s business. And of my own knowledge, Conformity robbed the King at that time of ten men whose greater knowledge and valour than any one ten of that fleet had in their room, would have saved a battle or perfected a victory.”

How then, we naturally ask, did William Penn, with such principles as these, and with such powers as were conferred upon him by his Charter, fail in bringing to a successful issue here his “Holy Experiment,” as he called it? To understand this a somewhat detailed examination of his relations with political parties in England and with public opinion there on the great question of the time—that of religious toleration—becomes necessary.

The Charter granted by Charles II. to Penn gave him as Proprietary ample powers of government in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil. There was but one reservation or qualifying clause in it in regard to religious toleration, and that provided merely that the Bishop of London should have power to appoint a chaplain for the service of any congregation, consisting of not less than twenty persons, who might desire such a minister. Such a provision, of course, did not interfere with Penn’s general plan, but was rather in full accordance with it. The fatal defect of the Charter, which rendered, in practice, many of its provisions nugatory, is found in the seventh section, by which it was ordered that all laws passed by the Assembly of the

Province should be transmitted to the Privy Council in England, and an arbitrary power was reserved to that body to disallow and repeal the same within five years after their passage. This power was freely exercised by the Privy Council during the history of the Province, and indeed at all times whenever the exigencies of the Imperial policy (apparently the only guide) seemed to that body to require it. Practically, therefore, the most wholesome laws enacted by the people for their own government were by the provisions of the Charter itself wholly at the mercy of the Privy Council. By the action of this body the wishes of the people of the Province were often wholly ignored, and in the end the policy of Penn was actually reversed. In studying the legislation of the Province, we must not forget this double process through which all laws passed before they became operative. We may ascertain, perhaps, what were the opinions of the people on any given subject, by examining the law passed by their Proprietary and the Assembly; but if we desire to know what was really the final form which the law here took, we must discover whether the Privy Council allowed or disallowed the Provincial statute which enacted it.

On the fifth of May, 1682, a frame of government and certain fundamental laws were agreed upon provisionally in England between Penn and many of the intending Colonists. This body of laws, known as the "great law," was submitted by Penn to the freemen of the Province, assembled at Chester in December, 1682, and adopted by them. In this code were the following laws, one "concerning liberty of conscience," the other "respecting the qualification of officers of the government." By the first it was provided "that no person now or hereafter living in the Province who shall confess one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion and practice, nor shall be obliged at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry contrary to his or

her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her liberty in that respect without any interruption or molestation." By the other it was provided that all the officers of the Province, as well as the electors, should be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ.

Under these provisions in regard to religious toleration the Province was governed for more than ten years. No complaint seems to have been made in regard to their operation either by the Home authorities or by the Quaker inhabitants, although Penn, as a practical exhibition of his principles, naturalized both the Swedish Lutherans and the Reformed Dutch whom he found here, by one of the laws passed at Chester. Unfortunately, as the event proved, while everything seemed to encourage his hopes of the success of "the Holy Experiment," Penn felt it necessary to return to England after a residence here of less than two years. He embarked in June, 1684. The motive for his return was twofold. He wished to bring to a settlement his dispute with Lord Baltimore concerning the boundaries of their respective Provinces, and he was moved by a strong desire to use any influence he might have at Court for relieving the sufferings of his poor brethren, large numbers of whom were then languishing in prison, undergoing the penalties prescribed by law against dissent. He was measurably successful in accomplishing both objects. He obtained from the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations a favorable report in regard to his boundary claims, and by his influence with James II., who became King soon after his arrival, he secured the release of about thirteen hundred Quakers, who were then imprisoned for their religious opinions. Strange as it may seem, it is to the methods which he took in doing this great and beneficent work that we must ascribe the bitter opposition and hatred with which he was assailed by the political party then dominant in England. It is sad to reflect that to his zeal in doing good, mistaken according to the standard of that time, were due those trials and misfortunes which pressed so hardly upon him during the remainder of his life, involving the loss of

his government and of his fortune, and the total subversion of his wise plans for ruling his Province.

When he reached England, in December, 1684, he found the nation in a perfect frenzy of excitement, roused by the supposed designs of the King to favor the Catholics by granting them religious toleration. The humiliations which the English nation had undergone because their King had become the pensioner of Louis XIV., and as such pledged to support absolutism in the government and to give legal protection to Popery in England (although the depths of servility to which Charles had sunk were not so well understood then as they are now), were most keenly felt and roused the deepest indignation. The public mind was kept in a state of constant terror by alleged plots on the part of the Catholics to overturn the government. Charles II. was generally regarded as a concealed Catholic. The Duke of York, afterwards James II., was well known as a professed and ardent adherent of that creed. Never had the country been more intolerant. Any form of dissent from the Established Church, whether the Dissenter was Protestant or Catholic, became odious to the mass of the people. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this panic-struck condition of the public mind is to be found in the fact that in no reign in English history are to be found a greater number of Acts of Parliament imposing penalties upon Dissenters than in that of Charles II.

Although William Penn, shortly after his return, had been received by Charles II., and interceded with him on behalf of his imprisoned brethren, he soon found that in the condition of things which then existed it was hopeless to expect that the royal favor would be extended to them. Charles II. died on the twelfth of February, 1685, having been attacked by an apoplexy, which was treated, according to Penn, by some strange remedies, among others "plying his head with red-hot frying-pans." James II. then ruled in his stead. Here, Penn no doubt thought, was his opportunity. The man who had been his friend from his boyhood, who had been his father's friend, to whose care that

father on his dying bed had confided him, the man who had always professed his belief in Penn's principle of liberty of conscience, was now the all-powerful King, able, and no doubt willing, to release from prison and from further persecution his brethren in the faith. Unhappily for the King, in his anxiety to secure religious toleration as speedily as possible he chose to set at defiance the laws of his country, and to suspend by his own authority the penalties provided by Acts of Parliament for non-conformity. The two "Declarations of Indulgence," as they were called, issued for this purpose by King James shortly after his accession, proved, as is well known, fatal to him, leading to his dethronement and banishment. We may approve his motives, even if we condemn his methods. But the storm of unpopularity which overwhelmed the King overtook Penn also. He and his Quaker brethren were bitterly denounced because they availed themselves of the liberty granted by the Declarations of Indulgence. It was said that they should not have accepted even this priceless gift when the law was violated by granting it to them. This is a question of casuistry which I do not care to discuss any more than did the suffering Quakers of that day. The result, however, was, so far as Penn and his friends were concerned, that, in the feverish state of public feeling, they were more suspected and hated than ever. Penn himself was constantly spoken of, even by well-meaning people, as a Papist, as a Jesuit, as a pupil of St. Omer, and even as an emissary of the Pope; his liberty and even his life were threatened by legal proceedings; and it would seem that even some of the brethren of his own faith began to distrust him, because he was said to have encouraged the King to set his authority above that of Parliament. It is doubtless for this reason, for it has been clearly shown that there can be no other, that Penn's character has been held up to the scorn and contempt of the present generation by the fervid rhetoric of the great champion of Parliamentary supremacy, the Whig historian, Lord Macaulay.

While Penn was thus losing his influence and making

many powerful enemies in England, his government in Pennsylvania was not working smoothly. The authorities of the Province in the absence of the Proprietary seemed incapable of ruling wisely. They impeached and turned out of office, on what were considered by Penn very frivolous grounds, the Chief Justice, and the Clerk of the Provincial Council; they were involved in constant disputes in regard to their jurisdiction over "the territories" (as the present State of Delaware was then called); while their proceedings against George Keith, the apostate Quaker, gave great offence to the Churchmen in the Province, and were made the pretext of violent denunciations in England against the administration of Penn's government.

On the accession of William and Mary in 1688, Penn not only lost, of course, all his power, but owing to his intimacy with James II. he was thrice arrested and brought before the Privy Council, charged, not, as formerly, with heretical opinions, but with treasonable acts. No evidence was ever produced to sustain these charges, and he was set at liberty. He was still the object of so much suspicion that he was obliged to remain in what is euphuistically called "retirement,"—in plainer words, in hiding,—lest he should be again arrested on charges made by infamous informers. Hence he was unable, as he had intended and desired, to return at once to his Province; a great misfortune, as it afterwards proved. At last his enemies became so powerful with the Ministry that they induced it to depose him from his government and to place the Province in the hands of Colonel Fletcher, then Governor of New York, to be ruled as a Crown colony. The commission to Fletcher is dated October 21, 1692, and after reciting the powers conferred upon him as Governor of New York, among others, "that he should summon a General Assembly, the members of which before entering upon their duties should take the oaths prescribed by the Act of Parliament to be taken and subscribe the tests therein laid down," extends these provisions to the government which he was directed to assume in Pennsylvania.

As this was the first attempt to introduce here special religious tests as a qualification for office, it becomes important to understand what was the nature and history of these tests. The Act of Parliament referred to in Fletcher's commission was that of 1 W. & M., c. 18, entitled "An Act exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws," otherwise known as the famous Toleration Act. By this Act all Protestant Dissenters (the Act, of course, did not apply to Churchmen or Roman Catholics) who wished to celebrate their worship publicly without exposing themselves to the penalties of the laws against non-conformity were obliged to make a Declaration of fidelity and allegiance to the Sovereign, and to take and subscribe the test,—that is, a Declaration of their disbelief in transubstantiation and of their condemnation of the practice of the invocation of the Virgin Mary and the Saints.

If the Dissenter was a Presbyterian preacher, he was further obliged to profess his assent to all the Articles of the Church of England, except that which asserts that the Church has power to prescribe the rites and ceremonies of worship; if he was a Baptist, he was excused from declaring that he believed infant baptism desirable or necessary; if he was a Quaker, he was required to profess his belief in the Trinity according to the Athanasian formula, the object being to force these harmless sectaries to disown that sort of Socinianism which was supposed to be taught in such books as William Penn's "*Sandy Foundations Shaken*."

These declarations and tests required by the Toleration Act were intended in England simply to secure to Dissenters the freedom of their worship. In Pennsylvania they became, by virtue of the construction which Fletcher placed upon the powers conferred by his commission, indispensable qualifications for holding any office or post of honor, trust, or emolument in the Province, and as such, from his time down to that of the Revolution, they were (with the exception of that relating to the Holy Trinity) imposed indiscriminately, when imposed at all, upon all intending office-holders,

whether they were Churchmen or Dissenters, Presbyterians, Baptists, or Quakers.

When Fletcher met the Assembly, in March, 1693, there was a feeble remonstrance made by that body against recognizing his administration, in the absence of Penn, as other than provisional, and a claim was more strongly urged, not against taking the Declarations and Tests (which no one seems to have objected to), but against confirming them by their oaths, and not, according to Quaker usage, by their affirmations. The Assembly, however, was told by the Governor that the absence of Penn was the least of the motives which had brought about his own appointment, and the members, as a matter of grace and indulgence, were permitted to affirm instead of to swear to their belief in the Declarations required of them.

In 1694, the animosity against Penn in England having somewhat cooled, the King, moved by the intercession of noblemen powerful at Court who were Penn's strong personal friends, and who represented the true worthiness of his character and the great sacrifices he had made in carrying out his plans, restored his government and Charter to him. Penn at once made preparations for his return to the Province, but he was detained in England by public business, and by the sickness and death of his wife and of his eldest son. He therefore gave a commission to his cousin, William Markham, as Governor, with full power to administer the affairs of the Province during his absence.

In 1696, at an Assembly summoned by Governor Markham, "A New Act of Settlement," as it was called, was agreed upon, being the third frame of government established here within fourteen years. In this instrument it was provided that all public officers in the Province, before entering upon office, should make the declarations and take the tests required by the Toleration Act. It will be observed that these tests are the same as those required under Fletcher's rule, which, so far as Penn was concerned, may be regarded as a usurpation. They were, of course, utterly unlike that belief in God and faith in Jesus Christ

which Penn had made the only religious tests by the laws passed at Chester in 1682. How such tests could be imposed under Penn's direct authority in 1696 it is hard to understand. Perhaps an explanation may be found in that fear of losing his Charter which was constantly before Penn's eyes, or he may have acquiesced in the change from a conviction that no larger freedom of conscience was then practicable in the Province than that granted by the terms of the Toleration Act in England. However that may be, when Penn returned to the Province in 1699, his views on this subject seem to have undergone a complete change, if those views are to be regarded as reflected in the legislation under Markham. He exhibited all the fervor of his early faith in the largest religious liberty. Notwithstanding all the trials and persecutions which he had undergone during the twelve preceding years for his strenuous advocacy of that principle, notwithstanding the proceedings under Governor Fletcher to which presumably he did not consent, and the tests imposed by Markham in 1696 in which he certainly did acquiesce, he, at the first opportunity, restored his original scheme for securing freedom of conscience in its fullest integrity. In the year 1700 he proposed certain laws to an Assembly held at New Castle,—notably two,—the first entitled "The Law concerning liberty of conscience," the other, "An Act in regard to the attests of certain officers." By these Acts the only qualifications required, both of voters and of office-holders, were thenceforth to be that belief in God and faith in Jesus Christ which had been made the basis of his plan of government by the concessions agreed upon in England, and by the laws passed at Chester in 1682. So determined was he to maintain these provisions as a fundamental part of his government, that upon the surrender of the old Charter by the freemen in 1701 he granted a new one, in which the provisions in regard to religious tests are precisely the same as in the law of 1682. He was evidently resolved that this fourth frame of government should be the last and best expression of his opinions in regard to liberty of conscience, and he therefore solemnly

“declared, promised, and granted, for himself and his heirs, that the first article of this Charter relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause thereof, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever.”

Alas for the fallacy of human hopes and promises! This perpetual guarantee did not last two years. William Penn had evidently overrated his power of establishing permanently here either liberty of conscience or any other of those peculiar ideas of government which distinguish him as a law-giver. His charter never seemed to stand in the way when it pleased the authorities at home to carry out an Imperial policy in direct violation of its provisions. Even at that time, and with that purpose in view, so as to render the accomplishment of their object more easy, the Government had introduced into the House of Lords a Bill to take away his Charter from him. The fear lest success should attend this movement rendered it necessary that he should return to England, and his enforced absence from the Province during the critical period which followed was the greatest misfortune that could have happened to it. On his arrival in England his influence soon put a stop to these proceedings. Still, the hostility of those who sought to bring all the colonies under the direct control of the Crown was not disarmed. In 1702, Queen Anne issued an order directing that all those who held any public office in any Colony in this country, whether that Colony was royal, chartered, or proprietary, should take the tests and make the declarations required by the Imperial Toleration Act so often referred to. In March, 1703, Colonel Quarry, the royal Judge of Admiralty in this District, appeared before the Pennsylvania Provincial Council, and, exhibiting the Queen's mandate, requested that the members of the Council, in obedience to it, should at once take the tests and make the declarations required. This Colonel Quarry is described by some writers as a “zealous Churchman;” but he is spoken of by Penn, in one of his letters to Logan, in terms such as he seldom used even concerning his bitterest

enemies, as "one of the greatest of villains whom God will make in this world, I believe, for his lies, falsehood, and supreme knavery." He was, no doubt, a violent enemy of Penn, of his government, and of the Quakers generally. How far he was responsible for the extension of the Queen's order to this Province, or how far he was in league with Lord Cornbury for that purpose, does not appear. The members of the Council hesitated in obeying this order. They urged, as was natural, that they were magistrates chosen in pursuance of the provisions of the Royal Charter of Charles II., that they had been duly qualified for the execution of their offices, according to the terms of a law passed in 1700, under the authority of that Charter, that this law had never been disallowed or repealed by the Privy Council in England, and that therefore it was in full force, a simple order of the Queen not being regarded by them as sufficient to supersede the Charter, or the laws made in pursuance of it. These remonstrances proved, however, of no avail. The members of Council, the Judges, and all the other officers, with a weakness and cowardice which strongly excited Penn's indignation when he heard of it, took and subscribed the tests as required, and confirmed their act by their oaths or affirmations. In October, 1703, the same tests were taken by all the members of the Assembly before they entered upon their duties. The tests were in the words:

"We and each of us do for himself solemnly promise and declare that we will be true and faithful to Queen Anne of England, etc. And we do solemnly promise and declare that we from our hearts abhor, detest, and renounce as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any other authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other person whatsoever. And we do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the realm of England, or the dominions thereunto belonging.

"And we and each of us do solemnly and sincerely pro-

fess and testify that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is no transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever, and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous.

"And we and each of us for himself do solemnly profess, testify and declare that we do make this declaration in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read to us, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority whatsoever; and without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that we are or can be acquitted before God or man or absolved of this Declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

"And we the said subscribers, and each of us for himself, do solemnly and sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore. And we do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be given by Divine inspiration."

It will be remembered that the chief reason given by the members of the Council against taking these tests when required to do so by the Queen's order was, that there was really no legal authority to impose them, the law of the Province passed in 1700 directing the members to be qualified in a different way. This plea for resistance was soon swept away by the Home Government. The authorities in Pennsylvania were notified that the Privy Council in England, by virtue of the authority reserved to the King by the Charter of disallowing and repealing all laws enacted by the Assembly within five years after their passage, had, on the seventh of February, 1705, disallowed and repealed many laws passed at New Castle by the Assembly in the year 1700. Among these laws there were two very important

ones,—the first the great “law concerning liberty of conscience,” in which Penn’s favorite conception of religious liberty had been embodied, the other concerning “the attests of certain officers,” by which the only qualification required for office or for voting was a promise of fidelity to the Government. In order to show the determination of the English Ministry to confine the enjoyment of civil rights in this Province to those only who were willing to subscribe to the narrowest and most technical religious creed, I quote the opinion of Sir Edward Northey, then Attorney-General, giving his reasons why the “Law concerning liberty of conscience” should be disallowed by the Privy Council :

“I am of opinion that this law is not fit to be confirmed, no regard being had in it to the *Christian religion*, and also for that in the indulgence allowed to the Quakers in England by the Statute of 1 W. & M., c. 18 [the Toleration Act], which sort of people are also the principal inhabitants of Pennsylvania, they are obliged by declaration to profess faith in God, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore, and to acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine inspiration, and also, that none can tell what the conscientious practices allowed by this Act may extend to.”

Immediately upon receiving notice of the repeal of this Act by the Privy Council (strange and incredible as it may seem), the Assembly, wholly forgetful of the lessons and example of William Penn, passed a new law concerning liberty of conscience, by which it was made to consist in the profession of the creed laid down by the Attorney-General and found in the Toleration Act. Still stranger was the action of the Assembly in regard to another of the repealed laws of 1700,—that concerning “the attests of certain officers.” In this same session of 1705 they passed, as a substitute for it, an Act to “ascertain the number of members of Assembly and to regulate elections,” in which it was provided that all members of that body (and its provisions were afterwards extended to all who held office of any kind under

the Crown or the Proprietary) should, before entering upon their duties, make the same declaration of their religious faith and take and subscribe the same tests, *in totidem verbis*, as those directed to be taken by Queen Anne in 1702. It is difficult to understand how the people in this Province should have been willing in 1705 to reverse the whole policy of Penn in regard to religious liberty with their own hands, and still more difficult to explain why these laws should have remained in full force upon our statute-book up to the date of the Revolution, the only modification which I can discover being the substitution of an oath of abjuration of the Pretender in 1724 for the declaration of the peculiar form of belief in the Trinity required by the Act of 1705. The letters of Logan to Penn at this period throw no light on this subject. They speak of the action of the Assembly in October, 1705, "in re-enacting those thirty-six laws (passed in the year 1700) which the Attorney-General objected against, with the amendments he desires, and in unanimously resolving to provide for the support of Government." But there is not a word concerning the most momentous change (as we must now regard it) made by their legislation in the civil status of the inhabitants up to their final separation from the mother-country by the American Revolution.

The subscription to these tests was not a mere formality, as oaths of office, as they are called, now commonly are. They were looked upon as a definite profession of faith concerning the most disputed points of theology, and such a profession in a small community where each man's religious opinions were known, and in a day when the profession of a creed implied much more than it does now, was likely to be regarded as a pretty severe test. At all events, these tests embodied doctrines some of which must have been very distasteful to those who took them during the seventy years they were in force, to say nothing of the opposition of the Quakers to tests or creeds in any form. Still, they were made the door of admission to every public post of honor, trust, and emolument in the Province. An official

record of those who took them was carefully kept, and is still preserved. There are in the custody of this Society, and in private hands, manuscript books called "QUALIFICATION BOOKS," in which you will find the signatures of all persons who ever held office in this Province from the year 1722 down to October, 1775, or nearly six months after the battle of Lexington was fought,—these signatures being appended to the Declarations and Tests imposed by the Queen's order in 1702, and made further obligatory by the Provincial Act of 1705. I ought, however, to repeat that an oath of abjuration of the Pretender must have been at one time substituted for the profession of belief in the Trinity required by the Act of 1705, but when, and for what reason, I have been unable to discover. These signatures include the names of the Governors, Members, and Clerks of the Provincial Council and of the Assembly, Judges, Mayors, Chief Burgesses throughout the Province, Sheriffs, Coroners, Receivers-General, Collectors of Customs, Officers of the Regiments of Associators, the Trustees, Provost, and Professors of the College of Philadelphia, etc., etc.

In regard to the history of the naturalization of foreigners here, it has been already stated that one of the first measures taken by Penn on his arrival was, by a law passed at Chester, to naturalize the Swedes and the Dutch whom he found here. No objection seems to have been made by the Home authorities to the exercise of such a power. But in the year 1700 an Act was passed giving to the Proprietary power to naturalize all foreigners coming to this Province. This was one of the thirty-six Acts of Assembly passed in 1700, which was disallowed and repealed by the Privy Council in 1705. The reason given by the Attorney-General for this action is this: "The Proprietary has no such power by his grant [that is, his charter], and I think it not right that he should give it to himself by this Act." In 1703 the Assembly, probably on some hint that the difficulty about naturalizing foreigners really arose from a fear lest they might be Catholics, passed an Act naturalizing by name the most

prominent Germans who had settled at Germantown, giving as the reason therefor that these people were Protestants who had either sworn to the test and subscribed the Declaration, or were ready to do so. In the years 1729, 1730, 1734, and 1737 similar special Acts of naturalization were passed, and the same reasons were given for enacting them. In 1742 a general Act was passed providing for the naturalization of those foreigners who had lived seven years in the Province, who were Protestants, and who showed their Protestantism by their willingness to take the Tests and subscribe the Declaration. This law remained in force until the time of the Revolution, and of course excluded all foreign-born Catholics, Jews, or Socinians from the rights of citizenship.

The same exclusive policy prevailed in regard to the holding of land on which churches were erected. In 1730 was passed "An Act for enabling Religious Societies of Protestants to purchase lands for Burying-grounds, Churches, Houses of Worship, and Schools," and it was provided that any Declaration of Trust theretofore made by individuals for such purposes should be executed, leaving, of course, property held by any individual for the use of the Catholics without legal protection.

It is obvious from the outline which has been given of Provincial legislation that our fathers were determined that no one should hold office in Pennsylvania unless he was an orthodox Protestant according to the standard of orthodoxy which then prevailed, that Protestants alone should have a legal right to hold church property, or any property devoted to charitable uses, and that no foreign Catholic should be naturalized. All this was certainly in direct contravention of the well-known policy of William Penn, and of the principle of liberty of conscience embodied by him in the legislation of 1682 and 1701. How is this change of opinion and of action on the part of the successors and companions of Penn to be accounted for? One thing is clear: the history of the period fails to show that the people of this Province were ever dissatisfied with this legislation, or that they

suffered any practical inconvenience in consequence of it. I have searched through the long list of vexatious complaints made by the Assembly at various times against the administration of Penn and his successors, and I have failed to find among them the slightest hint that the restrictive measures against Catholics were regarded by any one as a grievance. Indeed, the only appeal I have discovered to Penn's legislation in favor of liberty of conscience as a means of protecting civil rights is in a Protest made by the Quakers in 1775 against being forced into the military service. They say that Penn's Charter of 1701 provided that "no person living peaceably and justly in civil society should be molested or prejudiced by his religious persuasion in matters of faith or worship." They then go on to argue that compulsory military service would be a violation of that clause of the Charter which provides "that no one shall be compelled to do or suffer any thing contrary to his religious persuasion."

The law of 1705 imposing religious tests, and the other restrictive measures, if we are to judge by an examination of "The Votes of the Assembly," were adopted without discussion or opposition, and they formed, from the time of their adoption, the settled and unquestioned policy of the Province until it ceased to exist at the Revolution. If we consult our historians, they all tell the same story. Franklin's "Historical Review," which is one long-continued growl at the Proprietary government from the beginning, never alludes to the subject, while Proud and Gordon, and the many biographers of Penn who are disposed to take a highly favorable view of his character and of the government which he established here, are equally silent. When the relations between the Colonies and the mother-country became strained, and remonstrance after remonstrance against the grievances from which the Colonists suffered poured in upon the King and the House of Commons, we cannot find in any of the petitions, either of the Continental Congress or of the Provincial Assembly, the slightest complaint against the policy of confining the full enjoyment of civil rights to persons of one religious creed. Yet this policy was essen-

tially an Imperial policy, imposed like the laws of trade upon the Colonies for Imperial purposes, and it could have been uprooted at any time by Imperial legislation.

It is not to be denied that there was less difference of opinion existing on this subject between the mother-country and her Colonies than upon almost any other relating to the administration of government. A grievance such as I have described would in our day, when by a sort of political *atarism* we have gone back to Penn's principles and practice in regard to liberty of conscience, rouse at least as much indignation and opposition as an attempt to impose taxes upon us without our consent. But we are not to judge our forefathers by our standard. To them the value of religious liberty as a practical principle of government was not priceless, as it seems to us, and Penn's voice proclaiming it became literally, after the early enthusiasm had cooled, like "that of the Prophet crying in the wilderness." Nothing is more suggestive than the opinion expressed by James Logan (certainly the most enlightened man in the Province) in a letter to Penn concerning the Charter of 1701, by which freedom of conscience had been guaranteed perpetually. "Be pleased," he says, "not to set such a value as thou dost upon the Charter granted, for most are of opinion it is not worth so many pence, and if mine were asked, I should still rate it much lower."

The people here, as in the other Colonies, were intensely Protestant, and although a large majority of them professed to hold Penn's principles, they retained in a great measure the hereditary hatred and distrust of the doctrines and worship of the Catholics which centuries of religious feuds had bred in England. They were evidently satisfied to extend the principle of toleration as far here as had been done in England, but no farther. The Catholics were few in number (not fourteen hundred in the year 1757), they were of course very feeble, and doubtless thought it most prudent not to put forward any claims on the score of religious liberty. At any rate they were silent, probably satisfied if they were not molested in their worship.

There was another and a special reason why animosity against Catholics and unwillingness to trust them with any power were kept alive in this Province. During the first sixty years of the last century this continent, as is well known, was the seat of wars between England and France, —wars begun indeed in Europe, but waged here also for the purpose of extending the Colonial possessions and power of these rival nations. France had all the advantages of a military power. She controlled our present northern frontier, she had established a chain of fortified posts from the Lakes to the Ohio, she was leagued with the Indians, and she boldly avowed her purpose to attack and subjugate the English Colonies on the Atlantic coast. Throughout the Colonies and in England there was a general feeling that French conquest meant not merely subjection to the French Crown, but the establishment here of the Roman Catholic religion with all its claims. However chimerical these fears on the part of the Colonists may appear to us now, they were very real to our fathers, who had been taught that despotism and popery were convertible terms. Every means was employed to rouse public opinion so that the Province might be fully prepared to resist the threatened invasion. The French were represented not merely as enemies, but also, what was probably much worse in the eyes of many, as Catholics, and thus the intensely strong Protestant feeling of the Colonists was appealed to, not unsuccessfully, in stimulating a warlike enthusiasm. So deep was this feeling, at least in Pennsylvania, which seemed of all the Colonies the most exposed to an invasion, that strong efforts were made by the leading men of the Province to convince the people that Protestantism and allegiance to the British Crown were inseparably connected.

In 1754 a Society was established here called the German Society, by such sober-minded citizens as Dr. Franklin, the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Churches in this country, and the Rev. Dr. Smith, then Provost of the College, the object of which was to establish schools for the children of German settlers upon what was then the frontier

of the Province, where they might be taught the knowledge of God, and be made loyal subjects of what was called "the Sacred Protestant Throne of Great Britain," and thus be saved from the machinations of "French and Popish emissaries." These schools were so successfully supported that at one time no fewer than seven hundred children were taught in them.

But a mighty change in men's opinions on this subject took place as the Revolution drew nigh. The Provincial Conference which undertook in the early part of the year 1776, at the request of the Continental Congress, to call a Convention to frame a State Constitution, resolved that every Delegate elected to that Convention should, before he entered upon his duties, take and subscribe the following profession of his religious faith: "I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore, and I acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be given by Divine inspiration." I cannot tell whether the Convention obeyed the mandate of the Conference, but it is certain that in searching for some test which should be a proper qualification for office under the new order of things it could find none better than the old one which had been laid down by Penn in his Charter of 1701, viz., an acknowledgment of a belief in one God and in the Divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and accordingly they adopted it. Thus was the memory of William Penn vindicated, and his great principle of liberty of conscience found at last a perpetual place in that very instrument of government which had for its main object the disowning forever of his authority and that of his heirs in every other respect. The complete change of public opinion became every day more apparent. Not only was a Catholic priest (afterwards Bishop Carroll, of Baltimore) sent in company with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Chase at the outset of the Revolution, with the unanimous concurrence of the Continental Congress, to persuade the French Catholics in Canada to join the revolt, but in 1779 an Act was passed by our State Legislature reorganizing the Col-

lege of Philadelphia and appointing new Trustees, one of whom was to be, as the Act described him, "the Senior Minister of the Roman Churches in Philadelphia." Hence it happened that the Rev. Father Farmer, a Jesuit, was, probably, the first Catholic, and, certainly, the first Catholic priest, who ever held civil office in Pennsylvania.

In regard to the attitude of William Penn himself towards these religious tests after they had been established here by Provincial law, there is some obscurity. It is clear that he regarded the Queen's order imposing them upon the officers of government in this Province as illegal, because it contravened the rights conferred by his Charter. On this subject he speaks in a letter to Logan, dated 4th October, 1703, in no uncertain terms. "Why should you obey," he says, "any order obtained by the Lords of Trade or otherwise which is not according to Patent, or law here, or the laws in your own country which are to govern you until repealed? . . . If you will resign the laws, customs, and usages tamely, instead of persisting till you see what becomes of the laws now with the Attorney-General, I cannot help it; but a decent refusal were wisest." When the Assembly in 1705, by its own unquestioned authority, repudiated the principle of liberty of conscience established by him in the Charter of 1701, Penn does not seem to have complained or remonstrated. If he acquiesced in it, it may perhaps be said that he had no choice. It is hardly conceivable that a man who had done and suffered what few men have done and suffered to establish the principle of religious liberty as the basis of civil government, who had confirmed his faith in it, after it had been departed from here under the rule of Fletcher and of Markham, by granting a new Charter, in which he declared that this principle "shall be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever,"—I say it is hardly conceivable that such a man, with such a character and such a career, should have so changed his views between the years 1701 and 1705 as to approve of the legislation of the latter year in regard to religious tests. There is no evidence that he ever did ap-

prove of this measure, and all the presumptions seem to me opposed to such a conclusion.

It must not be forgotten, too, that in the year 1705 Penn was hardly a free agent in the administration of the affairs of his Province. He had been for a number of years deeply in debt,—a debt contracted by his generous attempt to carry on the government of non-paying Pennsylvania with his own private resources. As far back as the year 1696 he had conveyed the Province to Philip Ford in consideration of a large sum of money loaned by him, by what was technically a Deed of Sale, although Penn always insisted that the conveyance was intended by the parties to it simply as a pledge or security for the money borrowed. Ford having died, his family claimed that the Province belonged to them, and called upon Penn to confirm the sale. A long litigation followed, by which Penn was worried and harassed beyond endurance, and this was undoubtedly the immediate cause of that premature decay of his mental faculties by which his later life was clouded. One thing was made very clear during the progress of this lawsuit, and that was that his private fortune, added to the money which was so grudgingly voted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, would not suffice to support the government of the Province. In this unhappy condition there was but one means which he could take to extricate himself from what appeared to be hopeless debt, and that was the sale of his Province to the Crown and the surrender of his Charter. He was engaged in negotiations with the Government for this purpose at the time when the Act of 1705 was passed. And if it met with no open opposition or remonstrance from him, it may be that one of the reasons for such a course was his conviction that had he acted differently he would have defeated his plans for the surrender of his Charter and the sale of the Province. He was therefore silent; but we must not infer that his silence was of that kind which gives consent. The condition of his mind in the beginning of 1705 is well described in a letter to Logan. "I can hardly be brought," he says, "to turn my back

entirely upon a place the Lord so specially brought to my hand and has hitherto preserved from the proud swellings of many waters, both there and here. My surrender of government is before the Lords [of Trade], . . . I can do no more. And what with the load of your unworthy spirits there, and some not much better here, with my poor son's going into the Army or Navy as well as getting into Parliament, tho' so many checks and tests upon his morals as well as education, with the loads of debt hardly to be answered from the difficulty of getting in what I have a right to of twice their value, which is starving in the midst of bread, my head and heart are filled sufficiently with trouble. Yet the Lord holds up my head, and Job's over-righteous and mistaken friends have not sunk my soul from its confidence in God." It is a sad and melancholy reflection that Penn's "Holy Experiment" failed, as so many noble enterprises have done, not from a lack of faith on the part of the projector, but from a lack of money.

Still, it may be doubted whether even if Penn had been a free agent, and as such able to control the legislation of his Province, he could in the long run have withstood the pressure of the authority of the Imperial government in this matter of religious tests. That authority was then based upon the theory of the absolute supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies, and had been formally declared by an Act passed in 1696 in these terms: "All laws, by-laws, usages, and customs which shall be in practice in any of the plantations repugnant to any law made or to be made in this Kingdom relative to the said plantations shall be void and of no effect." We may be quite sure that no consideration for the wishes of the people of this Province or any respect for the principles of its Founder would have availed in the smallest degree to prevent the adoption of any measures here which Imperial policy, in the opinion of the Ministry, might dictate. The Royal Charter would have proved no obstacle, for bitter experience here had taught that Charters to Colonies might be overridden, superseded, and those who held rights granted by them forced to a surrender

whenever it pleased the Home government to think that an undesirable spirit of independence was growing up under them. There was indeed always a large party in England which maintained up to the time of the Revolution that the principle of Royal or Parliamentary supremacy was equally applicable to ecclesiastical as to civil affairs in the Colonies. By this party it was assumed more and more distinctly as time went on, that the English Church establishment by virtue of the Royal supremacy necessarily extended to all the Colonies as dominions of the Crown, and that those who there dissented from that Church were not entitled to any other legal toleration, no matter what might be the Provincial legislation on the subject, than that accorded to Dissenters in England. Even Protestants were supposed by many to be at the mercy of a prerogative which was exercised here, fortunately, with great caution. Besides, the revival of the High Church feeling under Queen Anne, and afterwards, the intense hatred of the heir of the Stuarts, not merely because he was a Pretender to the Crown, but because he was a Catholic and his chief adherents were Catholics, not only made dissent of any kind a very unfashionable practice in England, but developed also a strong anti-papal feeling there. All the restrictive measures which had been adopted to check dissent, and to exclude the Catholics even from a toleration of their worship, were rigidly enforced in England during the first half of the last century. Of course a policy so strictly adhered to in the mother-country could not have been departed from by the Colonies even if they had desired to do so. In point of fact there was no open conflict on this subject here. The one thing about which the Colonists were in earnest which found favor in the eyes of Englishmen was their zeal for a Protestantism which, whatever might be its defects, never failed to exclude Catholics from all public offices. If the people of Pennsylvania had not profited by the lesson taught them by the proceedings of the Royal officers against Dissenters, Protestant and Catholic, in Colonies under immediate subjection to the Crown, like New York or New Jersey, and seized the opportunity to place

by their own legislation their policy in this matter in harmony with that of the Imperial government, it is highly probable that they would soon have discovered that their Charter presented a feeble barrier against the determination of the Home government to compel a uniformity of action on this subject throughout the English dominions.

This slight contribution to our knowledge of Provincial history has been made because it would seem that serious misconceptions widely prevail in regard to our fathers' relations to the general subject of religious toleration. While the truth must dispel some illusions, it can only convince us that although the government of this Province was undoubtedly distinguished above that of all the other Colonies for its mildness and clemency, yet its Quaker inhabitants did share the opinion of the whole world at that time, that an orthodox faith was an essential qualification for civil office. And it must not be forgotten, as we have said, that if different ideas on this subject had prevailed here it would have been impossible to make them the basis of a settled policy in this Province. How far the conviction that any effort in that direction would have been frustrated by the Home government discouraged any attempt at change it is impossible to say. It is hard to believe that a man like Franklin, for instance, would at any time have approved of religious tests for office; yet Franklin's name is attached over and over again in the Qualification Books to the Declaration of Faith which he was forced by law to make when he entered upon the duties of the various offices which he held. He must have been literally forced to take such a test, for we find him on the first opportunity, when the people of this Commonwealth determined to declare their independence alike of the Penn family and of the Crown of Great Britain, raising his voice against the imposition of such tests as had been taken during the Provincial period. Franklin was the President and the ruling spirit of the Convention which framed the State Constitution of 1776, and to his influence has generally been ascribed the very mild form of test which by

that instrument was substituted for the old one. Whatever we may have done in our Provincial days, it is certain that Pennsylvania was the first of all the States which, as an independent Commonwealth, dispensed with the religious tests which were required to be taken throughout the Colonies when we were subjects of Great Britain. As friends of religious toleration and as Pennsylvanians, we certainly ought to be satisfied when we can claim our Founder, William Penn, as the great modern apostle of liberty of conscience; Dr. Franklin, as soon as he was free to act, as its great champion; and a Constitution of government the first in history in which that principle, as we now understand it and have practised it during the last century, was embodied as the expression of the popular will.

VIRGINIA CAROLORUM:

THE COLONY DURING THE DAYS OF CHARLES THE FIRST AND SECOND.

BY EDWARD D. NEILL.

(Continued from page 317.)

CHAPTER THIRD.

Affairs from A.D. 1630 to A.D. 1634.

John Harvey when commissioned as Governor of Virginia, was knighted, in accordance with the custom commenced at the appointment of Governor Yeardley. He remained in England for some time, and applied for an increase of the emoluments and privileges of his office. He also requested that the city of London, as before, might be permitted to send over one hundred friendless boys and girls, and that six ministers conformable to the Church of England might be procured for the Colony.

The Privy Council, in reply to petitions presented, allowed the colonists to hold a legislative assembly, whose ordinances would not be valid without the King's approval, and agreed that Christian ministers could go to Virginia, provided the settlements which invited them would assume their support.

Early in the year 1630, after a tedious voyage by way of Cape Verd, Governor Harvey reached Jamestown, but on account of unusual sickness among the planters he did not convene the General Assembly until a week before Easter Sunday.

At this time, Francis West, late acting Governor, William Claiborne, and William Tucker, Councillors, were in England. The Assembly met on March 24, 1629-30, O.S., and,

as had been the custom, the oath of allegiance and supremacy was taken by the delegates.¹

Harvey did not manifest the conciliatory spirit of his immediate predecessors, Yeardley and Wyatt. He walked among the colonists, as he did the quarter-deck of a ship of war, and desired to impress the settlers with the idea that he was a viceroy. His arrogance and arbitrary course immediately engendered opposition, and a people's party was the result. His unpopularity was increased by the alacrity displayed in assisting Lord Baltimore in establishing a Province out of a large and fertile portion of Virginia. The day after the Assembly convened there appears to have been some discussion as to the propriety of Lord Baltimore's project, and Thomas Tindall, for calling Lord Baltimore a liar, and threatening to knock him down, was placed in the pillory for two hours.²

John Pott, the acting Governor at the time of Harvey's arrival, was an educated physician, careless in business, fond of good living, and a jovial companion.³ He had pardoned Edward Wallis, who had been convicted of murder, and restored his privileges. He was also charged with keeping some cattle which did not belong to him. Harvey had not been at Jamestown but a few weeks, when he ordered Pott's arrest, who was at his plantation called Harrope, seven miles from Jamestown.

He appeared before the General Court on the 9th of July,

¹ The Councillors present at this Assembly were Dr. John Pott, William Ferrar, and Samuel Mathews. A few weeks later Captain John West, Hen. Finch, Christopher Cowling, Captain Richard Stephens, Captain John Utie, and Captain Nath. Basse were members of his Council.

² Henning, I. 522.

³ George Sandys, on April 9, 1623, in a letter to Samuel Wrote, of London, alluding to Pott, writes: "I have given from time to time the best councill I am able, at the first, he kept companie too much with his inferiours, who hung upon him while his good liquor lasted. After, he consorted with Captaine Whitacres a man of no good example, with whom he is gone into Kicotan, yet wheresoever he bee, he shall not bee without reach of my care, nor want for any thing that I, or my credit can procure him."—*Virginia Vetusta*, p. 127.

1630, and before a jury of thirteen was tried for stealing cattle. The first day was occupied in pleading, and Kingsmell,¹ an old planter, testified adversely. The next day Pott declared that the witness was unreliable and hypocritical, and told the story of Gusman of Alfrach, the rogue.²

The jury declared him guilty, but Governor Harvey declined to pronounce judgment until he consulted the King, and he wrote to England that Pott was "the only physician in the Colony skilled in epidemical diseases," and suggested that his estate should be restored in view of his long residence, and the value of his services. Elizabeth, the Doctor's wife, impelled by affection, after a dangerous voyage reached London in September, after an absence of ten years, and with earnestness pleaded for her husband. The case was referred to commissioners, who reported that the condemning of Doctor Pott "for felony was very rigorous, if not erroneous," and recommended his pardon, which the King granted.

During the autumn of this year an expedition of two hundred men under Captain Mathews was sent to search for mines beyond the Falls of James River, but overtaken by winter, returned without important results.

William Claiborne continued during the whole of this year in England. John Winthrop and associates, in 1630,

¹ A Richard Kingsmell, a planter on the neck of land near Jamestown, came in 1610 in the ship *Delaware*; his wife Jane, in 1616, arrived in the *Susan*.

² Reference may be to the hypocrite and Spanish spy, Don Juan, of the house of Gusman, who with Captain Henry Duffield was employed by the King of Spain to go to England and burn ships with wild-fire. Don Juan Gusman, in his narrative, declared that he reached Ireland in a ship, and was seized by the servants of Mahona, and taken to his castle, and from thence was sent to the Earl of Desmond, where he was examined by a legate of the Pope, and escaped suspicion by a forged passport, and then went to Limerick, where he attended the Church of England and assisted to expel cattle stealers. This story was a tissue of falsehoods. In April, 1594, his companion, Henry Duffield, and a son of the Earl of Desmond were confined in the Tower of London, charged with burning Her Majesty's ships at Chatham, at the instigation of the King of Spain.

entered Massachusetts Bay and settled Boston, and the next spring his friends in London contracted with Claiborne, still there, to bring to Boston, from Virginia, forty tons of "Indian wheat." A son of Winthrop writes from London to his father: "This corne we understand they buy of the natives there for trucke, there is a great store all alongst the coast from a little to the southward of you, to Florida beyond, to be had for toyes, beades, coper, tools, knives, glass, and such like."¹

On the 16th of May, 1631, the King issued a commission to his "trusty and well beloved William Cleyborne one of the Council, and Secretary of State for our Colony of Virginia, and some other adventurers," to keep an interchange of trade with Nova Scotia and New England, and to trade for furs and corn "in any region for which there is not already a patent granted to others for sole trade." Under this permit, Claiborne returned to Virginia and established trading posts at Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay, and at Palmer's Island, in Susquehanna River.

Among those prominent at this period in colonizing Virginia was Daniel Gookin,² of Carrigoline, a few miles south of Cork, on the shores of Cork Harbor, Ireland. In 1621 he determined to begin a plantation in Virginia, near that of his friend, Sir William Newce,³ and his brother, Thomas Newce.

In August of that year the London Company wrote to the Governor of Virginia that Gookin was about to transport cattle from Ireland, and used these words: "Let him have very good tobacco for his coves now at his first voidage, for if he make a good return it may be the occasion of a trade

¹ John Winthrop, Jr., in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5th series, Vol. VIII. p. 30.

² He was the son of John Gookin, of Ripple Court, Kent County, England, and, with his brother Sir Vincent, settled in Ireland. Vincent settled at Bandon, Cork County.

³ Captain, afterward Sir William Newce, laid out a suburb of Bandon called Newce's Town, and in 1613 was Mayor of Bandon. He was appointed Marshal of Virginia, and in October, 1622, arrived there at Newport News (perhaps Newport Newce), and soon died.

with you from those parts [Ireland] not only with cattle, but with most of those commodities you want, att better and easier rates, than we, from hence, shall be able."

Gookin, in November, arrived at Newport News in the ship "Flying Hart," Cornelius Johnson, a Dutchman, being master thereof, and established a plantation, where he made a brave stand against the Indians the following March. Soon after the massacre, Governor Wyatt and wife paid him a visit, and he returned to England in the ship which brought the news of the slaughter of more than three hundred of the settlers. In 1623 the ship "Providence" brought more servants for his land, and he may have been a passenger, but after this time he does not appear to have been a resident for any long period. It is probable his son Daniel attended to affairs in Virginia, while he looked after his interests in England and Ireland. In a petition dated March 11, 1631, he mentions that he has been "for many years a great well-wisher to new plantations, and a planter and adventurer in most of them," and asks for a grant of a certain island which he "is credibly informed lies between the 50th and 65th degree of north latitude, named St. Brandon or Isle de Verd, about three leagues from the Blasques of Ireland." De Vries, the Dutch captain, writes that on the 20th of March, 1633, he "anchored at evening, before Newport Snuw, where lived a gentleman of the name of Goegen." [Gookin.]

On the 21st of June, 1631, died the great adventurer, Captain John Smith, whose stories were as wonderful as those of the traveller Coryat. During the brief period he lived in Virginia he quarrelled with Francis West, brother of Lord Delaware, and others, and was sent home in disgrace.¹ In a letter to Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer, dated October 4, 1609, from Captain Johan Ratcliffe,² is the following: "We heard yt all the Counsell were dead,

¹ Spelman's Relation, quoted, p. 297.

² The entire letter, from the original in the British Public Record Office, has been published in the American Antiquarian Society Proceedings for 1870.

but Captain Smith the President who reigned sole governor, without assistants, and would at first admitt of no councell but himselfe. This man is sent home to answere some misdeamenors whereof I perswade me he can scarcely clear himself from great imputation of blame."

Wingfield mentions that he had been a beggar in Ireland, and in a letter to Lord Bacon, in 1618, Smith writes relative to his schemes: "Should I present it to the Biskayers, French, or Hollanders, they have made me large offers, but Nature doth binde me thus to begge at home, whom strangers have pleased to make a comander abroad." In a description of New England which accompanied this letter he also wrote: "Lett not the povertie of the author cause the action to be less respected who desyre no better fortune than he would find there. In the interim I humbly desyre yo^r Honor and be pleased to grace me with the title of y^or Ld'ps servant. Not that I desyre to strut upp the rest of my dayes, in the chamber of ease and idleness, but that thereby I may be the better countenance for this my most desyred voyage."

After Smith had published a book on Virginia, George Percy, who had lived more than five years in the Colony, wrote¹ to his brother, the Earl of Northumberland, of a work containing "many entreaties wherein the Author hathe nott spared to apropiate many deserts to himselfe w^{ch} he never p^rformed and stuffed his relacyons wth so many falseties and malycious detractions."

George, Earl of Kildare, wrote to the Secretary of State on April 21, 1630, that he had chosen a Captain Smith to live with him, "who, through unfortunate disasters in his Majesty's service is a subject of pity." The Virginia Company, after he came back from Jamestown, never gave him their confidence, and he was used for a time by the New England companies. In his last days he was befriended by Sir Samuel Saltonstall, Kt., a relative of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Kt., one of the founders of Massachusetts. Wye, the son of Samuel, a graduate of Oxford, in a translation of a

¹ See *Virginia Vetusta*, published by Munsell, Albany, New York, 1885.

History of the World, by Hondius, published in 1635, inserted a portrait of Smith.

The quaint historian, Thomas Fuller, who knew Smith, gave the following estimate of his General History: "From the Turks in Europe he passed to the Pagans in America, where such his perils, preservations, dangers, deliverances they seem to most men above belief, to some beyond truth. Yet we have two witnesses to attest them, the prose, and the pictures, both, in his own book, and it soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them."

The remains of Smith were interred in Saint Sepulchre's Church, chiefly erected by the ancestors of the Popham family, next to a fair and large inn, without Newgate, called the Saracen's Head, where, an old chronicler mentions, "the carriers of Oxford do lodge and are there on Wednesday, or almost any day;" and here Smith, in the poverty of his last days, may have often lounged, an appropriate place to tell the story of his taking three Turks' heads.

But a few days after his burial the Privy Council appointed a new commission "to consider how the plantation of Virginia now standeth, and to consider what commodity may be raised in those parts." The Commissioners were chiefly members of the old London Company,¹ and George Sandys, who had returned from Jamestown, wished to be secretary of the body.

Some of the founders of Boston and the adjacent towns in

¹ Rymer, Vol. XIX. p. 301. The Commissioners were:

Earl of Dorset,	Sir Kenelm Digby, Kt.,
" Danby,	" John Zouch, "
Sir John Coke, Kt.,	" John Davis, "
" Robert Killigrew, Kt.,	John Bankes, Esq.,
" Thos. Roe, "	Samuel Wrote, Esq.,
" Robert Heath, "	George Sandys, Esq.,
" Heneage Finch, "	John Wolstenholme, Esq.,
" Dudley Digges, "	Nicholas Ferrar, "
" John Wolstenholme, Kt.,	Gabriel Barber, "
" Francis Wyatt, "	John Ferrar, "
" John Brook, "	Thomas Gibb, "

Massachusetts were connected by social and family ties with the leading planters in the valley of the James River. Richard, the eldest son of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Kt., in November, 1631, visited Virginia, on his way to England to be married.¹

Herbert Pelham, born in 1546, married the sister of Lord Delaware, Governor-General, and Francis West, Deputy Governor of Virginia. His son Herbert, by his first wife, in 1599, married Penelope, another sister. Her daughter, also named Penelope, married in Boston, the well-known Governor Richard Bellingham, and her son Herbert, born in 1600, was the first treasurer of Harvard College. The daughter of Herbert married Governor Josiah Winslow, of Boston.

William Brewster, the leader of the Plymouth separatists, when a young man was in the service of William Davison, Ambassador of Queen Elizabeth at the Hague, and while there an elder of the Presbyterian Church at Delft,² and soon after he landed on the New England coast, Christopher, the second son of his employer, arrived at Jamestown, as Secretary of the Virginia Colony.

A vigorous effort was made to restore the charter of the old Virginia Company by the Ferrars and others, but the colonists, who at the time of its abrogation preferred the officers appointed by the London Corporation, to the place-hunters sent over by the King, had begun to reap the fruits of their own industry, and were more independent, and they were opposed to any step that would again make them the serfs of London merchants. While a new charter was

¹ In Hotten's List of Passengers in the *Suzan and Ellin*, for New England, appear the names of Richard Saltonstall, 23 years, his wife Merriall, 22 years, and babe Merriall, 9 months old; also the following: "May 15, 1635 Penelopy Pelham 16 yers, to passe to her brother plantacon."

² William Boswell, then Ambassador at the Hague, on March 18, 1633, wrote of the distressed state of church government among the merchant adventurers at Delft, that it was entirely Presbyterian, and continued: "Mr. Davison Queen Elizabeth's ambassador was an Elder in this church."—*Cal. State Papers*.

prepared, the King, at the last, wisely refused his approval.¹

Before the close of the year 1632, trading vessels frequently passed from Virginia to New England. The bark "Warwick," of about eighty tons burthen, with ten pieces of ordnance, under Captain Walter Neale, was sent by London merchants in March, 1630, "for the discovery of the great Lake in New England, so to have intercepted the trade of beaver," and arrived about the 1st of June at Piscataqua. After returning to England, the owners sent her again with "a factor to take charge of the trade goods, also a soldier² for discovery." The factor was Henry Fleet, whose arrival from Virginia in 1627 had created in London a great interest. The "Warwick," on the 19th of September, 1631, again cast anchor in Piscataqua harbor, and from thence sailed for Virginia, John Dunton being master of the vessel. After a short stay in the James River, the ship entered the Potomac River, and Fleet stopped at the Indian village, Yowaccomoco, where he had traded before, and in time to be the capital of the Province of Maryland by his advice, a Province whose charter had not then been written. Purchasing eight hundred bushels of corn from the natives, he sailed for New England on the 6th of December, but owing to bad weather he did not until the 10th of January, 1631-32, leave Point Comfort. On Tuesday, the 7th of February, he arrived at Piscataqua with his acceptable cargo, and on the 6th of March he went to the Isle of Shoals for a supply of provisions for a return voyage to Virginia. The "Warwick" on the 16th came to "Winysemett," now Chelsea, where resided the hospitable Samuel Maverick, in a house built in 1625, "fortified with a pillizado, and flankers, and gunnes both below, and above." Winthrop mentions, under date of March 24, 1631-32, "The bark Warwick arrived at

¹ On March 2, 1632, a communication from Whitehall was received by the Attorney-General that the old Virginia adventurers, having accepted a new charter of restitution, he should not pass any grant or patent without a proviso or exception of all formerly granted to the late Virginia Company.

² N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, July, 1867, p. 224.

Natescua having been at Piscataquak and Salem to sell corn, brought from Virginia."

On the 21st of February, 1631-32, a Legislative Assembly convened at Jamestown, and the Councillors present were Francis and John West,¹ Samuel Mathews,² William Claiborne,³ Nathaniel Basse,⁴ John Utye,⁵ William Tucker,⁶ and Richard Stephens.⁷ Councillors Henry Finch, Christopher Cooling, William Pierce or Peirce, and William Purify were absent.

For the first time in the legislation of the Colony the first day of the week, in one of the acts of this Legislature, is called Sunday, instead of the Sabbath, as before. The act may have been prepared at the suggestion of Laud, then Bishop of London, who was opposed to the use of the latter word. It was enacted "that the statutes for comminge to church every Sondag and holydays bee duly executed." These statutes, however, inclined to the strictness of the Mosaic system. Every one absent from church was fined a pound of tobacco for each absence; if absent for a month without good reason, the penalty was fifty pounds of tobacco. At this session it was also ordered that "Mynisters shall not give themselves to excesse in drinking or riott, spending their tyme idellye by day or night, playing at dice, cards, or any other unlawfull game: but at all tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest study or

¹ Brothers of Lord Delaware.

² Samuel Mathews, see p. 143.

³ See p. 146.

⁴ Nathaniel Basse, aged 41 years, came in 1622 in the ship *Furtherance*. After the decease of Captain Christopher Lawne, he and his associates had Lawne's Plantation called Isle of Wight.—*History of Virginia Company*, p. 194.

⁵ John Utie or Utye, came in the *Francis Bonaventura*, and settled on Hog Island, near Jamestown.

⁶ William Tucker, see p. 159.

⁷ Richard Stephens arrived in 1623, and soon had a duel with George Harrison, who died a few days after from a wound received. Governor Harvey subsequently had a fight with him, and knocked out his teeth with a cudgel. After the death of Stephens, Harvey married his widow.

exercise, always doinge the thinges which shall appertayne to honesty, and endeavour to profit the church of God always having in mynd that they ought to excell all others in puritie of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianlie.”

As yet the Colony had no State-house, but the burgesses were required to attend divine service in the room where they held their sessions at the third beating of the drum, an hour after sunrise, every day; and if absent without excuse, pay one shilling.

The increase of population led to the extension of Monthly Courts, and those appointed Justices in March, 1631–32, O. S., were among the best men in Virginia at that time, and their names are worthy of preservation.

MONTHLY COURTS.

Upper parts of Charles City and Henrico.

William Ferrar,¹ Quorum.

Capt. Francis Epes.

Capt. Thomas Osborne.³

“ Thomas Pawlett.²

“ Thomas Palmer.⁴

Walter Aston, Gent.

Warwick River.

Capt. Samuel Mathews,⁵ Quorum.

“ Richard Stephens,⁶ “

Capt. Thomas Flint.⁷

Zachary Cripps,⁸ Gent.

John Brewer, Gent.

Thomas Seeley, “

¹ In commissions directed to several persons, where one was designated Quorum, it indicated that his presence was necessary to give validity to a meeting.

² Thomas Pawlett was 48 years of age, and in 1618 arrived in the *Neptune*.

³ Came in November, 1619, in the *Bona Nova*.

⁴ Arrived in November, 1621, in the *Tiger*, with his wife Joana, and daughter Priscilla, then 11 years old.

⁵ See p. 143.

⁶ See p. 416.

⁷ Arrived in *Diana* in 1618.

⁸ Arrived in *Margaret and John*, 1621.

Warrosquoyoke.

Capt. Nathaniel Basse,¹ Quorum.

Thomas Jordan, Gent.

William Hutchinson,² Gent.

Richard Bennett,³ “

John Upton,⁴ “

Elizabeth City.

Capt. William Tucker,⁵ Quorum.

William English, Gent.

Capt. Thos. Willoughby.⁶

Capt. Thos. Purifrie,⁷ Esq., John Arundell,⁸ Gent.

Quorum.

Adam Thoroughgood.⁹

George Downes, Gent.

Accawmacke.

Capt. William Claiborne,¹⁰ Quorum.

Obedience Robis,¹¹ Gent.

Roger Saunders, Gent.

Capt. Thos. Graves,¹² Quorum. Charles Harman,¹³ “

Three persons could form a legal Court, provided two were quorums. Appeal could be taken to the General Court, held at Jamestown, composed of the Councillors.

Councillor Basse, in March, was authorized to invite those of New England who disliked “coldness of climate or barrenness of soil” to migrate to the shores of Delaware Bay.

On Monday, April 9, 1632, the bark “Warwick” left

¹ Came in the *Furtherance*, in 1622, now about 42 years old.

² Came in *Diana*, 1618.

³ Succeeded Berkeley as Governor.

⁴ Arrived in 1622 in *Bona Nova*.

⁵ See p. 146.

⁶ Came in 1610 in the *Prosperous*; in 1632 about 32 years of age.

⁷ Purifrie, also spelled Purifry, and Purfrey, at this period was 51 years old, and came in 1621 in ship *George*.

⁸ Came in 1621 in the *Abigail*.

⁹ Arrived in the *Charles* in 1621, and at the time of his appointment about 26 years old.

¹⁰ See p. 146.

¹¹ Entered 2000 acres in Accomac in December, 1640.

¹² Came in *Mary Margaret* in 1608.

¹³ Now about 32 years of age, arrived in 1622 in the *Furtherance*.

Boston, with a pinnace of twenty tons belonging to Samuel Maverick, and Maverick's pinnace proceeded directly to the Potomac River, but Fleet, in the "Warwick," visited Accomac, and on the 16th of May, accompanied by Claiborne in another small vessel, went to the Potomac River. When he reached Yowocomaco he learned that Charles Harman, also of Accomac, had been there three days before, and obtained three hundred pounds of beaver, and traded with other Indian villages farther up the Potomac River. On the 26th of May, Fleet arrived at Patomiack village, on the Potomac Creek, in what is now Stafford County, Virginia, and here he found Maverick's pinnace laden with corn, which on the 1st of June sailed for New England.

Fleet remained and obtained a large amount of beaver from the Nacostines, or Anacostans, who resided where is now the city of Washington. On the 26th of June his vessel anchored two leagues below the Falls of the Potomac. He passed several weeks in trading with the Indians, and on the 28th of August he met a pinnace with eight persons, one of whom was Charles Harman, the rival trader, another John Utie, a member of the Virginia Council. The latter arrested him by order of the Governor and Council, and on the 7th of September the "Warwick" anchored at Jamestown. Governor Harvey, always fond of money, saw that Fleet might be a valuable acquaintance. Fleet writes in his Journal: "The Governor bearing himself like a noble gentleman showd me very much favor, and used me with unexpected courtesy. Captain Utye did acquaint the Council with the success of the voyage, and every man seemed to be desirous to be a partner with me in these employments. I made as fair weather as might be with them, to the end I might know what would be the business in question, and what they would or could object, that I might see what issue it would come to. The Court was called the 14th of September, when an order was made, and I find the Goveritor hath favored me therein. After this day, I had free power to dispose of myself."

The owners of the "Warwick," in London, two years

after, made legal complaint that, by authority of Governor Harvey, Fleet had retained the ship,¹ to their great loss.

The Legislature was in session when Utie returned to Jamestown with Fleet, and Charles Harman sat as a Burgess from Accomac, and Nicholas Martian² from the new plantation of Kiskyake. To restrain trade among the Indians of the Potomac River, it was enacted that all vessels coming into Virginia waters should touch at Jamestown.

About this time a small vessel was sent from Virginia to explore and trade with the natives in the valley of the Delaware River, and De Vries was informed by the Indians that they had killed all on board.

The year 1633 witnessed an increase of population, a larger tobacco crop, with more attention to the cultivation of corn and raising of cattle, and was becoming the granary³ for New England.

Among those who arrived as a planter was William Button, a nephew of the Hudson Bay explorer, the name of whose pilot, Nelson, was given to the river whose waters mingle in Lake Winnipeg, with those of the Red River of Minnesota.

He had been the captain of a ship in the expedition against Rochelle, and was not unknown to Governor Harvey. In February, 1634, at the request of the planters he went to England and presented their needs to the Privy Council. His mission was successful, and it was ordered that they

¹ The *Warwick* never came back to London. Winthrop, under date of June 30, 1636, wrote: "Warrant to the constable of Dorchester to inventory and apprise the rigging of bark Warwick cast away."

Harris, in 1804, wrote: "Near this place [Commercial Point, Dorchester] is a small creek which bears the name of 'Barque Warwick' from a small vessel which ran aground here, two or three years after the first settlement of the town, the remains of which are still to be seen."

W. B. T., in *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Register*, July, 1867, writes: "My father's estate was bounded southerly on this same creek, and the street in front of the house in which I was born, now Commercial Street, was in my younger days Barque Warwick Street."

² Perhaps an error in spelling, for Martin.

³ In 1633 there were 5000 bushels of corn raised, and in 1634, 10,000 bushels.

should "enjoy all the privileges they had before the Virginia Company's patent was abrogated, and that the Governor and Council, as was the custom before 1625, might grant lands to freemen."

For his services Button was allowed to select lands on either side of the Appomattox River. He died before 1639, and his widow became the wife of Ralph Wyatt,¹ who had served in the wars.

The tobacco trade had now become so extensive that Dutch and English ships sought the landings of the planters. De Vries, an old Dutch captain, on the 9th of March, 1633, in a vessel from Manhattan, reached the fort that had been erected by Mathews, by direction of the Legislature, at Point Comfort. When he went to Jamestown he found Governor Harvey at the wharf with an escort of "some halberdeers and musketeers," by whom he was cordially received, taken to his house, proffered a "Venice glass of sack," and asked to stay all night. In conversation with a Captain Stone, who was also his guest, the Governor discovered that he had known De Vries when he was in the East Indies. The Dutch captain was astonished at finding the planters inveterate gamblers, even staking their servants, and told them he had "never seen such work in Turkey or Barbary."

On the 15th of June, Captain Stone, whom De Vries had met at Jamestown, sailed into the beautiful harbor of Manhattan. His relations in England were said to have been respectable and influential people, but his bearing was that of a pirate. He strutted, swaggered, swore horribly, indulged in loud conversation, and ignored the ten commandments which he had read in childhood on the tablets of parish churches.

While on a carouse with Governor Von Twiller, of Manhattan, he persuaded him to permit the seizing of a vessel from Plymouth Colony, in charge of a member of its Coun-

¹ Children of Hawte Wyatt, once minister at Jamestown, and brother of the Governor, are said to have settled in Virginia.

cil, who had finished trading, and was about to return in the ship with a good cargo.

Alleging that some of the Plymouth sailors had spoken reproachfully of Virginia, while the merchant and some of the chief men were on shore, Stone went aboard with some of his crew, and compelled those in the Plymouth vessel to steer for Virginia. Several Dutch sailors who had been to Plymouth, and kindly treated there, said, "Shall we suffer our friends to be thus abused, before our faces, while our Governor is drunk?" and procuring a pinnace or two sailed after and brought the vessel back.

The next day Captain Stone and Governor Von Twiller were sober, and asked the captain of the Plymouth vessel not to take any legal steps, to which he consented; but when Stone arrived in Massachusetts Bay to dispose of some cows and salt, not long after, the Plymouth Council sent brave Miles Standish to prosecute him in the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, and he was also bound over to appear in the Admiralty Court in England, but the Plymouth people discovering that they could not make good the charge of piracy, his sureties were released.

While in Boston his conduct was boisterous, and sneeringly he called Roger Ludlow, one of the General Court, a *just ass*, a play upon the word Justice. Found in bed one night with another man's wife he was brought before the Governor, and "though it appeared he was in drink, and no act to be proved, yet it was thought fit he should abide his trial," and his pinnace was stayed,¹ but he refused to obey the warrant, and fled. Command was given to the soldiers to take him dead or alive, and he was found in a corn-field near Dorchester.² Brought before the Court at Boston, the Grand Jury did not find sufficient evidence to sustain the charge of adultery.³ The Court, however, in September, made this order⁴: "Captain John Stone for his outrage committed in confronting authority, abusing Mr. Ludlow both in words and behaviour, assalting him, calling him a

¹ Winthrop.

² Clap.

³ Winthrop.

⁴ Massachusetts Bay Records, Vol. I. p. 108.

iust [just] ass is fined Cl, and p'hibited comeing within this pattent wth out leave from the Gou'rm't, under the penalty of death."

After this, with some gentlemen, he visited Plymouth, and was courteously received, but soon quarrelled with the Governor, and drew his dagger.¹ On his return to Virginia he sailed into the Connecticut River to trade with the Pequods, and his company, eight in all, were killed. Three of his men while on shore hunting were first slain; then the chief with other Indians came aboard and stayed in the cabin until Stone fell asleep, when they killed him with a tomahawk. The rest of the crew were in the cook's room, which the Indians entering, by accident the powder exploded. Most of the Indians jumped overboard, but soon returned and killed the rest of the whites, took their clothes and goods, then burned the pinnace.

Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, wrote to Governor Harvey, of Virginia, that the Indians ought to be punished, and thus began the Pequod war.²

In the autumn of 1633 a ship arrived at Jamestown with a Mr. Kingswell and family, and a Mr. Wingate, wife, and child, and forty other passengers, on their way to begin a settlement in Carolana, now written Carolina, but owing to some misunderstanding upon the part of Samuel Vassall, the owner of the ship, they were left in Virginia, where they remained during the winter. When they returned to England the owner was sued and imprisoned for breach of contract. Vassall afterwards became a member of Parliament, and was a friend of the New England colonists.

¹ Bradford.

² Jonathan Brewster, the son of the Plymouth leader, in 1636 had a trading post on the shores of the Connecticut River, and he wrote that it was the Pequod Chief Sassacus who killed Stone.

DIARY OF JAMES ALLEN, ESQ., OF PHILADELPHIA,
COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW, 1770-1778.

(Concluded from page 296.)

2 *November*, 1777.—This last fortnight has totally changed the face of things and shewes the uncertainty of war; the Whigs who a little while ago were ready to give all for lost now think their affairs never wore a better aspect.¹ In short Gen^l Burgoyne (with his whole army of 5500 men 3 Gen^{ls} & many men of distinction) has surrendered to Gen^l Gates on condition of being sent to England. He had by an account I have seen about 10,000 men at Ticonderoga, which by want of provisions, sickness & desertion were reduced to one half. Had he held out 3 days longer our army must have broke up, as they were also ill provided & Gen^l Clinton just at their backs; If Burgoyne & Clinton had joined, America must have submitted without another campaign. On such hair strokes depends the fate of nations at war. This event is too important to require any observations; Its consequences are infinite. To add to the triumphs of Independence, Gen^l Howe's situation in Philadelphia becomes much strait'ned, provisions & other necessaries very dear, as 'tis said. He has made several attempts to get his shipping up the river, without success; particularly the 23^d of last month, when the "Augusta" of 64 guns & the Liverpool of 28, were run ashore & burnt.² It is thought he cannot winter in Philad^a, unless the passage of the river is open. Gen^l

¹ The depression here alluded to was caused by the loss of Philadelphia and the defeats at Brandywine and Germantown. The reasons for the elation which succeeded are given by Mr. Allen.

² See Chap. XXX., Life Col. William Bradford, etc., by John William Wallace. A number of relics of the "Augusta" will be found in the collections of the Historical Society.

Washington lies about 25 miles north of the City;¹ whether he intends another attack is unknown. Our communication with Philad^a is totally cut off, so that we know nothing certain of the state of people there. It is said Gen^l Howe has appointed a Lieut^t Governor during M^r Penn's absence: which is either M^r Galloway or my brother Andrew; It is reported that my brother William is raising a Regiment under Gen^l Howe, & from the many ways it is told, is probably true. I cannot conceive how my father would consent to it, as he looked with abhorrence on the thought: nor that my brother should engage in it against his will.

My situation continues as before living in perpetual fear of being robbed, plundered & insulted. All Ideas of property give way to the slightest pretext of publick demands; & the meanest of the people in offices play the Tyrant over the most respectable with impunity. The prices of labour, provisions, & in short every thing, is increasing in a most rapid progression. I sincerely wish myself out of the country, till this convulsion is over, & if my wife & children go into Philad^a as she is anxious to be with her parents, I will endeavour to get to Europe, where I will live for a while with great economy. Any situation is preferable to my present one.

21 Nov^r. 1777.—Till within a few days matters have been favorable for the Whigs. The triumph over Gen^l Burgoyne has been very great, & Gen^l Howe was unsuccessful in his attempts to force a passage up the river; so that provisions became very scarce in the city. An attack on fort Mercer at Redbank by Hessians failed with a considerable loss, including Count Donop, a Hessian Gen^l; a man of distinction & highly regretted for his good qualities. It was believed to be impossible for Gen^l Howe to reduce either that or Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, so that no doubt was made but that he would quit Philad^a in a week & G. Washington re-enter. M^r John Adams who passed thro' here a week ago, spoke of it as a certain event, & said the struggle was past & that Independance was now unalterably settled;

¹ Near White Marsh, Pa.

the Crisis was over. Added to this, it was said L^d Stormont was recalled from France, after being refused an answer, whether that Court would assist America; & no reinforcements were expected from England, which is drained; Gen^l Potter¹ with a considerable force lay just at the lower Ferry & would prevent any supplies from the Shipping to the city. Even the Tories believed Gen^l Howe, thus circumstanced must quit the City, but thought it would be to extend his lines & perhaps push Gen^l Washington further off. One single event, has however changed the face of affairs. Gen^l Howe having compleated a battery on Province Island & constructed a large floating Battery, entirely demolished Fort Mifflin, which the Garrison evacuated last Saturday. As yet we have no particulars, but it is generally thought, this victory will open the river to Philad^a, as Fort Mercer is not fortified towards the water, & the naval force, tho' considerable, is not equal to that of the English.² The continental force, is said to consist of 2 floating batteries of 10, 24 pounders each a ship of 28 & a brig of 16, 3 vessels from 36 to 20 Guns, 12 Gondolas of one 24 pounder each & several fire ships. If Gen^l Howe gets the River clear, no doubt he will turn his thoughts to the land-side, & advance towards Gen^l Washington, especially as he is now reinforced by Gen^l Clinton with 4 or 5,000 men, so that till the severity of the winter forces both armies into quarters, we shall have an active scene. It is said Gen^l Washington gives over all thoughts of another gen^l attack. The ships & vessels that escaped from Philad^a & were carried up to Burlington are sunk & the great magazines of military stores, here, at Bethlehem & Easton are removed to Carlisle.³ It is said the continental army will remove over Schuylkill, from their present station at White-marsh. My situation is as before; I hear nothing from my friends in Philad^a, & every species of op-

¹ Gen. James Potter of the Penna. Militia. See Pa. Mag., Vol. I. p. 346.

² See Journal of Capt. John Montrésor, Penna. Mag., Vol. VI.

³ About seven hundred wagons with military stores were packed in the rear of the present Sun Hotel in Bethlehem, much to the fear and annoyance of its inhabitants.

pression & waste of property continue as before. My tenants set me at defiance & I who am not the most patient man, am forced to bear all *sed manet alta mente repostum*. The Gen^l Hospital is still here & the Director Gen^l D^r Shippen & his assistant D^r Bond my old acquaintance, with my wifes cousin T. Lawrence, make out a good Society, & we endeavour to banish Politics.¹

2^d December, 1777.—My distance from Philad^a the present seat of war, causes me to hear news very late, & passing thro' the hands of military men, we get but partial accounts of bad news. However I was so lucky the night before last to receive a very particular account of the transactions in the City from M^{rs} Craig who left it last Thursday morning. Last Saturday 22^d exactly a week after the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, the Garrison of Fort Mercer blew up the Fort with all the stores &c. The explosion was prodigious. The great naval force of y^e continent in the river sliared a wretched fate, being all burnt except the Gondolas & 2 Xebecks, which escaped up the River in the night & now lie in Neshaminy & Ancocus² Creeks. It is amazing why our people should burn the shipping as there was no force to prevent their passing up the River but the Delaware Frigate. The next day and ever since the shipping below, have been coming up to the City; so that M^{rs} Craig saw 300 sail, consisting of a large reinforcement from Europe, men of War & merchant ships. She says the army were at allowance of flour & they must have left the City in a week, if the passage of the River had not been free.

Women are sufferred to come out of Philad^a without enquiry. The want of fuel obliged the army to burn all the

¹ The doctors mentioned here are Drs. Thomas Bond and William Shippen. The sick and wounded from the army had been sent to Bethlehem from time to time, some months prior to this date, until four hundred were quartered in the Brethren's house alone (the middle building of the female seminary), and over fifty in tents in the garden in the rear. In October those who could not be cared for were sent to Allentown and elsewhere.

² Rancocas.

Woods and fences about the City. Gen^l Howe's out-post is at Mr Dickenson's¹ & their lines, which are pretty strong extend from Franckfort road bridge to Schuylkill. Great rejoicing in the City on coming up of the ships. Gen^l Howe must exert himself to provide fuel & provisions before the winter obliges his ships to retire, which will be about 20th of this month. His situation will be critical unless he extends his lines much further. Last Friday evening was the most singular Aurora Borealis² I ever saw.—The sky red as blood interspersed with white streaks & when the Redness grew less, it was as light as when the moon is just risen. We have heard nothing from our friends in Philad^a in answer to our letters, which surprizes us, considering the number of people daily coming out.

11 Dec^r 1777.—Last Tuesday 3^d inst. M^{rs} Lawrence to our great joy & surprize arrived here from Philad^a: She says Gen^l Howe's force is upwards of 20,000 including the reinforcement of 5000 just arrived from England. That he landed at Elk river 17,500 & his losses are inconsiderable, & his army in great health & spirits, & well supplied with provisions. The inhabitants do not fare so well, flour being very scarce & meat, butter &c. dear. The british army after getting the river clear & the shipping up, last Wednesday (their lines being compleated round the City) marched out with near 14,000 men & encamped within a mile of Gen^l Washington at Whitemarsh;³ great was the expectation of every one, that a battle would ensue. Both armies lay on their arms till monday evening, when Gen^l Howe, not thinking proper to attack them in their advantageous post on the heights, decamped & returned to Philad^a. It is matter of

¹ Fairhill Mansion, on Germantown Road. On November 27, after a skirmish between some Americans and British, the mansion, with others, were destroyed by the latter forces. See, also, Diary Robert Morton, Pa. Mag., Vol. I. p. 30.

² Under date of November 27, the diarist of the Bethlehem congregation has recorded: "This evening a remarkably brilliant aurora arose in the northwest sky, and gradually moved towards the eastern horizon, its blood-red arch flashing with streams of white light."

³ See Diary of Robert Morton, Pa. Mag., Vol. I. p. 34.

speculation why he returned without hazarding a battle, as all his, & his army's wishes, are, that Gen^l Washington would stand to fight him. The weather was remarkably fine for y^e season. Whether the campaign is to end here or Gen^l Howe has some further plan is uncertain, if the former, the citizens will suffer for want of provisions when the river is no longer navigable. 'Tis said many foreign troops are coming over next year, & it seems as if France had finally determined to be pacific.

The state of the country is terrible; ruin marks the steps of either army, & dragging out the disaffected to serve in the militia is attended with every species of violence & depredation. A Substitute is now not less than £50, which to many is certain ruin. The Assembly go on encreasing the system of penal laws & it is said, confiscation is to be the lot of all who will not swear allegiance to the present government. In short it becomes almost impossible for disaffected people, tho' ever so discreet, to reside in the country. The worst muscovado Sugar is 10/ per lb, salt 15/ per quart—labor 7/6 per day, & in general every necessary of life tenfold. The people of Philad^a, it is said, tho' living there is extravagant, are happy to be rid of the persecutions of their former masters. Gen^l Howe has destroyed all the houses without his lines, that could afford shelter in case of attack. This, if ever necessary, is a dreadful effect of war. It is inconceivable how false our accounts have been of the engagements that have happened & the state of things in the City. Many of the fiercest Whigs continue there & are unmolested.

18 *January*, 1778.—Gen^l Howe soon after his return to Philad^a sent L^d Cornwallis with a large body over Schuylkill who marched up as far as the valley forge,¹ (Gen^l Washington's present Head-quarters) & returned driving in a great stock of Cattle. A small skirmish happened, of no consequence, with some of Morgan's riflemen. At this very time the continental army was in march to the Valley forge, where they arrived & at present are. As they have no shelter but

¹ See *Diary of Robert Morton*, Pa. Mag., Vol. I. p. 36.

the huts they build, their situation is but bad. I wrote not long ago to Gen^l Washington & M^r Tilghman for leave for M^{rs} Lawrence & my wife & children to go into Philadelphia, M^{rs} Allen being soon to lye in, & to my utter astonishment met with a refusal; tho' I know people were permitted to pass into & out of Philad^a at liberty without any licence. Wherefore I rode on the 26th of last month to Head-quarters & dined with the Gen^l who was very civil to me; no doubt my visit was unexpected; immediately on my coming M^r Tilghman, who had settled the matter with Gen^l Washington, told me the General would willingly permit us all to go in but not to return.¹ I accepted the terms & on the 7th of

¹ The following letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman to Timothy Matlack, Secretary of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, is printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. VI. p. 407; and were it not that it bears so directly on the text of the diary, a simple reference would be sufficient. It appears from Colonel Tilghman's letter that Mr. Allen's conduct in accepting permission to enter Philadelphia was looked upon unfavorably by the Council, and the Secretary wrote to Colonel Tilghman regarding the circumstances of the case. Neither Allen's letter to the Council nor Matlack's to Tilghman have been preserved, and there is no mention on the minutes of Council of the correspondence. Colonel Tilghman does not state the case as Mr. Allen does. It was not necessary for him to accept a pass for himself to have obtained one for Mrs. Allen, nor did his remaining in Philadelphia enter into the question of granting one to him. According to Tilghman, Washington said, if he accepted it, "he would not have anything to do with his coming out." The danger he incurred in taking the pass was clearly pointed out by Colonel Tilghman.

"HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 10, 1778.

"DEAR SIR,—I am favr'd with yours of the 6th, inclosing Mr. James Allen's letter to Council. I shall, agreeable to your request, give you a full account of the whole transaction as far as it came within my own knowledge.

"Some little time previous to the 27th Decem^r Mr. Allen wrote me a letter from Northampton, and desired I would obtain a pass from General Washington for Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Allen, and her servants to go into Philad^a, as she (Mrs. Allen) was near lying in, and could not obtain the necessary nurses and attendants for a woman in her situation. This the General refused, but said he would allow nurses, &c., to come from Philad^a. In a few days after Mr. Allen came down himself, and represented to the General that his wife would probably lose her life if she had not better assistance in her labour than could be procured in North-

this mo^t accompanied my wife, & child, with M^r Duberry & her daughter, to the british lines about the city; M^r Lawrence & my daughter's Nancy & Peggy having gone the week before. We arrived safe, after a fatiguing journey. After they had gone into the City I waited at the lines till my 3 brothers & M^r Lawrence came out, & we all rode to Clermont & dined together, with Captⁿ Craig of the American horse, who was so polite as to meet us on our way down & escort us near the City. My Joy at meeting my brothers whom I had not seen, since the 1st of Decemb^r 1776, was inexpressible; never did I pass a happier day, nor was more unhappy, than when they left me to return in the Evening. I staid that night at M^rs Lawrences & got home here at Trout-hall, the day but one after. The accounts my brothers gave of the military events that had happened & the situation of things in Philad^a gave me a new set of Ideas; & made me ardently wish to be there. There I should have enjoyed ease & security, & freedom of speech, so long denied me here, & tho' the expences of living in the City are great, & difficulties arise on account of the paper currency being suppressed, yet it would be as dear here where every dollar

ampton. Humanity prevented him from refusing a request of this nature, and he agreed to allow it. This being obtained, Mr. Allen hinted a desire of going into Philad^a himself. Upon this the General desired me to be clear and explicit with Mr. Allen. He desired me to tell him that he had no objection to his going in, but that he would not have anything to do with his coming out again, and the passport was worded as you have seen. Mr. Allen did not go in at that time with his wife and Mrs. Lawrence, but some weeks afterwards. I beg leave to mention what passed between Mr. Allen and myself. Altho' I had ever differed with him in political sentiments, yet from my family connection with him I thought it my duty to give him my advice as a Friend. I told him he had hitherto acted a part that had been rather unexceptionable, and that if he inclined to go into Philad^a he had better apply to the Governor and Council, state his Reasons to them, and give any required security for his conduct while there. That it was more than probable, from the lenity which they had shewed many individuals, that his request would be granted; but that if he went in without this previous caution, he might depend it would be construed into taking a decisive part with the enemy, and his return prevented. He said he would think of it and act accordingly. We parted, and I have not seen him since."

I spend is to me a silver one. But I should have left my estate exposed to be plundered & wasted, and especially I could not harbour a thought of leaving Mr Hamilton alone behind me, without society amongst barbarians, who would probably have insulted him. I therefore have determined to take my fate with him, tho' seperated from my family. My wife writes to me from Philad^a that every thing is gay, & happy & it is like to prove a frolicking winter; Mr Hamilton at her leaving him made her a present of 35 Half Joes,¹ which with her stock of gold in hand & the Rent of our house made up £240, a good store in these scarce times. She says the City is filled with goods & provisions are plenty, tho' dear. Beef $1\frac{1}{3}$ & flour £3. Both armies are gone into winter quarters & next Campaign will be a warm if not a decisive one. It is impossible this wretched Country can subsist much longer. What our Congress & Assembly are doing I know not, but occasionally hear, that the latter in particular are employed as usual in inventing new oppressions for the disaffected. If their laws were strictly executed, it would be impossible to live amongst them, but they have not weight to inforce them, so that they serve to oppress but not answer the end proposed. In truth they are hardly considered as an Assembly; In Philad^a County there were but 19 voters, in Lancaster 21, in Northampton, about 30, & in the whole province about 150, & not in one instance that I have heard were the elections according to law; No notice given no sheriff present, no Inspectors chosen, no Judges attended, but they were all the work of some private zealots, who took care to put themselves in the ticket, & yet these people are daily passing the most sanguinary laws, & trifling with life liberty & property. They have, amended the militia act & now everyone who neglects to find a substitute, is fined £40, so that my turn will soon come. One of the Gentlemen, exiled to Stanton in Virginia has escaped² & got to Philad^a,

¹ Half Joes, or Joannes, a gold coin of Portugal, worth \$8.62 specie. At this date they were selling at £22 10s. Continental currency.

² See Diary of Robert Morton, Pa. Mag., Vol. I. p. 37; also "Exiles in Virginia."

viz William Drewitt Smith, in consequence of which the others are closely confined. Hard is the fate of those poor people, whose only crime is, thinking differently from their oppressors; for they are not charged with any overt act or intention. Not long ago, Dr Kearsley¹ fell a Martyr to this species of oppression, having dyed at York; his offence was writing a passionate letter to England abusing the Americans long before the commencement of Independancy, after being carted thro' the City. The Congress have compleated their confederation, but I have not seen it—It is like the States of Holland, a federate union, not affecting the police of each seperate State.—

27 *Feby.* 1778.—After my return from the city to Northampton I continued quiet at home till the 4 of February, when I paid a visit to the Governor,² & my Sister & Mr Chew at Union. The day after I got there being the 5th was to me the most afflicting in my whole life, which will never be erased from my Memory. For on that day I heard of the death of the most affectionate of brothers & best of men.³ As I loved him, with the warmest & purest affection my distress was infinite, my spirits have ever since been affected & time only can restore them. He died at Philad^a the 2^d of this month of a putrid fever, insensible during an illness of 16 days. In whosoever hands the following character of him may come, they may be assured it is justly, tho' defectively drawn. He was the most dutiful & affectionate son, the fondest husband & parent, the most disinterested & kindest brother & the most indulgent master that ever lived—His understanding was a very good one, his generosity, tenderness & humanity, unparall'd. He was distinguished for his courtesy, affability, modesty, humility & good-breeding; for his courage, frankness, candour, zeal & attachment to his friends, without one selfish Idea. His good nature, chearfulness & condescension, were uniform & unaffected & made

¹ Died at Carlisle, Pa., in November of 1777.

² John Penn.

³ John Allen, who married April 6, 1775, Mary, daughter of David Johnston, of New York.

him the delight of all who knew him. With all these he had the pride & spirit of a Gentleman & no man carried his notions of Honor, & integrity higher. His person was remarkably comely & his manners easy, indeed he had improved them by the best company in Italy, France, England & his native country America. To this catalogue of positive virtues may be added, that he was perfectly free, from every moral or fashionable vice, from arrogance vanity or any seeming consciousness of his own worth. He never uttered a falsehood or dissembled. In whatever country he travelled, his acquaintance became particularly attached to him—many of them men much his superiors in Rank & fortune. In his own neighbourhood he was the Idol & admiration of both the better & meaner sort; & the patron of the needy. What shall I say of the sentiments of his own family where his vast worth was fully known! He never had a thought or design in which his own interest was separate from theirs; to advance which he would have sacrificed every pleasure & advantage. With us he ever lived on terms of the purest love & disinterested friendship. Such was the brother I have lost, whom I have ever considered & declared to be the most amiable & accomplished of men, with more virtues & fewer faults, than any one I ever knew. He was in short too good for the world he lived in. As I can have no temptation for panegyrick in these private memoirs, I solemnly declare, from the intimate knowledge of my late most amiable brother, that I believe this character of him is most strictly just & that it shall be the study of my life to imitate his virtues. To leave this melancholy subject; I returned from the Union in a few days & by virtue of Gen^l Washingtons pass, came, to this City the 13 Inst. with my sister M^{rs} Penn; It was with the utmost concern I left M^r Hamilton, at my house, but the distress I was in & the increasing violence of the times, compelled me to it. I have here entered into a new Scene, have met with great civility from many military Gentlemen, & dined with S^r W^m Howe; who appears to be an affable, easy humane gentleman. My wife was brought to bed of a Son the 24th Instant whom, at

my Father's desire I named James. As it is my first son, after five daughters, it is a joyful event.¹ Here I feel an ease, security & freedom of speech, that has been long denied me; while on the other hand I find my finances inadequate to the expences of living in my usual style; & should prefer my old situation at Trout Hall, with security for my person & property. The British army here is powerful & victorious, & will probably, next Summer reduce this province. The misery of the country is intolerable, & the persecution so great, that in many places in Bucks county & Jersey, the Tories have risin & brought their oppressors prisoners here, & the neighbourhood of the army will always produce such scenes. This City is filled with fugitives from the country.

11th May 1778.—The face of politics is much alter'd for the worse, a war with France being inevitable, as she has recognized the independance of America & entered into a commercial treaty with the united States. A few weeks ago, we received a draft of two bills, to renounce the right of taxation & appoint commissioners to treat with any body of men & to give America entire satisfaction; but Congress immeadiately resolved not to treat, unless the troops are withdrawn & their independance acknowledged. S^r W^m Howe is recalled & S^r Henry Clinton succeeds as Commander in chief. The commissioners are daily expected, & great reinforcements. A french war must greatly embarrass Great Britain, but her spirit is up & as to the internal state of the colonies, her army is powerful & triumphant. While Gen^l Washington's with desertions, prisoners &c. cannot exceed 5,000 men; he is still encamp'd at Valley-forge, where he has all winter been a lame-spectator of the successes of the many parties that have scoured the country to the distance of 30 miles. Yesterday a party of light infantry & a few gallies returned from an expedition up the river as far as within sight of Trenton. They burnt 60 or 70 vessels; & stores at Bordentown; with the houses of Mess^{rs} Borden & Kirkbride & returned without the loss of a man.² It is

¹ He only lived to reach ten years of age.

² See Life of Colonel William Bradford, by John William Wallace,

expected the campaign will soon open. The military have lived a very gay life the whole winter, & many very expensive entertainments given, at most of which I have been. The persecutions in the country are very great & a test established in all the provinces; the consequence of not taking it, is being treated as enemies & estates confiscated. This City swarms with refugees, & living is very expensive, but it is hoped the departure of the army will reduce the prices. My health is much injured by a shortness of breath, & pain in the breast. I am in hopes I shall get rid of it, but as the difficult breathing has continued for a year & an half, it alarms me. I have decreased in weight 44 lb, my spirits hurt & a general relaxation. The misery of this country is almost at its height; all property is at an end, lives of men wantonly sacrificed and as much cruelty, as any civil war ever produced, exercised by the present rulers; while within the lines, little regard is paid to the discontents of the people, & no satisfaction for the injury of their property. It is impossible to exist another winter, as rents are ill paid, everything dear & no means of acquiring anything by business.

8 June 1778.—The British army is still here & it is uncertain when they will move. The night before last L^d Cornwallis with the Commissioners viz. L^d Carlisle, Governor Johnston & M^r Eden arrived here, in the Trident Capt^a Elliot of 64 guns. They came critically to prevent the evacuation of this City, which would have taken place in a few days, & the army marched to New York; there to take post.¹

p. 285. Colonel Joseph Borden, Jr., whose house was destroyed, was the father-in-law of Francis Hopkinson, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

¹ The reader will find an interesting account (and so far as we know the best written) of the Commissioners of 1778 in *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, by William B. Reed, Vol. I. p. 422. It was Johnston who, it was charged, attempted to bribe President Reed. In their letter to Lord George Germaine the Commissioners say, under date of June 15, 1778:

“As no reason had been given to us before we left England, either to believe or conjecture that the terms of reconciliation, however wise and liberal, tendered by Parliament to the Colonies would be left almost solely to their own operation and effect, we are naturally surprised to

No operations within the country were to be carried on, but a naval coasting war & the force of Britain directed against France, probably in her islands. Things now wear a different face. War with France, is not declared, nor like to take place, troops are coming over here & if Congress will not treat, as there is reason to expect, this will be an active cam-

learn that his Majesty's army was, by express orders from Great Britain, dated about three weeks before our departure from London, under the necessity of quitting this province at a time the most critical to the opening of our commission, and with a tendency the most prejudicial to the conduct of our negotiation. In consequence of this order, the Commander-in-chief had already given notice of his intention to evacuate Philadelphia, and a considerable portion of the navy, in obedience of a similar order, had been withdrawn from the Chesapeake Bay, and other important stations on these coasts, so that the access of French ships to supply the revolted Colonies, and confirm them in their supposed alliance with France, was entirely left open. This being the posture of his Majesty's forces by sea and land, we found the city and province of Philadelphia in great consternation, and the greater part of those who had put themselves under his Majesty's protection were either retiring on board ships in the river or endeavoring to make their peace with Congress. At this time, according to our own information, a very important law had passed in the acting Assemblies of these provinces, requiring all persons within a limited time to take the oaths to the Confederated States of America, under the pain of forfeiting their estates and property in the province. Many of the inhabitants, seeing they were to be deprived of the protection of the King's forces, and likely to suffer from the effects of the violent resentment of an exulting and unrestrained enemy, were hastening to save their forfeiture by conforming themselves with this resolution. So that we found ourselves, by this untimely removal of his Majesty's army, and the readiness of the enemy to profit by it, likely to be deprived of all the advantages which we had reason to expect from the effect of the Conciliatory Bills, and the general repugnance of the people to French connexions, of which we have also had the most creditable assurances since our arrival. The withdrawing of his Majesty's troops from this province for the purposes in view is the more to be lamented, as the army under the command of General Washington is reported to be sickly and ill-provided, while his Majesty's forces here are in the best condition in respect to health, numbers, and preparations for the field. Under disappointment arising from these circumstances to his Majesty's well-affected subjects, and under this general aspect of affairs, we had reason to expect that Congress would reject all negotiations with us, except on the preliminary acknowledgment of their independence."

paign. S^r Will : Howe sailed from hence the 23 last Month ; His conduct has given little satisfaction either here or in England. He has lost by supiness many opportunities of destroying his Enemy & has offended all the friends of Government by his neglect of them & suffering their property to be destroyed. Tho' a good-natured worthy man in private life, he is no politician & has very moderate abilities. Much is expected from his successor S^r Henry Clinton, who seems to apply himself to business entirely, & is desirous of conversing with the gentlemen of the City, who had little intercourse with his Predecessor. It is evident the conduct of this war on the part of G^r Britain has been a series of mistakes both in the cabinet & the field. They have been unrelenting where they should have relaxed, & vice versa. The consequence is all their late concessions are attributed justly to their weakness. In the field, they have always had a superior army, always victorious, and yet for want of beginning the campaign early, following their victories, and their strange plans, they have reaped no Advantages. For 7 months Gen^l Washington with an army not exceeding 7 or 8000 men has lain at Valley-Forge 20 miles from here, unmolested ; while S^r W. Howe with more than double his number & the best troops in the world, has been shut up in Philad^a, where the Markets are extravagantly high, & parties of the enemy all round the city within a mile or two robbing the market people. Consequently the distress of the citizens and particularly the Refugees has been very great. The consternation occasioned by the late design of evacuating Philad^a was terrible as every man obnoxious to the American rulers, was offered up a Victim to their resentment. The cause itself was considered as abandoned, & L^d Howe & S^r William Howe with most of the principal officers of the Army, advised the Citizens to make their peace on the best terms they could.

15 *July* 1778.—This last month has produced events totally unlooked for. The expectations formed on the arrival of the comissioners soon vanished & the evacuation of this City became evident ; & on the 17 of June on Thursday at

5 in the morning the remainder of the British army with S^r Henry Clinton left the Redoubts & crossed the Delaware at Gloucester & the whole army marched towards New-York. They advanced by slow marches as far as Monmouth, where a battle or rather skirmish ensued between Gen^l Washington's army, with the Jersey Militia & the rear of the British consisting of light infantry, guards & highlanders. As Gen^l Washington occupied the field of battle the next day, he claimed the victory, which is called a glorious one; but the truth, as far as can be collected, seems to be that no advantage was gain'd over the british army, but after a sharp onset, both armies, spent with the excessive heat, were obliged to give over, & next day Gen^l Clinton pursued his march—unpursued, & soon after embarked unmolested at Middletown & is now, by the last accounts, lying within the Hook. On Thursday last the 9th inst a large fleet of french Men of War, which sailed from Toulon, under Count D'Estaing arrived off our Capes, took in some Pilots & immediately proceeded towards New-York. A French Ambassador to Congress came with them & landed from a Frigate at Chester; from whence he came to this town & now lodges with Gen^l Arnold in M^r Penn's house.¹ His name is Monsieur Gerard & is he who signed the treaty with Congress on the part of France. As we expect hourly to hear of the arrival of this formidable squadron at New-York, great are the expectations of the event. The Whigs expect they will totally destroy the navy & shipping, now lying thereabouts & of course the Army must be sacrificed, unless a Fleet should arrive from England time enough to relieve them: which is very uncertain. Indeed no one thinks the English naval force there, sufficient to oppose the French fleet; which consists of 1 of 90 guns, 1 of 80, 5 of 74, 5 of 64, 4 frigates & 2 debeques; the English have about 6 of the line of the smaller size & a great many frigates. So that it chiefly depends on the french Fleet being able to cross the Bar within Sandy Hook & get to

¹ Subsequently the residence of General Washington while President of the United States. It was situated on the south side of Market Street, east of Sixth.

New-York; which in that case must fall. A fatality seems to attend Great-Britain in all her operations. In the midst of this scene of politics & triumphs of Independancy, I have had my share of distress. Our family, linked together by the purest & most disinterested affection is totally unhinged: Andrew gone with the British army to New-York, from whence he intends going to England. Billy a soldier in the army. M^{rs} Delancey with her children gone with them to New-York, & M^{rs} Penn with the Governor just returned here from exile in Jersey; He has been under the cruel necessity of abjuring the King & swearing allegiance to the mob-government of Pensylvania & the united states to prevent the confiscation of his whole property. This step was taken by the advice of his friends & in consequence of a letter from M^r Baker in England, advising him to become an American. As to myself I also took the Oath, but to my surprize am called upon in a proclamation of the executive Council to surrender myself & stand a trial for high Treason. I have accordingly given bail for my appearance; but am under no fear of the consequence, as I came into Philad^a with the Gen^{ls} pass and have repeatedly applied for leave to return; so that it is one of those instances of private malice which influences our publick councils. What makes it grievous to me is, the ill state of my health proceeding, as I suppose, from the uneasiness of my mind at the state of public affairs & y^e distress of my family. My health is much impaired; & I am so reduced that my acquaintance do not readily recognize me. The disorder appears to be a collection of wind in the upper part of the Chest,—accompanied with a shortness of breath, & a weariness & relaxation. I propose going this Autumn to France, if I can put my affairs on a proper footing. The French Ambassador Monsieur Gerard applied the day before yesterday to rent my house, which I shall agree to, if I can get a house in the country a few miles off. The estates of those who are not in business, are crumbling to pieces, by the general confusion of property, the enormous prices of everything, (being to what they were formerly as 6 to 1) & the weight of taxes. Last year I was rated @ 5/ &

this year @ 10/ p^r pound, & by a law, the Quota of the City is to be paid entirely by those who staid there while the British army possessed it. My whole income this year will not pay my taxes. Such is the condition of this once glorious country; while those are deemed paricides that refuse to lend their aid in bringing it to its present state of Misery.

AN OLD FERRY AND AN OLD POST ROAD.

BY JOHN CLEMENT.

Immediately upon the surrender of the government by the Proprietors of East and West New Jersey to Queen Anne, many exclusive grants and privileges were established by authority, which at the present day would be regarded as monopolies of the most oppressive kind. These, however, gradually became unpopular and were legislated against or fell into disuse, and, but for the record showing their existence, would not be known. Among the many of this character are a few which have some local interest, and of these are the following :

The first is that granted by Lord Cornbury in 1704 to John Reeve, to keep a ferry between Burlington and Philadelphia, on the river Delaware. It is a curious document, entering much into detail as to price, and how the service shall be rendered. It is as follows :

“Edward Viscount Cornbury, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over her Majesties provinces of New Jersey, New York, and all the territories and tracts of land depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same. To Jeremiah Bass, Esq., Secretary of New Jersey, —greeting. You are hereby required that you forthwith prepare a bill to pass under the Great Seal of this province, containing a grant or license to John Reeve, to keep the ferry betwixt the town of Burlington and city of Philadelphia, upon the river Delaware, and you are to insert therein the prices allowed him to take for ferriage of either

goods, passengers or any other carriage, viz.: for each passenger in company from the feast of our lady to the feast of St. Michael the arch angle, for the sum—half year—one shilling, if single, to hire the boat, six shillings from the feast of St. Michael the arch angle to the feast of our lady in the winter, half year, single, seven and eight pence; in company fifteen pence for every tun of flower; ten shillings and six pence for every tun of bread; ten shillings for every hogshead of rum; three shillings and the same for molasses and sugar; for every pipe of wine five shillings; for all barrels one shilling per piece; for lead and iron six pence per hundred; for the beef ten pence per quarter; for every hogg ten pence; for every bushel of meale and salt three pence; sheep and calves at the same rate with the hogs dead. And you are to take security for the due performance of the same.

“Given under my hand and seale this 11th day of December, *Anno Reg Anno nunc anglie, etc., Annoq Dei*, 1704.

“CORNBURY.”

The ferry was simply an open boat with sails, giving neither comfort nor convenience to its patrons, and when the tide and wind were favorable had some pretensions to speed. There are some expressions in this charter that cannot be understood at this time, but enough is apparent to show that much care was used in guarding the people against the extortions of John Reeve if he should be so disposed in the exercise of his monopoly privileges.

The second is a grant made to Hugh Huddy to establish a line of stages between Burlington and Perth Amboy, and the exclusive rights guaranteed to him are plainly set forth in the document itself. This right of monopoly read as follows:

“Anne—by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland—Queen—defender of the faith, etc. To all to whom these our present letter shall come. Greeting—Know yee that wee of our special grace, certain knowledge and meere motion, have given and granted and by these presents doe for our heirs and successors give and grant to Hugh Huddy, of the town of Burlington, within our province of New Jersey—Gent—full power, license and authority by himself, his servants or deputy, to sett up, keep,

use and imploy one or more stage coach or stage coaches, and one or more waggon or waggons, or any other, and soe many carriage or carriages as he shall see convenient for the carrying or transportation of goods and passengers, from the said towne of Burlington to the towne of Perth Amboy in the said province of New Jersey, and from the said towne of Perth Amboy to the towne of Burlington—and to and from any place on the road between the said two towns of Burlington and Perth Amboy. And that the said Hugh Huddy, by himself his servants, deputys and no other person or persons whatsoever shall have and enjoy the said license and authority to keep, use and employ such stage coach or stage coaches, waggon or waggons, carriage or carriages, or any or either of them to and from the respective towns and places above mentioned. To have and to hold the license-power and authority to him the said Hugh Huddy, his executors, administrators and assigns and their deputys, for the term of fourteen years, without any account, rent or other thing to be yielded and paid to us, our heirs and successors. Save only one shilling current money of the said province of New Jersey, to be paid at Burlington upon the Feast-day of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, yearly if demanded. So that no man may keep, use or employ any stage coach or stage coaches, waggon or waggons, or any other carriage or carriages, for the transportation of goods and passengers, or either of them from Burlington aforesaid to Amboy aforesaid or to Burlington aforesaid during the said fourteen years, without the leave and good will of the said Hugh Huddy, his executors and administrators upon pain of our highest displeasure, and fine and punishment as offenders, in case of such voluntary contempt shall deserve.

“In testimony whereof we have caused the seal of our said province of New Jersey to be hereunto affixed. Witness our trusty and well beloved cousin, Edward Viscount Cornbury, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of New Jersey, New York and all the territories and tracts of land depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same at our ffort in New York this eleventh day of April, 1706, in the fifth year of our reign.

“By his Excellency’s command.

“J. BASS, Sec.”

This line of stages, taken in connection with the ferry privileges given to John Reeve, and the packets from Perth

Amboy to New York, were no doubt at that day the only means of public conveyance between Philadelphia and New York. The tortuous course of the road from Burlington to Perth Amboy as it was followed then, passing as it did around the head of streams, avoiding hills and marshy land, has not been known for several generations. The time consumed in going from one point to the other was not counted by hours, but occupied days and nights of constant travel, and strangely in contrast with the rapidity and comfort given by railroads and steamboats at present. This was before the days of mails and express companies; it was before Thomas Neals, by royal patent, was appointed Postmaster-General of "Virginia and other parts of North America," and half a century before Benjamin Franklin was selected by the King to fill the same office. As late as 1791 there were only six post-offices in New Jersey, and none south of Trenton.

TOWNSEND WARD.

The Committee to whom has been intrusted the duty of expressing the feelings of the members of our Society upon the death of Mr. Townsend Ward, respectfully report :

Their melancholy privilege has been confided to them, because they well know Mr. Ward's life and his many services to the Historical Society. They have, doubtless, also been selected because they all were his personal friends, who deplore his loss as one affecting them individually, and who feel that his death makes a void, not easily filled, among the familiar acquaintances, whom it is their privilege habitually to welcome to their firesides. It is, indeed, difficult for them to separate their personal relations with Mr. Ward from his great and long services to our Society. Like him, they have long had the interest of the Society at heart. In their friendly intercourse with him, its interests and its duties, its hopes and its fears, were perpetually recurring. It was one of the most decided characteristics of Mr. Ward that in his social intercourse he carried with him, as it were, the atmosphere of the Historical Society. Just as a soldier is always in society a representative of the army and a clergyman of his church, so in Philadelphia society Mr. Ward seemed always to be a representative of this Historical Society. This representation and the excellent manner in which it was carried out was, indeed, one of the most marked of his varied services to the Society. He was singularly adapted to it. Though of an unusually social nature, he never married. He had thus ample time for the social duties and pleasures of an extensive acquaintance. He delighted in the society of his friends and familiar acquaintances. The households were many where he was

ever welcome. It was one of his most pleasing and characteristic traits that, whenever the parents were his friends, the children were his friends, too. Nothing ever touched him more than a child's preference. At the time of his death one of your Committee had in his possession kind gifts of remembrance intrusted to him by Mr. Ward for delivery to the little daughters of two of his friends.

Mr. Ward was born a lover of the past and of the knowledge of the past. Many of his younger acquaintances may perhaps think that his interest in such knowledge was exclusively confined to local history. Such an idea is, however, erroneous. There are few who know more of the history of this Commonwealth, and none who feel a greater interest in it than he did. He had an extensive familiarity with the history of the United States, especially in its biographical department. One of his most favorite studies was the lives of the French officers who served in our Revolution. To this predilection we owe his interesting biography of General Armand de La Rouerie. His knowledge of history was not confined to America. His interest in historical subjects was general, although he had naturally a preference for the history of England, so intimately connected with our own. With all this, however, it cannot be gainsaid that Mr. Ward was a lover of local history through and through. Isaac Mickle, in his history of Gloucester County in New Jersey, enjoins his readers to study well and soundly the story of their native locality: "for it is *at home*," he adds, "that true knowledge ever begins." Mr. Ward was himself the publisher of Mickle's work. Those who knew our deceased friend best will hardly doubt that, as far as a knowledge of the past is concerned, the author and his publisher were in singular accord, and that both felt that history, like charity, should begin at home. Descended from a family belonging to the Society of Friends, he possessed at first hand a knowledge of the local traditions and associations of that religious body. He loved deeply the soil upon which he daily trod and upon which he was born. His latest contributions to our magazine are those which display, in the mingled form

of topography and history, his intimate historical knowledge of Philadelphia and its surrounding localities.¹

His knowledge of persons and of families in this city, of their connection with public affairs, of their relations to the business and the social and private life of the community, was remarkable. It would be misleading in this connection to allude to his knowledge of books without saying that it covered a much more extensive range than local history. After he became an official of this Society he had, of course, much to do with the management of a public library. Before that time he had been familiar with the wants of libraries. As has been previously alluded to, he was for some years in the book business, an occupation which was, in some respects, not congenial to his tastes. He preferred a literary to a commercial connection with books. Collecting manuscripts he preferred to collecting anything else. He certainly loved manuscripts more than first editions or anything else in print. In this preference he agreed with some of our members, while differing with others, such as our late President, Mr. Wallace, to whom our Society owes so many rare copies of first editions. We owe much to Mr. Ward's attention to the subject of manuscripts. His services were most important in connection with our acquisition of the precious papers of the Penn family.

Mr. Ward did not, however, confine himself to things written and printed, in his searches for the evidence of the past. A characteristic anecdote is recalled by one of your Committee as to his keenness in securing oral history. This gentleman once mentioned to Mr. Ward that our late member, Chief Justice Sharswood, had narrated to him an interesting local tradition preserved for several generations in the latter's family. Mr. Ward, without loss of time, visited the Chief Justice and requested him to repeat this tradition, which was reduced to writing in the latter's presence, and soon afterwards printed in our magazine. Had Mr. Ward

¹ See his three papers on Second Street and its Associations, and his eight papers on Germantown Road and its Associations.

lived in the Middle Ages, his most congenial occupation would certainly have been that of a member of those inquests *per turbas*, by which the customs and laws of localities were sometimes officially ascertained by the direct interrogation of the people.

While a young man Mr. Ward served as a member of the first geological survey of Pennsylvania. He became thereby personally familiar with the soil and inhabitants of a large portion of the Commonwealth. This knowledge of the people and the land, from actual contact, was an introduction to and a part of his extensive familiarity with the history and historical topography of Pennsylvania. He always repeated his reminiscences of the geological survey with sincere pleasure, and with a kindly, neighborly regard for his old acquaintances in the localities which he had aided in surveying. His knowledge of the history of the Commonwealth was intimately connected with a knowledge of its topography. He did much efficient work connected with the historical topography of Pennsylvania. In this respect, too, we feel his loss. One of the duties that Historical Societies are not allowed by the public to forget, is that of giving information on disputed points of historical topography to the local communities interested. In such cases a local public readily becomes both interested and excited, and, if any reference be made to us for information, they expect us to do our whole duty. The nomenclature of localities, and especially our local Indian names, had great interest for Mr. Ward. On this subject his inquiries, oral and by correspondence, were extensive.¹ Mr. Ward's work upon

¹ The following letter from Mr. Bancroft to Mr. Ward upon the subject of Indian names is of much interest:

"NEW YORK, January 24, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR:—

"The Historical Society of Pennsylvania ought to protest against effacing historical names. In New York they have changed Fort Stanwix into Rome, giving up a name with a meaning for one that is absurdly inappropriate. In your State the name Bushy Run, which seems to me one of the best that could have been chosen, and which carries with it most

the Whiskey Insurrection, though intimately connected with the general history of the country, is a valuable contribution to the history of Pennsylvania, which should be specially alluded to in this connection.

It is evident that Mr. Ward, with such natural and acquired qualifications, came to our Society well equipped for peculiar usefulness. He was, besides, naturally adapted to a career in a public institution. A business or profession in which he would have been compelled to act alone and single-handed could not be congenial to him. The companionship of others, in his daily duties, satisfied and contented him, and stimulated his best faculties. He liked consultation and often excelled in it. Independently of his interest in historical matters, his duties here were pleasing to him. He was useful to the community, and must have felt that such was the case. Steadily, but not slowly, Mr. Ward grew into a position *sui generis* in our Society. He adapted himself naturally to many varied requirements as they arose. Whenever funds were to be raised, he came to the front among his collaborators. We owe our Publication Fund almost exclusively to him. The idea and the plan were his. The magnitude of the amount raised was his achievement. It is to this fund that we owe the publication of a series of valuable works and the establishment of our Magazine of History. His great services in connection with the large subscriptions made a few years ago, from which we derived a great part of the funds that enabled us to purchase and enlarge our new hall, are fresh in your memory. His constant and successful activity in connection with nearly all the funds raised by subscription for many years are as well known to you as to your Committee. It is not necessary

interesting associations, is, I am afraid, lost. Then you had Red Stone Old Fort, which is a picture of itself, and you have changed it to Broomville. If I lived in the town I would try to go back to the true name. If we proceed as we have done, we shall by and by have no historic names left.

“Very truly,

“GEORGE BANCROFT.

“TO TOWNSEND WARD.”

to recall these services for the information of the Society and the public, who are both familiar with them. They are recalled because your Committee desire to express the gratitude of their fellow-members and themselves for Mr. Ward's long, able, and successful achievements in the financial service of this Society, and because they desire to perpetuate the testimony thereof in this memorial designed for posterity.

As has been said, Mr. Ward's position among us was *sui generis*; so much so, that, as we reflect upon the life of our departed friend, it seems that, if ever a man was born to be an official of an historical society, it was he. It would seem that a library occupied by himself and congenial friends, and frequented by sympathetic students, must have been his best home, if domestic life was not to be his lot. He dwelt long in such an atmosphere, engaged in the service of an institution which he loved, and discharging duties that had grown with time to be a second nature. Such was his life during many years, and with it he was content.

Now that he has gone, there is, indeed, a vacant place among us hard to fill. To us the hall of the Society seems strange without his familiar face. He who did so much to aid us in perpetuating the history of the City, the Commonwealth, and the Country has departed. In this memorial we perpetuate the testimony of his long, able, and devoted service, with gratitude for his deeds, and with affection and esteem for his character. This hall of ours is devoted to the memory of the past. When our successors here shall read these lines they will know that we cherish, and that they ought to cherish, the memory of Townsend Ward.

BRINTON COXE.

CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON.

GEORGE HARRISON FISHER.

THE DELAWARE REGIMENT IN THE REVOLUTION.

NARRATIVE OF THE SERVICES OF THE DELAWARE REGIMENT WITH
CAPTAIN MCKENNAN DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

BY MAJOR C. P. BENNETT,

LATE GOVERNOR OF DELAWARE, A LIEUTENANT UNDER CAPTAIN
MCKENNAN.

WILMINGTON, DEL., Jan. 1, 1843.

SIR,—During the last illness of my old friend, that tried patriot and honest man, the late Governor C. P. Bennett, the writing out the enclosed memoranda (for the purpose, as the address indicates, of forwarding them to you as the representative of Captain McKennan, whose Revolutionary services are therein commemorated) was almost his final occupation.

He died in the month of May, 1836, and, as I was at that time the Secretary of State, they were delivered to me by mistake among a mass of papers appertaining to the Executive office.

Having been mislaid, within a few days past I accidentally came across them, and not doubting that these records of a father's patriotism, in the handwriting of a veteran comrade after the lapse of more than half a century, would afford you high gratification, I send them to your address, and hope they may safely come to hand. The three sheets constitute the original rough draft of what would have been a clearer and more finished narrative had the old Governor been spared to revise and correct it.

It was written but a few weeks before his death, in the intervals of relief from the attacks of a most painful and violent disease, and of course bears upon its face the marks of haste in composition and some grammatical inaccuracies.

However, such as it is, you have it, and I have no doubt its perusal will interest your friends as much as it did

Yours respectfully,

WM. HEMPHILL JONES.

HON. T. M. T. McKENNAN,
Washington City.

HON. THOMAS M. T. McKENNAN:

DEAR SIR,—I have thought proper at this time, from memory, to furnish you with a narrative of the services of your father and my long lost friend, Captain William McKennan, during the war of the Revolution, being one of the last of that day that could be able to furnish you and your children with such detail; I flatter myself it will be as acceptable to the family as it affords me the pleasure to narrate.

To the best of my recollection, he entered the army of the Revolution in June or July, in the year 1776, as a second lieutenant in a company commanded by Captain Thomas Kean, in the Regiment of Flying Camp, commanded by Colonel Samuel Patterson, of New Castle County, State of Delaware. His services that season were performed in New Jersey, generally in the neighborhood of Amboy, under the command of General Hugh Mercer, of Virginia; at the close of that year he was appointed a lieutenant in the Delaware Regiment, and returned to the State on the recruiting service early in the spring of 1777. He joined the army at Princetown, New Jersey, and was in active service the whole campaign, say, in an excursion on Staten Island under General Sullivan, which proved disastrous to the Maryland Division, the Delaware included. On September 11th he was engaged in the battle of Brandywine; 4th October in the battle of Germantown, where he received a wound in his arm, which, I presume, affected him more or less during his life. 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 Wil-

mington, 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 neighborhood 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 Fourth of July, 1778; from thence to Kings' 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 under the command of General Putnam, where we remained until we were ordered to proceed to winter quarters. The place designated for the army to halt was Bound 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 neighborhood 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 to the excessive falls of snow that prevented their transportation. We remained in our quarters until April, 1780. Nothing of

great importance occurred during our residence in winter quarters, except a detachment from the army made a descent on Staten Island, crossed the Sound on the ice, made every effort to attack a British post, but did not succeed as was calculated owing to the severity of the season. The detachment returned to their rendezvous, after suffering much from the inclement season. Early in April 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 DeKalb, and proceed to join the Southern army under the command of General Lincoln, to aid him in his defense of Charleston. As it was understood 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 endeavor to cover their retreat should we arrive in time. By forced marches we arrived on Deep River, in North Carolina, where the Baron DeKalb 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 Rugely'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 Cam-

den, 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 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. Eventually they were put to the rout, after sustaining serious losses both of officers and men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. Baron DeKalb, highly esteemed by the whole army, both from his gentlemanly deportment as well as the accomplished soldier, with many other valuable officers and men, shared the same fate.

Little Delaware felt that she had sustained her full proportion both in officers and men; two field and seven commissioned officers were taken prisoners, and the regiment was reduced to two companies by killed, wounded, and prisoners. Our whole remaining forces were put into a complete rout, and were pursued for fifty miles from the field of action, when the enemy drew off, after committing all the destruction on wagons, baggage, stores, artillery, and everything that fell in their possession. We continued the retreat to Hillsborough, North Carolina, two hundred miles

from the battle-ground. On our route we collected together the scattered remains of our defeated army. Hillsborough was our first resting-place. By the time we arrived there we found ourselves in a most deplorable situation, without arms, ammunition, baggage, and little sustenance, and for some time our situation was unenviable. After organizing our little army under the command of General Smallwood, and supplies for the troops of provision, clothing, arms, and munition, General Morgan was appointed to the command of a detachment of the *élite* of the remains of what was once an army, to proceed South and encourage the despairing Whigs, as well as collect together all that would join his standard, and eventually fell in with Colonel Tarleton and his desperadoes, and defeated them at the Cowpens, and took several hundred prisoners. Captain Kirkwood, of Delaware, and his company, attached to General Morgan's command, shared the glory and honor of that victory, which was one of the first fruits of the success which beamed on the Southern country. After Morgan's detachment left Hillsborough, the supernumerary officers without command, after the remains of the army was organized, returned to the different States; Captain McKennan, with several others, with myself included, to Delaware on the recruiting service. On our arrival, in December, 1780, arrangements were made for that purpose, but for want of funds, or from some other cause, the recruiting service did not go into effect, and the plan of substitutes was adopted, and in April, 1781, Captains McKennan, Queenault, Lieutenant Hyatt, and myself were ordered to Christiana Bridge, in New Castle County, to receive and drill such substitutes as might be brought forward. We remained at our post performing the duties required until the French Army from Rhode Island, and other detachments of the army, with the commander-in-chief at their head, arrived at our rendezvous in the month of August, when we received orders from General Washington to prepare to follow on to Virginia. In a few days we took up our line of march for Baltimore; we remained in that city for some days, when small craft was prepared for our

reception to proceed to Annapolis, where the French transports were waiting for the French army to embark. On our arrival at Annapolis we embarked, also, on board the "Marquis Lafayette." When the troops were all on board, the fleet of transports, with two frigates, weighed anchor, and proceeded, with a fair wind, down the Chesapeake Bay till we arrived at Linhaven Bay, where the French fleet were moored. We passed the mouth of York River, where lay two or three French frigates blockading the entrance. We lay that night at anchor with the fleet. Early next morning the transports proceeded up James River (all this time with a fair wind) until we arrived in the neighborhood of Williamsburg, Virginia, where we landed and joined the troops that had assembled there. As soon as the troops had all concentrated; with General Washington at their head, we left Williamsburg, and proceeded on our route for Yorktown, where the British troops had fortified themselves under the command of Lord Cornwallis. The whole army arrived in the evening, and took possession of the ground around the town after driving in their outpost, which we effected without much loss or inconvenience on our part; accomplished the end we had in view, that was, to form our camp so as to encircle their whole outworks. We experienced little or no inconvenience from the enemy in accomplishing the end contemplated in eight or nine days after our taking possession of the ground, and were soon occupied by breaking ground and raising our first parallel line, and soon had our batteries opened and in operation on the enemy. We continued plying our shells and shot for a few days, and made considerable impression on their works. The firing was kept up night and day until arrangement was made to storm two redoubts on the left of the town and near the banks of York River. When the hour approached to make the attack, which was some time after nightfall, the two detachments moved rapidly on to the charge without flints in their muskets to prevent any firing. The Americans were commanded by Marquis Lafayette, the French by Count De Lauzun. In course of a very short

period of time, and a rapid movement at the point of the bayonet, both redoubts were in possession of the different detachments, apparently at the same instant, without a shot being fired by either. The British kept up an incessant fire from every part of their lines that could be brought to bear on the assailants. The business was accomplished with little loss on either side, with few prisoners taken, as the enemy made their retreat as soon as the assailants entered their works, and every arrangement being made for the purpose previous to the attack, provided success should attend them, to inclose the two redoubts in our second parallel line, which was accomplished before the light of the ensuing day. The ground the redoubts occupied within our inclosure being elevated ground, gave us the complete mastery over the whole town as well as their outworks.

After completing the second parallel and opening our batteries, wherein no time was lost, we were enabled to direct our shells and to effect. The enemy made the attempt, soon after our taking the last position, to make their escape from Yorktown by crossing the river to Gloucester, which was a fortified post; and, after crossing a considerable portion of their force, owing to the inclemency of the night could not accomplish their intentions, had, of course, in the morning to recross and take their former position. By this time we were fully prepared and in possession of the heights around the town, on both flanks strongly intrenched. After destroying the ships that were moored on their right to secure the approaches on that quarter, we considered the siege near brought to a close, and in the course of a day or two proved the fact by a full surrender of the fortress with its contents. After the preliminary articles were signed, their forces marched out of the town, in the presence and full view of both armies, French and Americans, and thousands of spectators, to an open field within a short distance of the fortress, where the British army, English, Scotch, and Hessians, grounded their arms, and in the same order of march returned to their previous station, where they remained until the necessary arrangements could be made

for their future destination, which, perhaps, took up ten days or two weeks. When they took up the lines of march for the places designated for their reception after their movement, and everything arranged for the dispersion of the American and French forces, each division proceeded to its destination. The Pennsylvanians, Marylanders, and Delawares, under the command of General St. Clair, proceeded South to join the army in South Carolina under General Greene, where we arrived, after a long and fatiguing march, the 1st of January, 1782. On our arrival we (Delaware Detachment, commanded by Captain William McKennan), of course, took our station in William Washington's Legion, composed of the remains of his regiment of horse and the shattered remains of the Delaware Regiment, under the command of Captain Robert Kirkwood, with Captain Peter Jaquett, Lieutenants James Campbell and Thomas Anderson, who had been in the command of two companies of said regiment, and remained with the Southern army since the battle of Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780. When the officers above mentioned and the invalids, with several other non-commissioned officers and soldiers belonging to Delaware, were relieved by those under the command of Captain William McKennan, with Captain Paul Queenault, Lieutenants Hyatt and Bennett, they proceeded soon after on their route for the State of Delaware. Soon after the forces were concentrated under General Greene the army proceeded down towards Charleston, where the British were in force (the *élite* of the army was composed of the two legions, Washington's and Lee's, with a detachment from the line of the army, under the command of Major James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania), and took up a position in the neighborhood of Dorchester, on the Ashley River, and was constantly kept on the alert, never stationary, the whole or part of the command being continually on the lines watching the movements of the enemy. Colonel John Lawrence, of South Carolina, one of the aides-de-camp of General Washington, after the siege of York solicited and obtained from the commander-in-chief permission to return to his native State, where he

contemplated the most active services would be required, and the last effort would be made by the enemy previous to a general peace. At that time it was fully contemplated by the army that the war was drawing to a close, which proved to be the case. Colonel Lawrence was appointed by General Greene to take the command of the Light Troops on his arrival at headquarters from the siege of Yorktown. They were the *élite* of the army under his command, and keeping in advance of the main body, within striking distance of the enemy (Charleston being their headquarters), were kept on the alert for the remainder of the campaign, which continued open until the sickly season approached, when the main army retired from active duty.

The Light Troops were still in the field marching and countermarching, seldom if ever remaining two nights on the same ground, making frequent excursions on the British lines, often falling in with the enemy, when skirmishing would frequently ensue, and attended with considerable disaster on either side. At one time an attempt was made to attack a force of the enemy on John's Island by crossing the Stono River, but were foiled in the attempt owing to the flood-tide making the river unfordable earlier than was contemplated. Part of the troops did cross, but were forced to return, and abandoned for the present the contemplated attack. At another time, from Dorchester, we made an excursion of some considerable distance to attack if possible a large foraging party of British from Charleston in the neighborhood of Georgetown. The troops left the position in the evening, took up their line of march on the Ashley River and proceeded to Strawberry Ferry, on the Cooper, and by a forced march arrived at Hadral's Point. The enemy had received intelligence of our pursuit and had abandoned their object just in time to prevent a rencounter, and we arrived just in time to see the rear of the troops embark for Charleston. At that time the Light Troops of the army, both horse and infantry, were at least one hundred miles by the route we had to return to headquarters, and then and there received orders from our chief to return to

the Ashley River with all possible speed by forced marches to our late position, which we accomplished with the least possible delay. General Greene, being apprehensive of an attack from the British at Charleston in the absence of the whole *élite* of the army, caused this rapid and fatiguing march. The distance to and from our late position we performed, by computation, a march of two hundred miles on that excursion alone. We still remained in active position, but our routes were not far extended until the latter end of August, as my recollection serves me. Then the army received intelligence that a considerable force of the enemy, as a foraging party, had left Charleston, and had proceeded South to Combahee River. Of course, as soon as intelligence was received and confirmed, a heavy detachment was ordered from the army, as well as the Light Troops, under the command of General Gist, of Maryland, to proceed by forced marches to attack and break up the party. Colonel Lawrence, being on the alert, proceeded immediately on the route with a small force (Captain McKen-
nan with the two companies of Delawares and a portion of cavalry), and pushed on in advance of the main body. Colonel Lawrence at their head, anxious to attack the enemy previous to the main body coming up, being in his native State, and at the head of troops, although few in numbers, were as he supposed sufficient to enable him to gain a laurel for his brow previous to a cessation of arms, and of course brought on the attack, could not wait until the main body of the detachment would arrive, but wanted to do all himself, and have all the honor. Fate had directed otherwise. Poor fellow, he was killed on the first fire from the enemy. In the fall and death of Colonel John Lawrence, the army lost one of its brightest ornaments, his country one of its most devoted patriots, his native State one of its most amiable and honored sons, and the Delaware detachment a father, brother, and friend. The troops, both British and American, for the remainder of the campaign were inactive; the heat of the weather and sickly season had arrived. The army retired from active service; remained in that situation until it was

understood the British army was on the eve of evacuating Charleston, the only position then held in the Southern States. Soon after Captain William McKennan and his command was ordered to proceed to the State of Delaware, there to wait for further orders. Of course we proceeded on our march for our destination. We arrived at New Castle, Delaware, about the first of January, 1783, where we rendezvoused until October of the same year, when the Delaware troops, as well as the army of the Revolution, was disbanded, after a seven years' war, with joy and rejoicing. Captain William McKennan was the officer appointed to settle and adjust the accounts of the regiment with William Winder, of Maryland, auditor or agent of the United States. When this was effected, Captain McKennan issued both certificates for services as well as land-warrants to the individuals, claiming, or their attorneys for them, and that to general satisfaction.

The foregoing is a correct statement of the facts as above stated from memory, after a lapse of fifty years and upwards, by me who acted my part through the whole scene.

JOURNAL OF MISS SALLY WISTER.

(Continued from page 333.)

FIRST DAY, AFTERNOON.

A Mr. Seaton and Stodard drank tea with us. He and I had a little private chat after tea. In the even, Seaton went into aunt's; mamma went to see Prissa, who is poorly; papa withdrew to talk with some strangers. Liddy just then came in, so we engaged in an agreeable conversation. I beg'd him to come and give us a circumstantial account of the battle, if there should be one. "I certainly will, ma'am, if I am favor'd with my life." Liddy, unluckily, took it into her head to blunder out something about a person being in the kitchen who had come from the army. Stodard, ever anxious to hear, jump'd up. "Good night to you, ladies," was the word, and he disappeared, but not forever. "Liddy, thee hussy; what business had thee to mention a word of the army? Thee sees it sent him off. Thy evil genius prevail'd, and we all feel the effects of it." "Lord bless me," said Liddy, "I had not a thought of his going, or for ten thousand worlds I would not have spoke." But we cannot recall the past. Well, we laugh'd and chatted at a noisy rate, till a summons for Liddy parted us. I sat negligently on my chair, and thought brought thought, and I got so low-spirited that I cou'd hardly speak. The dread of an engagement, the dreadful situation (if a battle should ensue) we should be in, join'd to my anxiety for P. F.¹ and family, who would be in the midst of the scene, was the occasion. And yet I did not feel half so frighten'd as I expected to be. 'Tis amazing how we get reconciled to such things. Six months ago the bare idea of being within ten, ay, twenty miles, of

¹ Polly Fishbourn.

a battle, wou'd almost have distracted me. And now, tho' two such large armies are within six miles of us, we can converse calmly of it. It verifies the old proverb, "Use is second nature."

I forgot one little piece of intelligence, in which the girls say I discovered a particular partiality for our Marylanders, but I disclaim anything of the kind. These saucy creatures are forever finding out wonders, and forever metamorphosing mole-hills into mountains.

"Friendship I offer, pure and free;
And who, with such a friend as me,
Could ask or wish for more?"

"If they charg'd thee with vanity, Sally, it would not be very unjust." Debby Norris! be quiet; no reflections, or I have done. "But the piece of intelligence, Sally!" [It] is just coming, Debby.

In the afternoon we heard platoon firing.¹ Everybody was at the door; I in the horrors. The armies, as we judg'd, were engag'd. Very compos'dly says the Major to our servant, "Will you be kind enough to saddle my horse? I shall go!" Accordingly the horse was taken from the quiet, hospitable barn to plunge into the thickest ranks of war. Cruel change! Seaton insisted to the Major that the armies were still; "nothing but skirmishing with the flanking parties; do not go." We happen'd (we girls I mean) to be standing in the kitchen, the Major passing thro' in a hurry, and I, forsooth, discover'd a strong partiality by saying, "Oh! Major, thee is not going!" He turn'd round. "Yes, I am, Miss Sally," bow'd, and went into the road; we all pitied him; the firing rather decreas'd; and, after persuasions innumerable from my father and Seaton, and the firing over, he reluctantly agreed to stay. Ill as he was, he would have gone. It show'd his bravery, of which we all believed him possess'd of a large share.

¹ The skirmishing which occurred on the 7th of December is mentioned in Waldo's Journal, printed in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. V. p. 130.

SECOND DAY, December 8th.

Rejoice with us, my dear. The British have return'd to the city.¹ Charming this! May we ever be thankful to the Almighty Disposer of events for his care and protection of us while surrounded with dangers. Major went to the army. Nothing for him to do; so returned.

Third or Fourth day, I forget which, he was very ill; kept his chamber most of the day. In the evening I saw him. I pity him mightily, but pity is a poor remedy.

FIFTH DAY, December 11th.

Our army mov'd, as we thought, to go into winter quarters,² but we hear there is a party of the enemy gone over Schuylkill; so our army went to look at them.³ I observ'd to Stodard, "So you are going to leave us to the English." "Yes, ha! ha! ha! leave you for the English." He has a certain indifference about him that, to strangers, is not very pleasing. He sometimes is silent for minutes. One of these silent fits was interrupted the other day by his clapping his hands and exclaiming aloud, "Oh, my God, I wish this war was at an end!"

NOON.

The Major gone to camp. I don't think we shall see him again. Well, strange creature that I am; here have I been going on without giving thee an account of two officers,—one who will be a principal character; their names are

¹ They reached Philadelphia on the evening of this day, plundering the farms between Edge Hill and the city, as they marched in.

² Early in the morning of this day, 11th December, the camp at Whitmarsh was broken up, and the Americans marched (doubtless up the Skippack road to Broadaxe, and thence westward) to the ferry at Matson's Ford—now Conshohocken. The weather was cold, no snow had fallen, the roads were frozen, and those of the men who were barefoot left such crimson marks on the ground, that afterward Washington made the statement which has passed into history: "You might have tracked the army from Whitmarsh to Valley Forge by the blood of their feet."

³ This was a force under Cornwallis, 3000 strong, that had gone out to collect food and forage in the Merions, and which, as unexpectedly to themselves as to the Americans, encountered the Pennsylvania militia under General James Potter, at the ford. There was no battle, however.

Capt. Lipscomb and a Mr. Tilly; the former a tall, genteel man, very delicate from indisposition, and has a softness in his countenance that is very pleasing, and has the finest head of hair that I ever saw; 'tis a light shining auburn. The fashion of his hair was this—negligently ty'd and waving down his back. Well may it be said,

“Loose flow'd the soft redundancy of his hair.”

He has not hitherto shown himself a lady's man, tho' he is perfectly polite.

Now let me attempt a character of Tilly. He seems a wild, noisy mortal, tho' I am not much acquainted with him. He appears bashful when with girls. We dissipated the Major's bashfulness; but I doubt we have not so good a subject now. He is above the common size, rather genteel, an extreme pretty, ruddy face, hair brown, and a sufficiency of it, a very great laughter, and talks so excessively fast that he often begins a sentence without finishing the last, which confuses him very much, and then he blushes and laughs; and, in short, he keeps me in perpetual good humour; but the creature has not address'd one civil thing to me since he came. But I have not done with his accomplishments yet, for he is a musician,—that is, he plays on the German flute, and has it here.

FIFTH DAY, NIGHT.

The family retir'd; take the adventures of the afternoon as they occur'd. Seaton and Captain Lipscomb drank tea with us. While we sat at tea, the parlour door was open'd; in came Tilly; his appearance was elegant; he had been riding; the wind had given the most beautiful glow to his cheeks, and blow'd his hair carelessly round his cheeks. Oh, my heart, thought I, be secure! The caution was needless, I found it without a wish to stray.

When the tea equipage was remov'd, the conversation turn'd on politicks, a subject I avoid. I gave Betsy a hint. I rose, she followed, and we went to seek Lyddy. We chatted a few moments at the door. The moon shone with uncommon splendour. Our spirits were high. I proposed

a walk; the girls agreed. When we reach'd the poplar tree, we stopp'd. Our ears were assail'd by a number of voices. "A party of light horse," said one. "The English, perhaps; let's run home." "No, no," said I, "be heroines." At last two or three men on horseback came in sight. We walked on. The well-known voice of the Major saluted our hearing with, "How do you do, ladies." We turn'd ourselves about with one accord. He, not relishing the idea of sleeping on the banks of the Schuylkill, had return'd to the mill. We chatted along the road till we reach'd our hospitable mansion. Stodard dismounted, and went into Jesse's parlour. I sat there a half hour. He is very amiable. Lipscomb, Seaton, Tilly, and my father, hearing of his return, and impatient for the news, came in at one door, while I made my exit at the other.

I am vex'd at Tilly, who has his flute, and does nothing but play the fool. He begins a tune, plays a note or so, then stops. Well, after a while, he begins again; stops again. "Will that do, Seaton? Hah! hah! hah!" He has given us but two regular tunes since he arriv'd. I am passionately fond of music. How boyish he behaves.

SIXTH DAY, December 12th, 1777.

I ran into aunt's this morning to chat with the girls. Major Stodard joined us in a few minutes. I verily believe the man is fond of the ladies, and, what to me is astonishing, he has not display'd the smallest degree of pride. Whether he is artful enough to conceal it under the veil of humility, or whether he has none, is a question; but I am inclined to think it the latter. I really am of opinion that there is few of the young fellows of the modern age exempt from vanity, more especially those who are bless'd with exterior graces. If they have a fine pair of eyes, they are forever rolling them about; a fine set of teeth, mind, they are great laughers; a genteel person, forever changing their attitudes to show them to advantage. Oh, vanity, vanity; how boundless is thy sway!

But to resume this interview with Major Stodard. We

were very witty and sprightly. I was darning an apron, upon which he was pleas'd to compliment me. "Well, Miss Sally, what would you do if the British were to come here?" "Do," exclaimed I; "be frighten'd just to death." He laugh'd, and said he would escape their rage by getting behind the representation of a British grenadier that you have up stairs. "Of all things, I should like to frighten Tilly with it. Pray, ladies, let's fix it in his chamber to-night." "If thee will take all the blame, we will assist thee." "That I will," he replied, and this was the plan. We had brought some weeks ago a British grenadier from Uncle Miles's on purpose to divert us. It is remarkably well executed, six feet high, and makes a martial appearance.¹ This we agreed to stand at the door that opens into the road (the house has four rooms on a floor, with a wide entry running through), with another figure, that would add to the deceit. One of our servants was to stand behind them; others were to serve as occasion offer'd. After half an hour's converse, in which we raised our expectations to the highest pitch, we parted. If our scheme answers, I shall communicate it in the eve. Till then, adieu.

SIXTH DAY, NIGHT.

Never did I more sincerely wish to possess a descriptive genius than I do now. All that I can write will fall infinitely short of the truly diverting scene that I have been witness of to-night. But, as I mean to attempt an account, I had as well shorten the preface, and begin the story.

In the beginning of the evening I went to Liddy and beg'd her to secure the swords and pistols which were in their parlour. The Marylander, hearing our voices, joined us. I told him of our proposal. Whether he thought it a good one or not I can't say, but he approv'd of it, and Liddy went in and brought her apron full of swords and pistols. When this was done, Stodard join'd the officers. We girls went and stood at the first landing of the stairs.

¹ This figure is still preserved, and stands (1835) in the hall of Mr. Charles J. Wister's residence at Germantown.

The gentlemen were very merry, and chatting on public affairs, when Seaton's negro (observe that Seaton, being indisposed, was appriz'd of the scheme) open'd the door, candle in hand, and said, "There's somebody at the door that wishes to see you." "Who? All of us?" said Tilly. "Yes, sir," said the boy. They all rose (the Major, as he said afterwards, almost dying with laughter), and walked into the entry, Tilly first, in full expectation of news. The first object that struck his view was a British soldier. In a moment his ears were saluted, "Is there any rebel officers here?" in a thundering voice. Not waiting for a second word, he darted like lightning out of the front door, through the yard, bolted o'er the fence. Swamps, fences, thorn-hedges and plough'd fields no way impeded his retreat. He was soon out of hearing. The woods echoed with, "Which way did he go? Stop him! Surround the house!" The amiable Lipscomb had his hand on the latch of the door, intending to make his escape; Stodard, considering his indisposition, acquainted him with the deceit. We females ran down stairs to join in the general laugh. I walked into Jesse's parlour. There sat poor Stodard (whose sore lips must have receiv'd no advantage from this), almost convuls'd with laughing, rolling in an arm-chair. He said nothing; I believe he could not have spoke. "Major Stodard," said I, "go to call Tilly back. He will lose himself,—indeed he will;" every word interrupted with a "Ha! ha!" At last he rose, and went to the door; and what a loud voice could avail in bringing him back, he tried. Figure to thyself this Tilly, of a snowy evening, no hat, shoes down at the heel, hair unty'd, flying across meadows, creeks, and mud-holes. Flying from what? Why, a bit of painted wood. But he was ignorant of what it was. The idea of being made a prisoner wholly engrossed his mind, and his last resource was to run.

After a while, we being in more composure, and our bursts of laughter less frequent, yet by no means subsided,—in full assembly of girls and officers,—Tilly enter'd. The greatest part of my risibility turn'd to pity. Inexpressible

confusion had taken entire possession of his countenance, his fine hair hanging dishevell'd down his shoulders, all splashed with mud; yet his bright confusion and race had not divested him of his beauty. He smil'd as he trip'd up the steps; but 'twas vexation plac'd it on his features. Joy at that moment was banished from his heart. He briskly walked five or six steps, then stop'd, and took a general survey of us all. "Where *have* you been, Mr. Tilly?" ask'd one officer. (We girls were silent.) "I really imagin'd," said Major Stodard, "that you were gone for your pistols. I follow'd you to prevent danger,"—an excessive laugh at each question, which it was impossible to restrain. "Pray, where were your pistols, Tilly?" He broke his silence by the following expression: "You may all go to the D——l." I never heard him utter an indecent expression before.

At last his good nature gain'd a compleat ascendance over his anger and he join'd heartily in the laugh. I will do him the justice to say that he bore it charmingly. No cowardly threats, no vengeance denounced. Stodard caught hold of his coat. "Come, look at what you ran away from," and drag'd him to the door. He gave it a look, said it was very natural, and, by the singularity of his expressions, gave fresh cause for diversion. We all retir'd to our different parlours, for the rest of our faces, if I may say so.

Well, certainly, these military folks will laugh all night. Such screaming I never did hear. Adieu to-night.

December 13th.

I am fearful they will yet carry the joke too far. Tilly certainly possesses an uncommon share of good nature, or he could not tolerate these frequent teazings. Ah, Deborah, the Major is going to leave us entirely—just going. I will see him first.

SEVENTH DAY, NOON.

He has gone. I saw him pass the bridge. The woods which you enter immediately after crossing it, hinder'd us from following him further. I seem to fancy he will return in the evening.

SEVENTH DAY, NIGHT.

Stodard not come back. We shall not, I fancy, see him again for months, perhaps for years, unless he should visit Philadelphia. We shall miss his agreeable company. But what shall we make of Tilly? No civil things yet from him. Adieu to-night, my dear.

December 14th.

The officers yet here. No talk of their departure. They are very lively. Tilly's retreat the occasion; the principal one, at least.

FIRST DAY, NIGHT.

Captain Lipscomb, Seaton, and Tilly, with cousin H. M.,¹ dined with us to-day. Such an everlasting bore as Tilly I never knew. He caused us a good deal of diversion while we sat at table. Has not said a syllable to one of us young ladies since Sixth day eve. He tells Lipscomb that the Major had the assistance of the ladies in the execution of the scheme. He tells a truth.

About four o'clock I was standing at the door, leaning my head on my hand, when a genteel officer rode up to the gate and dismounted. "Your servant, ma'am," and gave me the compliment of his hat. Went into aunt's. I went into our parlour. Soon Seaton was call'd. Many minutes had not elapsed before he enter'd with the young fellow whom I had just seen. He introduced him by the name of Captain Smallwood. We seated ourselves. I then had an opportunity of seeing him. He is a brother to General Smallwood. A very genteel, pretty little fellow, very modest, and seems agreeable, but no personal resemblance between him and the Major. After tea, turning to Tilly, he said, "So, sir, I have heard you had like to have been taken prisoner last Friday night." "Pray, sir, who informed you?" "Major Stodard was my author." "I fancy he made a fine tale of it. How far did he say I ran?" "Two miles; and that you fell into the mill-pond." He rais'd his eyes and hands, and exclaimed, "What a confounded falsehood." The whole affair was again reviv'd. Our Tillian here gave a mighty droll account of his "re-

¹ Hannah Miles, daughter of Colonel Miles.

treat," as they call it. He told us that, after he had got behind our kitchen, he stop'd for company, as he expected the others would immediately follow. "But I heard them scream, 'Which way did he go? Where is he?' 'Aye,' said I to myself, 'he is gone where you shan't catch him,' and off I set again." "Pray," ask'd mamma, "did thee keep that lane between the meadows?" "Oh, no, ma'am; that was a large road, and I might happen to meet some of them. When I got to your thorn hedge, I again stop'd. As it was a cold night, I thought I would pull up my shoe-heels, and tie my handkerchief round my head. I began to have a suspicion of a trick, and, hearing the Major hollow, I came back."

I think I did not laugh more at the very time than to-night at the rehearsal of it. He is so good-natured, and takes all their jokes with so good a grace, that I am quite charm'd with him. He laughingly denounces vengeance against Stodard. He will be even with him. He is in the Major's debt, but he will pay him, etc.

December 15th.

Smallwood has taken up his quarters with us. Nothing worth relating occur'd to-day.

3d, 4th, and 5th day.

We chatted a little with the officers. Smallwood not so chatty as his brother or nephew. Lipscomb is very agreeable; a delightful musical voice.

SIXTH DAY, NOON, December 19th.

The officers, after the politest adieus, have left us. Smallwood and Tilly are going to Maryland,¹ where they live; Seaton to Virginia; and Lipscomb to camp, to join his regiment. I feel sorry at this departure, yet 'tis a different kind from what I felt some time since. We had not contracted so great an intimacy with those last.

SEVENTH DAY, December 20th.

General Washington's army have gone into winter quar-

¹ General Smallwood's brigade went to Wilmington, where they passed the winter.

ters at the Valley Forge.¹ We shall not see many of the military now. We shall be very intimate with solitude. I am afraid stupidity will be a frequent guest. After so much company, I can't relish the idea of sequestration.

FIRST DAY, NIGHT.

A dull round of the same thing over again. I shall hang up my pen until something offers worth relating.

February 3d and 4th.

I thought I never should have anything to say again. Nothing happen'd all January that was uncommon. Capt. Lipscomb and Mas² stay'd one night at Jesse's, and sup'd with us. How elegant the former was dres'd. And indeed I have forgot to keep an exact account of the day of the month in which I went down to G. E.'s, with P. F.;³ but it was the 23d or 24th of February. After enjoying a week of her agreeable company at the mill, I returned⁴ with her to Whitmarsh. We went on horseback,—the roads bad. We however surmounted this difficulty, and arrived there safe.

SECOND DAY, EVE.

G. E. brought us a charming collection of books,—“Joe Andrews,” “Juliet Grenville,” and some *Lady's Magazines*. P. F. sent us “Caroline Melmoth.”⁵

FOURTH DAY, 26th.

I thought our scheme of going to Fr'd F.'s was entirely frustrated, as S. E. was much indispos'd. About twelve she got better. We made some alteration in our dress, step'd

¹ The army had been at Gulf Creek (near Conshohocken, but west of the Schuylkill) for a few days, but left there on the 19th, and marched to Valley Creek, to begin the winter encampment.

² So in copy. Not intelligible.

³ To George Emlen's (at Whitmarsh, close by the present station of Sandy Run), with Polly Fishbourn.

⁴ The language here, not entirely clear, means that Polly Fishbourn had been “at the mill,”—at Penllyn,—when Miss Sally “went down” with her.

⁵ We get some clue, here, as to the attractive literature of the times. “Joseph Andrews” was Fielding's famous novel, published in 1742. The *Lady's Magazine* was a London monthly, whose issue was begun October, 1759, “by John Wilkie, book-seller, Fleet Street.”

into the carriage, and rode off. Spent a most delightful day. As we approach'd the house, on our return, we perceiv'd several strangers in the parlour. Polly's face and mine brighten'd up at the discovery. We alighted. Polly swung open the door, and introduc'd us to Major Jameson and Captain Howard, both of the dragoons, the former from Virginia, the latter a Marylander. We all seem'd in penseroso style till after supper. We then began to be rather more sociable. About ten they bid us adieu. I dare say thee is impatient to know my sentiments of the swains. Howard has very few external charms; indeed I cannot name one. As to his internal ones, I am not a judge. Jameson is tall and manly, a comely face, dark eyes and hair. Seems to be much of a gentleman. No ways deficient in point of sense, or, at least, in the course of the evening, I discover'd none.

Fifth and Sixth day, and Seventh day, passed away very agreeably. No strangers.

FIRST DAY, EVE.

This day my charming friend and myself ascended the barren hills of Whitemarsh, from the tops of which we had an extensive prospect of the country round. The traces of the army which encamp'd on these hills are very visible. Rugged huts, imitations of chimneys, and many other ruinous objects, which plainly show'd they had been there. D. J. S. dined with us.

SECOND DAY.

Very cold and windy. I wonder I am not sent for. Read and work'd by turns.

THIRD DAY.

A raw, snowy day. I am sent for, nevertheless. Adieu.

[NORTH WALES, at my habitation at the mill.]

March 1st, 1778, THIRD DAY, EVE.

Such a ride as I have had, O dear Debby. About two o'clock the sleigh came for me. Snowing excessively fast, though not sufficiently deep to make it tolerable sleighing; but go I must. I bid adieu to my agreeable friends, and with a heavy heart and flowing eyes, I seated myself in the

unsociable vehicle. There might as well have been no snow on the ground. I was jolted just to pieces. But, notwithstanding these vexations, I got safe to my home, when I had the great pleasure of finding my dear parents, sisters, and brothers well, a blessing which I hope ever to remember with thankfulness.

Well, will our nunnery be more bearable now than before I left it? No beaus since I left here, so I have the advantage of the girls. They are wild to see Major Jameson.

MAY 11th, 1778.

The scarcity of paper, which is very great in this part of the country, and the three last months not producing anything material, have prevented me from keeping a regular account of things; but to-day the scene begins to brighten, and I will continue my nonsense. In the afternoon, we were just seated at tea,—Dr. Moore¹ with us. Nelly (our girl) brought us the wonderful intelligence that there were light horse in the road. The tea-table was almost deserted. About fifteen light horse were the vanguard of 16 hundred men under the command of General Maxwell.² I imagin'd that they would pass immediately by, but was agreeably disappointed. My father came in with the General, Colonel Brodhead, Major Ogden,³ and Captain Jones.

The General is a Scotsman,—nothing prepossessing in his appearance; the Colonel, very martial and fierce; Ogden, a genteel young fellow, with an aquiline nose. Captain Cadwallader Jones—if I was not invincible, I must have fallen a victim to this man's elegancies (but, thank my good fortune, I am not made of susceptibilities),—tall, elegant, and handsome,—white fac'd with blue regimentals, and a mighty airish cap and white crest; his behaviour is refin'd,—a Virginian. They sat a few minutes after tea, then bid us adieu.

This brigade is encamp'd about three miles from us.

¹ Dr. Charles Moore, of Montgomery, no doubt.

² William Maxwell, of New Jersey. He was a native of that colony, according to Drake.

³ Probably Aaron Ogden, who was an aid of Maxwell in 1779.

FIRST DAY, EVENING.

This afternoon has been productive of adventures in the true sense of the word. Jenny R., Betsy, Liddy, and I, very genteelly dress'd, determined to take a stroll. Neighbour Morgan's was proposed. Away we rambled, heedless girls. Pass'd two picket guards. Meeting with no interruptions encouraged us. After paying our visit, we walked towards home, when, to my utter astonishment, the sentry desir'd us to stop; that he had orders not to suffer any persons to pass but those who had leave from the officer, who was at the guard house, surrounded by a number of men. To go to him would be inconsistent with propriety; to stay there, and night advancing, was not clever. I was much terrified. I tried to persuade the soldier to let us pass. "No; he dared not." Betsy attempted to go. He presented his gun with the bayonet fix'd. This was an additional fright. Back we turn'd; and, very fortunately, the officer (Captain Emeson), seeing our distress, came to us. I ask'd him if he had any objection to passing the sentry. "None at all, ma'am." He waited upon us, and reprimanded the man, and we, without any farther difficulty, came home.

THIRD DAY, June 2d.

I was standing at the back window. An officer and private of dragoons rode by. I tore to the door to have a better view of them. They stop'd. The officer rode up, and ask'd for Jesse, who was call'd.

AFTERNOON, 4 o'clock.

Oh, Deborah; what capital adventures. Jesse came. The idea of having light horse quarter'd at the farm was disagreeable; the meadows just fit to mow, and we had heard what destruction had awaited their footsteps. This was the dialogue between Jesse and the officer: "Pray, sir, can I have quarters for a few horsemen?" "How many?" "Five and twenty, sir. I do not mean to turn them into your meadows. If you have any place you can spare, anything will do." And he dismounted, and walk'd into aunt's parlour. I, determin'd to find out his character, follow'd. "I have," replied Jesse, "a tolerable field, that may per-

haps suit." "That will do, sir. But if you have any objection to putting them in a field, my men shall cut the grass, and bring it in the road. I am under the necessity of quartering them here, but I was order'd. I am only an inferior officer." Some elegant corporal, thought I, and went to the door. He soon join'd me, speaking to his man, "Ride off, and tell Mr. Watts we rendezvous here."

He inquir'd the name of the farmer, and went into aunt's; I into the back room. The troop rode up. "New scenes," said I, and moved up-stairs, where I saw them perform their different manœuvres. This Mr. Watts is remarkably tall, and a good countenance. I adjourn'd to the parlor. The first officer march'd up and down the entry. Prissa came in. "Good, now, Prissa. What's the name of this man?" "Dyer, I believe." Captain Dyer. Oh, the name! "What does he say?" "Why, that he will kiss me when he has din'd." "Singular," I observ'd, "on so short an acquaintance." "But," resum'd Prissa, "he came and fix'd his arm on the chair I sat in: 'Pray, ma'am, is there not a family from town with you?' 'Yes.' 'What's their name?' 'Wister.' 'There's two fine girls there. I will go chat with them. Pray, did they leave their effects in Philadelphia?' 'Yes, everything, almost.' 'They shall have them again, that they shall.'" There ended the conversation. But this ugly name teas'd me. "Oh, Sally, he is a Virginian; that's in his favor greatly." "I'm not sure that's his name, but I understood so." Prissa left us. I step'd into aunt's for Johnny and desir'd him to come home. Up started the Captain: "Pray, let me introduce you ma'am." "I am perfectly acquainted with him," said I, and turned to the door. "Tell your sister I believe she is not fond of strangers." I smil'd, and returned to our parlour.

THIRD DAY NIGHT, nine o'clock, aye, ten, I fancy.

Take a circumstantial account of this afternoon, and the person of this extraordinary man. His exterior first. His name is not Dyer, but Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, which certainly gives a genteel idea of the man. I will be particular. His person is more elegantly form'd than any

I ever saw; tall and commanding. His forehead is very white, though the lower part of his face is much sunburn'd; his features are extremely pleasing; an even, white set of teeth, dark hair and eyes. I can't better describe him than by saying he is the handsomest man I ever beheld. Betsy and Liddy coincide in this opinion.

After I had sat a while at home, in came Dandridge. He enter'd into chat immediately. Ask'd if we knew Tacy Vanderen. Said he courted her, and that they were to be married soon. Observ'd my sampler, which was in full view. Wish'd I would teach the Virginians some of my needle wisdom; they were the laziest girls in the world. Told his name. Laugh'd and talk'd incessantly. At last, "May I" (to mamma) "introduce my brother officer?" We assented; so he call'd him. "Mr. Watts, Mrs. Wister, young Miss Wister. Mr. Watts, ladies, is one of our Virginia children." He sat down. Tea was order'd. Dandridge never drank tea; Watts had done; so we sat to the table alone. "Let's walk in the garden," said the Captain; so we call'd Liddy, and went (not Watts). We sat down in a sort of a summer-house. "Miss Sally, are you a Quaker?" "Yes." "Now, *are* you a Quaker?" "Yes, I am." "Then you are a Tory." "I am not, indeed." "Oh, dear," replied he, "I am a poor creature. I can hardly live." Then, flying away from that subject, "Will you marry me, Miss Sally?" "No, really; a gentleman after he has said he has not sufficient to maintain himself, to ask me to marry him." "Never mind what I say, I have enough to make the pot boil."

Had we been acquainted seven years, we could not have been more sociable. The moon gave a sadly pleasing light. We sat at the door till nine. Dandridge is sensible, and (divested of some freedoms, which might be call'd gallant in the fashionable world) he is polite and agreeable. His greatest fault is a propensity to swearing, which throws a shade over his accomplishments. I ask'd him why he did so. "It is a favorite vice, Miss Sally." At nine he went to his chamber. Sets off at sunrise.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

EFFORTS MADE BY THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS TO PRESERVE PEACE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES.—The following interesting paper was furnished us by William J. Buck, who copied it from the journal of Josiah Dyer, of Dyerstown, Bucks County, in September, 1882, now in the possession of a descendant of the family. It commences in the year 1763, and a short time before his death was continued by his son John down to the year 1805. Josiah Dyer died in 4th month, 1780, aged 72 years, and was buried at Plumstead Meeting-House. John Dyer was married to Jemima Moore, of New Jersey, but we do not possess the date of his death. Thomas Dyer, brother of the latter, was a justice of the peace in Plumstead during the Revolution, and also died in Dyerstown, 5th of 7th month, 1799. The journal shows that the family were friendly to the cause of independence. It is to be regretted that no further particulars can be given respecting this document. We are not aware of its having been hitherto published or noticed in any work treating on the American Revolution.

A Copy of the Address and Petition delivered to his Majesty at St. James by four of the principal people called Quakers in March, 1775.

TO GEORGE THE THIRD KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE DOMINIONS THERE UNTO BELONGING: THE ADDRESS AND PETITION OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

MAY IT PLEASE THE KING:

Gratefully sensible of the protection and indulgence we enjoy under the Government, and with hearts full of anxious concern for thy happiness and the prosperity of this Great Empire we beg leave to approach the royal presence. Prompted by the affection we bear to our brethren and fellow subjects. Impressed with an apprehension of calamities in which the whole British Empire may be involved and moved by an ardent Desire to promote thy Royal Intention of effecting a happy reconciliation with thy people in America. We beseech thy gracious regard to our petition from the intercourse subsisting between us and our brethren abroad for the advancement of piety and virtue, we are persuaded there are not in thy extensive Dominions subjects more loyal and more zealously attached to thy Royal person, thy family and government, than in the provinces of America and amongst all Religious Denominations. We presume not to justify the excesses committed, nor to inquire into the causes which may have produced them, but influenced by the principles of that Religion which proclaims peace on earth and Good will to men. We humbly beseech thee to stay the sword, that means may be tried to effect without bloodshed, and all the evils of Intestine war, a firm and lasting union with our fellow-subjects in America.

Great and arduous as the task may appear we trust men may be found in this country and in America, Who properly authorized, would with a

zeal and ardour becoming an object so important, Endeavour to compose the present differences and establish a happy and permanent reconciliation on that firm foundation, the reciprocal interest of each part of the British Empire. That the Almighty by whom Kings reign and princes decree Justice may make thee the happy instrument of perpetuating harmony and concord through the several parts of thy extensive Dominions and that clemency and magnanimity may be admired in future generations and the accession of thy descendants fill with honour to themselves, and happiness to thy people the throne of their ancestors is the fervent prayer of thy friends and subjects.

PHILADELPHIA DURING ITS OCCUPATION BY THE BRITISH.—The following letters are in the William Henry Manuscripts, collected by John Jordan, Jr. They relate to the time when the British army occupied Philadelphia during the Revolution, and give us an insight into the state of affairs at that time:

SIR,—On Tuesday noon Commissioners between the Two Armies are to meet at Germantown on business of importance respecting prisoners. That place is to be neutral during their negotiations, and his Excellency desires, that during the stay of the Commissioners there you will not permit any of the party under your command to enter into the Town. He also requests that you will forward the enclosed Letter to Genl. Lacey immediately, which is on the same subject—likewise the letter to Captain Henderson.

I am sir,

Your Most Obed. Servt.,
ROBERT HARRISON,
Secy.

Head Qrs. Valley Forge, March 28, 1778.

H. QR., March 18th, 78.

DEAR CAPT.,—With regard to your mode of punishing the Market People it is not in all respects proper—As many of the disaffected persons are willing to be flogg'd if they can make money. Should therefore be obliged to you, if you would punish those who you suppose less criminal in the mode you have hitherto pursued—but those who you suppose, and it can be made to appear, are the greatest Villains, you will send them to camp to be tried for their Lives, as the Law of the Land requires their Execution for examples to evil doers, and prevent more effectually such villainous practices.

Wishing you all possible success,

I am yr. Very Humble Servt.,
ALEXD. SCAMMELL, B. G.

CAMP, March 19, 1778.

SIR,—I received your favour of this date: if the information you have rec'd of the Enemies design in Coming out to forage should be true, I would not advise you to keep too near their lines for fear of being enclosed by them, for you may depend on their coming very strong.

I am at present with my party at Dylestown, and the first information will move toward the Billet, where you may find me. The Militia Horse is now on the lines. If you should meet them they may be of service in giving you information.

Gen. Wayne is left this and gone to Head Quarters with all his party.

I am, Dear Sir, with Respect,
Your very Humble Servant,
JOHN LACEY, JR., B. G.

SIR,—The Bearer Mr. Rudy goes With four Deserters which we took up back of Germantown in the Woods concealed. Major Bensell was along with me but we give up any Claim to the Reward & hope you will pay the four Militiamen who go along four half Joes or the Exchange as it Will be a further Incouragement to the people.

I am Your Most Obdt. Servt.,
OWEN FERRIS.

Germantown, 7 Oct., 1780.

THIS commemorative poem upon Francis Daniel Pastorius was, as it appears from the signature, written by Howell Powell, 21st of 3d mo., 1720. It was preserved by the Pastorius family by pasting it in his MS. volume called the "Bee." As an early specimen of hitherto unknown Pennsylvania verse it is curious and interesting, but its details concerning the life and character of Pastorius give it a far greater and more permanent value.

S. W. P.

A COMMEMORATORY POEM ON FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS.

What Francis Daniel Pastorius
Hath tane his flight from hence to Olympus
Lost to his Posterity, ye Germantown Specially
Loss (tho' great gains to him) it was to many,
The Hermes, Glory, Crown, and Linguist's gone
Who oft interpreted Teutonick Tongue,
The Scribe and Tutor, German's Polar Guide
An Antiquarian that was far from pride
Religious, Zealous Amanuensis;
An Universal Man in Arts Sciences,
Who lov'd his Friends: the Britains; yea all Nations
Zealous for the Truth, full of Compations,
Ah! may Germanopolis be agen Supplied
Of that great Loss; their Honour once, their Guide
A wise Achilles as he was be sent
Lowly, Lovely, Learn'd Lively, Still Content,
Now free from Cares, Dire troubles that attend
This brittle Case, the Heavenly Quire befriend
Him still; Joyes in the glorious Lamb, alone
Seeth the Beatifick vision
You his Family offspring take Example
By Francis, Just Sincere & truly Humble
Tho you Condole the Loss of's Company
He got a better; be Content thereby
Tho many lost a Friend; He got; yet they
Rejoyce that he hath Nobler still for ay.
Tho Dead to his Corporal Form, that Sleep, He Live
In Immortality needs no Reprieve

Vade Diis Superis scandere Culmen Olymp
Francisce æ que vale, tu cape, carpe viam,
Opto simul quaeris vestigia recta sequi
Te pedibus verbis; te simul; esse bonos.

Howell Powell fecit
a gratio
21 3te mensi 1720

THE ATTEMPT TO ROB THE PHILADELPHIA BANK.—The following paper was handed to us several years ago by the late William Duane:

As is known to most Philadelphians, Dock Creek once flowed through Dock Street. The southern branch of this creek proceeded from a spring in Potter's Field, now Washington Square, passed eastwardly to Fifth Street, then took a northeastwardly direction to Chestnut and Fourth Streets, where it bent again to the eastward, and joined the northern branch in the vicinity of Hudson's Alley and Chestnut Street. The whole course of the southern branch was arched over many years ago, as was the creek from the river to the point where the two branches met.

In 1821 a daring attempt to rob the Philadelphia Bank, which then stood at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Fourth Streets, was made by some men who entered the culvert in a boat from the Delaware River and broke into the vaults of the bank. Several years ago the following account of that attempt was prepared by the son of one of those who were in the employ of the bank at the time of the attempted robbery:

"The old Philadelphia Bank, which stood at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Fourth Streets, was of Gothic structure, built upon heavy arches, and was surrounded by a beautiful garden of flowers and shrubbery, and was looked upon, in its time, as one of the handsomest buildings in the city. My father was watchman of the bank in the year 1821, when an attempt was made to rob it by entering the culvert and digging under the foundation. The cashier resided in Fourth Street, next door to the bank, and was in the practice, after the bank had been closed, of going in to see that all was right. One evening, when my father had entered on duty and was in the act of lighting the lamp over the front door of the bank, the cashier, being inside, came to the door and requested him to come in. On entering he saw several of the clerks whom the cashier had sent for previous to the arrival of my father. They motioned him to be silent, and in a short time a noise was heard upon the outer side of the iron door leading to the cellar, as of filing or sawing. Father was asked what he thought of it. He said that whatever it was it should be attended to quickly. He then proposed that one of them should hold the light whilst another would place the key in the lock quietly and open suddenly, and he would advance and they would follow. They did so, and opened upon two men. They pursued them down the cellar steps; my father being in advance struck at them with his sword, but they, having the start, turned suddenly into one of the arches and passed out of sight. Hearing the ash-scuttle fall, as it was overturned by the robbers in their flight, the pursuers made for that point, and then in front of the arch, where the ashes were kept, they discovered the hole by which the robbers had entered and escaped. Farther pursuit in that direction was useless. It was plain that their aim was to dig up under the vault, but they missed it by several yards.

"The clerks then resolved to watch all night. Two of them proceeded to the inlet in Hudson's Alley, thinking that at that place they would come out, it being the nearest to the bank. They had been there but a few moments before they heard persons talking in the culvert, near the inlet, and directly they saw them place their hands on the iron bar that crossed the inlet and in the act of coming out, when one of the clerks, being too hasty, very unwisely aimed a blow at their hands with his sword, which caused them to retreat from that point. The two clerks returned to the bank and reported the occurrence. One of the clerks present having no weapon, went home to obtain one. On returning and coming down

Fourth Street he saw a man covered with filth and dirt walking closely alongside of the Academy wall (where the Merchants' Hotel now stands) as if trying to screen himself from observation. The clerk accosted him, but he would give no satisfaction. He then arrested him on suspicion and took him to the bank, and it turned out that he was one of the party that attempted the robbery of the bank. On the following day men were employed to excavate the street in front of the bank. When they had reached the culvert they found it broken through, and an opening dug thence to and under the foundation of the bank. A party now went to examine the main culvert in Dock Street, when in that culvert and nearly opposite to the banking-house of Stephen Girard, now the Girard Bank, they discovered a boat containing shovels, spades, pickaxes, handspikes, and other implements, also plenty of provisions, as ham, crackers, cheese, dried beef, etc. It was also ascertained that the boat had been stolen from the boat-building establishment of Mr. Hill, in Swanson Street below Queen Street, in the old district of Southwark. How long they had been working in the culvert was not known, but it was presumed that they were occupied some two or three weeks, working in the day when the noise in the streets would prevent them from being heard, and coming out of some one of the inlets at night. The man arrested by the clerk, as already stated, was imprisoned, but for how long a term I do not recollect. I heard that he was pardoned, and had not been long out of prison before he stole a horse and gig and left for other parts, and that was the last I believe I heard of him in these quarters.

"I think that I have given you a correct account as I have heard my father state it. I well recollect going with my father to see him, with four or five others, enter the culvert in Hudson's Alley to see what they could discover in regard to the attempted robbery, I being then about fourteen years of age."

AMERICAN POLITICS IN 1796.—The following letter from Lord Lyndhurst (John Singleton Copley, Jr.) to his mother, written while travelling in America at the age of twenty-four, will be read with interest. It is copied from the life of Copley, the eminent artist, by his granddaughter, Martha Babcock Amory :

PHILADELPHIA, April 20, 1796.

I have been four days in this city, and cannot yet give you a very good account of it; but, as I promised to write by every opportunity, I take pen to say that with respect to me "All's well." *I have become a fierce Aristocrat!* This is the country to cure your Jacobins. Send them over, and they will return quite converted. The opposition here are a set of villains. Their object is to upset the government, and all good men are apprehensive lest they should on the present occasion be successful. They are now debating upon the treaty. The President and Senate, in whom is vested, by the Constitution, the power of making treaties, have ratified the treaty with Great Britain. But the Lower House seem inclined to refuse the appropriation necessary for carrying it into effect. They are now debating the question, and I fear a great majority will be against the execution. The Middle and New England States are strongly in favor of the treaty; the Southern States, in particular Virginia, who will be called upon for the payment of her debts in case the treaty takes effect, are in violent opposition to the treaty. A great schism seems to be forming, and they already begin to talk of a separation of the States north of the Potomac from those on the southern side of the river. The underwriters refuse to insure; produce has already fallen, and every person is alarmed. A war with England, per-

haps a civil war, will be the consequence of success in the present opposition. These are the sentiments of the people here. They are not, however, my sentiments. Depend upon it all will end well. I even entertain some doubt whether the Executive will not have a majority in the House of Representatives. But, if not, I do not apprehend such serious consequences as people in general look for.

THE FOOTWAYS ON MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA, IN 1764.—An original paper in the Historical Society's collections.

To the Gentlemen empowered to ascertain the breadth of the footways in the city of Philadelphia:

As it has lately been part of my business to assist in making those regulations, I beg leave to offer some considerations on the breadth of the foot ways, on the north and south sides of the Butcher's Shambles, being a part that I have particularly observed above 40 years. First there was taken out of this 100 foot Street, 28 feet for a Court House and Shambles, the major part of which 28 is made a dry paved foot way and more used than either of the footways on each side, which makes a broad footway on the sides less necessary; and above 10 feet more has been taken out of the cartway for Court House steps, so that it leaves the Cartway there extream narrow on both sides: for this reason the brick pavement on the south side was made about 12 feet wide, i.e. not wider than those of the narrowest Streets in the City, and on the north the brick pavement is 14 feet wide, which makes the Cartway there 2 feet narrower than on the South. The Butcher's Carts stand on the north because the Country market is chiefly kept on the south, and all the Pumps are placed on the north side for the advantage of the Winter Sun. These encumbrances and the extream narrow passage in so public a part occasion frequent Squabbles and Contentions between drivers of Carriages, Horseman and others, and I never remember to have observed or heard of any dispute about a passage on the footway there, unless where the part has been incumbered with Flaxseed or other Lumber; and when Fire wood is laid on the street there 'tis often extremely difficult for a carriage to pass, for every 50 foot Street has more convenience of cartway for Fire wood, materials for building, &c., than this 100 foot Street.

I have once heard it observed that the footways north and south of the Jersey market are wider, and the cartway in general as narrow, as against the Butcher's Shambles, but when the foregoing reasons are considered, and that the Court House steps contract the passage more than 10 feet, and that for one country Horseman who turns at the court-house to the East, above forty turn to the West (because all the Inns are on the West side), I believe every objection will be obviated.

As to uniformity in the breadth of the footways in Market Street, on the East and West side of Second Street it cannot be, without reducing the Cartway at least 3 or 4 feet more than it already is on the south side the Court House, for an inequality of breadth must be either between the East and West side of Second Street or Third Street, and its immaterial in which it is made.

A few years since the owners of Houses on the North and South sides of Market Street, to the westward of the old Shambles, made the footways as wide as they are to the west of the Meal Market: this incroachment on the Cartway might then be allowed, but since the new Shambles have been erected and a broad foot made in the middle, the former pretence for making wide footways on the sides ceases, or can be maintained

with less reason. I have indeed never heard any other offer'd why the footways there should be continued wide, after the necessity of building those Shambles, than because it was a broad Street. The footways on the sides should be broad in proportion, without any further Consideration.

I hope you'll please to excuse these observations, as they arise only from a desire of having the Benefits of a regular built City as equally distributed as may be to a general advantage.

All which I submit to your deliberate Consideration.

(Signed)

HUGH ROBERTS.

May, 1764.

J. W. J.

JOHN WHITE SWIFT, PURSER OF THE "EMPRESS OF CHINA," the first vessel to sail from the United States to Canton, to his father, John Swift, of Philadelphia:

CANTON IN CHINA,

December 3d, 1784.

MY DEAR FATHER,—If ever you receive this letter it will acquaint you that after a passage of 6 months and 7 days we came to anchor at Wampoo, four leagues from this City, where all foreign Ships load and unload. We had no difficulty in coming thro' the China Seas, having fortunately met with Mons. Dordelin, commander of the ship Triton (bound to China), on entering the Straits of Sundra, with whom we kept company till we got our Pilot.

The Chinese had never heard of us, but we introduced ourselves as a new Nation, gave them our history, with a description of our Country, the importance and necessity of a trade here to the advantage of both, which they appear perfectly to understand and wish.

Our cargoe turned out but so so. We brought too much Ginseng. A little of the best kind will yield an immense profit, but all the European Nations trading here bring this Article, and unfortunately this year ten times as much arrived as ever did before. Old Dollars are 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ct. better than new. A little Tar, a little Ginseng, a little Wine, and a great many Dollars, with some &cs make the best Cargoe. I mention this as a hint to Jacob, if he inclines to come here, which is my advice if he can get the command of a ship. Her burthen out to be at least 700 or 800 tons. Ours is much too small.

I am now here purchasing my little matters, and we expect to sail in one month. Perhaps I may see you in the month of May; but least I never should, I write by way of London to let you know that we had arrived in China. If we have a favorable passage, long before this reaches you I shall be at home.

I send you every best wish of a heart that loves you. Make my most affectionate love to my Mother, the family, and all our friends, and believe me to be with the greatest respect

Your most affect. Son,

JOHN WHITE SWIFT.

[From another letter it appears that the "Empress of China," Captain John Green, second Captain Peter Hodgkinson, of which J. W. Swift was purser, was "off New Island, within the Straits of Sundra, July 18, 1784," having reached there the previous evening, after a voyage of three months and eighteen days from the Island of St. Jago, which was its first stopping-place after leaving Philadelphia. The same letter mentions the "Triton" as a French ship of sixty-four guns, bound for Canton.]

A CENTURY OF PRINTING. THE ISSUES OF THE PRESS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1685-1784. By Charles R. Hildeburn. Vol. I. 1685-1763. Philadelphia, 1885. 4to, 392 pp.

We have before us the first volume of Mr. Hildeburn's work, giving the titles of the books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., printed in Pennsylvania during the hundred years following the introduction of the art into the Province by William Bradford in 1685.

Mr. Hildeburn seems to have read with profit Longfellow's poem of the "Courtship of Miles Standish," and to have laid to heart the favorite adage of the doughty captain of Plymouth,—

"If you wish a thing to be well done,
You must do it yourself, you must not leave it to others."

Following this maxim, he has added to the part of author that of publisher, and has lavished upon the volume the costly attractions of broad margins, clear type, and excellent paper. There are none of the ear-marks of trade about it,—nothing to suggest a possibility of profit, and much to awaken the fear that in this utilitarian age, unless the lovers of good books come to the rescue, he will be left to bear the chief portion of the expense of having created the most enduring monument that could have been produced to the memory of the early printers of our commonwealth.

Excellent as the mechanical features of the book are, they are excelled by the care and industry which have been expended on its contents. It is the most creditable piece of bibliographical work ever performed in this country. The titles are given with the greatest accuracy, and the labor which it has cost to bring them together may in some degree be imagined when the author's statement is read that "nearly six years have been devoted to the work, and within that period every bibliography, library, and sale catalogue coming under the compiler's notice from which any information seemed likely to be obtained has been carefully examined. Every newspaper published in Pennsylvania prior to 1785, as far as access could be had, has been searched. This involved a perusal of each advertisement in nearly two hundred and fifty yearly volumes of newspapers containing from fifty to one hundred and fifty-six papers each. The principal libraries of America and England have also been visited. The titles which have thus been brought together amount to upwards of forty-five hundred."

Nineteen hundred and thirty-five are in the first volume; and to many of these, particularly to the early ones, elaborate notes are added, which show how thoroughly the author has done his work. From them a better idea can be gathered than from anything which has heretofore been written of the controversy between George Keith and the disciples of George Fox, a controversy which shook the Province of Pennsylvania to its foundations, and on which much relating to our early history hinges.

We have expressed the doubt if in this age a book of this character can pay, and yet if its utility could only be appreciated there should be no question about it, as it will hereafter exercise a beneficial influence on our historical literature. Arranged as the titles are in chronological order, all those relating to the religious, political, and social controversies which have agitated the community are brought in close proximity. This fact suggests many topics of interest which have never been written upon; and as the work of investigation in such cases has to a large extent been done by Mr. Hildeburn, and the libraries pointed out where the information can be obtained, there is no excuse in discussing them for hasty

writing or the expression of ill-digested opinions. The chronological arrangement also illustrates the growth of letters in the Province. Publications of domestic interest, such as almanacs, descriptions of the country for the encouragement of immigration, and an occasional religious tract, were succeeded by theological and political controversies.

These, writes Mr. Hildeburn, "engrossed the attention of our local writers during the first forty years predominate to the end; but the leaven of fancy introduced in 1731 by George Webb and the unknown author of the 'Lady Errant Enchanted' worked spasmodically until 1760, when some poem or play came forth at least annually from a native pen. The reproduction, also, of standard English works evinces the presence of a more general class of readers in the community and the development of a literary taste."

To collectors and lovers of Pennsylvania history we can only add, buy Mr. Hildeburn's book if you have not already done so. You will find it a guide to a vast amount of information, enabling you to form intelligent opinions on many mooted points of history, and will see from it what rich fields remain unexplored.

THE MARIS FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES. A Record of the Descendants of George and Alice Maris, 1683-1885. Compiled for the family by George L. and Anne M. Maris, West Chester, Pennsylvania. 1884. 4to, 279 pp.

This beautifully-printed volume opens with an account of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing in America of George and Alice Maris, held by their descendants, August 25, 1883. This is followed by a well-prepared genealogical record of the family, one of the most thorough pieces of work of the kind that has appeared in our State. The volume is profusely illustrated with woodcuts and phototypes of unquestionable excellence. Among the families who have intermarried with that of Maris we find the names of Allen, Bailey, Baker, Barnard, Bartram, Bennett, Broomall, Chambers, Chandler, Coates, Cox, Darlington, Davis, Dewees, Doan, Dutton, Edwards, Evans, Hadley, Hall, Hatton, Johnson, Lamborn, Larkin, Leedom, Lindley, Magill, Mendenhall, Newlin, Parker, Pennell, Pennock, Roberts, Sharpless, Skellon, Taylor, Townsend, Welsh, Wickersham, Wood, and Worrall. Persons wishing the book should address Anne M. Maris, West Chester, Pennsylvania. The price is \$5 per copy.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH KNOWN AS THE UNITAS FRATrum, OR THE UNITY OF THE BRETHREN, Founded by the Followers of John Huss, the Bohemian Reformer and Martyr. By Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, S.T.D., Bethlehem, Penna., 1885. 8vo, 693 pp. Price, \$2.50.

To the majority of English readers this ancient Protestant Episcopal Church is more familiarly known as the Moravian Church. Before the work under notice was written, we were dependent upon the histories of Bishop John Holmes, of England, and the translations of those of David Crantz and A. Bost, all of which were published prior to the discovery of new and important sources of information, upon which the present work is so largely based. The Right Reverend author has spent many years in the preparation of this volume, which treats entirely of the ancient history of his Church,—from its organization in 1457 to its overthrow in Bohemia and Moravia and its renewal in Saxony in 1722. The qualifications of a historian, accuracy and unsparing research, are everywhere manifest in the work. There are chapters which will provoke discussion, and some of the author's conclusions in special instances

may be controverted; still, the great merit of the work as a whole cannot but be generally and cordially recognized. Bishop de Schweinitz's history will be accepted as a standard one of reference by scholars and others. A list of the works printed and in manuscript relating to the *Unitas Fratrum*, and an Appendix containing their Confessions, with a list of their Bishops from 1467 to the transfer of the Episcopacy to the Renewed *Unitas Fratrum* in 1735, with the date and place of consecration, and the diocese to which they belonged, add much to the value of the work. A number of portraits embellish the volume; the one of John Huss, from Holbein's picture, in particular, being a highly artistic engraving. The typography, paper, and general workmanship of the book are deserving of commendation, and we congratulate the manager of the Comenius press upon the success of the first issue of a volume as large as the present one under review. Bishop de Schweinitz has in preparation a supplemental volume—"The History of the Renewed *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Church"—which will be of especial interest to American readers.

J. W. J.

HISTORIC MANUAL OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES. By Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D. Lancaster, Pa., 1885. 433 pp. Illustrated.

This contribution to the religious history of the State and country was prepared at the request of the General Synod of the Church with which the reverend author is connected. The volume is divided into two books,—Book I. relates to the Reformed Church in Europe, and Book II. to the Church in the United States. The latter contains much matter relating to the Germans and their early settlements scattered through the counties surrounding the chief city of the Province, and will be of especial interest to local historians. An Appendix, containing chapters of Necrology, Meetings of Synods, and Comparative Statements, adds greatly to the value of the work. We must be permitted to congratulate the author on the success of his labors.

J. W. J.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN BURLINGTON, N. J., comprising the Facts and Incidents of nearly Two Hundred Years, from Original, Contemporaneous Sources. By the Rev. George Morgan Hills, D.D. 8vo, pp. 831.

This work has been a standard for the past ten years. What has been gathered by its author during this decade is presented in this edition as supplementary to the original sheets, which remain untouched, and the History is brought down to this date, making, with an enlarged index, 831 pages. Among the valuable additions are a long letter from Rev. Mr. Bend in 1788, throwing much light upon the career of Rev. Uzal Ogden; the main part of the Monograph on Talbot read by Dr. Hills before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1878; the unveiling of the Talbot Memorial; the death, burial, etc., of Bishop Odenheimer; a highly interesting letter from Mr. Crawley-Bovey, of Flaxley Abbey, with an account of that celebrated lady, Mrs. Catharine Bovey, and of Bishop Frampton, the deprived non-juror of Gloucester; together with transcripts of the log and pay-roll of the ship "Centurion," which brought the first missionaries of the S. P. G. to America; certificates, diplomas, etc.; besides a complete List of Names in the Parish Register from February 20, 1702/3, to March 28, 1836.

The work is further enhanced in value by beautiful phototypes and engravings, viz.: St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J., Friends' Meeting-House, 1683, Rev. George Keith, Col. Daniel Coxe, Autograph and

Episcopal Seal of John Talbot, Rev. Colin Campbell, Rev. Jonathan Odell, Rev. Charles H. Wharton, D.D., Bishop G. W. Doane, Old St. Mary's Church, 1834, Bishop Odenheimer, and many others. Price, \$10. Address the author.

MORAVIAN INDIANS.—The following letter refers to the Moravian Indians who were on the way from Province Island, near Philadelphia, to Amboy, N. J.:

RESP'D FR'D.

Answerable to expectations I hereby inform thee that on my return yesterday I discovered the company (or part of 'em) Continued where we left them sixth day, and numbers were entered into a Combination to remove ye Indians this morning by force. Ladd and myself thought it expedient to let them see ye Proclamation last evening, which seem'd to have a good effect, and hope will answer ye end desir'd so as to prevent open violence, but have reason to fear 'tis disagreeable to every officer in ye county except Jus. Ladd. 'Tis to be published tomorrow, about ye middle of ye day at ye Court house, where ye magistrates will meet if at all, that if any fr'd come, to be there by that time—as you have a copy of the Proclamation we think it ought to be printed as soon as possible and distributed to quiet ye unaccountable Clamers of ye people for which we think ye Governor's License is superflous as ye very nature as a Proclamation require its being published. Excuse haste

I am thy ass'd fr'd

FOR ISRAEL PEMBERTON

DAVID COOPER

HADDONFIELD $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 1st mo 9th 1764.

BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION.—The letter printed on page 237 of this volume from "Old and New" (February, 1872) is followed by one we here give, together with the remarks of the editor:

"The terror inflicted by this repulse knew no bounds. It will be seen that in seven days the army retreated over the road which it had taken a month to cross. Tobias Smollett says of the whole, 'It was perhaps the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the most extraordinary flight that was ever made.'

"The contemporary view of the battle and the retreat, after it was fairly known, may be judged of from the following letter of the celebrated Keppel, never published till now. We are permitted to copy it from the autograph in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Keppel, as we have said, had convoyed the transports to Virginia. He now writes to Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia,—the Governor Lawrence of 'Evangeline.' Lawrence must have got this letter just in the midst of the Evangeline misery. For it was on the 5th of September, ten days after Keppel wrote, that the peasants of Beau-Sejour were assembled at Grand Pre to receive his Majesty's orders for the exile, and on the 10th of September that their removal began."

COMMODORE KEPPEL TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE.

SEAHORSE, AT SEA, July 26, 1755.

I have received the favor of several different letters from you upon his Majesty's service, and was upon the point of sailing to your port; but first the melancholy report of the defeat of the king's troops under General Braddock stopped me, and immediately after, receiving Admiral Boscawen's orders, I am prevented having the pleasure of seeing you; but I must give you joy of your being so much more effectually guarded.

Between the first report of the General's death and any confirmation of the story there was a space of ten days, which gave me flattering hopes that it was only report; but the day before yesterday I received a confirmation of it by express from Willis Creek. I imagine, although it is a melancholy subject, you would be glad of the particulars, and have enclosed you a list of the killed and wounded, a copy of a letter from Mr. Orme, General Braddock's *aide-de-camp*, to me, and a copy of Mr. Washington's (who was likewise the general's *aide-de-camp*) to Governor Dinwiddie. Great blame and shame is laid to the charge of the private men of poor Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar's regiment that was upon the spot. The loss of the artillery (*sic*) is irretrievable, as it enables the French to fortify themselves so strongly; and I fear very much the credit of the British army among the Indians will now be lost. A number of unhappy circumstances will attend this defeat; it may affect General Shirley in his attack against Niagara, as well as many other operations that were proposed.

I give you joy that your expedition up the bay has succeeded so well; and I wish, sir, that you may always be as successful. I am too far to receive your commands from England, and am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

A. KEPPEL.

Queries.

EDWARD CHARTIER.—Who was Edward Chartier, Collector of his Majesty's Customs in Maryland, a witness for Pennsylvania in the boundary dispute with Maryland? Was he related to Martin Chartier, the French Indian trader, who when the Shawanese came from the South and settled at Pequea Creek moved there and made his residence among them?

I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

BRITTAI, KEARNEY, BUDD.—Information is desired for a genealogical purpose as to the antecedents and descendants of Lionel Brittain and Rebecca, his wife, who arrived in this country about the year 1682, and settled near the lower falls of the river Delaware, in Bucks County, before the country bore the name of Pennsylvania. Where did he come from, and what was the maiden name of his wife? Whom did their children, both sons and daughters, marry? etc.

Also of Philip Kearney, who married Elizabeth, daughter of the said Lionel Brittain, and whom did their other children, both sons and daughters, marry? etc. Philip Kearney settled first in New Jersey, but subsequently removed to Philadelphia. Was *his* father's name Philip, and had he an uncle or brother named Michael? Where did they come from, and when did they arrive? etc.

Also of Thomas Budd and Susannah, his wife. He was one of the Proprietaries of New Jersey, and both were eminent members of the Society of Friends. He arrived in this country in 1678, but from where? and what was his wife's maiden name? Whom did their children, both sons and daughters, marry? etc.

The undersigned would be greatly obliged to any of the descendants of these ancient and honorable families who can aid him in the researches thus indicated.

SAMUEL L. SHOBER,
1311 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

GRIFFITH JONES.—Information is desired for a genealogical purpose, only, as to the ancestry and descendants of Griffith Jones, Mayor of the city of Philadelphia in 1704; he succeeding Edward Shippen, the first mayor, and Anthony Morris, the second. Where and when was he, Griffith Jones, born; when did he arrive in this country; whom did he marry, and where; had he daughters as well as sons; whom did they marry? etc.

The inquirer would be greatly obliged by any information on this subject. Address

S. L. S.,

1311 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

Replies.

SARAH ROBINSON (vol. viii. p. 441).—Richard Robinson, an Englishman, who had been held in slavery in Morocco and redeemed by the Quakers, came to Pennsylvania about 1702, and married here Dec. 7, 1704, Sarah Jefferys. In his will, proved in 1745, he styles himself "of Philadelphia Boulter." He left two daughters,—Lydia, born Sept. 27, 1705, who married Oswald Peel, and Sarah, who married Jonathan Mifflin.

C. R. H.

THOMAS BUDD (vol. ix. p. 490).—Thomas Budd visited America prior to 1678, when he came here with his family. In a pamphlet printed in London in 1681, there is a letter from him which was probably written in 1678, beginning: "I am safely come from New Jersey where I left Friends in Health who like the Country very well. We have set down both Trades and Husbandman together in the Island called Chygoe's." This looks as if his first voyage was made in company with the settlers of Burlington, in 1677. A note that precedes the letter shows that his family emigrated with him in 1678. It is dated 28th of 6th month of that year, and reads: "A letter from Thomas Budd who had then been at New Jersey and is gone thither again with his wife and family." John Crip's letter, dated 19th of 4th month, called June, 1678, in the same pamphlet, says: "Thomas Budd and his family are arrived, the ship Lielk [is] before this Town that brought them." Mr. Shober will find considerable information regarding the descendants of Thomas Budd and his brothers in the introduction to Budd's "Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey," edited by Edward Armstrong, and published by William Gewans, New York, 1865.

F. D. S.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, 1885.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of January 12, the President, Brinton Cox, Esq., in the chair.

Upon motion, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The President introduced the Rev. Goldsmith Day Carrow, D.D., who read a paper on "The Introduction of Methodism into the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."

Upon the conclusion of the address, the Hon. Thomas Greenbank moved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Dr. Carrow for his instructive discourse, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for preservation by the Society.

The resolution was adopted, and, upon motion, the meeting adjourned.

A stated meeting was held on the evening of March 9.

In absence of the President, Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq., was called to the chair.

The minutes of the last two meetings were read and approved.

The Chairman introduced Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, who read a discourse on "The Languages of the Aborigines of America, and why we should study them."

Upon motion of Prof. Gregory B. Keen, the thanks of the Society were voted to Dr. Brinton for his learned address. (The essay will be found on page 15 *et sequentia* of this volume.)

Mr. Frederick D. Stone, the Librarian of the Society, then rose and said:

"The duty has been assigned to me of announcing to this Society the death of Dr. Harrison Wright, the Secretary of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. He died at Wilkes-Barre, on the 20th of February last, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

"To many of you present he was probably unknown, but between him and those actively engaged in the direction of our affairs the most cordial relations existed. The feeling of respect which a personal acquaintance with him at first inspired ripened into one of high esteem as his scholarly attainments became known, and in his death we cannot but feel that the community at large have met with a loss as great as the inexpressible grief which has befallen his friends.

"He was born at Wilkes-Barre July 15, 1850. Through his father, Harrison Wright, he was descended from Quaker ancestors who settled

in Burlington County, N. J., in 1681. From his mother he inherited the blood of some of our oldest German settlers. In 1795 his great-grandfather, Caleb Wright, emigrated to the Valley of the North Branch of the Susquehanna, and in that section of our State his descendants have ever held prominent and influential rank.

"Succeeding to an ample estate, it would not have been surprising had Dr. Wright availed himself of the privileges to which his social position entitled him, and contented himself with the respect which his gentlemanly bearing would have commanded in any community. He was, however, imbued with higher aims. He early manifested a love for learning, and pursued his studies with a perseverance characteristic of the two races from which he had sprung. He graduated with high honors at Heidelberg, Germany, from which university he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

"Returning to America, he studied law and was admitted to the Bar in 1874. The knowledge thus gained fitted him for some of the responsibilities afterwards imposed upon him; but the practice of the profession was distasteful to him, and he turned from it and the political preferment which his friends urged him to accept, to other pursuits in which he had become interested. He was an accomplished linguist, an expert geologist and metallurgist, and an archaeologist of great promise.

"He devoted his time principally to the interests of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and was elected its Secretary, and personally labored in the arrangement of its collections. His frank and open manners made him a favorite with old and young, and for several years he conducted an Agassiz Club of children which had been formed in Wilkes-Barre.

"His scientific pursuits were not allowed to engage his entire time. From his youth he had been an antiquarian, and historical matters always interested him. His late pamphlet on the Ashburnham manuscripts attracted attention on both sides of the Atlantic. His working abilities were of the highest order. He possessed a retentive memory, and untiring energy; so general was his information that no one could talk long with him without perceiving that he was a hard student. He made no ostentatious display of learning, but when a subject with which he was familiar was the topic his thoroughness became soon apparent. His opinions were expressed with a clearness and confidence which impressed the listener with the attention he had given the matter.

"Dr. Wright was a member of a number of scientific societies here and abroad. He was also a trustee of the Osterhout Public Library Funds, and, had he been spared, his experience would have added greatly in carrying out the object of that trust.

"To what heights of usefulness such a man might have attained had he lived to a ripe age we can now but speculate. His promise was great, and his services in mature years would no doubt have been all that his friends fondly expected of him. But as I understand his

character, however brilliant his scientific and literary reputation might have grown, it would have given additional prominence to one feature which his career, blighted as it was by early death, still presents, and from which we may profit. I mean the example it affords to the young men of wealth and position in this country. His life should show them what opportunities for reputation and usefulness are open to those who have the means of making themselves thoroughly trained students, and who will follow unselfishly some of the higher branches of scientific or literary investigation.

"Unfortunately, there are but few who choose such a course, and when one who has brought to it talents of a superior order is stricken down on the threshold, the loss is far more than a grief to his friends and a bereavement to his family.

"I, therefore, Mr. President, ask that a minute expression of the regret with which we have heard of the death of Dr. Wright be entered upon our records, and a copy of it be sent to the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society."

Upon motion of Dr. James J. Levick, it was

Resolved, That the remarks of Mr. Stone be entered upon the records of the Society, in place of the minute he had suggested, and that a copy of them be forwarded to the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, as expressing the respect entertained for Dr. Wright by this Society, and of the regret with which it has heard of his death.

The following gentlemen were nominated by Samuel L. Smedley, Esq., for officers of the Society, to be balloted for at the next stated meeting:

President.

Brinton Coxe.

Honorary Vice-President.

Aubrey H. Smith.

Vice-Presidents (to serve three years).

Craig Biddle,

Samuel W. Pennypacker.

Recording Secretary.

William Brooke Rawle.

Corresponding Secretary.

Gregory B. Keen.

Treasurer.

J. Edward Carpenter.

Council (to serve four years).

James T. Mitchell,

Richard L. Nicholson,

William S. Baker.

The meeting then adjourned.

A special meeting of the Society was held on the evening of March 23, Vice-President Horatio Gates Jones, Esq., in the chair.

The reading of the minutes was, on motion, dispensed with.

The Chairman introduced Mr. Justin Winsor, Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who delivered a lecture on "Explorations on the American Coast during the Sixteenth Century."

The Lecturer followed down from the time of the ancients the belief in the geographical theory which made the shores of Asia lie over against Spain.

This theory Columbus had inherited through a long line of learned men, which, with the courage of his convictions, it was his mission both to prove and disprove. The globe of Behaim was taken as expressing the view held in 1492 by the advanced cosmographers, and this was sketched on the blackboard, so as to show the shores of Europe and Asia, with the untried ocean lying between. It was shown how the inadequate conception of the size of the globe then held served to assist in encouraging Columbus to his undertaking. As the Lecturer proceeded in tracing the voyages of Columbus and his companions, he sketched upon the board, in proper relations to the European parts of Behem's globe, the successive developments of the coast lines of the new-found islands and lands. When, by fortuitous circumstances, the longest stretch of coast which had been followed became associated with the name of Vespuccius, it dawned upon the mind of Europe that a continental extent of territory had been found which was not identical with any of the parts of Asia as Marco Polo had drawn them, and the necessity of a name for it was recognized. This led to the making of the name America out of the fore-name of Vespuccius, which was first applied to the Brazil coast only. As he told how discovery was pushed, the Lecturer drew in the shores which were developed, until, about 1540, it became manifest that the western continent stood alone, or nearly so, and the name America was extended to cover the whole of it. The severance of it from a supposed Antarctic Continent was determined when Shouten rounded Cape Horn, and, a hundred years later, when Behring finally disconnected it from Asia at the northwest. As discovery went on, longitude began to be better understood, the size of the globe became better appreciated, and the coasts of Eastern Asia, as the drawing on the blackboard showed, became entangled with the western shores of America. In this way the Asia of Marco Polo was withdrawn from the eastward by a third of the globe's circumference, which went to increase the distance between Spain and China across the new-found continent.

Upon the conclusion of the Lecturer's remarks, it was, upon motion of J. Edward Carpenter, Esq., resolved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Mr. Winsor for his able and instructive paper.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of May 4, Vice-President Horatio Gates Jones, Esq., in the chair.

The minutes of the last two meetings were read and approved.

The Report of the Council of the Society was read by Professor Gregory B. Keen, Secretary of the Council. After giving a detailed statement of the working of the Society for the year 1884, the Report closed as follows:

"During the year the Society has lost by death two members whose names have long been associated with its history and pursuits.

"*Caspar Morris*, M.D., died March 17, 1884, aged eighty years. He was elected a member of our Society at its first regular meeting, January 29, 1825, and some of the early assemblies of our members took place in his rooms while he was a resident physician of the Pennsylvania Hospital. Of his honorable and useful professional career it is unnecessary to speak here. His death leaves but one, elected at so early a date upon the Roll.

"*Mr. William A. Whitehead*, Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, died at Newark, August 8, 1884, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was one of our oldest non-resident members, having been elected May 24, 1847. There are few men whose memory should be more jealously guarded, or to whom higher honors should be awarded by the Historical Societies of the country than to Mr. Whitehead. A great portion of his life was generously devoted to the welfare of the New Jersey Historical Society, of which he was one of the founders. For nearly forty years he was its Corresponding Secretary, and with unflagging zeal sought to advance its interests. The success of the Society is greatly owing to his exertions, and the large manuscript collections in its possession attest the value of his services. In endeavoring to preserve the historical records of a neighboring Commonwealth, whose origin possesses so much in common with that of our own, Mr. Whitehead has done much to elucidate the early history of Pennsylvania, a service deserving of the deepest acknowledgment."

Upon motion, the report was accepted.

Mr. Charles Roberts then read from a rare pamphlet an account of Pennsylvania in 1635, written by William Penn (see p. 62).

Mr. Charles H. A. Esling read a paper upon the escape of Governor Wharton from Philadelphia on its occupation by the British.

The Tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated for officers at the last stated meeting had all been unanimously elected.

A stated meeting was held on the evening of November 9, Vice-President Horatio Gates Jones, Esq., in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Professor Gregory B. Keen was chosen to act as Secretary *pro tem*.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Chairman introduced Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., who read an ad-

dress on "Religious Tests as a Qualification for Civil Office in Provincial Pennsylvania" (see p. 365). Upon the conclusion of the address, on motion of Samuel W. Pennypacker, the thanks of the Society were voted to Dr. Stillé.

The Secretary announced the death of the following members of the Society since the last meeting: James J. Barclay, Townsend Ward, Francis Jordan, George L. Harrison, Moro Phillips, Sidney V. Smith, and Ephraim Clark.

The meeting then adjourned.

OFFICERS
OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRESIDENT.
BRINTON COXE.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT.
AUBREY H. SMITH.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.
HORATIO GATES JONES, WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON,
GEORGE DE B. KEIM, CRAIG BIDDLE,
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STATED MEETINGS.

March 8, 1886. November 8, 1886.
May 3, 1886. January 10, 1887.

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, at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1884:

Investment Account	\$60,526 78	
Cash Account	1,772 83	
Publication Fund, Capital, Invested, \$31,499 28		
" " " Cash	617 97	
		\$32,117 25
Publication Fund, Interest, Cash		651 69
Binding " Capital Invested		3,300 00
" " Interest, Cash		54 46
Endowment " Capital Invested, \$9,172 50		
" " " Cash	556 53	
		9,729 03
General Fund, Capital		10,655 00
" " Interest		6 47
Library " Capital Invested		5,900 00
		62,413 90
Library Fund, Dr. to Trustees		114 29
	\$62,299 61	\$62,299 61

In the operation of the General Fund of the Society for the year 1884 there were:

Received Balance from 1883	\$73 39
" Annual Dues, 1884	4,135 00
" Interest on Investments, etc.	512 50
" Rent	238 00
" Contributions	450 00
" Refunded Insurance and Taxes	107 00
" Cash Balance from Building Committee	71 15
	\$5,587 04
Expenditures, General Expenses	\$5,560 57
Interest on Loan from Library Fund	20 00
	5,580 57
Balance	\$6 47

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