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PENNSYLVANIA IN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

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SAMUEL WHITAKER PENNYPACKER

I N his history of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 114, Henry Adams wrote: "In every other issue that concerned the Union, the voice which spoke in most potent tones was that of Pennsylvania"; and again: "Had New England, New York and Virginia been swept out of existence in 1800, democracy could have better spared them all than have lost Pennsylvania."

All of the papers contained in the present volume are the outcome of special studies, and almost exclusively are based upon original sources of information. In the main these sources are found among the vast and important collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, an institution which has done much in the elucidation of the history of the country.

If the effect of the book should be to call wider attention to what has been here achieved, and to cause any of the people of this state to have a better appreciation of that achievement, its purpose will have been accomplished.

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ANTHONY WAYNE*

“Egregias animas quae sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis muneribus.”

[An address delivered at Valley Forge, June 20th, 1908, at the dedication of the equestrian statue of Major-General Anthony Wayne, erected by the Commonwealth.]

AT the close of the unsuccessful campaign of 1777, which had resulted in the capture by the British under Sir William Howe, of Philadelphia, the capital city of the revolted colonies, Washington, in writing, requested the opinions of his generals as to what should be his military policy during the approaching winter. One of them, a brigadier, then thirty-two years of age, after making a full review of the situation, recommended for the

*This study was prepared mainly from original letters of Wayne and the other generals of the Revolution in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

army either a camp at Wilmington, "or hutting at the distance of about twenty miles west of Philadelphia." The commonwealth of Pennsylvania, after the lapse of one hundred and thirty-one years, in the presence of the descendants of the men who fought the battles of the Revolution, to-day erects this equestrian statue in bronze, in memory of him who so accurately forecasted, if he did not determine, the encampment at Valley Forge. She presents him to mankind as a soldier who participated with honor and unusual *éclat* in nearly every important engagement from Canada in the north to Georgia in the south throughout that struggle, and as the capable general-in-chief of the army of the United States, who later, amid vast difficulties and in personal command, brought to a successful result what has proven to be in its consequences one of the most momentous wars in which the country has ever been engaged.

Anthony Wayne had other and earlier associations with the Valley Forge. Within four miles of this camp ground, in the township of Easttown, in the county of Chester, he was born, and from here in 1758 he hauled the hides bought by his father at

the store in connection with the forge where the family of Potts hammered out their iron.

His grandfather, Anthony Wayne, went from Yorkshire, in England, to Ireland, where he fought in the battle of the Boyne among the forces of William III, and he afterward emigrated to Pennsylvania.

Isaac Wayne, the youngest son of the immigrant, was the owner of a large tract of land in Easttown, which he cultivated and where he had a tannery, and he was beside much concerned in the political controversies of the time. The popular party, the opponents of the proprietary interests, elected him to the provincial assembly for several terms. He had a bitter quarrel with Moore of Moore Hall, an old-time aristocrat and pet of the governor, both colonel and judge, and he has the lasting distinction of being one of the characters portrayed in the *Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi*, 1758, one of the brightest and most spirited bits of literature the American colonies produced. St. David's Episcopal Church at Radnor, an ancient shrine where Parson Currie preached and starved, sung about by poets and written about by

historians, owed very much to his earnest and loyal support.

Anthony Wayne, son of Isaac, looming up before us to-day, was born January 1, 1745, and grew to young manhood upon his father's plantation of over five hundred acres, and about the tannery, traces of which still remain. He had the benefit of a somewhat desultory education received from an uncle living in the country, and he spent two years in Philadelphia at the academy out of which arose the University of Pennsylvania. The bent of his mind even in boyhood was to mathematics rather than to literature. At the time of the French and Indian war, wherein his father had served as a captain, he was at an age when startling events make their strongest and most lasting impressions, and in his sport he discarded balls and marbles to construct intrenchments and engage in mimic battles. At the academy he studied surveying and determined to make that occupation the pursuit of his life. An elaborate and somewhat artistic survey of the township of Vincent, in Chester county, made by him in 1774, is preserved in the library of the Historical Society of

Pennsylvania, and his correspondence relating to military affairs is often illustrated with the plans which he drew.

In 1765, when in his twenty-first year, in association with Matthew Clarkson; John Hughes, the stamp collector; William Smith, the creator of the university; William Moore, of Moore Hall; Joseph Richardson, captain in the French and Indian War; Benjamin Franklin; Israel Jacobs, afterward a member of Congress; and others of the leading men of the province, he participated in an effort to found a colony in Canada. One hundred thousand acres of land on the St. John's River and a tract of like extent on the Peticoodiac River were granted to them. A town was located, lots were sold, and settlers were transported. Wayne went to Canada with Benjamin Jacobs as the surveyor for the company, and spent the summers of 1765 and 1766 there, but the enterprise resulted in failure, and at the time of his death he still owned his proportion of these lands. To some extent his activities found expression in a civil career. In several of the conventions which took the preliminary steps leading up to the Revolutionary War, he as a delegate bore an active

part; in 1775 he was a member of the Committee of Safety; for three years he sat in the Assembly, and he was a member of the Council of Censors, and of the Pennsylvania Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. These public services, important as they may have been, were only incidental and subsidiary in determining the value of the labors of his life.

With the first breath of the coming war blowing from the northward in 1775, the instincts of the soldier plunged him into the field and he organized a regiment of "minute men" in Chester County.

On the 4th of January, 1776, he was appointed Colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. This regiment, together with the Second and Sixth, was formed into a brigade under the command of General William Thompson, and hurried away to Canada. Montgomery had been killed, Arnold had been defeated in an assault upon Quebec, and that army badly needed help. The forces from far away Pennsylvania reached them on the 5th of June at the mouth of the Sorel, between Quebec and Montreal, whither they

had retreated. Sullivan, who was in command, a week later ordered Thompson with 1450 men, all of them Pennsylvanians except a battalion from New Jersey under Maxwell, to attack a force of British estimated to be four hundred strong, at Three Rivers, forty-seven miles down the St. Lawrence. Instead of being a surprise, as had been expected, the effort resulted in an encounter with three thousand men under Burgoyne. After a march of nine miles through a swamp under fire from the boats in the river, with Wayne in the advance, the gallant troops pushed their way up to the breastworks of the enemy, before unknown, and then were compelled to retreat. Thompson, Irvine and other officers had been captured; three hundred and fifty men had been lost, but Anthony Wayne had fought his first battle and received the first of many wounds, and they had "saved the army in Canada." Two days later he wrote cheerily "our people are in high spirits and long for another bout." Nevertheless the army was in full retreat to Ticonderoga, and already Wayne, left in command of the Pennsylvania troops, had found the place of danger. Wilkinson tells that

Allen said to him, "Colonel Wayne is in the rear," and if anybody could render assistance, "he is the man," that he found "the gallant soldier as much at his ease as if he were marching to a parade at exercise," and that when mistaken for the enemy by Sullivan, he "pulled out his glass and seemed to enjoy the panic."

Already he had made his mark. On the 18th of November General Schuyler gave him the command of Fort Ticonderoga, at that time, since the British had in view a separation of the country by an advance from Canada, one of the most important of our military posts, and placed him at the head of a force of twenty-five hundred men. "It was my business," he says in one of his letters, "to prevent a junction of the enemy's armies . . . and to keep at bay their whole Canadian force."

He remained at Ticonderoga until April 12, 1777. His stay there covered that depressing period of the war prior to the battle of Trenton, during which Washington was defeated at Long Island, three thousand men were lost with Fort Washington, and the main army, its officers retiring and its rank and file deserting, was threatened with entire

disintegration. Difficulties accumulated around him. The terms of service of his soldiers expired, and to fill their places became almost impossible. Some of the soldiers, who came into camp from the Eastern States, on one occasion deserted the same night. Recruiting officers from the same part of the country were endeavoring to secure enlistments even in his own regiment. He was holding men three weeks after their terms of service were ended. Hearing that a company, claiming their enlistments to have expired the month before, were on the march for home, he halted them and called for their leader. A sergeant stepped to the front. "I presented a pistol to his breast. He fell on his knees to beg his life. I then ordered the whole to ground their arms," and they obeyed. A certain Josiah Holliday endeavored again to incite them to mutiny, whereupon Wayne "thought proper to chastise him for his insolence on the spot, before the men," or as Holliday himself puts it, did "shamefully beat and abuse" him. The captain interfered and was placed under arrest for abetting a mutiny.

The garrison had dwindled in numbers and one-third of them were negroes, Indians and child-

ren. The enemy were threatening his own home in distant Chester County, and the only comfort he could give his wife "Polly," the daughter of Bartholomew Penrose, was to tell her: "Should you be necessitated to leave Easttown, I doubt not but you'll meet with hospitality in the back parts of the Province," and yet never for an instant did he falter. He had studied the campaigns of Cæsar and Marshal Saxe, and he believed that too much attention was given to forming lines and too little to disciplining and manœuvring: that "the only good lines are those nature made," and that American liberty would never be established until the army learned "to beat the English Rebels in the field." He constructed an abattis around the fort, octagons upon the top of an adjacent mount, built two new block-houses to render the station tenable and secure, and then he wrote to Schuyler asking to be sent to the South in order to meet "those Sons of War and rapine face to face and man to man." He added: "These worthy fellows [his Pennsylvania comrades] are second to none in courage. I have seen them proved and I know they are not far behind any regulars in point of discipline. Such troops, actuated

by principle and fired with just resentment, must be an acceptable and perhaps seasonable reinforcement to General Washington at this critical juncture."

He received a commission as brigadier general February 21, 1777, and two months later Washington, then in New Jersey, wrote to him, "Your presence here will be materially wanted." For nearly a year he had successfully maintained the post at Ticonderoga, which was surrendered almost as soon as he had departed, and had confronted the proposed advance of the army under Burgoyne, and now after "the charming Miss Schuyler" had made him a new cockade, he hastened to Morristown to take command of the Pennsylvania Line in the army of Washington. Just as, within the memories of some of us, who are here present, Pennsylvania during the War of the Rebellion, alone of all the States, had an entire division in the service, known as the Pennsylvania Reserves, in like manner there were in the Continental service, throughout the War of the Revolution, thirteen regiments, distinguished for their gallantry and efficiency in the many battles of that sanguinary struggle, which came from the same State, and were united into two divisions,

designated as the Pennsylvania Line. Eight of these regiments were placed under the command of Wayne. Washington was then encamped on the heights of Middlebrook, whence he could look toward the Hudson on the one side and the Delaware on the other, should Howe show a disposition to move in either direction. He needed a general, active, alert and intelligent, with a force upon which dependence could be placed to cover the stretch of country between West Point and Philadelphia. He sent for Wayne and posted him in front, giving him charge of the pass on the most important road leading to and from the camp. Within three weeks an opportunity arose. A detachment of the British army advanced as far as Brunswick. Wayne made an attack upon these forces on the 2d of May, and after pushing them from one redoubt to another, finally drove them within their lines at Amboy. He reported to the Board of War: "The conduct of the Pennsylvanians the other day in forcing General Grant to retire with circumstances of shame and disgrace into the very lines of the enemy, has gained them the esteem of his excellency," and Benjamin Rush

wrote: "The public have done you justice for your gallant behavior in checking the prowess of Mr. Grant." The brave soldiers who achieved this success and were so praised for their efforts had never received any uniforms except hunting shirts, which were then worn out, but it is a comfort to know that about this time Sally Peters sent to Wayne, by wagon, "a jar of pickled oysters," and he was enabled to buy three gallons and five quarts of Madeira wine. Graydon, who sought the camp, tells us that he "entertained a most sovereign contempt for the enemy," but that he, who had been accustomed to appear in exemplary neatness of apparel, was now dressed "in a dingy red coat, a black rusty cravat, and tarnished lace hat." Only dire necessity could have caused the condition of his attire, for he still maintained that "pride in a soldier is a substitute for almost every other virtue."

At last Howe, who had been waiting in the vain hope that Washington would cease clinging to the heights and would make the blunder of coming down on to the plain to fight him, determined upon an aggressive policy. On the 24th of July, Washington wrote to Wayne, "The fleet have just

gone out of the Hook, and as Delaware appears to be the most probable destination, I desire you will leave your brigade, go to Chester and organize the militia of Pennsylvania." He gathered them together into three brigades, probably three thousand in number, since one of them had thirteen hundred and fifty-six men, and put them under the command of John Armstrong, the hero of the famous battle and victory over the Indians at Kittanning in 1756. "Time at last sets all things even," and a descendant of Armstrong is here to-day, one of the commissioners charged with the duty of erecting this statue. The celebrated Elizabeth Graeme, whom Aunt Gainor, in "Hugh Wynne," called "that cat Bessie Ferguson," scratched at him after this fashion: "Two suttlers in the rear of your division inticed my slave with them, with my wagon and two very fine oxen . . . the heat of the weather and the violent manner the poor beasts were drove occasioned one of them to drop down dead."

He wanted to see his family, from whom he had long been separated—they were now not very distant—but an early battle was anticipated, and he had been peremptorily forbidden by Washington

to leave the army and ordered to hasten at the head of his division to Wilmington. The duties of three generals were imposed upon him, and yet his thought not limited to their performance was busy with plans for the campaign. He feared the enemy might reach the city by the fords near the Falls of Schuylkill, and in order to prevent such a contingency proposed to march forward and give them battle. On the 2d of September he recommended to Washington that three thousand of the best armed and disciplined troops make a regular and vigorous assault on one of the flanks of the enemy, trusting to surprise for success, and added: "I wish to be of the number assigned for this business." The suggestion was not adopted, but a week later Howe pursued precisely this plan at Brandywine and won a decided victory. In that memorable engagement Wayne, with his division, was on the left, upon the east bank of the Brandywine, where Chad's Ford offered a means of crossing the creek. Throughout the entire day he maintained his position, preventing the advance of Knyphausen, and occasionally sending detachments to the opposite shore, but the right wing under

Sullivan and Greene had been turned and crushed, and at sunset, finding that he was becoming enmeshed between Howe on the front and the fortunate Cornwallis in the rear, he in good order retired. The steadfastness on the left saved the right from entire destruction.

On the 18th, Washington, then at Reading Furnace, on the French creek, in Chester county, and expecting to cross the Schuylkill river, determined to detach a part of his forces to harass the rear of the enemy, while he, with the main army, should defend the fords. Such a plan necessarily involved the separation of the army with a river between, the close proximity of the harassing force to the enemy, and the danger of an attack upon this force by overwhelming numbers. That such risks were not unrecognized is shown by the letter of Washington written from Pott's Grove, September 23d, before he had learned of the affair at Paoli, recalling the order and saying: "Should we continue detached and in a divided state I fear we shall neither be able to attack or defend ourselves." However, he selected Wayne for this dangerous service, gave him twelve to fifteen hundred men,

and wrote to him on the 18th: "I must call your utmost exertion in fitting yourselves in the best manner you can for following and harrassing their rear," and saying further: "The army here is so much fatigued that it is impossible I should move them this afternoon." Evidently anxious, he the same day recites: "Having wrote twice to you already to move forward." Celerity and secrecy were both necessary for the success of such a venture. Unhappily these two letters referred to had both fallen into the hands of the enemy. This fact alone would have been fatal. Wayne, being informed that the British were about to march for the Schuylkill on the 21st, took a position on the high ground near Paoli, within four miles of the enemy, and there he established six pickets and a horse picket to patrol the road. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 20th, General Grey, with a much superior force, attacked him. He held the ground for an hour and saved his artillery, but lost one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded and had met with the only defeat of his career. A court-martial called at his request found that he deserved the "highest honor" as "an active, brave and vigil-

ant officer." Rumor ran through the neighborhood that he had been killed, that he had been taken prisoner, and that his life had been saved through his hurry in putting on his coat with the red lining outside. That same night a squad of British marched to his house, thrust their bayonets into a huge boxwood bush that still grows and thrives in the yard, "but behaved with the utmost politeness to the women."

Not in the least daunted, at the council of war attended by twenty generals, held before Germantown at Pennypacker's Mills on the 29th, he, with four others, was in favor of again giving battle. There can be little doubt that the spirit he displayed at this time, as upon every other occasion, had its effect upon his companions and was influential in bringing about that change to a more aggressive policy which led to the results at Germantown, Monmouth and Yorktown. "The enemy's being in possession of Philadelphia," he said, "is of no more consequence than their being in possession of the City of New York or Boston." On the eve of Germantown he wrote: "I have the most happy presage of entering Philadelphia at the head of

troops covered with laurels before the close of the day." The value of such vitality to a defeated army at the close of a lost campaign cannot be overestimated.

At Germantown his division encountered and attacked the right wing of the British army to the east of the town, charged with bayonets, crying out for "Paoli and revenge," put the enemy to rout and pursued them for three miles, killing with little mercy those who were overcome. On the retreat of the Americans, after the check at the Chew House and the confusion caused by the fog, he was in the rear and with cannon and musketry brought to an end Howe's attempted pursuit. The British General Hunter, in his history, records: "General Wayne commanded the advance. . . . Had we not retreated at the time we did, we should all have been taken or killed. . . . But this was the first time we had ever retreated from the Americans," and he asserts that Howe, swept by passion, shouted, "For shame . . . I never saw you retreat before," but the rattle of grape through the limbs of a chestnut tree under which he stood convinced him, also, of the necessity. Wayne's theory that the

liberty of America would be secured when the British were taught respect upon the field of battle, was taking a concrete form. At eight o'clock that night, apparently unwearied by the great exertions of the day, he wrote to Washington, hoping for "their total defeat the next tryal, which I wish to see brought to issue the soonest possible." Two days later he wrote from Pennypacker's Mills a long letter to his wife, as remarkable as it was characteristic. He gave in detail the military movements of the battle, which evidently absorbed his thought. There was, nevertheless, one series of incidents, of minor importance no doubt to him if not to her, which had been overlooked. They suddenly occurred to him as he closed. "I had forgotten to mention that my roan horse was killed under me within a few yards of the enemy's front, . . . and my left foot a little bruised by one of their cannon shot. . . . I had a slight touch on my left hand. . . . It was a glorious day."

On the 27th of October, in response to a query from Washington as to whether it would be prudent to attempt to dislodge the enemy, he recommended that an immediate attack be made, and

he advanced as reasons for his opinion that the ground was not disadvantageous, that the shipping in the river could assist, that in the event of failure they had a stretch of open country to which to retire, that if no attempt were made the forts on the Delaware must fall, affording the enemy comfortable quarters, and finally that the Americans would be forced from the field or lose more by sickness and desertion in a naked, discontented army than in an action. The subsequent evacuation of Fort Mifflin, with loss of control of the Delaware, and the experiences at Valley Forge seemed to justify at least some of his conclusions. Fort Mifflin, on the west bank of the Delaware, had been besieged for six weeks, the British had erected works on Province island, near enough to threaten the fort, when Wayne was ordered with his division and the corps of Morgan to "storm the enemy's lines, spike their cannon, and ruin their works." Wayne gladly undertook the difficult and dangerous task, but the day before the effort was to have been made the fort was abandoned. Another council of war was held November 24th and the same question broached. Wayne was decided in his view that the credit of the

army, the safety of the country, the honor of American arms, the approach of the winter and the depreciation of the currency made it necessary to give battle to the enemy, and he advised that the army march the next morning to the upper end of Germantown. He admitted the hazard and the undoubted loss of life, but believed that the bold course would prove to be the most effective.

His life at Valley Forge, where his division occupied the centre of the outer line, was an unceasing struggle to secure recruits and sufficient arms to equip and clothing to cover his soldiers. Nearly all of the deaths and desertions, he says, were due to nakedness and dirt. He did not want rifles, but muskets with bayonets, believing that the mere consciousness of the possession of a bayonet gave a sense of security, and that without being used it was an element of safety. Provisions grew to be scarce and he was sent with five hundred and fifty men to the agricultural regions of New Jersey to collect cattle for the army. On one occasion he sent to the camp one hundred and fifty cattle and thirty horses. With the British, who crossed the

Delaware from Philadelphia upon a like errand, he, and Count Pulaski at the head of fifty horse, had a combat of some severity in the neighborhood of Haddonfield, and another at Cooper's Ferry. Not only did he succeed in feeding the army, but his energetic movements became the subject of a ribald poem, entitled "The Cow Chase," written by John André, the vivacious adjutant general of the British army, in which to some extent the author foreshadowed his own unhappy fate, should he fall into the hands of Wayne.

On the return of Wayne to the camp at Valley Forge he, on the 21st of April, 1778, again urged upon Washington that "many reasons, in my humble opinion, both political and prudential, point to the expediency of putting the enemy on the defensive." He recommended making an effort against Howe or New York, saying, "Whatever part may be assigned to me, I shall always, and at all times, be ready to serve you." Ere long his wish was gratified. The British, fearing a blockade of the Delaware River by the French fleet, were about to evacuate Philadelphia. Again Washington called a council of war. The advice of Wayne was "that

the whole of the army be put in motion the soonest possible for some of the ferries on the Delaware above Trent Town, so as to be ready to act as soon as the enemy's movement shall be ascertained," and then, if the North River should prove to be their objective point, "take the first favorable opportunity to make a vigorous and serious attack." Manifestly his earnestness of purpose was having its effect, since this was the course a few days afterward pursued.

At another council of war, held on the 24th of June, Wayne and Cadwalader, the two Pennsylvanians alone, supported to some extent by Lafayette and Greene, declared in favor of active and aggressive measures. On this occasion Wayne had his way, and two days afterward the two armies were within a few miles of each other and about to come into contact. Washington determined to attack the rear guard of the enemy, which was protecting the baggage train, and sent General Charles Lee, with five thousand men, among whom was Wayne, five miles in advance with this purpose in view. Lee ordered Wayne, telling him that his was the post of honor, to lead the advance, and with seven

hundred men to assail the left rear of the British. Before, however, this movement could be accomplished, they assumed the aggressive. A charge by Simcoe's Rangers upon Butler's Pennsylvania regiment was repulsed, but reinforcements in great numbers came to their assistance. At this time, while Wayne was engaged in a desperate struggle, the heart of Lee failed him, and he marched his men not forward in support, but about face to the rear. His excuse was that the temerity of Wayne had brought upon him "the whole flower of the British Army, Grenadiers, Light Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, amounting in all to seven thousand men." Washington, meeting Lee in retreat, in anger assumed command and ordered Wayne, who to avoid capture had been compelled to follow, to take Craig's Third Pennsylvania, Irvine's Seventh Pennsylvania, Stewart's Thirteenth Pennsylvania, a Maryland regiment and a regiment from Virginia and check the pursuit. Holding a position in an orchard, between two hills near the parsonage of Monmouth, they repelled two determined onsets and gained time for the occupation of the high ground by the forces sent to the front by Washington.

Finally Colonel Henry Monckton, brother of Lord Galway, after a brief speech appealing to the pride, and calling attention to the brilliant services of the British Guards, led them forward in a bayonet charge, with impetuous fury, against the troops of Wayne. They were unable to withstand the withering fire they encountered and, driven back in confusion, left the dead body of the Colonel on the field. Other efforts were continued for more than an hour, but in vain. The élite of the British army and the ragged Continentals from the huts of Valley Forge had met upon the plains of Monmouth and the fame of the deeds of Anthony Wayne was never more to fade from the memories of men. "Pennsylvania showed the road to victory" was the expression of what was probably his keenest gratification. "I cannot forbear mentioning Brigadier General Wayne, whose conduct and bravery through the whole action deserves particular commendation," was the stately and subdued comment of George Washington. Later a duel with Lee, which these events threatened, was happily averted.

After the exertions of Monmouth there was a long lull in military activities. The British held pos-

session of New York, and the army of Washington, stretched across New Jersey, kept watch upon their movements. Throughout this period of inaction the difficulties of the continental army in maintaining the numbers of the rank and file, in supplying them pay, arms, clothing and provisions, in arranging the grades of the officers, were serious and so continuous as to become chronic. On the 5th of October, 1778, Wayne wrote to Robert Morris: "By the first of January we shall have more Continental troops in the field than any other State in the whole Confederacy, but not as many general officers." At this time Pennsylvania had two brigades with the main army, three hundred men with Colonel Butler on the Mohawk, three hundred men with Colonel Brodhead at Pittsburg, and a regiment with Colonel Hartley at Sunbury. The service, according to Wayne, promised nothing "but indigence and want." The pay had become a mere *vox et praeterea nihil*. The clothier general of the army refused to furnish them with clothing, giving as a reason that, unlike the other states, they had their own state clothier. When his men burned some fences to keep themselves warm, Scammell, the aide to Lord

Stirling, proceeded to read him a lecture. "In case he (the Major General) is obliged to repeat the orders again, he shall be under the disagreeable necessity of pointing out the Pennsylvania troops in particular," said Scammell in a reflected lordly fashion. Wayne, entirely able to hold his own, and ever ready to support his troops, replied: "During the very severe storm from Christmas to New Year's, whilst our people lay without any cover except their old tents, and when the drifting of snow prevented the green wood from taking fire," yes, they burned some rails, but fifty men had first been frost-bitten. The other troops "were either cooped in huts or cantoned in houses. . . . It is not new to the Pennsylvanians to be taken notice of in general orders." It was always his effort to keep them "well and comfortable," and no commander ever had more trustful and devoted followers.

When Dr. Jones sent to him a bear skin, he was delighted. Occasionally his thoughts wandered toward his home. To Polly he sent "A tierce of beer, some rock fish and oysters, with a little good fresh beef," saying, "I would advise you to make immediate use of the fish." Again he wrote to

her, "I am not a little anxious about the education of our girl and boy. It is full time that Peggy should be put to the dancing school. How does she improve in her writing and reading? Does Isaac take learning freely? Has he become fond of school?"

Though Wayne had long with the greatest measure of success commanded a division, his rank and pay were only those of a brigadier, and he never throughout the Revolution received the advancement to which his services were entitled. Skill in securing recognition and compensation is an art in itself often quite apart from those qualities which accomplish great achievements. The man who is really intent upon his work often forgets the reward. And now his superior, St. Clair, that unfortunate general who had surrendered Ticonderoga, and who for some occult reason appears to have ever been a favorite with those in authority, came to take charge of the Pennsylvania Line. Wayne, after having been promised command of the Light Infantry soon to be organized, and bearing with him the written and eager statement of his colonels, Harmar, Stewart and the rest, that his

recent effort had "riveted the hearts of all ranks more firmly" to him and had rendered his "name more dear to the whole line," returned to Pennsylvania. His rest was not for long. Washington pondered over the possibilities of a desperate deed of "derring-doe" requiring military intelligence and personal courage of the highest character, and in its consideration in all probability weighed the qualities of every general then in the field with him. One day, June 24, 1779, Wayne was in Philadelphia on his way to greet his family at East-town, when a post rider gave him a dispatch from Washington with the suggestive words: "I request that you join the army as soon as you can." Polly must forego the greeting and be left to her loneliness, and it meant a long farewell.

Stony Point, a rugged promontory covered with rock and wood, extending into the Hudson River for half a mile from the western shore line and rising to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, stood "like a solitary sentinel, ever keeping watch and ward over the gateway of the Highlands. Bending around its western base and separating it from the mainland, a marsh sometimes to the depth

of two feet crept from an entrance in the river to the north to an outlet in the river to the south. An island fortress likened often in its strength and conformation to Gibraltar, it seemed to present insurmountable obstacles to any attacking force and with quiet and sardonic frown to threaten destruction. Upon the summit the British had erected a series of redoubts and had placed seven or eight disconnected batteries, while immediately below them an abattis extended the entire length of the crest. Within this fortification were four companies of the Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry, one company of American Tories and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. About one-third of the way down the hill from the summit ran a second line of abattis, supported by three redoubts, on which were brass twelve-pound cannon defended by two companies of the Seventeenth Regiment and two companies of Grenadiers. At the foot of the hill near the morass were five pickets and the British vessels of war, which rode in the river, were able to sweep with their guns the low ground of the approaches. Four brass and four iron cannon, one howitzer and five mortars, amply supplied with ammunition, were at

the service of the garrison, which consisted of over six hundred of the best disciplined and most trustworthy troops of the British army," commanded by a capable and gallant officer. At half after eleven o'clock on the night of July 15, 1779, thirteen hundred and fifty men, with bayonets fixed, and likewise "fresh shaved and well powdered," were waiting with Anthony Wayne on the farther side of the marsh to storm this formidable fortification. It was a most difficult undertaking, and the entire responsibility for the plan to be pursued, and the time and manner of carrying it out, rested upon Wayne. "So soon as you have fixed your plans and the time of execution, I shall be obliged to you to give me notice," Washington wrote to him on the 10th of July, to which Wayne replied on the 14th, "I shall do myself the honor to enclose you the plan and disposition to-morrow." He determined upon an assault by two columns, one on the right and one on the left, each to consist of one hundred and fifty men with arms unloaded, depending solely upon their bayonets, each preceded at the distance of sixty feet by a "forlorn hope,"

consisting of an officer and twenty men, while a force in the centre were to attract attention by a fire of musketry, but to make only a simulated attack. Never in the whole history of mankind has there occurred a situation which gives more forcibly the impression of absolute solemnity—the silence—the stern resolution of the musket grip—the morass in front, with its hidden uncertainties—the dangers and hopes that lay beyond on the threatening mount, and the deep darkness of the midnight. Wayne made his preparations for death. At eleven o'clock he sent certain roughly drawn papers to his dearest friend. "This will not meet your eye until the writer is no more. . . . I know that friendship will induce you to attend to the education of my little son and daughter. I fear that their mother will not survive this stroke. Do go to her. . . . I am called to sup, but where to breakfast, either within the enemy's lines in triumph or in the other world," were some of the utterances wrung from a burdened soul. On the way up the mount, just beyond the first abattis, he was struck by a ball which cut a gash two inches in length across his face and head, and felled him senseless to the ground. It was no light

wound. Long afterward he was weak from the loss of blood which streamed over him. Three weeks later his mental faculties were still benumbed. Six weeks later it was yet unhealed. As soon as he regained consciousness he called aloud: "Lead me forward. . . . Let me die in the fort," but continued to direct the movements with the point of his spear. In a few moments the words which he had adopted as a signal, "The Fort's our own," rang over the parapet; at two o'clock in the morning Wayne sent a despatch to Washington almost as laconic as the message of Cæsar: "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free;" of the twenty-one men in the "forlorn hope" led by Lieutenant James Gibbons, of Philadelphia, seventeen had been shot; and a valorous feat of arms, unequaled in American annals, either before or since, ending in brilliant success, had caught the attention of the entire world to hold it forevermore.

At that time the laws of war permitted a garrison taken by storm to be put to the sword, and memory recalls more than one British victory in

that and later wars stained with such cruelty. It is a great glory of Stony Point that no poor wretch cried for mercy in vain, and that all who submitted were saved. As an achievement, more important than the capture of a stronghold and the exhibition of valor and military skill was the fact that it created confidence and self-respect, and aroused a sense of state and national pride, public virtues as much needed then as they are to-day. The calm Washington in a despatch to Congress said that the conduct of Wayne "through the whole of this arduous enterprise merits the warmest approbation," and the more impulsive Greene declared that the event would "immortalize General Wayne" as it would do honor to the first general in Europe. Gerard, the French minister wrote: "The most rare qualities were found united;" John Jay, "You have nobly reaped laurels in the cause of your country and in the fields of danger and death;" Sharp De-laney, "At a Town Meeting yesterday you had all our hats and hands in repeated acclamation;" Benjamin Rush, "Our streets for many days rung with nothing but the name of General Wayne;" Colonel Spotswood, of Virginia, "The greatest stroke that

has been struck this war;" General Adam Stephen, "You have added dignity to the American arms and acquired immortal renown;" Colonel Sherman, that his name would "be coeval with the annals of American history;" Lafayette, that it was a "Glorious affair;" Steuben, "This gallant action would fix the character of the commanding officer in any part of the world;" General Lee, "I do most sincerely declare that your action in the assault on Stony Point is not only the most brilliant in my opinion through the whole course of this war on either side, but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history," and the English commodore, George Collier, that "The rebels had made the attack with a bravery they never before exhibited and they showed at the moment a generosity and clemency which during the course of the rebellion had no parallel." The poet sang:

" Each soldier darts amain
And every youth with ardor burns
To emulate our Wayne."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Supreme Executive Council passed resolutions thanking Wayne

and the Pennsylvania Line for "the honor they have reflected on the State to which they belong," and Congress, praising his "brave, prudent and soldier-like conduct," ordered a gold medal to be presented to him, to be made in France under the supervision of Dr. Franklin. In the very nature of things such an event could not occur without producing an effect upon the relations of Wayne to the other officers of the army, in some instances enhancing their esteem and in others, it is to be feared, arousing their envy, and without influencing his personal fortunes. He turned sharply upon Return Jonathan Meigs, of Connecticut, with: "I don't wish to incur any gentleman's displeasure. I put up with no man's insults." Twice within the next six weeks Washington dined with him and, referring to a recent incident in the conduct of military affairs, paid him this high compliment: "I had resolved to attempt the same enterprise, to be executed in the same manner you mention." The minds of the two men had come to be in an entire accord. About the same time he ordered: "One pair of elegant gold epaulets, superfine buff sufficient to face two uniform coats, with hair and silk, four dozen best yellow

gilt coat buttons, plain and buff color lining suitable to the facing of one coat.”

There was an officer in the army holding the high rank of a major general for whom Wayne had long held an unconcealed hostility, and whose conduct he viewed with suspicion. “I ever entertained the most despicable opinion of his abilities.” “He had neither fortitude or personal courage other than what the bowl or glass supplied,” were the comments of Wayne. At Morristown the officers of the Pennsylvania Line had refused to serve under his command. After this officer, Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, had in 1780 planned to give possession of West Point to the enemy and the complot with Clinton had been discovered, while it was still uncertain how far the treason had extended and whether it might not be successful, Washington ordered the Pennsylvania Line to the place of danger and gave them charge of that post. The First and Second Brigades marched from Tappan at the instant that the order came, leaving their tents standing, without taking time to call in their guards and detachments, and hastened to seize the pass at Smith’s White House, where they could dispute the advance

of the enemy or retire to West Point as the situation demanded. Wayne, with the rest of the Line, taking care to see that no more of the enemy passed up the river, seized the pass at Storms, from which a road in their rear ran to West Point, over which he could move rapidly and send the artillery and baggage. The order was received at one o'clock in the morning. At two they were on the march. It was a dark night, but without a halt they pushed ahead over the mountains "sixteen miles in four hours," and by sunrise were holding the passes. Washington in joyful surprise, ejaculating, "All is safe and I again am happy," went to bed after a long and uneasy watch.

A few months later occurred that *émeute* which the writers of books have strangely been pleased to call "the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line." In the latter part of 1780 the Line had under arms two thousand and five men, and they constituted, according to Dr. Stillé, as nearly as may be, two-thirds of the entire army. According to an estimate of Washington, they were one-third of his forces, and he said the army was "dwindling into nothing," and that the officers, as well as the

men, were renouncing the service. Within nine months one hundred and sixty-eight officers, including, however, only one from Pennsylvania, had resigned. It is altogether plain that in one way or another, for some reason about which it is unnecessary to inquire, in the main the troops from the other colonies had returned to their homes.

It was of the utmost importance for the success of the Continental cause that the men then in the service should be retained, even if in doing so the timbers of the ship had to be strained. The men in the Line had been enlisted for "three years, or during the war." There can be but very little doubt as to the meaning of this contract. The only reasonable construction is that they were to remain at most for the three years, but if the war should end during that period, the Government, having no longer use for their services, should be at liberty to discharge them. As it happened, the war lasted beyond the three years and it suited the necessities of the Government to act upon the assumption that "during the war" meant a time without limit. A large proportion of these men had been enlisted in 1776 and 1777, and therefore their terms of

service had long expired and they were being held without warrant of law. Moreover, cold weather had come upon them, and in the language of Wayne, "the distressed situation of the soldiers for want of clothing beggars all description." They had no money for their families, and Washington wrote that there had been a "total want of pay for nearly twelve months." No gentle remedy would have served any purpose in such a situation. There arose among them a hero with the plebeian name of William Bowser, but imbued with the spirit that won the War of the Revolution, a sergeant of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment. With every probability of being shot to death and covered with ignominy, with the nicest propriety of conduct, with a certain rude eloquence, he confronted Anthony Wayne, George Washington, the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, and the Continental Congress. He was absolutely right as to his contentions, and musket in hand, he gained his cause by force, over the heads of them all, and brought about a relief from the difficulties that encompassed them. About nine o'clock in the night of the 1st of January, 1781, the Line arose *en masse*, formed

on parade with their arms and without their officers, took possession of the provisions and ammunition, seized six pieces of artillery, took the horses from the stables, swept the ground with round shot and grape, and proposed to march to Philadelphia and see to it that their grievances were redressed. Some of the officers who tried to stem the torrent were killed. Some of the men were stricken with swords and espartoos and their bodies trampled beneath the hoofs of the horses. Then there were conferences. Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania, and the Congress began to stir themselves and to make strenuous efforts to meet the troubles of the situation. For two weeks the men kept up a perfect discipline and permitted Wayne, with Colonels Butler and Stewart, to come and go among them. Sir Henry Clinton sent two emissaries to them with a written proposition to afford them protection, to pay in gold all the arrears of wages due from the Congress, and to exempt them from all military service. It was no doubt a tempting offer. It would have ended the war, and the Colonies would have remained dependencies. These patriots were not made of such stuff. They at once

handed over to Washington the British agents, who were on the 12th promptly hanged. Reed had the indelicacy to offer a reward in money, which Bowser declined because the spies had been surrendered "for the zeal and love of our country." In the end the Government discharged twelve hundred and fifty men whose terms had expired, thus admitting its delinquency, gave to each poor fellow a pair of shoes, an overall and a shirt, and promised that the "arrearages of pay (were) to be made up as soon as circumstances will admit." The greater number of the men willingly reënlisted and Israel went back to its tents. "The path we tread is justice and our footsteps founded upon honor," announced Sergeant Bowser.

The war now drifted to the southward, and Wayne with eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania Line appeared in Virginia. Washington ordered the Line to be transferred to the southern army, and wishing a brigadier to go with the first detachment so as to be ready to form the whole, wrote to Wayne: "This duty of course devolves upon you." Lafayette, then in Virginia, warmly expressed his gratification and Greene did not hesitate to declare:

“You must know you are the Idle [Idol] of the legion.”

A tragedy preceded the movement of the troops into the campaign. As has been shown, they had been promised that the arrearages of their wages would be paid to them. The money came while they were in York, in Pennsylvania, but it was the paper of the Continental Congress. According to Wayne, this paper was then worth about one-seventh of its face value, and the people of the neighborhood declined to accept it in exchange for what they had to sell. On the 24th of May a few men on the right of each regiment, when formed in line, called out that they wanted “real, and not ideal, money,” and that “they were no longer to be trifled with.” These men were ordered to retire to their tents, and they refused to go. The officers, who had come prepared, promptly knocked them down and put them in confinement, a court-martial was ordered on the spot, the trial proceeded before the soldiers paraded under arms, and in the course of a few hours the accused were convicted of mutiny and shot. Says Wayne: “Whether by design or accident the particular friends and mess-

mates of the culprits were their executioners." Our patriotic forefathers of the Revolutionary War were not altogether gentle and mild-mannered persons. To Polly, whose tender heart must have been moved by the painful recital, he explained: "I was obliged to make an exemplary punishment, which will have a very happy effect." But we find more relief in a letter he wrote about the same time to Nicholson, the paymaster: "My feelings will not permit me to see the widows and orphans of brave and worthy soldiers who have fought, bled and died under my own eye, deprived of those rights they are so justly entitled to." His careless servant Philip lost the greater part of his table linen and napkins; his carriage and its horses, his baggage wagon with its four horses, a driver and four soldiers were at the plantation of Colonel Simm; "But hark, the ear piercing fife, the spirit stirring drum, and all the pomp and glorious circumstance of war" summoned him to horse, and away they hurried to Virginia, crossing the Potomac with artillery and baggage upon four little boats, one of which sank, drowning a few men, and reaching Leesburg, a distance of thirty miles, in two days.

On another day, when there was no river to cross, they marched twenty-two miles. As had grown to become customary, in the Virginia campaign as elsewhere, Wayne went to the front. On the 25th of June Lafayette wrote: "Having given you the command of our advanced corps, consisting of Butler's advance and your Pennsylvanians, I request you to dispose of them in the best way you think proper."

Cornwallis had his headquarters at Portsmouth and held control of the peninsula between the York and the James rivers, while Lafayette, whose force was much inferior, marched hither and yon in an effort to prevent the British detachments from getting supplies and if possible to cut them off and effect their capture. On the 6th of July what he thought to be the coveted opportunity arose. Information came that Cornwallis, in moving down the James river, had left his rear guard on the eastern bank near Green Spring, and that his army was divided with a river between. Lafayette ordered Wayne, with eight hundred men, nearly all of them from Pennsylvania, and three field pieces, to make an attack upon this rear guard. After crossing a

swamp by means of a causeway, and coming upon the enemy, they discovered too late that the information was erroneous, and that they were confronted by the whole British army of four thousand men under command of Cornwallis himself. The lion, awakened from his sleep, sprang forward in a dangerous mood and soon flanking parties began to envelop Wayne upon both sides. Here was a serious problem—a swamp in the rear, an enemy on the front, and overwhelming forces closing around. What was to be done? Lafayette hurried off an aide to bring up his army, but they were five mile away, and what might not be accomplished while ten miles of country were being traversed? To retreat was to be utterly lost. To stand still meant ultimate capture. Situations such as these, requiring the capacity to think accurately in the midst of unexpected crises, which Hooker was unable to do at Chancellorsville, and the character bravely and vigorously to act upon the conclusions reached, in which Lee failed at Monmouth, furnish the real test of military ability. Wayne boldly ordered a charge, the troops had entire confidence in his leadership, and he succeeded. Cornwallis, with

an estimated loss of three hundred in killed and wounded, retired toward Portsmouth to meet his now threatened fate. Of the Americans one hundred and twenty were killed or wounded. Lafayette in general orders proclaimed: "The general is happy in acknowledging the spirit of the detachment commanded by General Wayne in their engagement with the total of the British Army. . . . The conduct of the Pennsylvania field and other officers are new instances of their gallantry and talents." Greene, who had a somewhat undue respect for the British general, wrote: "Be a little careful and tread softly, for depend upon it you have a modern Hannibal to deal with in the person of Cornwallis. Oh, that I had had you with me a few days ago."

Washington placidly wrote: "I cannot but feel myself interested in the welfare of those to whose gallant conduct I have so often been a witness," while the more youthful and mercurial Light Horse Harry Lee could not restrain his enthusiasm, almost shouting: "I feel the highest joy in knowing that my dear friend and his gallant corps distinguished themselves so gloriously."

The wounded soldiers lacked hospital accommodations and supplies. Wayne ordered them to be furnished, and if there should be trouble about the payment, "place it to my account." This was not the first time he assumed individual pecuniary responsibility for the relief of his men and the welfare of the cause. In 1777, when there was great distress for want of provisions, he sent ten head of cattle to the army from his own farm and had not been paid for them as late as 1780.

The Continental army and the French fleet were about to concentrate and close in around Cornwallis, and in keeping him occupied and preventing the Virginia raids the army of Lafayette had borne its part in bringing about the result. On one occasion Wayne made, as he says, a push for Tarleton at Amelia, but the doughty Colonel had precipitately retreated. It seems almost a pity that they could not have come together. In August, for six days during a period of two weeks, the soldiers of Wayne had been "without anything to eat or drink except new Indian corn and water. . . . Neither salt, spirits, bacon or flour," but such inconvenience did not dampen their ardor. For a

time Wayne had been at Westover, and he impressed his hostess, the courtly Mrs. Byrd, who wrote: "I shall ever retain the highest sense of your politeness and humanity, and take every opportunity of testifying my gratitude." The part he took in holding Cornwallis was important. On August 31st, Lafayette thought that if Cornwallis did not that night cross to the south of the James, twenty-five ships of the Comte de Grasse having been sighted, he would have to stand a siege. The Marquis sent Wayne over the river and wrote, "now that you are over, I am pretty easy." Wayne posted his men at Cobham on the south side of the James, opposite to Cornwallis, with nothing but the river between them, selected a location on James island for three thousand of the French, who had landed too far below to be effective in preventing the possible retreat of Cornwallis, and then at eight o'clock in the night mounted his horse and rode ten miles to hold a conference with Lafayette, who had sent an express rider to point out the way. About ten o'clock he arrived at the camp, whereupon the sentry upon guard shot him. He had given the password, but the unfortunate guard, whose mind was in-

tent upon the proximity of the British, made a mistake. In the midst of the alarm created, Wayne had great difficulty in preventing the whole squad from firing at him. The ball struck in the middle of the thigh, grazed the bone, and lodged on the other side. Instantaneously he felt a severe pain in the foot which he called the gout. For two weeks he was out of service and at the end of that time could only move around in a carriage. For the guard he had only sympathy, and he called him a "poor fellow," but he vented his indignation upon Peters: "Your damned commissary of military plays false. He has put too little powder in the musket cartridges. . . . If the damned cartridge had a sufficiency of powder the ball would have gone quite through in place of lodging." In view of the pain and the patriotism we may surely, like the recording angel, pardon the profanity. That he accurately understood the surrounding conditions and that his judgment as to the outcome was sound, appears from a letter of September 12th, wherein he says: "We have the most glorious certainty of very soon obliging Lord Cornwallis with all his army to surrender prisoners of war." What a contrast these

thoughts present to those of another letter written on the same day to his little daughter: "If you have not already begun your French I wish you to request that lady to put you to it as soon as possible. . . . Music, dancing, drawing. . . . Apropos have you determined to hold your head up?"

One of the final attacks at Yorktown was supported by two battalions of Pennsylvania troops and the second parallel of the approaching works of the besiegers they and the Maryland troops completed. When Cornwallis on the 19th surrendered, the guards for one of his fortifications were selected from the French, and for the other from the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops. Since the French had a fleet of thirty-seven vessels of war, and an army twice as numerous as that of the Colonies, Wayne was sufficiently just to concede that the victory was not altogether due "to the exertions of America."

Soon after the surrender an incident occurred which shows what personal manliness and appreciation of the duty of a soldier actuated Wayne in his conduct. He was suffering from the effects of his recent wound and asked for a short leave of absence.

Washington, who was himself about to go north to Philadelphia, where he remained until March, but whose purpose was to send Wayne to the south, where the war still lingered, gave a not very cheerful assent. Whereupon Wayne wrote: "As a friend I told you that my feelings were hurt. As a soldier I am always ready to submit to difficulties. . . . Your Excellency puts it upon a ground which prevents me from accepting," and getting into a carriage, with such rapidity of progress as was practicable, he made his way to Greene in South Carolina along with the Pennsylvania Line.

Greene sent him to Georgia, and much to his regret, without his old troops. However, he had about four hundred dragoons, one hundred and seventy infantry, a detachment of field artillery, and such militia as could be raised from time to time. The British had possession of Savannah with thirteen hundred regulars, five hundred militia, and an indefinite number of refugees and Creek and Cherokee Indians. The people of Georgia were so impoverished that the Legislature authorized the Governor to seize ten negroes and sell them in order to secure his salary. The country below the Briar

creek between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers had become a complete desert. The Whigs and Tories maintained a partisan warfare of the most desperate character, in which mercy to prisoners was neither expected nor shown. Into this cauldron Wayne plunged, and for the first time in his career he determined for himself the features of a campaign. It is interesting to observe what was expected of him and what were the facilities afforded him for its accomplishment. At the outset Greene sounded this note of warning: "Your reputation depends more on averting a misfortune than on achieving something very great. Brilliant actions may fade, but prudent conduct never can. Your reputation can receive no additional lustre from courage, while prudential conduct will render it complete," and when it came to the methods to be pursued his suggestions were equally definite and helpful: "I think you should try to hold out encouragement to the Tories to abandon the enemy's interest and though you cannot promise positively to pardon them you may promise to do all in your power to procure it." In brief, Greene had nothing to offer, and his utmost hope was that no dis-

aster should occur. Wayne, in the early part of January, 1782, threw up intrenchments at a point on the Savannah river twenty-five miles above the city of Savannah and established a line across to the Ogeechee, intended to separate the British from their Indian allies and to cut off the sources of supplies. Immediately things began to move and the prospect to brighten. Wayne drafted a proclamation to be issued by the Governor of Georgia offering full pardon to the Tories. At the end of six weeks not an officer or soldier had had an opportunity to remove his clothing, but by January 26th the British had been driven from three of their outposts. The Choctaws, on their way to Savannah, January 30th, were intercepted, twenty-six warriors, six white men and ninety-three pack-horses captured, and while hostages were held the chiefs were sent back to their tribe with messages of friendliness and peace. By the middle of February the British were confined to the city. On the last day of the same month he burned a lot of British forage within half a mile of Savannah. On one occasion he had a personal rencontre with a Creek chief, in which the chief killed his horse,

and he cut down the Indian with his sword. On the 21st of April he heard again from Greene, who wrote: "General Barnwell tells me you talk of taking position nearer the enemy. It is not my wish you should," to which Wayne, who held a different view, replied: "I never had an idea of taking a position within striking distance, but such a one as would tend to circumscribe the enemy without committing myself. Such a position is about six miles in our front, and if I am joined by a corps of gentlemen under Colonel Clarke agreeable to promise, I shall take it." The next day Greene wrote that there was no ammunition with which to meet the demands of Wayne, that he had no arms to send, that the cartouche-boxes were all in use, and ordering that Captain Gill be withdrawn to join his own army. With the order recalling Gill, Wayne instantly and reluctantly complied.

On the 21st of May the Seventh Regiment of British Infantry, with a force of cavalry, Hessians, Choctaw Indians, and Tories, moved out to the distance of four miles from Savannah. In the night Wayne crossed the swamp, which was thought to

be a protection, attacked and routed them with great loss, made a number of captures, including Lieutenant Colonel Douglass and thirty horses, and the next morning rode within sight of the city.

“Wise commanders always own

What’s prosperous by their soldiers done,”

and Greene expressed his pleasure by saying: “You have disgraced one of the best officers the enemy have.” In an effort to drag Greene along still further, Wayne wrote: “Do let us dig the caitiffs out. It will give an éclat to our arms to effect a business in which the armament of our great and good ally failed.” Fortunately we have more than the usual amount of information concerning the minor incidents and the manner of life through this campaign. Captured Indians were treated with kindness and kept in a room with fire so that they could do their cooking. We are told by Wayne that “Cornell is a dangerous villain. He must be properly secured or bought.” To Polly, “My dear girl,” he wrote, “tell my son when he is master of his Latin grammar I will make him a present equal to his sister’s when she is mistress of her French.”

The whole force of the militia of Georgia consisted of ninety men. There were numbers of the men who had nothing like a coat. There was only one camp kettle to every twenty men. An officer who came to camp with a letter of introduction was entertained with cold beef, rice and "alligator water," but at a more happy time we catch sight of "a quarter cask of Madeira wine, ten and a half gallons of rum, and about two hundred weight of Muscavado sugar." When a dragoon was scalped and his body dragged about the streets of Savannah, Wayne proposed to make victims of an Indian chief and a British officer. He prevented Mrs. Byng, a free quadroon, from being sold as a slave with her children, though her husband had been executed "as a villain, a murderer and outlaw." A lady asked to see him and sent him a union cockade, to which he gallantly replied: "Nature has been but too partial in furnishing Miss Maxwell with every power to please. Notwithstanding these dangerous circumstances, the general as a soldier cannot decline the interview." The personal servant of the British Captain Hughes, who had been captured, he on request sent back, and the captain

appreciated "the uncommon attention and extreme courtesy."

Through it all Greene kept up a constant nagging. "You will please order the same issues as are directed in this army. I am willing the troops should have what is sufficient, but by no means more," and at another time, "I was told you proposed to get some clothing from Charlestown and pay in rice. . . . I wish you therefore to avoid it nor attempt anything of the kind," were some of his cheering messages. On the 6th of June he rather overdid himself, writing: "Far less regularity and economy has been made use of in the subsistence of your troops than I could have wished. . . . I find one pound and a quarter of beef and one pound and a quarter of rice is a sufficient ration for any soldier . . . both men and officers should be allowed a reasonable subsistence, but nothing is more pernicious than indulgence." In one sense no letter was ever more happily conceived. It called forth and secured for our benefit a pen sketch by Anthony Wayne of one of his campaigns, which is a contribution to historical literature. In response Wayne said: "I have received yours of the 6th

inst. on the subject of rations and economy. . . . I am extremely obliged to you for the anxiety you express for every part of my conduct to appear in the most favorable light. . . . On the 19th of January we passed the Savannah river in three little canoes, swimming the horses; that by manœuvres we obliged the enemy to abandon every outpost and to retire into the town of Savannah; that we found the country a perfect desert, neither meat or bread kind, except what was within the influence of their arms; that notwithstanding this circumstance and surrounded by hostile savages we subsisted ourselves from the stores of the enemy at the point of the sword until with the assistance of a few reclaimed citizens, artificers and slaves we built a number of large boats and rebuilt twelve capital bridges for the purpose of transportation, and three respectable redoubts to enable us to hold the country, without any other expense to the public than a few hundred bushels of rice and beef in proportion, which beef as well as at least one-third of all that has yet been issued in this army cost the United States nothing except the lives of three or four men; the very salt we used was made by ourselves, and the

iron, etc., with which our horses were shod, boats built, wagons repaired, es pontoons made and every kind of smithwork done were also procured without any cost to the public except for a very small proportion for which, as well as the labor, we were necessitated to barter some articles of provisions. We were also obliged to exchange some rice and meat for leather and thread to make and repair the horse accoutrements, harness, etc., or to abandon the country. . . . No army was ever supported for less expense or more service rendered in proportion to numbers than on the present occasion. . . . If severe discipline, constant duty, perpetual alarm, and facing every difficulty and danger be an indulgence, I candidly confess that the officers and men under my command have experienced it to a high degree."

At half after one o'clock on the night of June the 24th the Creek Indians, with British assistance, made an attack upon the post, but after the first surprise were soon routed, leaving many dead, including two white men, on the field. One hundred and seven horses were among the spoils, but their masters, the Indian braves, were subjected to "the bayonet to free us from encumbrance."

The end of it all was that, on the 11th of July, the British sailed away from Savannah to the West Indies. On the 12th Wayne, at the head of his horsemen, rode in triumph through the streets of the city and the soil of Georgia was never again trodden by the feet of the enemy. The grateful State set apart four thousand guineas to buy for Wayne a tract of land, and the captious but converted Greene bore tribute before the Congress to his "singular merit and exertions."

He had one further and final service to render to his country in the War of the Revolution. When on the 14th day of December, 1782, the British forces marched out of the city of Charleston, leaving at last the southern colonies to rest and peace, two hundred yards in their rear, at the head of that part of the Continental army, bringing with him promise and hope, Anthony Wayne rode into the relieved city, a fitting climax to his many efforts and trials through the eventful struggle.

The ensuing ten years Wayne spent in civil pursuits and private life, endeavoring to recover from the effects of a malarial fever contracted in Georgia, at one time believed to be fatal, and strug-

gling with those financial difficulties which beset men who devote their energies to the public service instead of to the betterment of their own fortunes. Throughout all of this period, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, the embers of the war were still smouldering, and it was not until after the close of the second contest of 1812 that Americans could feel secure in their independence. The country west of the Ohio was occupied by Indian tribes ever ready to bring devastation, destruction and desolation to the homes of the border settlers, and ever incited and aided by the British, who held a number of posts along the lakes. Washington, who had become President of the United States, selected, to command forces sent to overawe them, Harmar and St. Clair in succession, and each was in turn defeated, the latter with circumstances of peculiar horror and dismay from the loss of such noted soldiers as Butler and Crawford, the latter burned at the stake. Then he sent for Anthony Wayne, gave him at last the commission of a major general, and placed him in command of the Army of the United States. In modest and serious words Wayne accepted the responsibility. "I clearly foresee that it is a com-

mand which must inevitably be attended with the most anxious care, fatigue, and difficulty, and from which more may be expected than will be in my power to perform, yet I should be wanting both in point of duty and gratitude to the President were I to decline an appointment however arduous to which he thought proper to nominate me," was the language of his letter to the Secretary of War, April 13th, 1792.

The underlying motive of the war was the determination of the Indians to make the river Ohio the permanent boundary between them and the United States, and the fact that after the concession by Virginia of her western claims the Ohio Company, under the leadership of Rufus Putnam, had established a settlement within what is now the state of Ohio. Within seven years fifteen hundred people had been massacred. Another defeat, said the Secretary of War with auspicious suggestion, would be ruinous to "the reputation of the Government." In its origin, in its conduct, in its results, and even in its details, the expedition was almost a repetition of the march of Cæsar into Gaul. The fierce savages of a vast and unknown territory were about to be

subjected, and an empire of civilization to be erected upon the lands over which they held sway. Wayne organized his army in Pittsburg and some such forecast must have occurred to the minds of those in authority, for it was called not an army but a legion. This legion, it was intended, should be composed of over four thousand men, but there were actually under arms two thousand six hundred and thirty-one. Where it was recruited appears with approximate accuracy in June, 1793, when the Secretary of War sent one hundred and nineteen men from Pennsylvania, one hundred and one from Virginia, one hundred and one from New Jersey and thirty from Maryland, and when Wayne issued a call for volunteers for six weeks, one hundred and sixty-six from Ohio, one hundred and sixty-four from Westmoreland, one hundred and sixty-four from Washington, eighty from Fayette, and eighty-two from Allegheny, these last four being counties in Pennsylvania. Along with the organization of the legion came the most rigid enforcement of discipline. During the progress of the campaign, in which the greatest vigilance was necessary, at least two soldiers were shot to death for sleeping on their

posts. When Wayne found some of them drunk in the village, now the city of Cincinnati, he ordered that no passes be thereafter granted. Whiskey was kept out of the camp. Careful directions were issued describing the methods of meeting attacks upon each flank and upon the rear. He placed reliance on the bayonet and the sword, and urged his men not to forget that "the savages are only formidable to a flying enemy." The crowns of the hats of the men were covered with bear skin. He insisted upon cleanliness of person and regularity of diet. "Breakfast at eight o'clock, dine at one; meat shall be boiled and soup made of it . . . a good old soldier will never attempt to roast or fry his meat." Every day the field officers, sub-lieutenants and captains of the guard dined with him, and his salary did not pay the expenses of the table. One hundred lashes with wire cats were sometimes inflicted as punishment. He adroitly sowed and cultivated dissensions among the Indians, having in his army the chief Cornplanter as well as ninety Choctaws and twenty-five Chickasaws. The war lasted for over two years, and we are enabled to appreciate the condition of the wilderness in which it was conducted when we learn

that he was without communication from the Secretary of War in Philadelphia from December to April. The British, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of peace, had established certain posts within the country and Wayne was given authority if he found it necessary to dislodge them. To his wisdom and discretion, therefore, was trusted the grave question of renewing the war with England. Just before the march an interesting incident occurred. On the 1st of June, 1792, he granted a leave of absence to Alexander Purdy, a soldier in Captain Heth's company, in order that he might assist in printing at Pittsburg a pamphlet written by Hugh H. Brackenridge, "the first publication of the kind ever proposed in the western country."

Late in the summer of 1792 he moved his army twenty-seven miles down the Ohio river and there encamped for the winter. In May of 1793 he advanced as far as the site of Cincinnati. Like all human movements in which various forces are concerned, there was much delay due to differences of views and divergences of counsels. Wayne had reached the conclusion that we should never have a permanent peace until the Indians were taught to

respect the power of the United States, and until the British were compelled to give up their posts along the shores of the lakes. In Philadelphia the government was timid about entering upon the war, and previous defeats had made it fearful of the outcome. Knox, the Secretary of War, wrote that the sentiments of the people "are averse in the extreme to an Indian war," and again "it is still more necessary than heretofore that no offensive operations should be undertaken against the Indians," and finally that a "defeat at the present time and under the present circumstances would be pernicious in the highest degree to the interests of the country." While the hostile Indians were perfecting their combinations and holding their pow-wows with Simon Girty and an aide of the British Colonel Simcoe, who promised them protection as well as arms, ammunition, and provisions, the government sent B. Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering to Fort Erie to negotiate for peace. The result of these efforts was that after gaining what time was needed the Indians refused to treat at all, and the duty fell upon Wayne to see that the commissioners reached home with their scalps on their

heads, for which they formally gave him thanks. To make a general war was the conclusion of the tribes. Wayne then wrote to Knox: "Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation and feeling for the honor and reputation of the government which I shall support with my latest breath, you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily."

By the 13th of October he had marched to a point on a branch of the Miami river, eighty miles north of Cincinnati, where he found a camp which he fortified and called Greenville and there he remained through the winter. The march was so rapid and the order maintained so perfect, that the Indian scouts were baffled. From there he sent a corps with guides and spies six miles further along the trail of Harmar to secure "intelligence and scalps." He likewise detached a force to go to the field where St. Clair had been defeated, to bury the bones of the dead and erect a fort called Fort Recovery.

In May a lieutenant with a convoy gallantly charged and repelled an assault.

On the 30th of June about seventeen hundred

of the enemy made a desperate attempt to capture an escort under the walls of Fort Recovery and to carry the fort by storm, keeping up a heavy fire and making repeated efforts for two days, but were finally repulsed. Twenty-one soldiers were killed and twenty-nine wounded, and no doubt both sides were animated by the memories of the misfortunes of St. Clair at the same place. A few days later, after receiving some reënforcements of mounted men from Kentucky, he marched seventy miles into the heart of the Indian country, built Fort Defiance at the junction of the Le Glaize and Miami rivers, and then within sight of a British fort on the Miami made his preparations for the battle which was inevitable. He had marched nearly four hundred miles through the country of an enemy, both watchful and vindictive; had cut a road through the woods the entire way, upon a route longer, more remote and more surrounded with dangers than that of Braddock; had overcome the almost insuperable difficulties of securing supplies; had built three forts, and now had reached a position where the issue must be decided by arms. On the morning of August 20th, 1794, the army advanced five

miles, with the river Miami on the right, a brigade of mounted volunteers on their left, a light brigade on their rear, and a selected battalion of horsemen in the lead. They came to a place where a tornado had swept through the forest, and thrown down the trees, since called the Fallen Timbers, and where the twisted trunks and limbs lay in such profusion as to impede the movements of the cavalry. Here the Indians, two thousand in number, encouraged by the proximity of the British fort, determined to make a stand. Hidden in the woods and the high grass, they opened fire upon the mounted men in the front and succeeded in driving them back to the main army. The enemy were formed in three lines in supporting distance of each other, extending for about two miles at right angles to the river and were protected and covered by the woods. Wayne formed his force in two lines. He soon perceived from the firing and its direction that they were strong in numbers on his front and were endeavoring to turn his left flank. He met this situation by ordering up the rear line to support the first, by sending a force by a circuitous route to turn the right of the enemy, by sending an-

other force at the same time along the river to turn their left, and by a direct charge with trailed arms in the front to drive the Indians from their covert with the bayonet, his favorite weapon. The Indians could not resist the onset, broke in confusion, and were driven two miles in the course of an hour through the woods with great loss. Their dead bodies and British muskets lay scattered in all directions. The next day Wayne rode forward and inspected the British fort. The major in command wanted to know "in what light am I to view your making such near approaches to this garrison?" to which Wayne replied that, had the occasion arisen, the fort would not have much impeded "the progress of the victorious army." All of the villages, corn fields, and houses, including that of McKee, the British Indian agent, within a scope of one hundred miles, were burned and destroyed.

American annals disclose no such other victory over the savage tribes. For the next quarter of a century there were peace and safety along the border. It secured for civilization the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers. It made possible the development of such states as Ohio, Illinois

and Indiana. When the information reached London the British Government, recognizing that the cause of the Indians was hopeless, ordered the evacuation of the posts at Detroit, Oswego and Niagara. Twenty years later there was written in praise of Perry's victory on Lake Erie that it was only second in importance to the West to that of Wayne at the Fallen Timbers.

Two weeks later Wayne was crushed to the earth by a falling tree, so much bruised as to cause great pain and hemorrhages, and only the fortunate location of a stump, on which the tree partially lodged, saved his life.

After the treaty of cession and peace had been executed, and after an absence in the wilderness for three years, he returned home in 1795, everywhere hailed with loud acclaim as the hero of the time and received in Philadelphia by the City Troop and with salvos from cannon, ringing of bells, and fireworks.

His last battle had been fought. His work was done. "Both body and mind are fatigued by the contest," were his pathetic words. Soon afterward the President sent him as commissioner to

Detroit and on his return he died at Presque Isle, now Erie, December the 15th, 1796.

We have this description of his personal appearance: "He was above what is termed the middle stature and well proportioned. His hair was dark. His forehead was high and handsomely formed. His eyes were dark hazel, intelligent, quick and penetrating. His nose inclined to be aquiline."

His was a bold spirit. His six wounds indicate that he did not hesitate to expose his person when need arose, but he possessed beside that moral courage which enabled him to move with steady step when confronted with difficult and complicated propositions where the weak waver. Neither the fortifications at Stony Point nor the unknown wilds of Ohio made him uncertain. No man was potent enough either in military or civil affairs to give him affront with impunity. He was on the verge of a duel with Lee, with St. Clair, and with some others. He did not hesitate on occasion to say "damn." At the same time he was almost sentimental in his affections. Attached to his wife, who was ever to him "Polly," or "my dear girl," he

wanted her to come to him in camp, and he never wrote to her without telling her to kiss for him his "little son and daughter." A negro boy waited upon the officers of the light infantry, and when the corps was dissolved they determined to sell him. "The little naked negro boy, Sandy," wrote Wayne, "so often ordered to be sold, is in my possession and newly clothed. I shall take care of him."

He had healthy cravings. He was fond of porter and Madeira, of venison, cheese and sugar, of dress, of the approval of his fellow men, of the glory that follows successful military achievement. He drank tea as well as wine. He could be prudent and even diplomatic. Had he rushed upon the Pennsylvania Line when they were aroused and angry, he would have been killed. He opposed in 1778 chasing after Clinton in Connecticut. Contrary to the thought of Washington, he ordered a regiment to follow towards Stony Point for the purpose of having the men who were to make the charge strengthened by a sense of support. When the irritated Colonel Humpton claimed that Wayne's servant had taken his puppy and demanded its return Wayne presented his compliments, denied the facts,

declined to "dispute so trifling a matter," and sent the dog. He refused to lend his pistols to his friend, Major Fishbourne, who wanted to fight a duel. He had certain philosophical tendencies. "For law is like war—a trade to a common capacity, but a science to a man of abilities," he wrote to his son, and again, "let integrity, industry and probity be your constant guides." He did not believe that the colonies could depend upon the aid of France, but contended that they must rest "on the firm ground of our own virtue and prowess." It was because of these tendencies that he was so particular about the discipline and dress of the soldiers, so insistent upon the provision for their needs, so reliant upon the moral effect of the cutting edge of a weapon, and so careful to cultivate the pride and esprit of the corps. He always wanted Pennsylvania troops to be with him in his campaigns, not that he intended to reflect upon those of other states, but because they and he had learned to trust each other and knew the value of the association. His willingness to encounter danger and to take the risks of responsibility was by no means all due to the impulse of a military tempera-

ment. He saw, and more than once made his vision plain, that many and perhaps the most of those around him were subservient in thought and feeling. They had so long regarded the English as masters that when they met them as foes they had more respect for the enemy than confidence in themselves. He knew that the first step toward independence must be an enlargement of soul. He called no Englishman a Hannibal, and when he met the pseudo Roman on the James, struck him with a spear, and after his capture invited him to dine. The supreme contribution of Wayne to the American cause was that more than any other general he gave it inspiration. He proved that an English force could be assailed and compelled to surrender in a stronghold regarded as impregnable, and his conduct affected for good the whole army. The most diffident were given courage by the example of Wayne.

His letters, while lacking in literary skill and somewhat too roseate in their style, unlike much of the correspondence of the period, which is stilted, stiff and vague, always give vivid pictures and make entirely plain the thought he purposed to convey.

No one can read them intelligently without being impressed with the accuracy of their reasoning and the correctness of his judgment upon military problems. He understood the conditions in Georgia better than Greene. He comprehended the situation in Ohio more clearly than Knox. The orders of Washington, Schuyler, Lafayette and Greene show very plainly that when they were met by a difficult situation, requiring strenuous mental and physical effort, they were all disposed to call for the assistance of Wayne. Every general under whom he served sent him to the front. He had the advance at Germantown, and Monmouth, and on the James in Virginia. He was the first to enter Savannah and Charleston. No other general of the Revolution had so varied an experience. Greene came the nearest to him in this respect, but he neither fought so far north nor so far south. He was the only one of them who added to his reputation as a soldier after the close of the Revolution. The most dangerous event that can happen to a successful general is to be required to command under different conditions in a later war. History is strewn with the wrecks of reputations lost under

such circumstances. Wayne was subjected to this supreme test, and still he triumphed. He is the only general of the Revolutionary War in whose achievements the great West, rapidly becoming the source of power in our government, can claim to have participation. The final popular judgment upon all questions is sure to reach the truth. As time has rolled along most of the generals of the Revolution have become as vague as shadows, but Wayne remains instinct with life and the heart yet warms at the recital of his deeds. No commonwealth in America but has a county or town bearing his name. New York has made a state park of Stony Point, and ere long Ohio will do the like for the Fallen Timbers. One of the most inspiring of our lyrics written in the stress of the War of the Rebellion tells how "The bearded men are marching in the land of Anthony Wayne."

By no chance, therefore, does it happen that his statue is set upon the centre of the outer line at Valley Forge. It is where he stood in the cold and the drear of that gloomy and memorable winter, and the place he held on many a field of battle. This hallowed camp-ground, where was

best shown that spirit of endurance and persistence which created a nation, shall tell, through the coming ages, to the future generations of men, the story of the bold soldier and consummate commander whose place seemed ever to be where the danger was the most threatening, and prudence and skill were the most essential.

CONGRESS HALL*

“When your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, what mean ye by these stones? Then ye shall answer them.”—Joshua, Chap. IV, Verses 6 and 7.

“*Les grands édifices, comme les grands montagnes, sont l'ouvrage des siècles.*” — Notre Dame de Paris, by Victor Hugo.

IT is proper and fitting that the Court of Common Pleas No. 2, in finally departing from the building in which its sessions have for so long a time been held, should recall the remarkable associations of the venerable structure. The events of human life are necessarily connected with local-

* In the preparation of this address, delivered at the last session of the Court of Common Pleas No. 2, in Congress Hall, I have used freely Thompson Westcott's "History of Philadelphia," as printed in the *Sunday Dispatch*; John Hill Martin's "Bench and Bar;" Frank M. Etting's "History of Independence Hall," F. D. Stone's edition; Hon. James T. Mitchell's "Address Upon the District Court," and John William Wallace's "Address Upon the Inauguration of the New Hall of the Historical Society."

I have been materially aided by Mr. Andrew J. Reilly, Mr. Luther E. Hewitt, Mr. John W. Jordan, Mr. Julius F. Sachse and Mr. F. D. Stone.

ities. The career of a man is somewhat influenced by the house in which he was born and the place he calls home, and in the growth and development of nations, such buildings as the Parthenon, the Pyramids, St. Peter's, the Prinzen Hof at Delft, Westminster Abbey, and Independence Hall, about which important memories cluster, become an inspiration for present action and an incentive for future endeavor. When we search with due diligence we find good in everything and sermons in stones and bricks.

The idea of the erection of a hall for the use of the county originated with the celebrated lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, to whose efforts we owe also the State House. He, as early as 1736, secured the passage of a resolution by the Assembly of Pennsylvania looking to the accomplishment of this purpose. The Act of February 17, 1762, provided for a conveyance to the county of a lot at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, containing in front on Chestnut street fifty feet, and in depth along Sixth street seventy-three feet, on which should be erected within twenty years a building to be used "for the holding of courts" and as a "com-

mon hall." The project progressed slowly, and when it was finally carried forward to completion, two different funds were used for the purpose. The first of them had a curious origin. It was a time-honored custom among the early mayors of the city to celebrate their escape from the labors and responsibilities of their office by giving a public banquet, to which their constituents were generally invited. In 1741, James Hamilton, a son of Andrew Hamilton, and mayor at the time, considering it a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance, gave, in lieu of the entertainment, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, to be used in the erection of an exchange or other building for public purposes, and subsequent mayors followed his example. If our late mayor, when he vacated his office in March last, sent no prandial communication to you, these early qualms of conscience may explain the omission. The other fund was raised in 1785, by the sale of "the old gaol and work-house." On the 29th of March, 1787, fifteen feet were added to the depth of the lot by an Act of the Assembly; soon afterward work was commenced upon the cellar by gangs of convicts called "wheelbarrow-

men,"* and the building was completed in the early part of 1789, just in time to insure its future fame and importance. On the 4th of March of that year, the Assembly, acting by authority of the representatives of the city and county of Philadelphia, tendered to Congress, for the temporary residence of the Federal Government, the use of the building "lately erected on the State House Square." In the year 1790, Congress, after a long and somewhat embittered struggle, finally determined to fix the location of the capital on the banks of the Potomac, and Philadelphia, mainly through the efforts of Robert Morris, and much to the dissatisfaction of the people of New York, was selected as the seat of government for the intervening period of ten years. On the 6th of December, 1790, the first Congress, at its third session, met in this building, the House of Representatives on the floor below us, and the Senate in this room.

In the *Columbian Magazine* for January, 1790, is a copper-plate representation of the building as it was when completed, taken from the southwest. This view shows five windows in each story of the

* *Historical Magazine*, Vol. X, p. 105.

west wall, two chimneys on the west, a cupola on top, a brick wall enclosing the square on Sixth street, and the rear of the building pretty much as it is at present. The text describes it as "a large new building, finished in a neat and elegant style," and the square as "a beautiful lawn, interspersed with little knobs or tufts of flowering shrubs and clumps of trees well disposed. Through the middle of the gardens runs a spacious gravel walk, lined with double rows of thriving elms and communicating with serpentine walks which encompass the whole area. These surrounding walks are not uniformly on a level with the lawn, the margin of which being in some parts a little higher forms a bank which, in fine weather, affords pleasant seats."

From the books of foreign travellers and others we get a pretty good description of the internal arrangement and appearance of the building. Isaac Weld, an Englishman, says:

"The room allotted to the representatives of the lower House is about sixty feet in length and fitted up in the plainest manner. At one end of it is a gallery, open to every person that chooses to

enter it; the staircase leading to which runs directly from the public street. The Senate chamber is in the story above this, and it is furnished and fitted up in a much superior style to that of the lower House."

The eagle with its thunderbolts, and the centre-piece of grapevine with thirteen stars, still seen in the ceiling, marred by the useless and unornamental glass knobs, scattered over it only a few years ago, is a remnant of that "superior style" in which the Senate chamber was then fitted up. The gallery in the lower room had accommodations for three hundred persons. In this room stood a large pyramidal stove. A broad aisle ran through the centre.

We are told by a contemporary: "The House of Representatives in session occupied the whole of the ground floor, upon a platform elevated three steps in ascent, plainly carpeted, and covering nearly the whole of the area, with a limited loggia or promenade for the members and privileged persons, and four narrow desks between the Sixth street windows for the stenographers, Lloyd, Gales, Callender and Duane. The Speaker's chair, without canopy, was of plain leather and brass nails, facing the east, at or

near the centre of the western wall. The first Speaker of the House in this city was Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, who, by his portly person and handsome rotundity, literally filled the chair. His rubicund complexion and oval face, hair full powdered, tamboured satin vest of ample dimensions, dark blue coat with gilt buttons, and a sonorous voice, exercised by him without effort in putting the question, all corresponding in appearance and sound with his magnificent name, and accompanied as it was by that of George Washington, President, as signatures to the laws of the Union; all these had an imposing effect upon the inexperienced auditory in the gallery, to whom all was new and very strange. He was succeeded here by Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, a very tall, rawboned figure of a gentleman, with terrific aspect, and, when excited, a voice of thunder. His slender, bony figure filled only the centre of the chair, resting on the arms of it with his hands and not the elbows. From the silence which prevailed, of course, on coming to order after prayers by Bishop White, an occasional whisper, increasing to a buzz, after the manner of boys in school, in the seats in the lobby and around the fires, swelling at last to

loud conversation wholly inimical to debate. Very frequently at this stage of confusion among the babbling politicians, Mr. Speaker Dayton would start suddenly upon his feet, look fiercely around the hall, and utter the words, *order, order, without the bar*, in such appalling tones of voice that as though a cannon had been fired under the windows in the street, the deepest silence in one moment prevailed, but for a very short time."

The voice of Muhlenberg seems to have impressed his contemporaries. In "He would be a Poet," a satire upon John Swanwick, published in Philadelphia in 1796, occur these lines :

"I'll tell them all how great Augustus spoke ;
With what an awful voice he called to order
Whene'er the gallery did on tumult border."

In the "House of Wisdom in a Bustle," a satire published in 1798, we find the following :

"The clock had just struck ; the doors were extended ;
The priest to his pulpit had gravely ascended.
Devoutly he prayed, for devoutly he should
Solicit for wicked as well as for good.
He prayed for the Gentile, for Turk, and for Jew,

And hoped they'd shun folly and wisdom pursue,
For all absent members — as some have a notion
To dispense with this formal and pious devotion.
This duty performed, without hesitation,
He left to their wisdom the charge of the nation.
When the parson retired, some members sat musing,
Whilst others were letters and papers perusing.
Some apples were munching; some laughing and joking:
Some snuffing, some chewing, but none were a-smoking;
Some warming their faces."

This picture, indicating a lack of decorum in the House, is, perhaps, not overdrawn, since we are informed by another writer that a few of the members "persisted in wearing, while in their seats and during the debate, their ample cocked hats, placed fore and aft upon their heads, with here and there a leg thrown across the little desk before them."

A happy chance has preserved this further piece of contemporaneous color: "At the easternmost part of Congress Hall is a bench, on which stands a pitcher of water to cool the throats of the thirsty members."*

Henry Wansey, an Englishman, who was here in 1794, says: "Behind it is a garden which is open

* Note to "House of Wisdom in a Bustle."

for company to walk in. It was planned and laid out by Samuel Vaughan, Esq., a merchant of London, who went a few years ago, and resided sometime in Philadelphia. It is particularly convenient to the House of Representatives, which, being on the ground floor, has two doors that open directly into it, to which they can retire to compose their thoughts or refresh themselves after any fatigue of business, or confer together and converse without interrupting the debate."

John Swanwick, himself a noted member of Congress from Philadelphia, as well as a poet of reputation at the time, in some verses "On a Walk in the State House Yard, June 30, 1787,"* which he seems to have made with his Delia, "to see her smile and hear her gentle talk," describes it as a place where the young people of that day did their courting. He pays a warm tribute to the man who

"planned this soft retreat
And decked with trees and grassy sod the plain,"

in lines which predict

* "Swanwick's Poems," p. 94.

“Oh! how much more shall he be crowned by fame
Who formed for lovers this auspicious grove;”

and while he does not forget that

“Even now the sages whom the land convenes
To fix her empire and prescribe her laws,
While pensive wandering through these rural scenes,
May frame their counsels for a world’s applause,”

he nevertheless thinks it more suited for enraptured swains who twine sportive garlands and reveal their wishes and fears.

Brissot de Warville came to Philadelphia in 1788. He was much impressed by our Quaker people, and was on terms of close and intimate friendship with many of them, including Miers Fisher, the noted lawyer. His head, filled with decided opinions concerning philanthropy and the rights of mankind, was cut off by the guillotine in the early days of the French Revolution. He describes what we call the square in this way: “Behind the State House is a public garden. It is the only one which exists in Philadelphia. It is not large, but it is agreeable. One can breathe there. There are large squares of green divided by walks.”

Judge Mitchell, in his interesting address upon the District Court, delivered twenty years ago, says: "There was no entrance on Sixth street, no partition between the present Quarter Sessions room and the room of the Highway Department, and no stairs at that point leading to the second story. The entrance was on Chestnut street into a vestibule, thence into a sort of second vestibule or foyer for spectators, and then a large room, occupied during the time the Congress sat here after its completion by the House of Representatives. The staircase to the second story was in the vestibule next to Chestnut street, and led up to a similar vestibule, from which ran a broad entry southward to the Senate Chamber, which was the present District Court room No. 1. The space now occupied by the District Court room No. 2, and the witness rooms, lately the Law Library, was divided into four committee rooms, two on each side of the broad entry I have mentioned. On the north side of the Senate Chamber was a gallery, attainable only by a steep spiral staircase leading up from what has since been the east or conversation room of the Law Library. This gallery was not a part of the original plan of the

building, and was put there after the room was accepted by the Senate. It was very close to the ceiling, narrow, dark and uncomfortable. After the room came to be used by the courts the gallery was commonly kept closed, as I learn from Judge Coxe, because it became a place of resort for the hangers-on, who frequently went to sleep and snored, to the great disturbance of the proceedings. It was finally removed in 1835."

The late John McAllister used to tell that once, in his boyhood days, he and another urchin found their way into this gallery and sat down to watch the proceedings of the Senate. He and his friend were the only spectators. Presently Thomas Jefferson arose and announced: "The Senate is about to go into executive session. The gentlemen in the gallery will please withdraw." Whereupon the two boys took their hats and departed, often afterwards saying, that at least they could claim to be gentlemen upon the authority of Jefferson. Those certainly were days of simplicity, when the only listeners that the debates of the Senate of the United States could attract were two errant urchins over whose heads time hung heavily.

The same contemporary authority we have before cited describes the Senate in this way: "In a very plain chair, without canopy, and a small mahogany table before him, festooned at the sides and front with green silk, Mr. Adams, the vice-president, presided as president of the Senate, facing the north. Among the thirty senators of that day there was observed constantly during the debate the most delightful silence, the most beautiful order, gravity and dignity of manner. They all appeared every morning full powdered and dressed as age or fancy might suggest in the richest material. The very atmosphere of the place seemed to inspire wisdom, mildness and condescension. Should any one of them so far forget for a moment as to be the cause of a protracted whisper while another was addressing the vice-president, three gentle taps with his silver pencil case upon the table by Mr. Adams immediately restored everything to repose and the most respectful attention."

If we were to suppose, however, that in that early period of the history of the republic the politicians and statesmen treated each other with gentle and kindly courtesy, awarded to their opponents

due measure of credit, and fought out their controversies without heat and wrath, we should be very much mistaken. No unprejudiced person can carefully compare the records they have left to us with those of the present without perceiving that in the course of the century which has elapsed there has been a decided advance both in morals and in manners, and it strengthens our faith in the stability of the government to believe, as we properly may, that future generations will look back with as great pride and satisfaction upon the labors of the earnest and worthy men of to-day as do we upon those of the members of the earliest Congress, admirable as was much of their work and great as was their merit. William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania in the first Congress, kept a journal of the proceedings of the Senate while he sat with the other Senators in this room. Upon one occasion General Dickinson came and whispered to him: "This day the treasury will make another purchase, for Hamilton (Alexander) has drawn fifteen thousand dollars from the bank in order to buy." Maclay complacently adds: "What a damnable villain!" At another time he gave expression to this devout wish:

“Would to God this same General Washington were in Heaven.”

Giles, the new member from Virginia, is preserved after this fashion: “The frothy manners of Virginia were ever uppermost. Canvas-back ducks, ham and chickens, old Madeira, the glories of the Ancient Dominion, all fine, were his constant themes. Boasted of personal prowess; more manual exercise than any man in New England; fast but fine living in his country, wine or cherry bounce from twelve o’clock to night every day. He seemed to practise on this principle, too, as often as the bottle passed him.”

In 1798 two of the members of the House, both of them from New England, Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, and Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, had a series of rencontres, which caused much commotion and comment, and became the subject of squibs and caricatures, and of at least two satires in verse, “The Legislative Pugilists” and “The House of Wisdom in a Bustle.” On the 22d of January, while the House was voting for members upon the committee to prosecute the impeachment of Senator Blount, some allusion was made by Griswold to a

story that Lyon, during the Revolutionary War, had been compelled to wear a wooden sword because of cowardice in the field. Lyon made answer by spitting in his face. A motion was made to expel Griswold, a committee was appointed to investigate, the committee reported a resolution in favor of the expulsion of Lyon, and the House negatived the resolution. On the 15th of February, while Lyon was writing at his desk, Griswold came up and hit him over the head and shoulders with a club. Lyon managed to get hold of the tongs in use about the stove, and, defending himself, they beat each other until separated. Some time afterward they met in an ante-room, and Lyon struck Griswold with a stick. Sitgreaves ran, and having found a hickory club, gave it to Griswold, but they were again separated. While the matter led to much discussion, no definite action was taken by the House.

In *The Key*, a magazine published for the brief period of a year at Fredericksburg, Maryland, in 1798, appeared the following "Battle of the Wooden Sword." So far as known, only one copy of the magazine has been preserved.

THE BATTLE OF THE WOODEN SWORD! OR, THE
MODERN PUGILISTS.

A NEW SONG IN TWO PARTS.

*“ An hundred men with each a pen,
Or more, upon my word, sir,
It is most true, would be too few,
Their valour to record, sir.”*

FIRST PART.

Tune—Yankee Doodle.

In any age, or any page
Of fam'd old mother Clio,
We cannot say, so vile a fray
Rais'd such a hue and cry, O.

Chorus.

Sing Yankee doodle, bow, wow,
wow,

Yankee doodle dandy,
Let us record the wooden sword,
And with the glass be handy.

We all must blush, and cry out
hush!

At what has pass'd so recent,
Within the wall of Congress Hall,
O la! 'twas too indecent.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

But still to sing a funny thing,
At night when we are quaffing,
Which to record the wooden sword,
I'm sure will keep us laughing.
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Therefore draw near, and you shall
hear

A tale fit for derision,
That I do ken 'bout Congress men,
And claim'd mature decision.
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

But to proceed with quickest speed
And not prolong my ditty,
If I can tell my story well
You'll laugh, or it's a pity.
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Some Congress folks must pass their
jokes
Upon one Matthew Lyon,
Insulting Pat, the democrat,
Whilst some look'd snigg'ring
sly on.
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

The speaker then, and Congress
men,
Were standing out of place, sir,
When Lyon spit, a little bit,
In Roger Griswold's face, sir.
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

It was, they say, a silly fray,
 Caus'd by some silly word, sir,
 That chanc'd to slip from Gris-
 wold's lip,
 About a wooden sword, sir,
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

At which he roar'd and damn'd the
 sword,
 And did not storm a little,
 His feelings hurt, which made him
 squirt
 In Roger's face his spittle.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Like with a blast, they stood aghast,
 The men of this great forum,
 Who loud did prate, and execrate
 This breach of their decorum.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Some rose to blame, O fy, for
 shame,
 Cry'd out each one and all, sir.
 From north to south, in ev'ry
 mouth,
 'Twas heard round Congress Hall,
 sir.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Now round the world, I'm sure 'tis
 hurl'd,
 How Griswold spoke provoking,
 In frantic fit, how Lyon spit,
 And sad has prov'd their joking.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Some members rose, for fear that
 blows
 Would speedy follow after,
 Some seem'd confus'd, some rail'd,
 abus'd,
 And some burst out in laugh-
 ter.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Yet some confess'd, that in arrest,
 And that without denial,
 Lyon be plac'd, and be disgrac'd,
 At least to stand a trial.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

In torrents pour, in ev'ry door,
 The folks of every station,
 Wide staring all, to see a brawl
 'Midst rulers of a Nation.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Indeed the case had brought dis-
 grace
 On any in this City :
 As soon 'twas heard, the house re-
 ferr'd
 Itself in a Committee.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

While some were mute, some in
 dispute,
 And all in sad convulsion,
 Some said in fact, so vile an act
 Deserv'd direct expulsion.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

One member said, I'm not afraid
 To speak in fire and thunder !
 While men & boys, who heard the
 noise,
 Stood gaping, mute with wonder.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Now Lyon thought that he had
 brought
 His pigs to a bad market.
 The wooden sword he heard en-
 cor'd
 And ev'ry dog would bark it.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

So he began a long harangue,
 How much he had been wear'ed,
 Which made at least, him act the
 beast,
 Because he'd been cashier'd.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

He then cried out, at length no
 doubt,
 If I should be compliant,
 The time will come, they'll kick
 my b—m,
 Yet still, I'm to be silent.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

What's that was said, cries one
 quite red,
 With blushes much confounded,
 Another breach, by filthy speech;
 His rudeness is unbounded.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Then much did they his vice pour-
 tray,
 By many days' debating,
 And strange to tell, did not expel
 The man we are narrating.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

This cost U. S., if right I guess,
 Twelve thousand dollars rhino,
 Which, bye the bye, will make us
 sigh,
 Instead of laughing, I know.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Yet, lest I'm long, let's end this
 song,
 And none his laughter smother,
 I've sung one truth, and now for-
 sooth,
 I'll briefly sing another.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

SECOND PART.

Against his will, when Roger still
 Saw Matthew was not outed,
 And from his seat did not retreat,
 He swore he should be routed.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

So next he went, with bad intent,
 And enter'd Congress Hall in';
 He took his cane to crack the
 brain,
 And lay old Matthew sprawling.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

So in a trice, he struck him thrice,
 Most soundly on the head, sir,
 And beat him fore, all o'er and
 o'er,
 Till Lyon sadly bled, sir.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

He seized the tongs, to ease his
 wrongs,
 And Griswold then assail'd,
 By heinous drubs, from heinous
 clubs,
 Disorder now prevailed.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Some members mad, some very glad,
 Some still as any mouse, sir.
 Some rais'd a roar, shew them the
 door,
 Or they'll pollute the house, sir.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

If there's no rule, we'll keep men
 cool,
 Whilst in this house we're sitting,
 With broken heads, we'll keep our
 beds,
 And scandal crown the meeting.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Now both assuage their cruel rage,
 Possess'd of melancholy,
 And to accede, they both agreed
 No more to shew their folly.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Thus ends the song, tho' very
 long,
 About the Wooden Sword, sir,
 When next in spite, they spit and
 fight,
 The deed we will record, sir.
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Perhaps the most interesting event in the history of the building was the inauguration of Washington as President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1793. The oath of office was administered to him by Judge Cushing in the room in which we are now sitting. Stansbury, in his "Recollections and Anecdotes of the Presidents of the United States," has given this description of the scene: "I was but a school boy at the time, and

had followed one of the many groups of people who, from all quarters, were making their way to the hall in Chestnut Street at the corner of Sixth, where the two houses of Congress then held their sittings, and where they were that day to be addressed by the President on the opening of his second term of office. Boys can often manage to work their way through a crowd better than men can. At all events, it so happened that I succeeded in reaching the steps of the hall, from which elevation, looking in every direction, I could see nothing but human heads—a vast fluctuating sea, swaying to and fro, and filling every accessible place which commanded even a distant view of the building. They had congregated, not with the hope of getting into the hall, for that was physically impossible, but that they might see Washington. Many an anxious look was cast in the direction from which he was expected to come, till at length, true to the appointed hour (he was the most punctual of men), an agitation was observable on the outskirts of the crowd, which gradually opened and gave space for the approach of an elegant white coach, drawn by six superb white horses, having on its four sides

beautiful designs of the four seasons, painted by Cipriani. It slowly made its way till it drew up immediately in front of the hall. The rush was now tremendous. But as the coach door opened there issued from it two gentlemen with long white wands, who, with some difficulty, parted the people so as to open a passage from the carriage to the steps on which the fortunate school boy had achieved a footing, and whence the whole proceeding could be distinctly seen. As the person of the President emerged from the carriage a universal shout rent the air, and continued as he deliberately ascended the steps. On reaching the platform he paused, looking back on the carriage, thus affording to the anxiety of the people the indulgence they desired of feasting their eyes upon his person. Never did a more majestic personage present himself to the public gaze. As the President entered all arose and remained standing until he had ascended the steps at the upper end of the chamber and taken his seat in the speaker's chair. It was an impressive moment. Notwithstanding that the spacious apartment, floor, lobby, galleries and all approaches were crowded to their utmost

capacity, not a sound was heard. The silence of expectation was unbroken and profound. Every breath was suspended. He was dressed in a full suit of the richest black velvet; his lower limbs in short clothes and diamond knee buckles and black silk stockings. His shoes, which were brightly japanned, were surmounted with large square silver buckles. His hair, carefully displayed in the manner of the day, was richly powdered and gathered behind into a black silk bag, on which was a bow of black ribbon. In his hand he carried a plain cocked hat, decorated with the American cockade. He wore by his side a light, slender dress sword, in a green shagreen scabbard, with a richly ornamented hilt. His gait was deliberate, his manner solemn but self-possessed, and he presented altogether the most august human figure I had then or have since beheld.

“At the head of the Senate stood Thomas Jefferson in a blue coat—single breasted, with large, bright basket buttons—his vest and small clothes of crimson. I remember being struck by his animated countenance of a brick-red hue, his bright eye and foxy hair, as well as by his tall, gaunt, ungainly form and square shoulders. A per-

fect contrast was presented by the pale, reflective face and delicate figure of James Madison, and, above all, by the short, burly, bustling form of General Knox, with ruddy cheek, prominent eye, and still more prominent proportions of another kind. In the semi-circle which was formed behind the chair, and on either hand of the President, my boyish gaze was attracted by the splendid attire of the Chevalier D'Yrujo, the Spanish ambassador, then the only foreign minister near our infant government. His glittering star, his silk *chapeau bras*, edged with ostrich feathers, his foreign air and courtly bearing, contrasted strangely with those nobility of nature's forming who stood around him. It was a very fair representation of the old world and the new. Having retained his seat for a few moments, while the members resumed their seats, the President rose and, taking from his breast a roll of manuscript, proceeded to read his address. His voice was full and sonorous, deep and rich in its tones, free from that trumpet ring which it could assume amid the tumult of battle (and which is said to have been distinctly heard above its roar), but sufficiently loud and clear to fill the chamber

and be heard with perfect ease in its most remote recesses. He read, as he did everything else, with a singular serenity and composure, with manly ease and dignity, but without the smallest attempt at display. Having concluded, he laid the manuscript upon the table before him, and resumed his seat, when, after a slight pause, he rose and withdrew, the members rising and remaining on their feet until he left the chamber."

This graphic and somewhat highly wrought narrative is certainly entertaining and interesting, but there are some features about it which suggest the query as to whether or not it is entirely trustworthy.

The celebrated William Cobbett, one of the great masters of the English language and later a member of Parliament, was present upon all but five days of the session of 1795-6. "Most of the members will without doubt," he says, "recollect seeing a little dark man, clad in a grey coat something the worse for wear, sitting in the west corner of the front seat. That has been my post." On the 8th of December, 1795, Washington came before the Senate and House assembled in the hall

of the House, to present his message concerning Jay's treaty with England. He found Congress in a state of "composed gravity" and "respectful silence," and the gallery "crowded with anxious spectators." Cobbett then proceeds:

"The President is a timid speaker. He is a proof among thousands that superior genius, wisdom and courage are ever accompanied with excessive modesty. His situation was at this time almost entirely new. Never till a few months preceding this session had the tongue of the most factious slander dared to make a public attack on his character. This was the first time he had ever entered the walls of Congress without a full assurance of meeting a welcome from every heart. He now saw even among those to whom he addressed himself numbers who to repay all his labors, all his anxious cares for their welfare, were ready to thwart his measures and present him the cup of humiliation filled to the brim. When he came to that part of his speech where he mentions the treaty with his Britannic majesty he cast his eyes toward the gallery. It was not the look of indignation and reproach, but of injured virtue which is ever ready

to forgive. I was pleased to observe that not a single murmur of disapprobation was heard from the spectators that surrounded me; and if there were some amongst them who had assisted at the turbulent town meetings I am persuaded that they were sincerely penitent. When he departed every look seemed to say: God prolong his precious life."

John Adams, the second President of the United States, was inaugurated here on the 4th of March, 1797. As Adams and Jefferson entered, they were each applauded by their respective party followers. Adams took his seat in the chair of the speaker; Jefferson, Washington, and the secretary of the Senate were upon his left hand, and the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States at a table in the centre. General James Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the army, all of the officers of State and foreign ministers were present. Adams made a short speech, and then, going down to the table at which the judges were sitting, took the oath of office administered to him by the Chief Justice, Oliver Ellsworth. After his withdrawal, Jefferson was sworn into

office as Vice-President. John McKoy, who was present, wrote a description of the scene for Poulson's *Daily Advertiser*. He says: "The first novelty that presented itself was the entrance of the Spanish minister, the Marquis Yrujo, in full diplomatic costume. He was of middle size, of round person, florid complexion, and hair powdered like a snowball; dark striped silk coat, lined with satin; white waistcoat, black silk breeches, white silk stockings, shoes and buckles. He had by his side an elegant hilted small sword, and his chapeau, tipped with white feathers, under his arm. Thus decorated, he crossed the floor of the hall with the most easy nonchalance possible and an occasional side toss of the head (to him habitual) to his appointed place. He was viewed by the audience for a short time in curious silence. He had scarcely adjusted himself to his chair, when the attention of the audience was roused by the word 'Washington,' near the door of the entrance. The word flew like lightning through the assembly, and the subsequent varied shouts of enthusiasm produced immediately such a sound as

'When loud surges lash the sounding shore.'

It was an unexpected and instantaneous expression of simultaneous feeling which made the hall tremble. Occasionally the word 'Washington,' 'Washington,' might be heard like the guns in a storm. He entered in the midst and crossed the floor at a quick step, as if eager to escape notice, and seated himself quickly on his chair, near the Marquis Yrujo, who rose up at his entrance as if startled by the uncommon scene. He was dressed similar to all the full-length portraits of him—hair full powdered, with black silk rose and bag pendant behind as then was usual for elderly gentlemen of the old school. But on those portraits one who had never seen Washington might look in vain for that benign expression of countenance possessed by him and only sufficiently perceptible in the lithographic bust of Rembrandt Peale, to cause a feeling, as Judge Peters, in his certificate to the painter, expresses it. The burst at the entrance had not subsided, when the word 'Jefferson,' at the entrance door, again electrified the audience into another explosion of feeling similar to the first, but abated in force and energy. He entered, dressed in a long, blue frock coat, single breasted, and buttoned down to the waist;

light sandy hair, very slightly powdered and cued with black ribbon a long way down his back; tall, of benign aspect and straight as an arrow, he bent not, but with an erect gait moved leisurely to his seat near Washington and sat down. Silence again ensued. Presently an increased bustle near the door of the entrance, and the words 'President,' 'President Adams,' again produced an explosion of feeling similar to those that had preceded, but again diminished by repetition in its force and energy. He was dressed in a suit of light drab cloth, his hair well powdered, with rose and bag like those of Washington. He passed slowly on, bowing on each side, till he reached the speaker's chair, on which he sat down. Again a deep silence prevailed, in the midst of which he rose, and bowing round to the audience three times, varying his position each time, he then read his inaugural address, in the course of which he alluded to, and at the same time bowed to, his predecessor, which was returned from Washington, who, with the members of Congress, were all standing. When he had finished, he sat down. After a short pause, he rose up and, bowing round as before, he descended from the chair and passed

out with acclamation. Washington and Jefferson remained standing together, and the bulk of the audience watching their movements in cautious silence. Presently, with a graceful motion of the hand, Washington invited the Vice-President, Jefferson, to pass on before him, which was declined by Mr. Jefferson. After a pause, an invitation to proceed was repeated by Washington, when the Vice-President passed on towards the door and Washington after him."

Among the spectators of this interesting scene was Rembrandt Peale, the artist, who had a seat in the gallery. Mrs. Susan R. Echard, who in 1859 was still living in Philadelphia at the age of eighty-three years, and who was present, wrote a contemporary letter to a kinsman in which she said: "When General Washington delivered his Farewell Address, in the room at the southeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets, I sat immediately in front of him. It was in the room Congress occupied. The table of the speaker was between the two windows on Sixth street. The daughter of Dr. C. (Craik), of Alexandria, the physician and intimate friend of Washington, Mrs. H. (Harrison),

whose husband was the auditor, was a very dear friend of mine. Her brother Washington was one of the secretaries of General Washington. Young Dandridge, a nephew of Mrs. Washington, was the other. I was included in Mrs. H.'s party to witness the august, the solemn scene. Mr. H. declined going with Mrs. H., as she had determined to go early, so as to secure the front bench. It was fortunate for Miss C. (Custis), afterward Mrs. L. (Lewis), that she could not trust herself to be so near her honored grandfather. My dear father stood very near her. She was terribly agitated. There was a narrow passage from the door of entrance to the room, which was on the east, dividing the rows of benches. General Washington stopped at the end to let Mr. Adams pass to the chair. The latter always wore a full suit of bright drab, with lash or loose cuffs to his coat. He always wore wrist ruffles. He had not changed his fashions. He was a short man, with a good head. With his family he attended our church twice a day. General Washington's dress was a full suit of black. His military hat had the black cockade. There

stood the 'Father of his Country,' acknowledged by nations the first in war, the first in peace, and the first in the hearts of his countrymen. No marshals with gold-colored scarfs attended him; there was no cheering, no noise; the most profound silence greeted him, as if the great assembly desired to hear him breathe, and catch his breath in homage of their hearts. Mr. Adams covered his face with both his hands; the sleeves of his coat, and his hands were covered with tears. Every now and then there was a suppressed sob. I cannot describe Washington's appearance as I felt it—perfectly composed and self-possessed till the close of his address—then, when strong nervous sobs broke loose, when tears covered the faces, then the great man was shaken. I never took my eyes from his face. Large drops came from his eyes. He looked to the youthful children who were parting with their father, their friend, as if his heart was with them, and would be to the end.”*

While Congress held its sessions in this building, the United States Mint and the United States Bank were established; Vermont, Kentucky and

* G. W. P. Custis's "Recollections of Washington," p. 434.

Tennessee were admitted into the Union; the army and navy were organized upon a permanent basis; Jay's treaty, determining our relations with England, resulting in much difference of opinion, was considered and ratified; the whiskey insurrection was suppressed; the wars with the Indians, conducted successively by Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne—all of them Pennsylvanians—were fought, and, in the ably managed campaign of Wayne, the power of the hostile tribes was finally broken, and the West won for civilization; and the brief war with France, reflecting much credit upon our youthful navy and upon Commodore Thomas Truxton, afterward Sheriff of Philadelphia County, was courageously undertaken and maintained. Here, too, was officially announced the death of Washington, when John Marshall offered a resolution "that a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen," thus originating an expressive phrase destined in America never to be forgotten. Congress sat here for the last time on the

14th day of May, 1800. The last act of the Senate in this building was to request the President to instruct the Attorney-General to prosecute William Duane, editor of the *Aurora*, for a defamatory libel. Then, after the passage of a resolution extending its thanks to "the commissioners of the city and county of Philadelphia for the convenient and elegant accommodations furnished by them for the use of the Senate during the residence of the national government in the city," that august body adjourned to meet thereafter in the city of Washington, and the éclat incident to the location of the capital of the country departed from Philadelphia forever.

At a later period a committee of Congress recommended the appropriation of a sum of one hundred thousand dollars as compensation by the government for the use of these buildings, but nothing came of the proposition, and this city has the satisfaction of knowing that among its many patriotic services is the fact that without return of any kind, it furnished during ten years an abiding place to the homeless nation.*

* Brodhead's "Location of the National Capital," *Magazine of American History*, January, 1884.

The subsequent history of the building is less eventful, and, though covering a period when it would seem that the facts ought to be accessible, is in reality much more obscure. A plan in a volume entitled "Philadelphia in 1824," shows that at that time the north room of the lower floor was occupied by the District Court, the south room by the Common Pleas, the north room of the upper floor by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the south room by the Circuit Court of the United States, and that between these two rooms on the upper floor on the west was the Law Library, and on the east were the Controllers of Public Schools. Definitely when these courts began their sessions here neither Judge Mitchell, nor Thompson Westcott, who made a thorough search of the newspapers and most other sources of contemporary information, was able to ascertain. Some further light can now, however, be given. In the printed report of the trial, in 1809, of General Michael Bright, before Judges Bushrod Washington and Richard Peters, in the Circuit Court of the United States, an important case which involved a question of jurisdiction between the State of Pennsylvania and the United

States Government, and whose events of a very warlike nature caused the house at the northwest corner of Seventh and Arch streets to be known as Fort Rittenhouse, upon page 201, there appears an affidavit of Thomas Passmore, an auctioneer of the city. He deposed "that, on Sunday last, the 30th of April, ultimo, between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, as he was standing near the door of the County Court House, at the corner of Sixth and Chesnut Streets, he heard some voices calling from the balcony of the Court House, 'Corless, that's wrong.' Upon looking round this deponent saw Matthias Corless, who this deponent understood was one of the jurors in the case of the United States against Bright and others, passing from the said Court House across the street towards the Shakespere Hotel, a tavern situate at the northwest corner of Sixth and Chesnut Streets." That court was therefore sitting here in 1809. The directory for 1809 says that the Orphans' Court then sat "on the third Friday of every month at the County Court House." The jurisdiction of the Orphans' Court was at that time exercised by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who

were also the judges of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and of the Quarter Sessions. It is probable, therefore, that the United States Courts and the Common Pleas, with its accessories, commenced their sessions here soon after the building was surrendered by the Congress, and presumably the Common Pleas continued to hold its sessions in the building until the number of criminal cases became so great as to require continuous sessions of the criminal courts. The United States Courts remained until September 15, 1826. According to Westcott, the District Court began to hold its sessions here in 1818, and it continued to sit here until its final dissolution on the 4th of January, 1875. The following list of the judges of that court while in this building is taken from Martin's "Bench and Bar":

PRESIDENT JUDGES.

- JOSEPH HEMPHILL, May 6, 1811.
JOSEPH BORDEN MCKEAN, October 1, 1818.
JARED INGERSOLL, March 19, 1821.
MOSES LEVY, December 18, 1822.
JOSEPH BORDEN MCKEAN, March 21, 1825.
JOSEPH BARNES, October 24, 1826.
THOMAS MCKEAN PETTIT, April 22, 1835.

JOEL JONES, April 8, 1845.

GEORGE SHARSWOOD, February 1, 1848.

JOHN INNES CLARK HARE, December 1, 1867.

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

ANTHONY SIMMONS, May 6, 1811.

JACOB SUMMER, June 3, 1811.

THOMAS SERGEANT, October 20, 1814.

JOSEPH BORDEN MCKEAN, March 27, 1814.

JOSEPH BARNES, October 1, 1818.

JOSEPH BORDEN MCKEAN, March 17, 1821.

BENJAMIN RAWLE MORGAN, March 29, 1821.

JOHN HALLOWELL, March 27, 1825.

CHARLES SIDNEY COXE, October 24, 1826.

THOMAS MCKEAN PETTIT, February 16, 1833.

GEORGE McDOWELL STROUD, March 30, 1835.

JOEL JONES, April 22, 1835.

JOHN KING FINDLAY, February 5, 1848.

JOHN INNES CLARK HARE, December 1, 1851.

MARTIN RUSSELL THAYER, December 1, 1867.

THOMAS GREENBANK, December 7, 1868.

MARTIN RUSSELL THAYER, March 27, 1869.

JAMES LYND, December 5, 1870.

JAMES TYNDALE MITCHELL, December 4, 1871.

AMOS BRIGGS, March 25, 1872.

Upon the abolition of the District Court and the reorganization of the Courts of Common Pleas, the south room of the upper story C and the north room D were assigned to the Court of Common

Pleas No. 2, and have been occupied by that court until to-day. The judges of No. 2 who have sat here have been:

PRESIDENT JUDGE.

JOHN INNES CLARK HARE, January 4, 1875.

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

JAMES TYNDALE MITCHELL, January 4, 1875.

JOSEPH T. PRATT, January 4, 1875.

DAVID NEWLIN FELL, May 3, 1877.

SAMUEL WHITAKER PENNYPACKER, January 9, 1889.

THEODORE FINLEY JENKINS, January 1, 1894.

MAYER SULZBERGER, January 1, 1895.

Three of the judges have gone from this building to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania—George Sharswood, James Tyndale Mitchell and David Newlin Fell—and perhaps no living American is more widely respected among men of the English-speaking race for his learning and attainments as a jurist than the president judge of this court. The south room of the lower floor was used by the Court of Oyer and Terminer until the erection of the brick building on Sixth street below Chestnut, in 1867, as I am informed by Judge F. Carroll Brewster; and among the famous murder cases tried

here were those of Richard Smith, Arthur Spring, Charles Langfeldt, and that most ferocious of Philadelphia murderers, Anton Probst. The Court of Quarter Sessions continued to hold its sessions in that room until its removal to the City Hall, at Broad and Market streets, July 31, 1891. From that time until the present, it has been used for jury trials by Judges Craig Biddle and François Amedée Bregy, of the Court of Common Pleas No. 1. For many years the Law Academy of Philadelphia held its moot court in room D.

The Law Association had its meetings and kept its library upon the upper floor from 1819 till 1872, and on October 28, 1841, made a circular announcement that "Gentlemen who wish to converse will be pleased to withdraw to the conversation room on the east side of the hall."

The north room of the first floor has been the office of the Prothonotary of the Courts of Common Pleas, Colonel William B. Mann, since January, 1879. Before that date it was occupied as the Tax Office, and at a still earlier time by the Highway Department.

The venerable building has not been without

its vicissitudes. On the 26th of December, 1821, a fire, caused by a defective flue, burned the northern part of the roof and injured the cupola, but the activity of the firemen preserved it from destruction. During a conflagration at Hart's building in December, 1851, it caught fire several times and was in the greatest danger, but was again happily saved. At one time legislation was proposed and passed by one of the Houses at Harrisburg to tear down the State House and other buildings and sell the ground for what it would bring at auction. The Act of August 5, 1870, providing for the appointment of a building commission, directed that this hall should be removed but, fortunately, that part of the Act has never been carried into effect, and was repealed at the last session of the Legislature. Nor has it been without a suggestion of tragedy. Upon the morning of December 11, 1866, Judge F. Carroll Brewster, though holding the Court of Common Pleas, sat temporarily in Room D to hear an application for the appointment of a receiver in a case of Vankirk vs. Page. As he leaned forward to talk to an officer an iron ventilator weighing seventy pounds fell from

the ceiling and crushed the back and legs of his chair.*

On the 16th of February, 1893, the case of Lukens vs. the City, which had been on trial in room D for four days, was given to the jury shortly after three o'clock in the afternoon. As the judge left the court room, the plaintiff asked him whether he would not wait and take the verdict. After a momentary consideration, he declined, saying it could be sealed and brought into the court the next morning. A short time afterward, a mass of plaster and lath, eight inches in thickness and weighing hundreds of pounds, fell upon the bench and chair, crushing the bench to the floor, and so filling the room with débris that for some days the court was held in the lower story. The danger to the judges had no effect to deter a ribald wit of the bar from suggesting, "*Fiat justitia, ruat ceiling.*"

The hour for departure has arrived. There is a French proverb which runs, that the man who wears silk stockings is careful about stepping into the mud. It has been the good fortune of the Court of Common Pleas No. 2 hitherto to conduct its proceed-

ings amid surroundings and influences calculated to be helpful in aiding it to maintain a high standard of rectitude and professional effort. In this place those measures were taken which established the government of the United States upon a firm basis, and started it upon its wonderful career of development and prosperity. Here for the greater part of a century the rights of personal liberty of the citizens of Philadelphia were decided, and their rights of property, since the judgments of the District Court were for the most part final, were determined. The tread of Washington and Adams and Jefferson had scarcely ceased to resound amid these walls, before they began to hearken to the learning of McKean and Sharswood and Hare. The eloquence of Stockton and Morris, of Marshall and Boudinot, strenuous and urgent about matters of state and finance, died away into the past only to give place to the eloquence of Binney, and Meredith, and McCall, and Cuyler, and Brewster, and Shepard, striving for the solution of abstruse and intricate legal problems, and that of Reed, and Brown, and Mann, and Cassidy, contending over questions of life and death. And it is to be hoped

that the end is not yet. We depart with an assured faith that the people of this efficient and forceful community, possessing as they do the sacred fanes of America, and mindful as they are of the importance and value of such possession, will see to it that this building is retained unchanged for the future generations of citizens, and that its hallowed memories are carefully preserved and proudly cherished.

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

[An address delivered at the ST. LOUIS FAIR on Pennsylvania Day,
the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the Battle of Fallen Timbers.]

IN the United States of America, while the terms east and west are more or less uncertain in their designation, it is perhaps sufficiently accurate to say that when reference is made to the West that region is intended which is not included within the limits of the thirteen original states and lies to the westward of the Allegheny mountains. The settlement of this region and the knitting of the ties which were to unite it to the states bordering upon the Atlantic ocean were of the utmost importance to the nation. In time it has come to be the centre of population, as well as of political influence, and if it had remained permanently under the control of Spain, France or England, or of any other foreign country, in the large sense there never

would have been a nation at all. During the War of the Rebellion there were sacrificed a half million of lives and there were expended four billions of dollars to prevent a cleavage of the country by a line running eastward and westward. It was correctly felt that such a division meant the ultimate loss of all that the future had in store for us and that supreme efforts must be exerted to avert the threatened calamity. A cleavage by a line running northward and southward along the Allegheny mountains would have been equally fatal. We are able in this way to form some estimate of the immense advantages to the country which resulted from securing that region as a part of the national domain. If it shall come about, as now seems probable, that the American people are to be one of the dominant nations, imposing their race characteristics, seizing the avenues of trade, and extending their institutions, and if, as also seems probable, their national force shall be exerted under the influence of the states within the valley of the Mississippi, then the settlement of the West was an event of tremendous significance in the history of the world.

That settlement was the result of no preconceived design. It came about as the consequence of no deliberate purpose. No nation, as did Greece and Rome in the ancient days, sent out colonies to occupy the land upon a prearranged system and under the protecting and fostering care of the government at home. It was the outcome rather of that impulse which has led the descendants of the old Teutonic race, whether they be Saxon or Suabian, to wander; which before the dawn of history impelled the barbaric tribes to pour over the Ural mountains into Europe, and which in the sixth century urged one of these tribes under the lead of Hengist, Horsa and Cerdic to cross the North Sea and seize what we now know as England. The hardy borderers living on the outskirts of the older colonies in the east pushed across the Alleghenies, rifle in hand, to found new homes upon richer lands, and to take the initial steps in the establishment of states destined ere long to become both prosperous and potent. The difficulties that were encountered were overcome. The dangers that arose in the path were surmounted. The wild beasts that filled the caverns

below and clung to the limbs of the trees overhead were driven from their lairs. The savages who lurked in the forests and who endeavored to confront the inpour of emigrants, with treachery and revenge in their hearts and scalping knives in their hands, were, after many a fierce struggle, beaten and destroyed. Those adventurers who perished on the way were soon followed by others equally determined and more fortunate, until communities were established and the new life in the wilderness was too deeply rooted to be upturn.

It is my purpose, in this state, said to be more like our own than any other; in this city, which has been called the Philadelphia of the West, upon the occasion of the exposition intended to commemorate the most extensive acquisition of lands ever made by the government, upon this most important and interesting anniversary, to narrate, in a brief way and in broad lines, the part borne by Pennsylvania in these events so fraught with great results. Among the pioneers, at once the earliest and most distinguished, made the hero of song and story in many tongues and many lands, introduced by Byron into his poem of Don Juan, his statue set

in marble in the Capitol at Washington by Kentucky, as the representative of her highest achievement, was Daniel Boone. In later days the West gave to the nation him who has been happily limned by Lowell as the first American, him who rose to greater heights in broader ways than any other of the presidents. When in time to come the muse of history shall be called upon to select from her pages those rulers who tower aloft above the rest, who have conferred the most benefit upon their fellow men, who have shown in vast achievement purity of character and breadth of intelligence, alongside of Cyrus, Alfred, Charlemagne and William of Orange, she will place Abraham Lincoln. It is a significant fact that Daniel Boone and John Lincoln, the great-grandfather of the President, were both born in the same locality in the county of Berks in the state of Pennsylvania, and both pursued the same path on their way toward the West. Among those most celebrated in the annals of the border and most conspicuous for doughty deeds done in the Indian wars—Wetzel, Van Bibber, Van Metre, Brady, Logan, John Todd, Levi Todd, the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln's

wife, as well as Simon Girty, the thoroughly hated renegade who took part with the savages—all had their origin in Pennsylvania. John Filson, whose name is borne by the Filson Club of Louisville, who wrote the first history of Kentucky, laid out the city of Cincinnati, and was subsequently killed by the Indians, was born within twenty-five miles of Philadelphia in the county of Chester. The movement westward may be said to have begun when in 1732 Hans Joest Heijt left the valley of the Perkiomen, and, at the head of a little band of colonists, took up large tracts of land and made the earliest settlement in the Shenandoah valley in Virginia. The Dunker settlement along the Shenandoah, afterward broken up by the savages, and the settlement of peaceable Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten in Ohio, who were massacred by equally savage whites, marked futile efforts to extend over the land those Christian principles in the contact of the races which had proven successful along the Delaware for three-quarters of a century, and are now again exemplified by the government in the erection and conduct of such schools as that at Carlisle.

The emigrants in their march to the westward in the main followed one of two routes. They either went on foot or horseback over the Alleghenies by the "Wilderness Road," famous in western annals, blazed by Boone on his way from North Carolina to Kentucky in 1775, or they floated in boats down the Ohio from Pittsburg.

If the land was to be secured for civilization it must not only be occupied,—it must be won. It was inhabited and roamed over by fierce tribes of savages, resolute to oppose what they regarded as an invasion of their hunting grounds, and who waged a treacherous and ruthless warfare which spared neither child, woman nor home. The British, who still occupied forts and trading stations along the lakes, incited them to resistance and furnished them with scalping knives, firearms and ammunition. The rifle in the hands of the hunter and borderer from Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina, wielded with both courage and skill, was sufficient for his individual protection, and relying alone upon their own prowess, the backwoodsmen pushed their way into Kentucky and Tennessee, but with the coming of men given to more peace-

ful pursuits and the growth of settlements which were ever subject to attacks by the wily foe, and might at any time be laid waste, other measures became necessary. In 1787 an ordinance was passed by Congress providing for the sale of lands and settlement in the northwest, and the creation of a territorial government. Arthur St. Clair, who had been a major general from Pennsylvania during the War of the Revolution, was appointed governor by Washington. The Ohio Company made a large purchase of lands, and colonists, for the most part from New England, with Rufus Putnam as an avant-courier, began to pour into Ohio. Between 1783 and 1790 fifteen hundred men, women and children were slain by the Indians. In the latter year there were only two hundred and eighty men living on the lands of the Ohio Company who were capable for warfare, and the people needed protection. In that year St. Clair sent Josiah Har-mar, an officer of distinction in the Revolution, born in Philadelphia of parents from the valley of the Perkiomen, with fourteen hundred men into the wilderness to punish the Indians. He burned a number of their villages and reached the interior of

Indiana, where he was defeated with a loss of over two hundred men. In 1791 St. Clair led an army of twenty-three hundred troops into the Indian country, but was compelled to retreat with a loss of more than six hundred killed and wounded. Among the killed was General Richard Butler, a brilliant officer, who had fought bravely in the Pennsylvania Line through the Revolution.

And then Washington, smitten with anger and chagrin, sent to the front Anthony Wayne. In his "Winning of the West," Roosevelt writes: "Of all men, Wayne was the best fitted for the work. In the Revolutionary War no other general—American, British or French—won such a reputation for hard fighting and for daring energy and dogged courage. . . . But his head was as cool as his heart was stout."

He had won distinction at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. He had been in command at the capture of Stony Point, by assault, if not the most decisive, certainly the most brilliant achievement of the Revolutionary War. He had given further proofs of his capabilities in contests with Cornwallis in Virginia and with the Indians

in Georgia. No other Revolutionary general has had so many counties named for him except Washington. The previous failures had caused a timid feeling to pervade the councils of the administration, and every effort was made to secure an understanding without recourse to war. The Secretary of War wrote to Wayne that another defeat would be "ruinous to the reputation of the government." Wayne raised an army of twenty-five hundred men, organized and controlled it and introduced the discipline which was the necessary preparation for the coming struggle. In the late summer of 1792 he established a camp on the Ohio twenty-seven miles below Pittsburg. In May of 1793 he advanced to the site of Cincinnati. In October he went forward to the Miami river, eighty miles north of Cincinnati, where, surrounded by hostile Indians, he spent the winter. He built a fort upon the battlefield where St. Clair had met defeat, which he called "Fort Recovery," and buried the bones of the soldiers who had lost their lives in that disastrous engagement. Cut off from communication with the national government, whose capital was then Philadelphia, he had been given authority to dis-

lodge the English garrison at the rapids of the Maumee if it should be found necessary. To his discretion, therefore, it was left to determine whether or not another war with England should be undertaken. On June 30th, 1794, he repelled an attack upon Fort Recovery. Then marching seventy miles further northward, he built a fort on the Maumee called "Fort Defiance," and a hundred and ten years ago to-day fought, almost under the walls of the English fortification, the important battle whose anniversary we celebrate. About two thousand Indians and Canadians were engaged and they were completely routed with great loss. A complaint made by the captain in command of the English fort met with a sharp rebuff. It was the most decisive victory won in all of our Indian wars. Both the power and the spirit of the hostile tribes were broken. For fifteen years thereafter there was peace along the border and the extension of settlements and the creation of states in the West were the result. Says Dr. Stillé: "In opening the magnificent national domain of the West to emigrants, secured in their life, liberty and property by laws of their own making, it may well be regarded when

we reflect upon the history of that vast region during the last hundred years as having given birth to a new era in the history of American civilization."

Says Roosevelt: "It was the most complete and important victory ever gained over the north-western Indians during the forty years warfare to which it put an end; and it was the only considerable pitched battle in which they lost more than their foes."

Pennsylvania had still another service to render in the settlement of the West. The purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, which included all of the lands to the west of the Mississippi, save those owned by Spain, was approached with misgiving and attended with uncertainty. The opposition was earnest and decided. The real reason for objection upon the part of the eastern states was the sense that with the growth of the West and the admission of new states likely to result, there would be a corresponding diminution in their own influence in national affairs, and as has often happened in the course of our history, the inspiring motive was hidden under an avowed interest in the maintenance of the constitution. It was contended

that the proposed purchase was in violation of that instrument, since there was no provision in it for the extension of territory, and that no new state could be admitted into the union save by the unanimous consent of all the original states. It was argued that we had land enough, that these trackless wastes could never be utilized, that complications with other nations unforeseen and innumerable would arise, and that expansion meant destruction. Quincy threatened that if this step should be taken it would be followed by a dissolution of the union. In similar vein, Senator Plumer of New Hampshire said: "Admit this western world into the union, and you destroy at once the weight and importance of the eastern states and compel them to establish a separate independent empire," and Griswold of Connecticut added: "It is not consistent with the spirit of a republican government that its territory should be exceedingly large. . . . The vast and unmanageable extent which the accession of Louisiana will give the United States, the consequent dispersion of our population and the destruction of that balance which it is so important to maintain between the eastern and western states

threatens at no very distant day the subversion of our union." When the final vote was had upon the bill to enable the President to take possession of the territory, both of the senators and all of the eighteen representatives from Pennsylvania cast their votes in favor of its passage. The significance of this action in what is everywhere now recognized as one of the most important crises in the advancement of the nation is enhanced when we remember that all of the senators from Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire voted in the negative. Among them were Timothy Pickering and John Quincy Adams.

The position assumed by Pennsylvania upon this vital question is the more gratifying because of the reasoning in support of it, the soundness of which the subsequent course of events has entirely justified. It was extremely difficult for contemporaries to catch the full import and future consequences of the movement in which they were engaged. Jefferson was looking to the opening of the Mississippi river and securing control of its mouth, and his instructions to his representatives in France were to make an offer only for New Orleans and the

Floridas. It did not occur to Jefferson, Madison, Monroe or Livingston, who were acting for us, to make a proposition for the purchase of the immense territory west of the river. It was Napoleon, who did not care to retain these lands if he parted with New Orleans, who first broached the suggestion. As the country has grown and trade has followed the railroads east instead of the rivers south, it has been proven that this territory constituted the vast importance of the acquisition. With keen insight and remarkably clear vision Thomas McKean, in an address to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, December 9, 1803, said: "The value of the acquisition, even with the sole view of accommodating and securing the commerce of the western States and territory of the union, every candid mind will appreciate much higher than the stipulated price; but when we consider it in relation to the present as the probable means by which we avoid a participation in the war that has been fatally rekindled in Europe, or in relation to the future as affording a natural limit to our territorial possessions, by which the danger of foreign collision and conflict is far removed, while the sphere of domestic industry and

enterprise is enlarged, the event may well be regarded as an auspicious manifestation of the interference of Providence in the affairs of men."

But the entire consequences in all of their immense proportions, as we, looking backward, are able to see them to-day, were forecasted in the resolution of the Assembly drafted by William Maclay: "The acquisition of Louisiana promises incalculable advantages not only with regard to our foreign relations but also to our internal industry, as the territories of the United States will now possess a soil and climate adapted to every production and an outlet is thereby secured for the western parts of the union to the ocean and the trade of the world."

Pennsylvania has done much for the American union of states. Her founder gave a practical example of the possibility of the application of those broad principles of religious and civil liberty upon which it is based. In its infancy she nursed its feeble efforts in her chief city. Long ago, by common consent, having regard to the benefits derived from her assistance, her contributions to its wars and her influence in its development and among the counsels of its statesmen, she was hailed as the

Keystone of the arch. This proud position accorded to her in the past she has maintained until the present and will strive to deserve in the future. The American people do not forget that she alone of the thirteen original states had a regiment in the Philippines. They do not forget that momentous conflict upon her soil in 1863, where one of her sons dealt the death blow to the effort to rend asunder the nation. But never did she exhibit with more clearness her poise and good judgment, never did she confer more lasting advantage upon the country than when, disregarding the appeals of selfish interest, with her whole heart, she threw the great weight of her influence in favor of the extension of the national domain westward to the Pacific ocean.

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN PENNSYLVANIA

[Washington's birthday has been celebrated at the University of Pennsylvania as "University Day" for more than a century, and in 1826 was formally set apart in the University Calendar as one of the annual observances of the University. The following oration was delivered on "University Day," 1904, at the American Academy of Music.]

We meet under the auspices of that University which, in its plan of organization, in its teachings of medicine and law, and in recent years in its archæological investigations of eastern civilizations, has led all others upon the continent; and we meet upon the anniversary of the birth of the great Virginian, the fame of whose deeds, at once a beacon and an example for mankind, has reached to the confines of the earth and will continue to the limits of time. Are the careers of those men who have seemingly fashioned the institutions of a nation and moulded the destinies of a race the outcome of exceptional capabilities and characteristics, not bestowed upon their fellows, or are the results due to

the favorable conditions existing at the time the successful efforts were made? Did Alexander of Macedon and Charlemagne found empires through the exercise of their own unusual power of will and gifts of intelligence, or were they but the manifestations of a force which made the Greeks, in one case, and the Germans, in the other, see that if great ends were to be accomplished there must be a subordination of the lesser states surrounding them and a combination of the strength of all,—a force which impelled them forward irresistibly? Is not this a force common to all mankind, which has builded up the British Empire and is even now building up America, indicating itself in the movements of trade and transportation, as well as in those of government? Would the Reformation have come in its own good time had there been no Martin Luther? Had Napoleon been killed upon the bridge of Lodi, would the French Revolution have followed its own appointed channels nevertheless? Is Darwin correct when he attributes even the slow formation of individual and race character to the nature of the environment? Perhaps a safe position to assume would be that in the con-

duct of revolutions against long-established and seemingly overwhelming power, in the creation and development of new governments, and in the efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the masses of humanity, if success is to be attained, there must be the underlying currents which make it possible, as well as the leader of rare skill and intelligence, possessing the capacity to direct them. If this be true, then it may be of service to call attention, as has never been done before, to the field whereon the achievements of George Washington were accomplished and to the surroundings wherein his faculties were exercised, if not developed, and the energies of his public career were expended.

In the year 1753 the two most powerful nations of Europe,—England and France,—which had long been enemies and rivals, were again upon the verge of a struggle. The declaration of war was not made until three years later, but the mutterings and rumblings were being heard, the preliminaries were being arranged, and all men knew that the outbreak could not be long postponed. It was a great stake for which the combatants were about to strip, the possession of a continent destined ere long

to support a people among the foremost upon the earth. Man proposes, but the gods dispose. When Wolfe died as he clutched his victory at Quebec, there were weeping and wailing in every household in the American colonies. Little did they who lamented think how different might have been their fate if that energetic spirit, instead of the dilatory Howe, had confronted them at Brandywine, Germantown, and Valley Forge. Never did it occur to either of the contestants while they were pampering the savages and gathering the cannon, nor when they were ready for the encounter, that no matter which of them should prove the stronger or more valiant, the reward should go to neither; that in the end his most Christian majesty of France must be obeisant and the king of England must submit to an underling in one of the camps. The English colonies were along the coast. The French were enclosing them with a series of forts intended to run up the St. Lawrence, thence to the Ohio and to the mouth of the Mississippi. In a sense it may be said that the right of the French line was at New Orleans, the left at Quebec, and the centre at the junction of the Allegheny and Monon-

gahela rivers, where Fort Duquesne was erected in 1754, in the western part of Pennsylvania. What a series of events had their beginning when George Washington came to Pennsylvania in 1753! The unheeding world might well have listened. A young man, in his twenty-second year, of limited education and narrow reading, tall and well made, precise and prim in his methods, stiff in his manners and chirography; with an instinct of thrift which led him to manage farms and raise horses, to seek in his love affairs, whether with maid or widow, for a woman "wi' lots o' munny laaid by, and a nicetish bit of land," and enabled him to accumulate one of the largest fortunes of his time; but ever a gentleman; whose youth had been devoted to fox-hunting and athletic sports, and who since he was sixteen had been surveying lands in the valleys of Virginia, left the narrow confines of his early associations and took his first step into the outer and larger world. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent him with a little force of seven men to the French commander in western Pennsylvania to protest against the building of forts and the occupancy of the land. Starting on the 15th of

November, 1753, through the forests primeval, in the winter, surrounded by and often confronted with the savages, fired at by a treacherous Indian guide, rafting on the partly frozen rivers, he found his way to the site of Pittsburg and to a fort fifteen miles south of Lake Erie. It was a successful journey. He delivered his message and returned on the 16th of January, 1754, to Williamsburg, with the answer of the commandant and with much knowledge of the country and of the armament and garrisons of the forts. As a result he was appointed lieutenant-colonel.

At the head of one hundred and fifty men, accompanied by Jacob Van Braam, a Dutchman, one of his former attendants, who at an earlier time had taught him the drill, he, on April 2, 1754, started again for Pennsylvania. On the 25th he had reached the Great Meadows, in the neighborhood of the present Uniontown, in Fayette county. There he learned that a body of the French were in the vicinity. Supported by friendly Indians and led by Scarooyadi, a Delaware, to the French camp, through the darkness, he made an attack in the early morning. For fifteen minutes the rifles re-

sounded and the balls whistled. Of the provincial troops three were wounded and one was killed. Of the French one was wounded and ten were killed, including Jumonville, their leader, and twenty-one were captured. Only one, a Canadian, escaped. And so it came about that the opening battle in that struggle of tremendous import, which was to determine that the vast continent of America should belong to the countrymen of Hermann, and not to those of Varus, was fought by George Washington upon the soil of Pennsylvania.

The victory was won. The prisoners were hurried away to Virginia. But fortune does not extend her favors to any man for long. The career of Washington, like that of most men, was a series of successes and reverses.

"To all earthly men,
In spite of right and wrong and love and hate,
One day shall come the turn of luckless fate."

It was rumored that Contrecoeur was at Fort Duquesne with a force of one thousand French and many Indians, and the young colonel was in trouble. On May 31 he wrote, "We expect every hour to be attacked by a superior force." He threw up in-

trenchments one hundred feet square and built a palisade with a trench outside, which, because there had been a scarcity of provisions, he called Fort Necessity. The site is along the bank of a little stream flowing through the centre of a meadow two hundred and fifty yards wide, set at a considerable elevation among the hills. All that remains now is a slight accumulation of earth where the lines of the fort ran and a large stone with a square hole cut in it for a corner post; but what there is ought to be carefully preserved by the state. He received a reinforcement which increased his strength to three hundred men, and he talked about exerting "our noble courage with spirit." Later there came one hundred more men from South Carolina. He advanced thirteen miles further in the direction of Fort Duquesne, and then, learning that the French were strong in numbers and coming to meet him, he retreated, July 1, to Fort Necessity. Thither he was followed by five hundred French and several hundred Indians. All through the day of July 3 the firing was kept up around the fort, those within being huddled together in danger and discomfort, until twelve had been killed and forty-three

wounded. The next morning, July 4,—at Philadelphia, Vicksburg, and Gettysburg a fateful day in American history, Washington, having signed papers of capitulation, marched forth with his troops. He abandoned a large flag and surrendered the fort. He was permitted to take the military stores, except the artillery. He agreed to return the prisoners he had captured and sent to Virginia; but, worst of all, the papers he signed referred to "*l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville.*" Our historians have been prone to throw the blame for this language upon the imperfect translation of Van Braam; but since the French "*assassinat*" and the English "assassination" are substantially the same word,—sufficient to attract the attention of the most unlearned,—the explanation fails to satisfy. The affair, as is apt to be the case when the foe gains the glory and the field, became the subject of much animadversion. Horace Walpole called him a "brave braggart." Dinwiddie reduced his rank to that of captain, and found reasons for declining to return the prisoners. Thereupon Washington resigned from the service, went back to Mount Vernon, and his ambition to hold a commission in the English army was never gratified.

The following year Braddock disembarked and encamped his army at Alexandria. Washington offered his services as an aide, and his experience with the French and the Indians and his knowledge of the country wherein the advance was to be made rendered them of the utmost value. It was the first army thoroughly drilled, equipped, and appointed he had ever seen. On that fatal battle-field near Pittsburg, now covered by the mills of the United States Steel Corporation (*tempora mutantur et nos in illis mutamur*), where Braddock was killed, where eight hundred and fifty-five French and Indians completely routed three thousand disciplined English soldiers, he did doughty and valiant deeds. It has been described as "the most extraordinary victory ever obtained and the furthest flight ever made;" but in the battle he had two horses killed under him, and out of it he came with four bullet holes through his coat. There are prophets among other peoples than Israel. Samuel Davies, on the 17th of August, 1755, preached a sermon at Hanover, in Virginia, wherein, with less plaint than Jeremiah and clearer vision than Isaiah, he exclaimed, "That heroic youth, Colonel Washington,

whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.”

Fortune took another turn. For these two defeats there soon came compensation. With a regiment of Virginians, in 1758, he took part in the expedition of General John Forbes, whose bones now lie in Christ churchyard in Philadelphia, and at the head of his men and the army, on the 25th of November, marched into Fort Duquesne. The magazine had been exploded. The fort had been set on fire. The French had taken bateaux and departed. Their influence along the Ohio river had been broken. The Indians who had been their allies sought the favor of the English. And George Washington had completed the military training which was to fit him to become the successful leader in the eight years' struggle of the people of the American colonies for independence.

He resigned his commission and hastened to Virginia. Six weeks later—on the 6th of January, 1759—he married Martha Custis, a widow, who was the fortunate possessor of a hundred thousand dollars. He was elected to the House of Burgesses,

and for the next fifteen years, in the quiet and retirement of Mount Vernon, lived a barren and uneventful life, with no ambition save the pleasure of accumulation; no exhilaration greater than the chase of the fox, and no anxiety except for the care of his herds of cattle. How bare and barren the life was can be seen from these extracts, showing with what his thoughts were occupied, covering a month in his manuscript journal for 1767:

“ July :

“ 14—Finish'd my wheat Harvest.

“ 16—began to cut my Timothy Meadow, which had stood too long.

“ 25—finish'd Ditto.

“ 25—Sowed turnep seed from Colonel Fairfax's, in sheep pens, at the House.

“ 25—Sowed Winter do. from Colo. Lee's, in the neck.

“ 27—began to sow wheat at the Mill with the early white Wheat, w'ch grew at Muddyhole.

“ 28—began to sow wheat at Muddyhole with the mixed wheat that grew there; also began to sow wheat at Doag Run, of the red chaff, from home; also sowed summer Turnep below Garden.

“ 29—Sowed Colonel Fairfax's kind in flax ground joining sheep pens.”

A new epoch dawned, and again George Washington came to Pennsylvania. A crisis big with

fatality and freighted with the hopes of the future was approaching. The Stamp Act had been passed, and after a storm of reprobation had been repealed; non-importation resolutions had been promulgated from the Pennsylvania State-House, soon to be known as Independence Hall, ringing with a bell which is only torn from it by sacrilege; John Dickinson had written those Farmer's Letters wherein was expounded the creed of the colonies; the tea ships had been driven from the Delaware river, and an act of Parliament had closed the port of Boston, when the first congress was called to meet in Carpenters' Hall, on Chestnut street below Fourth, in the city of Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774. Washington appeared as a delegate. What part he bore in its deliberation it is difficult to tell. But he wrote to a friend upon the subject of independence: "I am well satisfied that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America." It was a time of stirring events and rapid movements, but men held fast to the old moorings so long as they could. A few months later the muskets began to rattle at Lexington, and on the 15th of June, 1775, the second continental congress, to which

he was a delegate, assembled in the State-House. One of their first acts was to determine "that a general be appointed to command all the continental forces raised or to be raised in the defense of American liberty," and by a unanimous vote, in that famed Pennsylvania hall, the heaviest responsibility which had ever fallen to the lot of an American was imposed upon George Washington. The next day, in the same place, declaring, "I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust," and that "no pecuniary compensation could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment," declining the sum which had been fixed for his salary, with modest words and with a serious sense of the difficulties he was about to encounter, he assumed that responsibility and started forth, like Moses of old, to lead his people through the Red Sea of war and the wilderness of uncertainty and suffering. Unlike the prophet and law-giver of Israel, and unlike his own prototype, William of Orange, he was destined not only to see from afar, but to enter into the land of promise and safety. The war upon which he

then embarked was to endure through eight weary years. Philadelphia was then not only the chief city of the colonies, the centre of science, art, literature, and population, but the seat of the revolutionary government and the place where the continental congresses held their sessions. It was believed by the revolutionists that the retention of the possession of the city was essential to the success of their cause. The royalists believed that if it could be captured the war would be speedily terminated and the rebellion end in an early dissolution. A few opening and indecisive contests of arms occurred in Massachusetts; but the struggle ere long drifted to the shores of the Delaware, and the continental army never thereafter was further east than the Hudson. In the course of the war nine battles were fought by the army under the personal command of Washington, and with the exception of Long Island, which was an unrelieved disaster, and Yorktown, where it was uncertain whether the laurels ought to cluster about the French fleet or the American land forces, all of them—Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Warren Tavern, Germantown, White Marsh, and Monmouth—were conflicts

the purpose of which was to control or defend, to secure or retain, the city of Philadelphia.

At Brandywine there was presented to him the great opportunity of his military career when the enemy, of their own motion, brought about the situation which it was the object of the tactics of Napoleon to secure, and divided their forces in front of him. At Warren Tavern his plans were thwarted and his opportunities and advantages lost through what the lawyer calls the act of God. At Trenton and Germantown he displayed not only the courage and resolution bred in his Saxon fibre, but that other quality, more often found in the Celt, "*l'audace, toujours l'audace.*" At White Marsh he boldly approached to within a few miles of the enemy, who then held the city, defeated attacks upon his right, left, and centre, compelling Howe to withdraw discomfited, and won, though with small loss, his greatest tactical success. The issues of the Revolutionary War were determined, however, not by the effective handling of large armies with consummate skill; not by the exercise of that military genius which enabled a Marlborough, a Frederick, or a Bonaparte to see just when and where to strike to

the best advantage, but by that tireless tenacity of purpose which, through success or disaster, never flagged, and, whatever fate might have in store, refused to be overcome. All the poets who have sung their verse, all the historians who have written their books, whatever students may have investigated, and whatever orators may have spoken agree in the conclusion that such tenacity was best exemplified at the close of a lost campaign, with a weakened and dwindling army, through the sufferings of a severe winter upon the hills of Valley Forge. Wherever the story is read, wherever the tale is told, the pluck and persistence amid misfortune and disheartening want exhibited at this Pennsylvania hamlet along the banks of the Schuylkill have come to be the type and symbol of the Revolutionary War and to represent the supreme effort and the unconquerable fortitude of the American soldier.

In a German almanac printed in the town of Lancaster in the latter part of the year 1778 Washington was first called "the Father of his Country." It was at once a truthful and a prophetic designation, in accord with passing and coming events, and soon accepted by all of the people. At the close of

the war he returned to Mount Vernon, to his negroes, corn, wheat, and tobacco; to his horses and his hounds,—the latter a present from Lafayette;—again became, in the language of the Rev. Thomas Coke, “quite the plain country gentleman,” and, if we may rely upon the journal of John Hunter, he “sent the bottle about pretty freely after dinner” and “got quite merry.”

The war would have been an utter failure if it had only resulted in the severance of the ties which connected us with Great Britain and if it had left the colonies discordant, jealous, and each pursuing its own selfish interests, under the ineffective government established by the Articles of Confederation. The work of destruction had been successful and complete, but the constructive and more difficult task of welding the discordant elements into a vital and effective organism remained. All of the South American states succeeded in throwing off the control of Spain, and even Hayti became independent; but what gift to mankind has come of it? Upon the sea of human affairs a nation was to be launched, with the prospect of large proportions and unlimited growth, and again George Washington

came to Pennsylvania. In the definite movement leading up to the formation of the government of the United States of America, as we know it to-day, no New England state had any participation. Delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia met at Annapolis, in the state of Maryland, on the 11th of September, 1786, and, after consultation, urged the necessity of a revision of the existing system, and recommended the calling of a convention, with sufficient power, to meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday of May in 1787. Emerson has well said that "all martyrdoms looked mean when they were suffered," and that "when the gods come among men they are not known." He might have added that the importance of the supreme events in the advancement of the human race has seldom been recognized by contemporaries. Even Shakespeare died without any conception of what he had achieved and without any foretaste of his future fame. At the State-House, on May 14, 1787, at the opening of the convention, delegates appeared only from Virginia and Pennsylvania. Eleven days later Washington was elected to preside by the votes of these states

and those of Delaware and New Jersey, and at the end of two weeks no others were yet represented. What the members kept steadily in view throughout all of their deliberations, according to Washington, was "the consolidation of our Union." Of how they succeeded the world has no need to be told. From that box, drawn, as it were, by unwitting fishermen out of the sea of uncertainties and perplexities, came forth a *génie* whose stride is from ocean to ocean; whose locks, shaken upon one side by Eurus, on the other by Zephyr, darken the skies; and whose voice is heard in far Cathay and beyond Ultima Thule. There was difficulty about the adoption of the constitution. Opposition was manifested everywhere; on the part of men like Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, it was decided, and in some instances intense. One of the New England states held aloof for three years. But in three months—on the 1st of January, 1788—Washington was able to write, "Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey have already decided in its favor." After the voice of this state had been heard and its great influence had been exerted the result was no longer doubtful, and he

cheerfully continued, "There is the greatest prospect of its being adopted by the people."

After having been elected president of the nation he had done so much to create, he spent the whole of his two terms, with the exception of a year in New York, in the city of Philadelphia. For ten years this patriotic city, without compensation of any kind, furnished a home to the government of the United States. The building at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets was given up to the use of the Senate and House, and became Congress Hall. The Supreme court met in the building at the southwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets. For seven years Washington lived in a large double brick building on the south side of Market street, sixty feet east of Sixth, which had been the headquarters of Howe. To the east was a yard with shade-trees, and along the front of this yard ran a brick wall seven feet high. Next door to him dwelt a hairdresser. All of the important events of his administration—the establishment of the Mint; the wars conducted by St. Clair, Harmer, and Wayne against the Indians; the Whiskey Insurrection, which took him through Carlisle

again to Western Pennsylvania, after a long absence; the troubles over Genêt and Jay's treaty with Great Britain—occurred during his residence here. He had a pew in Christ Church. He became a member of the American Philosophical Society, and was present at its services upon the deaths of Benjamin Franklin and David Rittenhouse. He attended the theatre in Southwark, seeing the play, "The Young Quaker; or, the Fair Philadelphian," and Rickett's Circus, and he took part in the dancing assemblies. He and Governor Mifflin saw the Frenchman Blanchard make the first balloon ascension in America, January 9, 1793, amid much tumult and *éclat*. Blanchard was described as "*Impavidus sortem non timet Icariam.*" The magistrates of the city gave him the use of the court-yard of the prison, and the roar of artillery announced to the people the moment of departure. Washington placed in his hands a passport which, with a pleasing uncertainty befitting the occasion, was directed "to all to whom these presents shall come," and authorized him "to pass in such direction and to descend in such place as circumstances may render most convenient." He started at nine minutes after ten, on a clear morn-

ing; sailed over the Delaware and frightened a flock of pigeons and a Jersey farmer near Gloucester, where he landed. He prevailed upon the latter to come to his help by the offer of one of the six bottles of wine with which Dr. Caspar Wistar had provided him. Jonathan Penrose, Robert Wharton, and six other Philadelphians chased after him on horseback and escorted him back to the President, to whom he presented his respects and colors.

Washington had sixteen stalls in his stable, generally full, and was a hard driver, upon one occasion foundering five horses. He wore false teeth, in part carved from the tusk of a hippopotamus. The Stuart portrait, which has come in time to be the accepted delineation of his features, was painted at the southeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets. Every Tuesday he gave levees, and on New Year's Day served punch and cake. Once he picked the sugar-plums from the cake and sent them to "Master John," later in life to be famous as the Old Man Eloquent. When James Wilson, justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, opened the law school of this university and, in the true sense, began legal education in this country, Decem-

ber 15, 1790, it was in the presence of George and Martha Washington. One hundred and ten years ago to-day, at the hour of noon,—aye, this very hour,—the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, in company with the heads of department, the members of the congress, and the governor of the commonwealth, in person offered their congratulations. He had a green parchment pocket-book; he kept it in a hair trunk, and he tied his keys together with a twine string. In this city he wrote his farewell address, and here he was described as “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.” He left Philadelphia March 9, 1797, and less than three years later he was dead.

The cloth is woven. The story is told. Through no accident was it brought about that Washington, though he was born and died in Virginia, spent in such great part his military and official life in this state. The cause was like that which took Napoleon from Ajaccio to Paris, Shakespeare from Stratford to London, and Franklin from Boston to Philadelphia. “Every ship,” wrote Emerson, “is a romantic object except that we sail in.” Self-respect is a saving grace in the state as well as in the indi-

vidual. Patriotism, like charity and all the other virtues, begins at the hearth-stone. When the Shunammite woman was urged to come to the court of Solomon, her answer was, "I dwell among mine own people." After the earliest of the great and good men of the Aryan race, he whom we call Cyrus, five centuries and a half before Christ, had overcome all of his enemies and had founded the most extensive empire the world had known up to that time, he inscribed over the gateway of his palace only the simple words, "I am Kurush the King, the Akhæmenian." There is need of more of that spirit in Pennsylvania. We too lightly forget our achievements; we are too ready to desert our heroes; we are too willing to leave our rulers unsupported; we read with too little indignation the uncanny and untrue tales told by our rivals elsewhere and repeated and reprinted by the unfaithful at home. Of all existing agencies this institution of learning, with its host of alumni and students devoted to it, to its interests, and to the commonwealth, appears to be doing the most effective service in the way of cultivating a more correct tone and a more elevated sentiment. To a great extent the future hope of

the commonwealth depends upon you, young men of the university, and upon your efforts. Go forth, then, to fill your chosen spheres. Let it not be said of you, as was said of one of the lord chancellors of England, that if he had known a little about law he would have known a little about everything. Be earnest and thorough. If your field be the law, follow the example and study the work of Gibson and Sharswood. If it be medicine, you have before you the careers and the labors of Rush, Gross, Agnew, and Pepper. If it be science, to whom can you turn with more confidence than to Rittenhouse, Leidy, Audubon, and Cope? If you wish to store your minds with the facts of the past, read the histories of Lea and McMaster; and if you need mental relaxation, you will find no romance more worthy of your attention than "Nick of the Woods," "The Story of Kennett," "The Wagoner of the Alleghenies," and "Hugh Wynne." As you go along through life, sing with emotion your song of "The Pennsylvania Girl," and shout with vigor your

"'Rah, 'rah, 'rah,
Pennsylvania!"

that all may not only hear, but learn to appreciate and to admire. Benjamin West, of Delaware county, when he became president of the Royal Academy, reached the highest position which could then be attained by any artist. In his "Death of Wolfe" he overthrew the conventions and revolutionized the methods of his profession. It is not too much to assert that in his "Penn's Treaty with the Indians" he fastened upon the attention of mankind the most distinctive event in the early history of the colonies. See to it that amid the fads of modern art he is not belittled and discarded. Your soldier, George Gordon Meade, not only won the most important battle of recent times, but in doing so he determined the destinies of the nation and influenced human affairs for all the ages to come. Cherish and extend his fame as your precious heritage. On brass, marble, and granite preserve the memory of his deeds. Give due praise to the accomplishment of others, but do not overlook the worth and achievements of the earnest men who have gone from your own doorsteps. Scorn all cant, falsehood, and sensationalism. And when by zeal and application you have secured in life the

rewards for which you have striven, do not forget how much of your success is due to the training and discipline conferred upon you by your venerable and honored *alma mater*, the University of Pennsylvania, and to the example of the long line of distinguished men who in the past have been the recipients of her benefits and been nurtured at her bosom.

PENNSYLVANIA AND MASSACHUSETTS

[A reply to an anonymous attack upon Pennsylvania, published by the *Atlantic Monthly* in October, 1901.]

IT is extremely difficult to regard with any seriousness the article which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1901, upon the "Ills of Pennsylvania."

Among the cases tried in my court a situation so frequently recurs that in its main features it has become entirely familiar, and with the first statement of the preliminary facts the sequel is at once forecasted. A well-meaning and kindly old gentleman, whose vigor and intelligence a quarter of a century before won for him a comfortable subsistence in his declining years, but who is approaching that period of advanced maturity when the impressions of names and faces and characters are becoming indistinct, is addressed by a glib and entertaining stranger who assumes the reputable name

of some good friend and talks with an assured air of known persons and events. The interview ends in loss to the confiding person both of substance and reputation.

There were ample indications in the article itself to have put the *Atlantic Monthly* upon its guard. Its appearance at a time coincident with an approaching election, and the desire of the writer to escape identification by keeping his name concealed, are facts that ought in themselves to have given warning to the alert. His evidence in the shape of mythical interviews with unidentified farmers, who speak in an unknown dialect, his fling at those who are descended from the men who fought in the Revolutionary War, his manifest delight in the hanging of the Quakers upon Boston Common, his affectation of regret at the injury to the financial reputation of a state which has no debt, borrows no money, and pays each year \$6,000,000.00 for schools and \$2,000,000.00 for charities, his corrupt English and pat "Augean Stables," his description of himself through the guise of a convenient but unnamed friend as "Godly purity," sufficiently showed that he assumed a garb which did not

belong to him, and was narrating as facts material gathered for a purpose, and which could only lead to inquiry when presented by some responsible person. His article is absolutely discreditable and unworthy.

Its presentation in a magazine of good repute, which was once a leader in thought, and is still read by many excellent people in Pennsylvania, about which linger the memories of departed worthies whom they revere, is another matter, and it is with that aspect of the subject it is proposed to deal. When there are published to the world the untruths "that Philadelphia is the arch hypocrite of cities," and that Pennsylvania is a "state of weak moral fibre," the inquiry, made in all seriousness, is provoked whether there is not a touch of hardihood in suggesting that "Massachusetts and Pennsylvania persistently invite comparison." The assumption of superior virtue and achievement is not without precedent. Cotton Mather, while inciting the hanging of witches and Quakers; John Adams, and John Quincy Adams, in their letters and journals, have been illustrious predecessors, and the Massachusetts law of October 14, 1656, says: "There is a cursed

sect of heretics lately risen up in the world which are commonly called Quakers." Perhaps it may not be uninstrucive to examine the foundation upon which the claim rests.

Massachusetts was settled in 1620, Pennsylvania in 1682, and in a race of less than three centuries, a start of sixty-two years is a long lead. Boston is located upon the sea, with a magnificent harbor adapted for all kinds of commerce, while Philadelphia lies a hundred miles from the mouth of the Delaware. Each census shows that Massachusetts is steadily falling in rank among the states, and Boston among the cities, and that Pennsylvania, which, at the time of the Revolution, was third in population, is surely approaching the first place.* It is manifest that either better government or greater opportunities for remuneration for effort, or some equally potent cause, has from the beginning led men to find Pennsylvania more attractive, and this conclusion is emphasized when we give attention to the obvious fact that while few Pennsylvanians can

* Massachusetts, which stood second under the census of 1790, was fifth under the census of 1890, and under the recent census of 1900 takes rank as seventh and below Texas. Pennsylvania, which was third in 1790, being below Virginia and Massachusetts, was second in 1890 and 1900.

ever be persuaded to emigrate to Massachusetts, there has been since the time of Penn a steady current of people who were willing to forego the advantages, civil or otherwise, of Massachusetts, in order that they might improve their condition and ours by coming here. A school was established in Philadelphia in 1683. There was no school in Plymouth for twenty years after the settlement. The free library of James Logan, the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, the law school of the University of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Hospital, the American Philosophical Society, the Academy of the Fine Arts, and Peale's Museum are all examples of institutions successfully established here before any similar attempts were made in Boston. The English Bible and Testament, Milton, Shakespeare, and Blackstone were all reproduced for the first time in America in Philadelphia, and it is an interesting indication of keenness of literary perception that the earliest book written by Thackeray to be given to the world first appeared in the same city.

The constitution of the United States provides for the free exercise of religion and against

the establishment of any creed by law. Perhaps no other of its provisions more distinctly marks the divergence between the American idea of the province of government and that of European nations, and more broadly separates the present from the past. Where in America did that view of life originate, and when it became a part of the fundamental law, which community triumphed and which succumbed? Penn in his frame of government declared that government was "as capable of kindness, goodness and charity as a more private society," and he invited to his province people of all creeds. Massachusetts, founded as a theocracy from which all who dissented from the established beliefs were expelled, in accepting the principle since embodied in the constitution, abandoned her own ideals and adopted the doctrines inculcated and practiced in Pennsylvania.

After the organization of the national government the gravest peril which threatened its integrity and existence was the growth of the institution of slavery. The first American colonizer and lawgiver to appreciate the immorality and disadvantages of that system, and eternal fame ought to be accorded

to him, therefore, was Peter Cornelius Plockhoy, who announced in 1662 that in his colony on the Delaware no slavery should exist. Then came the celebrated Germantown protest of 1688. These announcements occurred in a period when the people of Massachusetts were not only dealing in negro slaves but were selling Indians and even convicted Quakers in the Barbados.* The Society of Friends soon threw the whole weight of their influence against the institution, preventing their members from holding slaves, and at that time they were still in control of the province of Pennsylvania. The earliest abolition society in the world was organized in Philadelphia in 1774, called "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery," and among its members in 1789 were Noah Webster and Thomas Gain of Massachusetts, who even yet could find at home no outlet for their sentiments. When the memorial of this society, supported by one from the Friends' annual meeting, asking for the discouragement of the slave trade and of traffic

* The order of the Massachusetts Court, May 11, 1659, concerning Daniel and Provided Southwick, empowered the treasurer "to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia and Barbados."

Hazard's Annals, Vol. 2, p. 163.

in slaves, was presented to the House of Representatives in 1790, it received the support of every member from Pennsylvania and the opposition of Fisher Ames, Jonathan Grout and George Thatcher, one-half of the Massachusetts delegation.*

Said Benjamin Rush, writing in 1784: "It is scarcely forty years since a few men in Pennsylvania, who were branded as enthusiasts, first bore testimony against the slavery of the negroes. These principles spread gradually and in the course of a few years were adopted as part of the system of doctrines of the people called Quakers. From them and by their industry they have been propagated by natural means through all the middle and eastern states of America. Pennsylvania has done homage to them in her sovereign and legislative capacity. The slaves of the southern states feel a pleasure when the name of Pennsylvania sounds in their ears, and even the native African has learned to except our state from the execrations he pronounces against Christian tyrants and man thieves."†

* Journal of the House. New York, 1790, p. 62.

† Considerations upon the present Test Law of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1784, p. 20.

On March 1, 1780, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed the first American act definitely abolishing slavery. It was through the efforts of Anthony Benezet that England was induced to abolish the slave trade. In 1794 there were enough abolition societies throughout the states of the country to justify a national organization, and delegates from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland met in convention in Philadelphia for the purpose. They assembled in the same city thereafter annually. While ere long Rhode Island, Virginia and Tennessee appear, there is no trace of representation from Massachusetts as late as 1823. When William Lloyd Garrison established the *Liberator* in Boston in 1831, the anti-slavery views of the Quakers of Pennsylvania had permeated the whole country, and in every border county of that state stations on the underground railroad were engaged, not in sounding proclamations, but in seeing to it that escaped slaves were provided with means to reach the St. Lawrence.

The principle upon which the Revolutionary war was fought to a successful conclusion, that the colonies "cannot be legally taxed but by their own

representatives," was thought out and put in concrete form by John Dickinson in his "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies," a book read with avidity all over America and reproduced in Europe. It aroused the colonies to resistance and enabled them to justify their efforts to themselves and before the world. He was given the freedom of the city of Boston, and Nathaniel Ames, in his almanac for 1772, published his portrait, one of the earliest rude attempts at American portraiture, with the legend "The patriotic American farmer, John Dickinson, Esq., Barrister-at-law, who, with attic eloquence and Roman spirit, hath asserted the liberties of the British Colonies in America."

On October 16, 1773, the people of Philadelphia met in the State House yard and adopted a series of resolutions* drawn by William Bradford, forbidding the landing of tea from the British ships. These resolutions were forwarded to Boston, whereupon a town meeting was called there on November

* See the Resolutions in Etting's Old State House. Pages 67, 68.

The Boston resolutions say: "The sense of this town cannot be better expressed than in the words of certain judicious resolves lately entered into by our worthy brethren, the citizens of Philadelphia."

5th, and they were re-adopted in the same language. This action led to the famous Boston Tea Party.

The turning point of the war was reached in the successes at Trenton and Princeton. Before those events our fortunes were at the lowest ebb. In his oration on Washington, David Ramsay, the contemporary historian, says: "The few that remained with General Washington scarcely exceeded three thousand and they were in a most forlorn condition, without tents or blankets or any utensils to dress their provisions. . . . In this period when the American army was relinquishing their general, the people giving up the cause, some of their leaders going over to the enemy, and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprise, General Washington did not despair. He slowly retreated before the advancing foe and determined to fall back to Pennsylvania, to Augusta County in Virginia, and if necessary to yonder mountains, where he was resolved in the last extremity to renew the struggle for the independency of his country. While his unconquered mind was brooding on these ideas, fifteen hundred of the Pennsylvania Militia joined him." In this crisis, when others faltered and were

in despair and Washington thought of retreating beyond the Alleghenies to engage in guerilla warfare, which colony was it that sent a reinforcement equal to one-half of the army and enabled him to win his victories?

Would it be unkind to suggest that the difference in the characteristics of the people of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania is well exemplified in the comparison of the affairs at Bunker Hill and Stony Point? In the former engagement a Massachusetts general selected an elevation and protected himself by intrenchments. The British landed at the foot of the hill, marched up, drove the Americans from the field and captured and held the intrenchments. Since that time historians have written and poets have sung, a huge monument was erected and Daniel Webster delivered an oration, until almost if not altogether we are persuaded that in some way which we do not understand we must have won the battle. It is substantially the only one ever fought in Massachusetts and is cherished *ex necessitate*. At Stony Point six hundred British troops occupied a crest one hundred and fifty feet high elaborately fortified. In addition two abattis defended the hill

and at the foot were a picket and a moat. Anthony Wayne with fourteen hundred men crossed the moat, tore down the abattis, stormed the fortifications and captured the garrison. He was hit on the head and thought to be killed, and of the twenty-one men in the forlorn hope, led by Lieutenant James Gibbons, of Philadelphia, seventeen were shot. Though then universally regarded as the most brilliant feat of arms of the war, there has been little vaunting about it since.

The final success of the war was due to the fact that France came to our assistance, and the friendship of that country was largely the result of the impression made on the minds of the Frenchmen by Penn's "Holy Experiment." Even Voltaire at one time expressed a wish to emigrate to Pennsylvania, and the treaty which was never signed and never broken had caught the fancy and met the approval of all Europe. I have an autograph letter written in 1831 by Albert Gallatin, formerly secretary of the treasury, in which he says: "Pennsylvania the first example, the first experiment, which demonstrated that a community may remain under the influence of deep religious feeling without any

compulsory law whatever on the subject of religion and all denominations live in perfect harmony. This, hailed by all the friends of liberty, appealed to by all as a decisive proof, had given the highest character to Pennsylvania, though only a colony, and was one of the principal, if not the main cause of the great popularity of America during her revolutionary contest."

In the war of 1812, when our independence of British control was finally assured, Pennsylvania furnished the commander of the army of Niagara, the then popular hero, Major General Jacob Brown, and if the contemporary authority of John Binns can be depended upon, a greater number of troops than any other state. Her naval record was unsurpassed, if equalled. The attitude of Massachusetts toward that war, owing to the fact that it injuriously affected her commercial interests, cannot be excused and can only be condoned and forgotten. She refused financial aid, she declined to respond to the call of the president for her quota of militia, and the convention at Hartford first broached the pernicious doctrine of secession, so fruitful in the production of future ills to the republic. The president in his message

described Massachusetts and Connecticut as being in insurrection, and Josiah Quincy, Abijah Bigelow, and thirty-two other members of Congress published a pamphlet, soon reproduced in London for the comfort of the enemy, in which they in effect contended for the right of the English to take seamen from our vessels, and used this thinly-veiled threat of destruction to the union: "A form of government, in no small degree experimental, composed of powerful and independent sovereignties, associated in relations some of which are critical as well as novel, should not be precipitated into situations calculated to put to trial the strength of the moral bond by which they are united."*

A president of the United States once felt it to be his duty to inform Congress that a secret agent

* An address of members of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States to their constituents on the subject of the war with Great Britain. London, 1812.

In it the writers assert: "The claim of Great Britain to the services of her seamen is neither novel nor peculiar. The doctrine of allegiance for which she contends is common to all the governments of Europe." P. 14.

Calhoun and Jefferson Davis contended for no more than that the states were "independent" and that the bond uniting them was only "moral" and not legal.

Of the thirty-four signers of this remarkable paper seven were from Massachusetts, eight from Connecticut, the whole delegation, one from New

of the foe "was employed in certain States, more especially at the seat of government of Massachusetts, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and in intrigues with the disaffected, for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain."

At half-past four o'clock on the morning of April 12, 1861, the rebels opened fire upon Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. Before the sun went down that day Pennsylvania had appropriated five hundred thousand dollars with which to arm the state.* This first step in the war upon the part of the north, quick as a flash, three days before the call by the president for troops, followed by New York on the 15th, and the other states later, is one of those momentous and overpowering events that

Hampshire, one from Vermont, two from Rhode Island, four from New York, one from Delaware, three from Maryland, four from Virginia, and two from North Carolina. I regret to say that one of the eighteen representatives from Pennsylvania, James Milnor, is found among them, but he was not returned to the next Congress.

*Tribune Almanac for 1862, p. 42. Acts of Assembly.

determine the fate of nations, to be remembered with the crossing of the Rubicon and the dinner of the Beggars of the Sea. Three days after the call for troops five companies from Pennsylvania, the van of that mighty host which during the succeeding four years were to follow, arrived in Washington. The next day the Seventh Pennsylvania and the Sixth Massachusetts shed the first blood in the streets of Baltimore. Within four days after the defeat at Bull Run seventeen thousand Pennsylvanians, armed, equipped and disciplined, were in Washington to save the city from capture. No other state had an entire division in the army, and all of them were below her in the percentage of those killed in battle. Simon Cameron was secretary of war at the beginning of the struggle and Edwin M. Stanton at its close. Pennsylvania had forty-eight general officers in the war and fourteen commanders of armies and corps: Meade, McClellan, Hancock, Reynolds, Humphreys, Birney, Gibbon, Park, Naglee, Smith, Cadwalader, Crawford, Heintzelman and Franklin. Two of them commanded the Army of the Potomac, that army upon which the fortunes of the war depended. It was

neither Grant nor Sherman nor Thomas who fought the battle that determined the issue of the contest, but George G. Meade, upon the Pennsylvania field of Gettysburg. Will some one tell us what great captain or what significant event in this most fateful of American crises is to be credited to Massachusetts?

In the late war with Spain there came as a result that American principles and institutions are no longer to be confined to this continent, but are to become the heritage of other peoples in other lands. Is it in Boston or in Philadelphia that organizations were created whose object was to thwart the purposes of the government?

Robert Morris managed the finances of the Revolution, Stephen Girard those of the war of 1812, and Jay Cooke those of the Rebellion. The "Pennsylvania idea," wrought out by Mathew Carey and Henry C. Carey, adopted by Henry Clay and William McKinley, has dominated American politics since the origin of the government.

Pennsylvania has no ills that are worthy of mention. Her six millions of people, twice those of Holland and three times those of Massachusetts,

are happy, prosperous and contented, and they are less taxed and get more in return than their neighbors. There may be an occasional wanderer among them who thinks the Berkshire Hills are higher than the Allegheny Mountains, that the deserted wharves of Salem are more attractive than the shipyards of Kensington, and that Benjamin F. Butler, who with true home spirit wrote a book about himself, was a more skillful soldier than Hancock or Humphreys, but the vagaries of the human mind are often unexplainable. Cramp is still building the navies of the world, and Baldwin is still constructing its locomotives. Henry C. Lea and McMaster are writing histories, Furness is annotating Shakespeare and Dr. S. Weir Mitchell is writing novels. Leidy, Cope and Brinton, Agnew, Gross and Pepper have just left us, and Hare, the most famous of contemporary American jurists, is still alive. There is a university or college in almost every county, and the work of Lehigh, Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, and the University of Pennsylvania, the last of which has opened up a new field of learning in the far east, invites comparison with that of any similar institution in America or Europe.

The anonymous purveyor of articles, though both ignorant and malicious, was nevertheless correct in his statement that here respect is accorded to inherited good character, and it is a significant illustration of the conservation of ruling forces that the present mayor of Philadelphia is a member of one of the oldest Quaker families in the state, which sent George Ashbridge to the Assembly from Chester county, from 1730 to 1770, the longest period of service in that body, and that the great-grandfather of Pennsylvania's most distinguished statesman was a major in Wayne's Chester county regiment in the Revolutionary war. There has been some commotion in public affairs in Pennsylvania since 1895, but it is neither deep-seated nor important, and does not call for invidious comment. In the existing complications of mundane affairs the power of accumulated money is very great. It sways alike marts, magazines and newspapers and fills pulpits. It leads nations to look on complacently while the people of the republics of South Africa are being murdered for their possessions. The United States Senate has in recent years sometimes been flippantly called the Millionaires' Club. The

fate which has befallen some other commonwealths was tendered to Pennsylvania. It was proposed, and the proposition was supported by some well-meaning persons, that the highest representative office in that state where the declaration of independence was adopted, the constitution of the United States was framed, and the Battle of Gettysburg was won, should be handed over to an enterprising and successful merchant, not because of training in statecraft and public service, but as a reward for commercial prosperity, like a bale of cotton goods to be secured in the market for a consideration. The attempt was made in the wrong state, among the wrong people, and it failed. Little inquiry is needed to ascertain why men in Pennsylvania are attached to Mr. Quay and proud of his accomplishment. It is not for me to express an opinion concerning his political methods or principles, but about his personal characteristics it is permitted me to speak. No man, whatever may be his intelligence, can be regarded as having reached greatness who, when tested in a crisis pregnant with the vital interests of humanity, fails to comprehend the situation, or, understanding it, fails to act

in accordance with his convictions. When Daniel Webster, charged with responsibility and confronted with the dangers arising from the growth of the slave power, knew no other device than to compromise with the iniquity and entail war on the next generation, he may not have earned the designation of Ichabod given him by Whittier, but he certainly indicated that he did not belong in the front rank of statesmen. The tide of mighty events surged onward, seeking a Lincoln and a Meade, and leaving to him such fame as may be due to oratorical utterance. Mr. Quay is a plain, simple, modest and kindly man, with a taste for books and literature, with no propensity for the acquisition of riches, and with a genius for the organization and control of men in masses, such as, like the gift of Shakespeare, comes but once in centuries. Without prating about honesty, he has this essential of the highest integrity that he meets every obligation and keeps his every word. He has a courage which never flinches, whether in war or politics. He fails in no duty and he is never beaten. He has permanently influenced the destinies of the American people, since it was due to his individual capacity and effort that Mr.

Harrison was elected to the presidency and the Republican party restored to control, that the Force Bill was prevented from becoming a law, and in large measure, that the McKinley Tariff Bill was enacted. During the last twenty years no Republican president could have been elected without his consent, and no national policy successful without his support. Helpful, sagacious and strong, a knightly and picturesque figure, whether riding in the van at Fredericksburg, thwarting the wiles of Tammany, or routing the combination of corporations in Pennsylvania, his fame is assured as a statesman who deserves well of his country, and in whose achievements even Massachusetts may properly take a pride.

GERMAN IMMIGRATION

[An address at the Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Germantown, Pa., and the Beginning of German Immigration to America, in the Philadelphia Academy of Music, on the evening of October 6th, 1883.]

THE Teutonic races since the overthrow of the power of ancient Rome, which they brought about, have been in the van of thought and achievement. The only rivals of the German and the Dutchman, in those things which mark broadly the pathway of human advancement, came from the same household. In the sixth century a tribe of Germans found their way across the North Sea to an island which in time they made their own, and to which they gave the name of Angleland. Like all of their stock, the men of this colony grew in substance and developed in intelligence, but they have ever since, in times of trial and difficulty, looked back to the fatherland for guidance and support. In 1471 a man named Caxton was in Cologne learning the art of printing.

He returned to England to impart to his countrymen a knowledge of the new discovery, and the literature of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Scott and Dickens became a possibility. The impulse which Martin Luther gave to human thought, when he nailed his propositions to the church door at Wittenberg, beat along the shores of the Atlantic, and the revolution of 1688, bringing with it the liberty of Englishmen, was one of the results. For the attainment of that liberty England drove her own royal line beyond the seas and made the Stadtholder of Holland her king. From his day down to the present time every king of England has been a German.

Early in the seventeenth century an English admiral went to Rotterdam for a wife. According to Pepys, who described her later, she was "a well-looking, fat, short old Dutch woman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and, I believe, hath more wit than her husband." The son of this woman was the Quaker, William Penn. He who would know the causes for the settlement of Pennsylvania, the purest, and in that it gave the best promise of what the future was to unfold, the most fateful of the American colonies, must go to the

Reformation to seek them. The time has come when men look back through William Penn and George Fox to their masters, Menno Simons, the reformer of the Netherlands; Caspar Schwenckfeld, the nobleman of Silesia, and Jacob Boehm, the inspired shoemaker of Görlitz. In that great upheaval of the sixteenth century there were leaders who refused to stop where Luther, Calvin and Zuinglius took a successful stand. The strong, controlling thought which underlay their teachings was that there should be no exercise of force in religion. The baptism of an infant was a compulsory method of bringing it into the church, and they rejected the doctrine. An oath was a means of compelling the conscience, and they refused to swear. Warfare was a violent interference with the rights of others, and they would take part in no wars even for the purposes of self-protection. More than all, in its political significance and effect, with keen insight and clear view, hoping for themselves what the centuries since have given to us, they for the first time taught that the injunctions of Christ were one thing and the power of man another, that the might of the state should have nothing to do with

the creed of the church, and that every man in matters of faith should be left to his own convictions. Their doctrines, mingled, as must be admitted, with some delusions, spread like wild-fire throughout Europe, and their followers could be found from the mountains of Switzerland to the dikes of Holland. They were the forlorn hope of the ages, and, coming into direct conflict with the interests of church and state, they were crushed by the concentrated power of both.

There is nothing in the history of Christendom like the suffering to which they were subjected, in respect to its extent and severity. The fumes from their burning bodies went up into the air from every city and village along the Rhine. The stories of their lives were told by their enemies, and the pages of history were freighted with the records of their alleged misdeeds. The name of Anabaptist, which was given them, was made a byword and reproach, and we shrink from it with a sense of only half-forgotten terror even to-day. The English representatives of this movement were the Quakers. Picart, after telling that some of the Anabaptists fled to England to spread their doctrines there, says: "The

Quakers owe their rise to these Anabaptists.”* The doctrine of the inner light was an assertion that every man has within himself a test of truth upon which he may rely, and was in itself an attack upon the binding character of authority. The seed from the sowings of Menno, wafted across from the Rhine to the Thames, were planted on English soil by George Fox, and were brought by William Penn to Pennsylvania, where no man has ever been molested because of his religious convictions. Three times did William Penn, impelled by a sympathetic nearness of faith and methods, go over to Holland and Germany to hold friendly converse and discussion with these people, and it was very fitting that when he had established his province in the wilds of America he should urge and prevail with them to cross the ocean to him.

On this day, two hundred years ago, thirty-three of them, men, women and children, landed in Philadelphia. The settlement of Germantown has a higher import, then, than that thirteen families founded new homes, and that a new burgh, destined

* Picart was here cited because he makes the statement directly and in few words. Upon this subject consult Barclay's *Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, Hortensius' *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, and *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. IV., p. 4.

to fame though it was, was builded on the face of the earth. It has a wider significance, even, than that here was the beginning of that immense immigration of Germans who have since flocked to these shores. Those thirteen men, humble as they may have been individually, and unimportant as may have been the personal events of their lives, holding as they did opinions which were banned in Europe, and which only the fullness of time could justify, standing as they did on what was then the outer picket line of civilization, best represented the meaning of the colonization of Pennsylvania and the principles which lie at the foundation of her institutions. Better far than the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, better even than the Quakers who established a city of brotherly love, they stood for that spirit of universal toleration which found no abiding place save in America. Their feet were planted directly upon that path which leads from the darkness of the middle ages down to the light of the nineteenth century, from the oppressions of the past to the freedom of the present. Bullinger, the great reviler of the Anabaptists, in detailing in 1560 their many heresies, says they taught that "the

government shall and may not assume control of questions of religion or faith.”* No such attack upon the established order of things had ever been made before, and the potentates were wild in their wrath. Menno went from place to place with a reward upon his head, men were put to death for giving him shelter, and two hundred and twenty-nine of his followers were burned and beheaded in one city alone. But, two centuries after Bullinger wrote, there was put into the constitution of Pennsylvania, in almost identical language: “No human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the right of conscience.” The fruitage is here, but the planting and watering were along the Rhine. And to-day the Mennonites and their descendants are to be found from the Delaware river to the Columbia. The Schwenckfelders, hunted out of Europe in 1734, still meet upon the Skippack on the 24th of every September, to give thanks unto the Lord for their deliverance. This is the tale which Lensen, Kunders, Lucken, Tyson, Opdengraeff and the rest, as they sat down to weave their cloth and

* “Die Oberkeit soelle und moege sich der Religion oder Glaubenssachen nijt annemmen.” Der Widertoufferen Ursprung, p. 18.

tend their vines in the woods of Germantown, had to tell to the world. A great poet has sung their story, and you Germans will do well to keep the memory of it green for all time to come.

It cannot be gainsaid that the influence upon American life and institutions of that German immigration which began with thirty-three persons in 1683 and had swollen in 1882 to 250,630, has fulfilled the promise given by its auspicious commencement. The Quakers maintained control of their province down to the time of the Revolution, and they were enabled to do it by the support of the Germans. The dread with which the Germans inspired the politicians of the colonial days was excessive. In 1727 James Logan wrote to the proprietary: "You will soon have a German colony here, and, perhaps, such a one as Britain once received from Saxony in ye fifth century." Said Thomas Graeme to Thomas Penn in a letter in 1750, "The Dutch, by their numbers and industry, will soon become masters of the province." Many were the devices to weaken them. It was proposed to establish schools among them where only English should be taught, to invalidate all German deeds, to suppress all German

printing presses and the importation of German books, and to offer rewards for intermarriages. Samuel Purviance wrote to Colonel James Burd in 1765 that the way to do was "to let it be spread abroad through the country that your party intend to come well-armed to the election, . . . and that you will thrash the sheriff, every inspector, Quaker and mennonist to a jelly." But, as a disappointed manager wrote from Kingsessing the same year, "all in vain was our labour. . . . Our party at the last election have loosed all."

The speaker of the first federal House of Representatives was a German, and with Simon Snyder, in 1808, began the regime of the eight German governors of Pennsylvania. To represent her military renown during the Revolutionary War, Pennsylvania has put the statue of Muhlenberg in the capitol at Washington. The terrific and bloody struggle with slavery in this country, which ended at Appomattox in 1865, began at Germantown so long ago as 1688. The Murat of the Rebellion, he who afterwards so sadly lost his life among the savages of the west, had traced his lineage to the Mennonite, Paul Kuster, of Germantown, and if the records were accessible,

it could, it may be, be carried still further back to that Peter Kuster who was beheaded at Saardam in 1535. Another of the descendants of those earliest immigrants, the youngest general of the war, planted his victorious flag upon the ramparts of Fort Fisher. The Schwenckfelder forefathers of Hartranft, major-general, governor, and once urged by this state for the presidency, lie buried along the Perkiomen. He who reads the annals of the war will find that among those who did the most effective work were Albright, Beaver, Dahlgren, Heintzelman, Hoffman, Rosecrans, Steinwehr, Schurz, Sigel, Weitzel and Wistar.

The liberties of the press in America were established in the trial of John Peter Zenger. Man never knew the distance of the sun and stars until David Rittenhouse, of Germantown, made his observations in 1769.* The oldest publishing house now existing on this continent was started by Sauer, in Germantown, in 1738. The first paper mill was built by Rittinghuysen upon the Wissahickon creek, in 1690.† The German Bible antedates the English

* He was born in Roxborough Township near Germantown.

† It was on a branch of the Wissahickon.

Bible in America by nearly forty years, and the largest book published in the colonies came from the Ephrata press in 1749. From Pastorius, the enthusiast, of highest culture and gentlest blood, down to Seidensticker, who made him known to us, the Germans have been conspicuous for learning. To the labors of the Moravian missionaries, Zeisberger and Heckewelder, we largely owe what knowledge we possess of Indian history and philology. Samuel Cunard, a descendant of Thones Kunders in the fifth generation, established the first line of ocean steamers between America and England and was made a British baronet.

If you would see the work of the American Germans of to-day look about you. Is there a scientist of more extended reputation than Leidy? Is there a more eminent surgeon than Gross? Who designed your Centennial buildings, and in whose hands did you trust the moneys to pay for them? The president of your university, the most enterprising of American merchants, and the chief justice of your state are alike of German descent. The great bridge just completed after years of labor and immense expenditures, which ties Brooklyn to New

York, was built by a German. The financier of the nation during the Rebellion undertook to construct a railroad from the greatest of the inland seas to the widest of the oceans. He fell beneath the weight of the task. A German completed it.

But the time allotted to me does not permit me to more than suggest a few points in the broad outlines of German achievement. The hammer of Thor, which, at the dawn of history, smote upon the Himalayas, now resounds from the Alleghenies to the Cascades. The Germanic tide, which then began to pour into Europe, has now reached the Pacific. In its great march, covering twenty centuries of time, it has met with no obstacle which it has not overcome, it has been opposed by no force which it has not overthrown, and it has entered no field which it has not made more fruitful. America will have no different story to tell. The future cannot belie the past. Manners and institutions change, the rock crumbles into dust, the shore disappears into the sea, but there is nothing more permanent than the characteristics of a race. Already the rigidity and angularity which Puritanism has impressed upon this country have begun to disappear;

already we feel the results of a broader scope, a sterner purpose and of more persistent labor. And in the years yet to be, America will have greater gifts to offer unto the generations of men, will be better able to attain that destiny which, in the providence of God, she is to fulfill, because she has taken unto herself the outpourings of that people which neither the legions of Cæsar, nor papal power, nor the genius of a Bonaparte were able to subdue.

THE CAPTURE OF STONY POINT*

[Oration delivered upon the request of the State of New York at the Dedication of the State Park at Stony Point, July 16, 1902.]

EACH year of the war of the Revolution, the struggle of the colonies for independence and for the establishment of a nationality that should present to the world a new and permanent system of government, was marked by some event which may be regarded as distinctive and representative of the campaign and the time. In 1775 the contest was begun by the farmers with their shot-guns and rifles behind the stone walls running along the road from Concord to Lexington. In 1776 the tide of disaster and depression was turned, and the hope of final success dawned at Trenton. In 1777 there was victory over the army of Burgoyne in

* In the preparation of this paper I have been much indebted to Dawson's "Assault upon Stony Point," and to Johnston's "Storming of Stony Point," but I have differed from both of these authors in assigning the credit for the plan which was adopted.

your own beautiful valley of the Hudson, and there were valor and tenacity shown in the attack upon the main army of the British at Germantown. In 1778 were displayed the sufferings and the persistence at Valley Forge. In 1780 were begun the successful campaigns of Greene in the south. In 1781 the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown led to the practical cessation of hostilities.

The important event of 1779, the central year of the war, was of a character to catch and forever hold the attention of mankind, one which the state of New York has even now recognized by the opening of this attractive park. We are here to commemorate that event and to tell it over again, though with meagre and inadequate words.

The main purpose of the campaign of 1779, upon the part of Clinton, who was in command of the British forces, was to break, and upon the part of Washington to maintain, the lines of communication between the eastern states and those to the southward by means of the occupation of the valley of the Hudson. The most important position upon the strongest of these lines was West Point, fortified in such a way as to render it almost impregnable,

and held by the centre of the American army under General McDougall. The American right, under command of Putnam, lay near Dean Furnace, and the left, under command of Heath, was on the opposite side of the Hudson, extending eastward from the Sugar Loaf hill. Into this position it had been drawn by Clinton's seizure in May of King's Ferry and its termini, Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. West Point was regarded as the key to the American continent. To gain possession of it by force the British had sent the army of Burgoyne in the year preceding, and in an attempt to accomplish the same end by the persuasive influence of money and rank, offered to the unfaithful Arnold, were to send André to his death in the year to follow. It was held fast in the clutch of Washington with an army of about nine thousand men.

Fearing that his grasp could not be loosened by any direct effort that might be made, and hoping to tempt him to come down and deliver battle in the open plain, Clinton sent a force, under Tryon, into Connecticut to devastate and lay waste the towns and farmsteads, and there they burned two hundred and forty dwellings, seven churches, and

caused a general destruction of farms, mills, stores, and vessels. Fairfield and Norwalk suffered the most severely.

These depredations and this diversion of a portion of the army of Clinton failed utterly to persuade Washington to leave the security of the hills, but he made response in a way which was as unexpected to the foeman as it was unsatisfactory. Thirteen miles below West Point, upon opposite sides of the river, are the promontories of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, and between them ran the ferry which constituted a link in what was the shortest and most effective line of communication between the eastern and southern colonies. Since the beginning of June they had been in the occupation of the British, and now Washington determined to make an effort for the capture of both of these important positions. As to one of them, his plans resulted in an entire and remarkable success which has seldom been equalled in the annals of warfare, and gave to American arms a reputation such as earlier achievements had never been able to win for them.

Stony Point was a rugged promontory, covered

with rock and wood, extending into the river for half a mile from the western shore line, and rising to a height of one hundred and fifty feet. It stood like a solitary sentinel, ever keeping watch and ward over the gateway of the Highlands. Bending around its western base and separating it from the mainland, a marsh sometimes to the depth of two feet crept from an entrance in the river to the north to an outlet in the river to the south. An island fortress, likened often in its strength and conformation to Gibraltar, it seemed to present insurmountable obstacles to any attacking force, and with quiet and sardonic frown to threaten its destruction. Upon the summit the British had erected a series of redoubts and had placed seven or eight disconnected batteries, while immediately below them an abatis extended the entire length of the crest. Within this fortification were four companies of the Seventeenth regiment of infantry, one company of American Tories, and a detachment of the royal artillery. About one-third of the way down the hill from the summit ran a second line of abatis supported by three redoubts, on which were brass twelve-pound cannon, defended by two companies

of the Seventeenth regiment and two companies of grenadiers. At the foot of the hill near the morass were five pickets, and the British vessels of war which rode in the river were able to sweep with their guns the low ground of the approaches. Four brass and four iron cannon, one howitzer and five mortars, amply supplied with ammunition, were at the service of the garrison, which consisted of over six hundred of the best disciplined and most trustworthy troops in the British army, under the command of Colonel Henry Johnson, of the Seventeenth regiment, a young and gallant officer.

This formidable fortification so manned and protected it was proposed to capture, not by slow approaches or the modern convenient method of turning, but by storm. Could the Continental troops which had been driven from Bunker Hill, Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown, be relied upon for such an unprecedented and heroic effort?

The hope of success depended upon the secrecy of the preparations, upon the courage and morale of the troops, and above all upon the character of their commander and his capacity to take advantage

of every opportunity which might be presented. For this purpose the wise chieftain at the head of the American army selected Anthony Wayne, a Pennsylvania brigadier, thirty-four years of age, whose soldierly qualities indicated a rare blending of keen intelligence and impetuous courage, and who had won a distinction at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth which his defeat at Paoli, due to the wide separation by his superior of the wings of the army, had failed to tarnish. He was destined later to add to that high reputation by numerous campaigns in the south, and to gain unperishable renown when, as general in command of the armies of the United States, he broke the power of the savages of the west where others had failed, and secured that seat of future empire for civilization. His sword was always drawn from the scabbard, its edge was always turned towards the foe, and in the councils of war it had come to be known that the voice of Wayne was ever in favor of taking the risks of battle. His force was selected from the light infantry, the brawniest and pluckiest material in the Continental army, welded into shape and tempered by the experience of four

years of warfare. It consisted of four regiments of three hundred and forty men each, the first composed of troops from Virginia and Pennsylvania, under Colonel Christian Febiger, of the blood of the old Norsemen; the second of troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware, under Colonel Richard Butler, one of the most efficient officers of the Pennsylvania Line; the third of troops from Connecticut, under Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, from that state, who had won laurels and gained experience at Quebec; and the fourth of troops from Massachusetts and North Carolina, under Colonel Rufus Putnam, of Massachusetts, who had seen hard service at Saratoga.

Every feasible effort to secure accurate information had been made. Light-Horse Harry Lee, with his partisan legion, had patrolled the whole country and picked up stray facts from farmers and deserters. Allen McLane had gone to the post with a flag of truce and kept his eyes open while there. Rufus Putnam, the chief engineer, had made a careful survey from the vantage ground of the neighboring hills, and by the 6th of July both Washington and Wayne had made personal tours of inspection.

“When all the doors were fastened,
And all the windows shut,
There was yet one little window,
And that one was forgot.”

From a deserter it was learned that the Point could be approached from the southward along a beach of sand where the marsh reached the river, and here Washington suggested the advance should be made. On the 10th he wrote a letter to Wayne containing his views of a plan for the assault, and even elaborating such details as the putting of a white feather upon the cap of each man, but he left the responsibility for its acceptance with Wayne, saying,—

“These are my general ideas of the plan for a surprise; but you are at liberty to depart from them in every instance where you think they may be improved or changed for the better.”

It appears that for some reason a delay had been proposed and that Wayne was eager to make the attempt at once, because Washington again wrote, on the 14th, giving his permission for the following night, and adding, “You are at liberty to choose between the different plans on which we have conversed.”

By the next morning at eleven o'clock the arrangements were completed and the "order of battle" prepared. Without hesitation Wayne made a fundamental change in the proposed plan. Instead of an assault in a single column from the southward, he ordered that Colonel Febiger form a column upon the right, to be preceded by one hundred and fifty picked men "with their arms unloaded, placing their whole dependence on the bayonet," and that Colonel Butler form a column on the left, "preceded by one hundred chosen men with fixed bayonets" and with arms unloaded. Major Murfree was directed to move in the centre and, dividing a little to the right and left, await the attack, and thereupon keep up a galling fire as a feint. It will be observed that this plan involved an apparent frontal attack accompanied by the noise of musketry, and that the real attack should be made by the silent columns. Any soldier who presumed to take his musket from his shoulder or attempted to fire without orders was instantly to be put to death. Any soldier so lost to a sense of honor as to retreat a foot or skulk in the presence of danger was likewise immediately to be put to death by the nearest

officer. At the head of each column, sixty feet in advance, were to march twenty men and an officer, designated as the "forlorn hope," that on the right led by Lieutenant Knox, of the Ninth Pennsylvania, and that on the left by Lieutenant James Gibbons, of the Sixth Pennsylvania. Upon entering the works the victorious troops were to shout the watchword, "The fort's our own!" Wayne, who was determined to share in the danger and participate in the glory, as his order declares, concluded to march with the right column.

On the morning of the 15th of July the troops, thirteen hundred and fifty strong, "fresh shaved and well powdered," were drawn up for inspection, and when that ceremonial was completed, instead of being dismissed to their quarters, they started on the road to the southward. Then for the first time officers and men knew that some event of more than ordinary moment was in contemplation. Over a rough and narrow back road dwindling away at times to a mere path, across rocky hills and through swamps and ravines, they marched thirteen miles, and at eight o'clock in the evening arrived at the farm of David Springsteel,

about a mile and a half to the westward of Stony Point. Not a soldier had been permitted to leave the ranks, every dog for miles around had been killed, and a detachment of the Pennsylvania battalion, under Captain James Chrystie, and the rangers of Allen McLane had meanwhile been sweeping the intervening country and gathering into their embrace all wandering countrymen who might perchance give warning to the garrison. The secret had been well kept and neither friend nor foe had yet heard a whisper of the coming event. Ere the storm burst there was a lull of three hours and a half until half-past eleven o'clock at night.

Picture to yourselves, if you can, you who are here one hundred and twenty-three years later to participate in this anniversary, the strain and suspense of that interval. After the columns had been formed and the "order of battle" read to them, after he had ridden forward for the last time to inspect the approaches, Anthony Wayne, upon whose shoulders the responsibility rested, keenly alive to the desperate character of the venture, its uncertainties and the personal danger, sat down "near the hours and scene of carnage" at eleven o'clock in

the old farm-house. Securing a sheet of paper, he wrote to a near friend, "This will not reach you until the writer is no more. . . . I know that friendship will induce you to attend to the education of my little son and daughter. I fear their tender mother will not survive this stroke. . . . I am called to sup, but where to breakfast either within the enemies' lines in triumph or in another world."

The thought of the strong man, with the scythe of the grim reaper flashing before him, was of his wife and children in their far-away home near the banks of the Brandywine.

The time had come. By half after twelve o'clock the right column had crossed the marsh, two hundred yards in width, with water up to the waists of the men, but ere they had reached the far side the pickets of the enemy opened fire and gave the alarm. Without a shot in return, in the face of a rapid fire from cannon and muskets, the men, led by Fleury and Knox, tore down the abatis and pushed forward up the steep. The Connecticut officers, Seldon, Phelps, Palmer and Hall, and the Pennsylvanian, Hay, were grievously wounded, and on every side soldiers were falling; but who could

halt to minister to them? At the second abatis Wayne was shot in the head and brought to the ground, but rising to his left knee and pointing to the front with his spear, he cried, "Forward, my brave fellows; forward!" and later was carried bleeding into the fort. The garrison within rushed to arms, and Colonel Johnson, the commandant, with about half of his force, hastened to the centre of the outer line, where he heard the rapid firing from Murfree, thus paying tribute to the wisdom of that part of the plan. In a few minutes Fleury was over the parapet and grasping the British flag, and with the honor of being the first within the entrenchments, he shouted, with French accent and enthusiasm, "The fort's our own!" Following him and each other, and almost at the same instant, in rapid succession came Knox, of the "forlorn hope;" Sergeant Baker, of Virginia, wounded four times; Sergeant Spencer, of Virginia, wounded two times; and Sergeant Donlop, of Pennsylvania, wounded two times.

So well were the arrangements planned and so efficiently were they carried out that the two columns, with different tasks and difficulties, separated

in space, reached the parapet and entered the fort almost at the same time. There has been less detail preserved as to the occurrences in the left column, but the fact that when Lieutenant Gibbons, of Philadelphia, first of them all, crossed the parapet, seventeen of the twenty-one in the "forlorn hope" had been shot, sufficiently attests the desperate character of the struggle. Upon all sides now resounded the cry, "The fort's our own!"

There were clashing of sword and spear, and bayonet thrust; but the British, finding that the Americans had surmounted their defences, and that further resistance was useless, soon cried for mercy. One old captain refused to surrender and fell where he stood, fighting to the last. Of the British, twenty were killed, seventy-eight were wounded, fifty-eight were missing, and four hundred and seventy-two were taken prisoners. Of the victors, fifteen were killed and eighty-four were wounded.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 16th Wayne sent a despatch to Washington, informing him that "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnson, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free."

Up to this time no event of the war had produced such an ardor of enthusiasm in the minds of both the army and the people. The newspapers of the day teemed with praises of all the participants, and poets depicted the details of the affair in their most stirring verses. The congress passed resolutions of thanks and voted gold medals. Washington wrote that the officers and men "gloriously distinguished themselves," and Greene, himself a hero, in earnest words declared, "This is thought to be the perfection of discipline and will forever immortalize General Wayne, as it would do honor to the first general in Europe." Said John Jay, later the distinguished chief justice of the United States, "This brilliant action adds fresh lustre to our arms." And General Charles Lee wrote, "I do most sincerely declare that your action in the assault of Stony Point is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, through the whole course of this war on either side, but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history." But even high tributes of respect came from the enemy. General Pattison, who commanded the British artillery, wrote to Lord Townsend in London that the un-

fortunate event "has filled every one with astonishment," and Commodore George Collier did not hesitate to assert in his journal that "The rebels had made the attack with a bravery they never before exhibited, and they showed at this moment a generosity and clemency which during the course of the Rebellion had no parallel."

After the lapse of a century and a quarter, Stony Point yet remains the most conspicuous and imposing illustration of American military valor. At New Orleans the riflemen of Kentucky and Tennessee triumphed over the veterans of Wellington fresh from the fields of the Peninsula, but they stood behind and not in front of entrenchments. At Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and Cold Harbor there were desperate and sustained charges against fortified positions, but in each instance they ended in failure. The great Empire State of the Union does well to set aside this beautiful park to commemorate the only instance in American history where the soldiers of the country were victorious over a disciplined European foe, protected by what seemed to be impregnable fortifications. She is to be commended for her effort again to brighten the

memory of that remote time in our annals when upon her soil the men of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, all wearing the buff and blue of the Continental soldier, together faced death as they clambered up these steep heights in the defence of their own liberties and the maintenance of those principles which meant the welfare of the human race during the ages that were yet to come.

THE DUTCH PATROONS OF PENNSYLVANIA*

[Written for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,
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SINCE the publication of a biography of Hendrick Pannebecker, thirteen years ago, additional facts have come to light which give a broader significance to his life, and make him a more conspicuous, and almost a unique figure in the early history of the province of Pennsylvania. Research had disclosed that he spoke three languages, Dutch, German, and English; that he wrote a conveyancer's hand and drew deeds; that he surveyed for the Penns a number of their manors and laid out most of the early roads in Philadelphia county; that he owned four thousand and twelve acres of land; that he possessed a library of books, one of

* This paper has been prepared mainly from deeds and original documents in my own possession, for some of the most important of which I am indebted to the thoughtful kindness of Mr. Franklin S. Reiff, of Skippackville, Pa.

which in MS. has recently been secured by the Rev. A. Stapleton, and in it a contemporary theologian has written, "Henrich Pannebecker habet virtuosam uxorem;" that he was described in certain recorded instruments as a gentleman, and offended Henry Melchior Muhlenberg by his pride and sense of "important family connections;" and that he was on terms of personal friendship with Edward Shippen, Israel Pemberton, Richard Hill, James Logan and Isaac Norris. It now appears that he became the head of an inland colony, and the proprietor of an extensive township, since divided into two of the present townships of Montgomery county, with certain manorial privileges and at least a quasi jurisdiction over the people.

On the 10th of March, 1682, William Penn conveyed to Dirck Sipman, of Crefeld, five thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania, and on the 11th of June, 1683, to Govert Remke, likewise of Crefeld, one thousand acres, upon the condition that a certain number of families were to be taken across the ocean to settle upon them. The arrangement was more than a sale of land, since it contained this provision for a settlement, and when Sipman sold

two hundred of his acres, August 16th, 1685, to Peter Schumacher, then in Rotterdam on his way from Kriegsheim in the Palatinate to Germantown, the purchaser agreed for "himself and his family to settle upon and dwell on the said two hundred acres of land," and to secure compliance he bound "his person and all his goods without reservation." It is plain from the letter of Pastorius of March 7th, 1684, that the Dutch and German immigrants who founded Germantown expected to receive their grant along a navigable stream, to have a little province of their own, free from the sway of the English, or, as Penn described it, "a new Franckeland," and that promises to this effect had been made on his behalf by Benjamin Furly, his Rotterdam agent. Of the purchase of Sipman, five hundred and eighty-eight acres, and of the purchase of Remke, one hundred and sixty-one acres were located and surveyed in Germantown. By a deed in the Dutch language, January 14th, 1686, Remke sold his unlocated land to Sipman. By another deed in the Dutch language, Sipman sold his entire interest, including the lands of Remke, to Matthias Van Bebber, a Dutch merchant, who came to Ger-

mantown in 1687, son of Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, one of the first Crefeld purchasers.

The deed was irregular and was confirmed by the attorneys of Sipman May 13, 1698. Van Bebber had the lands located upon the Skippack creek, a branch of the Perkiomen and the first stream of any importance met in going northwestward after leaving the Wissahickon. The tract was supposed to contain five thousand acres, but a more accurate survey showed that it included six thousand and one hundred and sixty-six acres, or nearly ten square miles. Van Bebber paid the difference in value to Penn, and secured a patent February 22, 1702. It was described by rather perishable marks as follows:

“Beginning at a Hickory Sapling at the corner of Edward Lane’s land, from thence by a line of marked trees northeast one thousand and forty four perches to a stake by a white oak marked from thence by a line of marked trees northwest nine hundred and eighty eight perches to a stake by a marked black oak thence southwest five hundred and thirty four perches to a stake in William Harmar’s line thence by the said line eighty eight perches to a stake again by the said William Harmar’s land southwest five hundred and ten perches to a white oak by the corner of the said William Harmar’s land, then southeast by the said Edward Lane’s land nine hundred perches to the place of beginning.”

At the time of the issue of the patent the tract was already called Bebber's township, and it bore that name as late as the publication of Scull's map of the province in 1759. It covered substantially the same territory as is included within the two present townships of Skippack and Perkiomen. The patent gave to Van Bebber "all mines, minerals, quarries, meadows, marshes, swamps, cripples, savannahs, woods, underwood, timber and trees, ways, passages, waters, liberties, profits, commodities and appurtenances," the right to "Hawke, Hunt, Fish and Fowl," and to hold the lands "in free and common socage by fealty only." Van Bebber at once began the settlement of his township, and since it extended across two considerable streams of water, and was further removed from English influence, he no doubt believed that it would possess advantages over Germantown and prove to be more attractive to the Dutch and German incomers who had been disappointed in that location. In all probability he had had a previous understanding with Pannebecker, who, immediately after the grant, with his brother-in-law, Johannes Umstat, removed from Germantown to the Skippack. Other

settlers in 1702 were Johannes Kuster, Claus Jansen, and Jan Krey. In 1704 came John Jacobs, who founded one of the most influential of our colonial families. A grandson, Joseph Jacobs, a merchant in Philadelphia, was a signer of the non-importation resolutions of 1765, and treasurer of the Association library. His brother John was the last speaker of the assembly before the Revolution, and of him Benjamin Rush reported that he had been in favor of a republican form of government for twenty years before that time. Another brother, Benjamin, was a member of the Philadelphia county committee of safety in 1775, and signed some of the issues of colonial currency; a fourth brother, Israel, was a member from Pennsylvania of the second United States congress; a sister, Elizabeth, married Colonel Caleb Parry, killed at Long Island; and a sister Hannah married the famous astronomer and mechanic, David Rittenhouse. In 1706 came John Newberry, Thomas Wiseman, Edward Beer, Dirck Renberg, William Renberg, together with Gerhard In de Hoffen and Herman In de Hoffen (De Haven), known of old in the Dutch books of martyrology, and whose great tombstones, with their

ancient inscriptions, give dignity to the Mennonite meeting house on the Skippack. They were followed in 1708 by Daniel Desmond, a name evidently French in origin, and now converted into Dismant; Johannes Scholl, some of whose descendants became manufacturers of iron and achieved distinction in the wars; Christopher Zimmerman, Hermannus Kuster, one of my own forefathers in the sixth generation, who is said, with what truth I know not, to hark back to Peter Kuster, the martyr, and Lawrence Koster, the inventor of printing at Haerlem, and forward to General George A. Custer, killed on the plains; and by Cornelius Dewees, and William Dewees, whose son, Colonel William Dewees, was sheriff of the county, and owned a mill at Valley Forge which the British burned in 1777. In 1709 came Andrew Strayer and three brothers from the village of Wolfshheim in the Palatinate; Martin Kolb, long a noted Mennonite preacher; Johannes Kolb, who owned a Dutch copy of Erasmus; and Jacob Kolb, later killed by a cider press; in 1716 Solomon Dubois, from Ulster county, New York; and in 1727 Paul Fried. Ere long the settlement on the Skippack became known over the continent of Europe.

There are many references to it in the *Geistliche Fama*, the *Büdingische Sammlung*, *Fresenius Nachrichten*, the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, and similar publications. A pamphlet published in Holland in 1731, giving information concerning "De Colonie en Kerke van Pensylvanien" is confined almost exclusively to affairs on the Skippack. When George Whitefield came to America he did not go to the Chester valley, or to the Susquehanna, but he did preach at Skippack. The Skippack road, laid out in 1713 to the settlement, and a few years later extended four miles further to Pennypacker's Mills on the Perkiomen, became one of the three main thoroughfares to Philadelphia, over which a part of Braddock's army marched, going westward in 1755, and the continental army marched under Washington, going eastward in 1777.

Van Bebber never lived in his township, but in 1704 moved from Philadelphia to Bohemia manor, Maryland, where he died in 1739, owning a part of the manor and many lands, and leaving a large family, the later members of which became distinguished in the life of Delaware, Maryland, and the west. The name has been introduced into

modern literature by Richard Harding Davis. The representative of Van Bebber in the settlement and the man of affairs among its people, laying out their roads, surveying their lands, supervising their real estate transactions, drawing their deeds, and taking charge of such matters as brought them into relations with the province and other communities was Pannebecker. An examination of the deeds which have been saved from the maw of time almost invariably shows his participation in the arrangements made between the parties, and, in most instances, he appears as a witness. In the deed, now in my possession, from Van Bebber and Hermana his wife to Johannes Fried, April 8, 1724, for one hundred and twenty-three acres, they describe Pannebecker as their attorney with power and authority to deliver seisin of the land, and it is altogether probable from the absence of Van Bebber, the necessity for some personal direction of affairs and the prompt movement of Pannebecker after the patent had been secured, that some such relation had existed from the beginning.

The people of Skippack, June 2, 1713, presented a petition to the county court saying that

“pretty many families are already settled and probably not a few more to settle” in that region, but that no road had yet been laid out, that “what paths have been hitherto used are only upon suffrance and liable to be fenced up,” and asking that a road or cartway be established “from the upper end of said Township down to the Wide Marsh or Farmer’s Mill.” Favorable action was taken resulting in the laying out of the Skippack road, the surveys for which there is reason to believe Pannebecker made. He was one of the signers of the petition.

On the 8th of June, 1717, Van Bebber and his wife, in consideration of “the true love and singular affection he the said Matthias Van Bebber bears to them and all theirs,” conveyed one hundred acres of land to Henry Sellen, Claus Jansen, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Jacob Kolb, Michael Ziegler and Hermannus Kuster, reserving an annual rental of one shilling and four pence to hold to them “the survivors and survivor of them and to the heirs and assigns of the said survivors or survivor for ever” upon the trust that “it shall be lawful for all and every the inhabitants of the aboves’d Bebbers Town-

ship to build a school house, and fence in a sufficient Burying place upon the herein granted one hundred acres of land there to have their children and those of their respective families taught and instructed, and to bury their dead." So far as I know these provisions are without precedent in our annals, and have never been followed elsewhere. There are many instances where men have given lands and money for the support of some church, or philanthropic scheme, with which they have been associated or in which they were interested, but the recognition of a duty to provide for the education of all of the children of a township and the burial of all of the dead, and that for all time, the setting apart of so large a domain as one hundred acres for the purpose, and the expression of his affection for them, are not at all characteristic of a mere sale of lands, but indicate the patroonship or overlordship of the extensive Dutch grants, like that of Van Rensselaer at Albany, accompanied by a sense of obligation to see that the needs of the people are anticipated. The deed was written by Pastorius and witnessed by Pannebecker. Since the two parties and the other witness, Isaac Van Bebber, were all then living at

Bohemia manor, it is probable that he took the deed there to be executed.

The trust so established led to consequences which in one respect at least were more important than could have been foreseen. The school was conducted by Christopher Dock, "the pious Schoolmaster on the Skippack," whose memory I some years ago revived, and who has since been written about by Edward Eggleston and Martin G. Brumbaugh, and has become famous; and it was here, in 1750, that he wrote the earliest American essay upon pedagogy, and in 1764 upon etiquette.

All of the trustees were members of the Mennonite church, and their selection was due no doubt to the fact that the greater number of the settlers belonged to that sect, and that the affiliations of Van Bebber were with it. Eight years later, March 30th, 1725, they, being then all still living, executed a declaration of trust, brought about doubtless by the determination to build a meeting house, which purpose was that year accomplished. This declaration set forth :

"Which s'd land & premisses were so as afores'd convey'd unto us by the direction and appointment of the

Inhabitants of Bebberstowship afores'd belonging to the meeting of the people Called Menonists (alias Menisten) & the above recited deed poll was so made or Intended to us in trust to the Intend only that we or such or so many of us as shall be & Continue in unity & religious fellowship with the s'd people & remain members of the s'd meeting of the Menonists (alias Menisten) whereunto we now do belong should stand and be seized of the s'd land & premisses in & by the s'd deed poll granted To the uses and intends hereinafter mentioned & declared & under the Conditions & provisos & Restrictions hereinafter limited & expressed & to no other use Intend or purpose whatsoever, that is to say For the benifit use and behoof of the poor of the s'd people called Menonists (alias Menisten) in Bebberstowship afores'd forever And for a place to Erect a meeting house for the use & Service of the s'd people, & for a place to bury their dead, as also for all & every the Inhabitants of the s'd Bebberstowship to build a school house & fence in a sufficient burying place upon the s'd one hundred acres of land there to have their Children & those of their respective families taught & Instructed & to bury their dead Provided always that neither we nor any of us nor any other person or persons Succeeding us in this trust who shall be declared by the members of the s'd meeting for the time being to be out of unity with them shall be Capable to Execute this trust while we or they shall so remain But that in all such cases as also when any of us or others Succeeding us in the trust afores'd shall hapen to depart this life then it shall & may be lawfull to & for the members of the s'd meeting as often as ocasion shall require to make Choice

of others to mannage & execute the s'd trust instead of such as shall so fall away or be deceased. And upon this further trust & Confidence that we and the Survivor of us & the heirs of such survivor should upon the request of the members of the s'd meeting either assign over the s'd trust or Convey & Settle the s'd one hundred acres of land & premises to such person or persons as the members of the s'd meeting shall order or appoint To & For the uses Intends & Services afores'd Now Know Ye that we the s'd Henry Sellen, Claus Jansen, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Jacob Kolb, Michael Ziegler & Hermanus Kuster do hereby acknowledge that we are nominated in the s'd recited deed poll by & on the behalf of the s'd people called Menonisten (alias Menisten) and that we are therein trusted only by & for the members of the s'd meeting and that we do not claim to have any right or Intrest in the s'd Land and premises or any part thereof to our own use & benifit."

By this declaration the trustees endeavored, while maintaining the original trust of providing for the education of the children of all the inhabitants of the township, and for the burying of their dead, to so extend its purposes that the land should be held for the benefit of the poor of the Mennonites, and for the erection of a meeting house for the people of that sect, and, on the other hand, to so restrict it that only members in good standing in this meeting could act as trustees. They also make the

statement that their selection was due to a nomination made by the members of the meeting. It is plain they were acting under the guidance of some one more or less familiar with the forms of conveyancing, but unacquainted with the principles of the law. The deed shows the characteristic peculiarities of the handwriting of Pannebecker. For many years Pastorius used a seal with the device of a sheep, above which were his initials, "F. D. P." He had been dead seven years. His seal, however, was used upon this declaration seven times, and likewise upon the deed of Johannes Fried, before referred to, in 1724, which indicates that it was at that time in the possession of some one living in Skippack. It could be no other than Pannebecker, and this leads to the query as to whether or not he had secured the forms and other paraphernalia of Pastorius after the death of the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim." The witnesses were Hans George Reiff, a member of the German Reformed church, who wrote a neat signature, and Antonius Heilman, a Lutheran living at the Trappe. Whether this selection of witnesses was the result of chance alone, or had some purpose, it is impossible to determine.

In the deed of 1717 from Van Bebber there was a reservation of an annual rent of one shilling and four pence "current silver money of Pensilvania" to be paid to him and his heirs on the first day of each March for ever. It is evident that this reservation was not intended in any sense as the consideration for the conveyance or any part of it. The consideration is fully stated. It was customary in the proprietary deeds of the time to reserve the payment of a modicum of corn, wheat, roses, money, or other tangible thing, in recognition of the fealty due to the lord of the fee, and in retention of the idea of the duty of service which was incident to the feudal system. This thought, insisted upon by Van Bebber, as something owed to him and conceded by his purchasers, will be found in all of his deeds, and it is further evidence that his relation to the people of this settlement was considered by him and them to be that of a patroon as well as a vendor. It was regarded as so important that it was expressed even in a gift to the trustees of a charity. On the 17th of June, 1737, two years before his death, Van Bebber executed to six of the trustees, Jacob Kolb being then dead, a re-

lease of his annual rent to the extent of "six pence sterling for fifty acres of the within specified or mentioned land, the other fifty acres being for the use and benefit of the Dutch Baptist Society, being excepted, reserved and foreprized together with the proportionable part of the yearly Quitrent accruing to the Chief Lord of the Fee." This language is somewhat obscure, but it shows that the reservation was to the lord of the fee, there being likewise a quitrent to Penn, the chief lord of the fee. The amount was of so little importance that the four pence were forgotten entirely. The lands have ever since been retained and still belong to the Mennonite meeting, so early and well endowed, and the venerable place with its important associations and hallowed graveyard deserves more attention than it has hitherto of recent years received. The Dutch Bible used in the meeting house is still in existence.

By order of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Philadelphia County, upon petition of the residents, the township was regularly laid out and surveyed in 1725 and given the name of "Skippack and Perkiomen," and thereafter the earlier name of Bebbber began to fade and disappear into the distance. The

effort was made, under the direction of Pannebecker, who secured the signatures to the petition, and gave his assistance to those who were unable to write. The names attached to the petition are Klas Jansen, Johan Umstat, Peter Bon, Henry Pannebecker, Hermanus Kuster, Paulus Frid, Johannes van Fossen, Johannes Friedt, Hans Tetweiller, Jacob Scheimer, Paul Friedt, Willem Weirman, Nicholas H—st, Henrich Kolb, Martin Kolb, Jacob Kolb, Jacob Merckley, Arnold van Fossen, Isaac Dubois, Huppert Kassel, John Pawling, John Jacobs, Richard Jacob, Michael Ziegler, Christoph Dock, Hans Volweiller, Valentin Hunsicker, Richard Göbel, Matthias Teissen, Arnold Van Vossen, Jacob Op de Graff, George Merckle, Daniel Deesmont, and Peter Jansen.

In the spring of 1728 horrid war raised its grisly front almost in the midst of this scene of quiet and peace, causing untold agitation throughout the settlement, and terror to the inhabitants. During the month of April there were repeated rumors of threatened attacks by bodies of hostile Indians. On the 29th a communication was sent to Philadelphia to Governor Patrick Gordon, signed

by a number of people living on what was then the frontier, mostly Germans and Welsh, informing him "That the Indians are Consulting against us;" that the people were so disturbed that "Several Families have left their Plantations with what Effects they could possibly carry away Women in Childbed being forced to Expose themselves to the Coldness of ye air whereby their lives are in Danger;" and asking him to take such measures with respect to the situation that they might be freed from these alarms. This warning does not appear to have aroused the governor to the necessity for action. A few days later eleven Indians in their war paint, fully armed, and under the command of a "Spanish Indian," appeared only five miles beyond the borders of Bebbber's township, and, going from house to house, compelled the people to supply them with victuals and drink. Twenty men gathered together for defence, some of them armed with guns, and some with swords, started in pursuit of the Indians, and, overtaking them, sent two of their number to parley with the leader. He refused to receive the messengers and, raising a sword, ordered his braves to fire. They obeyed, and two of

the settlers were wounded. The latter returned the fire, the doughty Spanish Indian was hit and fell, but arising, "run into the Woods after his Party, having left his Gun and Match Coat behind him." As was to be expected, the affair was much exaggerated. It was widely reported that there was a general uprising of the savages, that this band was only the advance guard of the host with which the forests were filled, and that already several of the German settlers at Tulpehocken and elsewhere had been killed. The whole country was aroused, and in a state of commotion. The waters of the Skip-pack and the Perkiomen seemed to take a tinge of red and to murmur of disaster.

There was living at that time on the east side of the easternmost of the three roads which ran northwestward from Philadelphia through Philadelphia, now Montgomery county, near where the road crossed the Skippack creek, and three or four miles further up the stream than Pannebecker, a man named John Roberts, who was evidently thrown into a state of mental excitement by the stirring events occurring around him. On the 10th of May he wrote a petition to the governor. It is

headed "Van Bebbers Township and ye Adjacencies Belonging," and proceeds:

"We think It fit to address your Excellency for Relief for your Excellency must Know That we have Suffered and Is Like to Sufer By the Ingians they have fell upon ye Back Inhabitators about falkner's Swamp & New Coshahopin. Therefore We the humble Petitioners With our poor Wives and Children Do humbly beg of your Excellency To Take It into Consideration and Relieve us the Petitioners hereof whos Lives Lies at Stake with us and our Poor Wives & Children that Is more to us than Life."

The first signature to the paper is that of John Roberts, the second John Pawling, who lived on the east bank of the Perkiomen about a mile below Pennypacker's Mills, and was a warden of St. James's Episcopal church, the third Hendrick Pannebecker, the fourth William Lane, who gave forty acres of glebe land, still retained, to that church, and then follow:

John Jacobs, Isaac Dubois, Israel Morris, Benjamin Fry, Jacob Op den Graeff, Johannes Scholl, Richard Adams, George Poger, Adam Sellen, Dielman Kolb, Martin Kolb, Gabriel Shouler, Anthony Halman, John Isaac Klein, Hans Detweiler, William Bitts, Heinrich Ruth, Hupert Kassel, Henry

Teutlinger, Christian Weber, Gerhard In de Hoffen, Lorentz Bingaman, Richard Jacob, Hermannus Kuster, Peter Bun, Jacob Engers, Hans Weierman, Conrad Custer, Jacob Marieke, Christian Neuswanger, Conrad Reiff, Jacob Kolb, Hans Ulrich Bergey, John Myer, Henrich Kolb, John Fried, Paul Fried, William Smith, Peter Rambo, David Young, Christopher Schmidt, Garrett Clemens, Johannes Reichardt, Matthias Tyson, Peter Johnson, Hans Joest Heijt, Christian Allebach, Hans Reiff, Daniel Stauffer, Abraham Schwartz, Johann Valentine Kratz, John Johnson, Ulrich Heffelfinger, Nicholas Haldeman, Michael Ziegler, Christian Stoner, Johannes Garber, John Haldeman, Claus Jansen, Nicholas Hicks, Johannes Leisher, Jacob Sheimer, Michael Krause, Peter Reiff, George Reiff, George Meyer, Bastian Smith, Edward In de Hoffen, Christian Kroll, Jacob Grater, Jacob Stauffer, Henry Stauffer and Paul Fried, Jr.*

Forty-four of these seventy-seven names were written by Roberts himself, and it is probably a fairly complete list of the residents at that time.

* This petition in the Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. I., is given a mistaken heading and misprinted.

A man upon horseback rode "with speed" into Philadelphia, bearing this pathetic message to the governor, who the same day, accompanied by Andrew Hamilton and several others, hastened to Manatawny, where he remained until the 14th. He found the country in very great disorder, many of the houses deserted, a number of Germans "gathered together at a mill* near New Hanover township in order to defend themselves," and a man who had been "wounded in the Belly." An angry feeling was rife, indicating a purpose to kill whatever Indians could be found. He issued a commission to John Pawling of Bebbber's township, Marcus Huling, and Mordecai Lincoln, ancestor of the president, authorizing these persons to organize the settlers for defence and protection, and he distributed some powder and lead among them. The hostile Indians were a band of Shawanese on their way, as their chief afterward alleged, to aid the Delawares in a war with the Flatfeet. Altogether five of the settlers and several of the Indians had

*The only mills then in existence which could possibly have been meant were Moyer's, Yelger's, Zimmerman's, Boone's, Maak's, Welker's, and Pennypacker's, the last then owned by Hans Joest Heijt, and of these the first three were in Hanover, and not near it.

been wounded more or less seriously, but notwithstanding the wild rumors, none were killed. It is interesting as the only engagement with the savages which ever occurred in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

For twenty-five years, from 1702 to 1727, the settlement had grown in size and importance with Van Bebber far away at Bohemia manor, and Pannebecker living on the Skippack, acting as his attorney, and representing those interests of the community which arose in the course of its gradual but steady development. Now Van Bebber was getting old, the cares of life were becoming more of a burden, and a great change, interesting to the individuals concerned, and important to the settlement, was impending. At that time there was living in Pennsylvania a young merchant from Holland, a member of the assembly, whose family were of theological, literary, and social consequence in Europe, named Lodowick Christian Sprogell, born at Quedlinburg, July 16, 1683. His father was an eminent divine and author who presided over the seminary at Quedlinburg; his mother Susanna Margareta Wagner was the only daughter

of the noted composer of music, Michael Wagner; his sister Anna Maria married Godfried Arnold, who wrote the most valuable church history of his time, still recognized and studied as an authority; his brother John Henry Sprogell recovered in an ejectment suit against Pastorius the lands of Germantown and Manatawny, and brought from Berlin miners to mine the first copper found in Pennsylvania, and when he was baptized at Quedlinburg his sponsors were Herr Jacoby Nicholas, the pastor; Anna Maria, Countess of Hesse; and Angelica, Princess of Anhalt. Sprogell and Pannebecker conceived together the great scheme of getting control and possession of Bebber's township, and their efforts resulted in success. On the 7th of July, 1727, Van Bebber conveyed to Sprogell alone, though with knowledge that it was in the interest of both, "all the remaining part of the s'd six thousand one hundred and sixty six acres of land which was unsold and not conveyed by the s'd Matthias Van Bebber at the date of the s'd Lease and Release together with the appurtenances excepting one hundred and twenty acres of land in the s'd Release reserved".

How often the anticipations of men, even those which seem to rest on the surest foundations, are blighted and come to naught. For Sprogell it proved to be a brief ownership and a short season of importance. Ere two years had gone by, on the 5th of June, 1729, he was dead. Another period of two years rolled along, and then, November 17th, 1731, Catharina Sprogell, the widow, and John Lodowick Sprogell and Susanna Catharina Sprogell, the children, conveyed to Hendrick Pannbecker of Bebbber's township, reciting the deed from Van Bebbber, "all the Remaining part of the s'd Tract of land herein above described which now Remains unsold & not Conveyed by the s'd Matthias Van Bebbber or the s'd Lodwig Christian Sprogel excepting the one hundred & twenty acres of land in the s'd Release Reserved" and all of the interest inherited by them. Neither of these two deeds has any reference to the number of acres transferred. They conveyed a township subject to such rights as had become vested in other prior purchasers. The sales which up to that time had been made, so far as they have been ascertained by my own investigations and those of James Y.

Heckler, the local historian who wrote upon the subject, were as follows :

Hendrick Pannebecker	404	acres
Johannes Umstat	204	"
Dirck & William Renberg	300	"
Gerhard & Herman In de Hoffen	440	"
Gerhard Clemens	100	"
The Mennonite Meeting	100	"
Andrew Schrayner	100	"
Claus Jansen	306	"
Daniel Desmond	150	"
Johannes Kolb	150	"
Solomon Dubois	500	"
John Krey	306	"
Johannes Fried	123	"
Reserved	120	"
	3303	acres

As might have been expected, there was some friction. Where people have through a long time become accustomed to the conditions surrounding them radical changes always result in a feeling of annoyance. There must have been some contention and disturbance, some dissatisfaction with the new order of things, some unhappy feeling engendered by the new proprietorship, but what it was, and

what was the cause of it, and to what extent it proceeded, we do not know and probably never shall know. However, nearly a year afterward, Van Bebber issued this proclamation to the people:

“To all Persons in Bebbers Township who have bought formerly of me M. Bebber Any Land in s'd Township Know Yea That on the 7th day of July 1727 I sold & Convayed unto L. C. Sprögel all the Land that I had Leaft unsold at that Time in s'd Township & whereas s'd Land was Convayed to s'd Sprögel notwithstanding that all the unsold Land was Convayed to s'd Sprögel yet ye True Meaning and Agreem' was that Henry Pannebecker was to have a Share of s'd Land he paying his Share also of Ye Consideration into s'd Van Bebber. Now Know Yea that my desire & will is for every of you to Injoy all which I Sold & Convayed unto you and No More & that ye Rest the Said Henry Pannebeckers May Injoy according his Deed of Sprögell's heires having Date ye 7th of 9 mo Ao. 1731 & that without Quarling or hinderance.

Given under my hand the 22nd 8^{br} 1732

M. BEBBER.”

Upon the back of this impressive document Pannebecker has written “Matthias Van Bebber's deseier and will too the peopel.” It was folded so as to make a long and narrow slip, and the back is rubbed and soiled, showing that he carried it about with him, probably in a leather wallet, for

months, in order that it might be exhibited to all interested. Its tone of paternal authority, lingering after all rights of property had been abandoned, is quite manifest.

At last Pannebecker had reached the foremost position in a movement with which he had been connected for thirty years, had become the head of a settlement and the sole proprietor of a great township. He owned many other acres elsewhere—on the branches of the Perkiomen, in Salford, the site of the present Harleysville, and in Hanover—but none which had the same importance or could have given the same satisfaction. He was now fifty-eight years of age, and this step may be said to have been the culmination of the efforts of a life. For some unexplained reason neither Van Bebber nor Sprogell had provided for the quitrents due to the proprietaries. The account books of the Penns show that 4 mo. 20, 1735, Pannebecker paid these rents upon “6166 A’s Bebber’s Township 33 years in full £15 5s 3d” and that six years later, May 22, 1741, he paid in full a balance due for the intervening period of 10£ 15s. 1d. These entries make it plain that Pannebecker had assumed

the relation of Van Bebber toward the township along with its responsibilities.* He gave of his lands to each of five sons, and they all became millers, almost the only occupation in which at that early day, in a rural community, capital could be invested at a profit. The sale by one of his sons of a bushel of "Deer's hair" gives a bit of color to the picture. He made surveys for the proprietors and individuals and trained a grandson named for him, Henry Vanderslice, afterwards sheriff of Berks county in 1768, to succeed him. He shipped flour to Philadelphia to the Penns. His teamster, Abraham Yungling, drove to the recently erected furnaces and forges in Philadelphia, Chester and Berks counties at Colebrookdale, Pine Forge, Pool Forge, Warwick Furnace, Coventry Forge, and Reading Furnace, and hauled the iron, one ton at a time, to the Philadelphia merchants. He drank his wine, I am sorry to say occasionally his rum, and, according to Muhlenberg, who had been frowned upon as a carpet bagger (Neulander), he was fond of them. He was engaged in at least five

*With the first payment Jacob Kolb appears to have had something to do.

lawsuits. He read his Bible, printed at Heidelberg in 1568, and his other books of mystical theology and what not, and generously, though unwisely, loaned of his store to his neighbors. Another quarter of a century rolled away, and one morning, the 4th of April, 1754, he fell over dead at the ripe old age of eighty years and two weeks, and thus fitly ended the career of the last of the Dutch patroons in Pennsylvania.

HIGH WATER MARK OF THE BRITISH INVASION

[Historical address delivered at the dedication of the memorial monument, at Phœnixville, September 21, 1907.]

WE meet here to-day upon the outer edge of the classic region of America. On the battlefield of Gettysburg the government of the United States has erected an elaborately inscribed memorial to mark the farthest northward surge of the waves of rebellion. In like manner the borough of Phœnixville has here set up this stone of native granite from the shores of the French creek to designate the westernmost inland point reached by the main army of British invaders during the Revolutionary war, in the times that tried men's souls. Philadelphia was then the metropolis and capital city of the country, the centre of its literature, science and cultivation, as well as of its trade and wealth. In that city had met the preliminary

congress of 1774, and there, in the most memorable of American buildings, the state house of the province, the Continental Congress had in 1776 issued the fateful declaration of independence, and in 1777 were holding their daily sessions. The purpose of the campaign of 1777, with its many battles and its long and rapid marches, was upon the part of Howe to capture, and upon the part of Washington to protect, the city of Philadelphia. Both of the contestants were of the opinion that the outcome of this campaign would in all probability determine the result of the war. On the one side it was believed, and on the other it was feared, that the fall of Philadelphia would lead to a cessation of hostilities and the restoration of British control over the colonies. Howe took his army by sea to the Chesapeake bay, and on the 25th of August landed at the head of the Elk river. On the 5th of September Washington, then at Wilmington, said to his soldiers:

“Should they push their designs against Philadelphia on this route, their all is at stake. They will put the contest on the event of a single battle. If they are overthrown they are utterly undone.

The war is at an end. Now, then, is the time for our utmost endeavors. One bold stroke will free the land from rapine, devastations and burnings and female innocence from brutal lust and violence."

On the 11th the two armies met at Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine creek, and the Americans were defeated. Howe reported to his superiors at home: "The enemy's army escaped a total overthrow that must have been the consequence of an hour's more daylight;" and Washington, having retreated across the river to Germantown, on the 13th consoled his soldiers as best he could by saying:

"The General has the pleasure to inform the troops that notwithstanding we gave the enemy the ground, the purchase has been at [the cost of] much blood, this being by far the greatest loss they ever met with since the commencement of the war."

The armies encountered each other again on the 16th, near the Warren Tavern, and a decisive engagement was anticipated, but a heavy rainstorm wet the ammunition and separated the combatants. Twenty-one Americans were killed, forty-three were taken prisoners, and many were wounded. It was the opinion of the Baron De Kalb that since the British

were separated and the Americans united, Washington on this occasion lost a great opportunity.

Into the battle Isaac Anderson, a young lieutenant, then seventeen years of age, and afterward a member of congress, whose name heads the list of those who voted in favor of the Louisiana purchase in 1803, led a company of men from this neighborhood. They lay in the Warren Tavern through the night of the 15th, and in the morning were stationed on the left of the army, on the South Valley Hill. It now became the object of Washington to prevent Howe from crossing the river, and that same night he withdrew the army to the Yellow Springs. At this place he issued an order that the loads were to be drawn from the guns, "but if they cannot be drawn, they are to remain loaded, for not one gun is to be fired in order to clean it. The General desires the officers to pay the most particular attention to these orders. Not only their own safety, but the salvation of the country may depend thereon." From there he marched to Parker's Ford, on the Schuylkill, where in the earlier day Edward Parker had established a landing for the iron from Coventry and Warwick, to be carried in boats down to Phila-

delphia. Sheeder, in his MS. history of Vincent, upon the authority of Judge John Ralston, who acted as guide, says that Washington came from the Yellow Springs to the General Pike, a few hundred yards above where we now are, and thence turned northward on Nutt's road. If this statement be correct, it establishes the interesting fact that both armies were at this place within three days of each other. The meeting between Washington and Ralston is very graphically depicted in the quaint and uncouth language of Sheeder, who says:

“Now I shall proceed to make some remarks of which i never seen any mention of on record which is concerning g. Washington and John Ralston Esq. deceased. Of the later the writer was for 25 years an near neighbor of intimate intercourse. He a many times related to me when the conversation on the Revolutionary [war] was the subject, that when g. Washington was about leving the Springs he made inquiries of how and who he could get with sufficient trust to guide him to Reading. Captain John Ralston was recommended to him to be such a one. He the General wrote a few lines, sent one of his officers to induce Captain

John Ralston to appear before him. The captain was for making some excuses but the request was so pressing that he must go with the bearer. . . . His good conscience cheered him as he had done no wrong to his country and had acted the part of a good patriot and with this animation got to his usual vivacity, and when arrived at the general's quarters he was introduced to g. Washington by saying 'here is Captain John Ralston.' The general at this time was sitting at the Table writing but immediately got on his feet and walking back and forwards in his room making inquiries how far he lived from the Springs, and how far his father lived from there, and how they all where, and where he had been born, and the captain had answered all of these questions, the next was 'are you acquainted with the roads in these parts?' When the general put this last question he made a halt before the captain where he had been requested to take a seat and staring the captain in the face. Then the captain use to say that then his heart beat faster than at any time before, looking at this monstrous big man. The captain replied 'yea.' Then he was asked if he knew such and such a road that the general

made mention. The captain said 'no' he knew of none by that name. Like lightning he clapt his hand in his pocket, drew out a book with the maps in (In all this the captain knew nothing of the general's design. Here whenever the captain related this circumstance he made the same motion as the general did when he clapt his hand to his pocket) and looking for the road he entented to know of the captain and then said 'the Ridge road leading by Brumbach's church.' The captain answered 'yes' he was well acquainted with [it]. Then said the general by laying his hand on the captain's shoulder 'You must be my pilot to Reading' and not till then the captain's heart ceased beating and the general ordered him to be ready at such an hour tomorrow and appear at his room. The captain done as ordered and the line of march was commenced from the Springs to Kimberton road, then to down Branson's road to where now the General Pike is where this and the Schuylkill road forks to git across French creek bridge as there was no stone bridge known of far and near at them times. Then up the Ridge road."

After again crossing the river to the east bank,

Washington marched down and encamped upon both sides of the Perkiomen at its mouth, watching the different fords below. From the French creek he sent Wayne with a division of fifteen hundred men to the rear of the British to harass them. This plan, which separated his army, resulted disastrously, since General Grey, with a force double in number, fell upon Wayne on the night of the 20th, at Paoli, and defeated him with serious loss. Thereupon Howe turned his back upon Philadelphia and marched northward, having in view, it may be, the stores accumulated at Reading, the more shallow fords further up the river, or more probably only intending a deceptive manœuvre.

At 2 P. M. on the 19th the column of Lord Cornwallis encamped at the Bull Tavern. On the 21st, of which day we are now celebrating the one hundred and thirtieth anniversary, Howe marched up Nutt's road, and the left wing of the army reached the point where this stone is erected. Howe says:

“On the 21st the army moved by Valley Forge and encamped upon the banks of the Schuylkill, extending from Fatland Ford to the French Creek.”

This general description did not quite hold out at either end. Major John André, who later met so sad a fate, kept a journal, and it fortunately happens that he prepared a careful plan of the location of the army along Nutt's road. He says they covered an extent of three miles from Fatland Ford to "some distance beyond Moore Hall."

Howe's headquarters were at the house of William Grimes, on the high ground near the Bull Tavern. The first brigade were upon the east side of the road, about a mile above the Valley Forge. Then came the second brigade on the west side of the road. The fourth brigade were on the high ground on the east side, overlooking the river back of the Bull. The third brigade were on the west side of the road on land of Matthias Pennypacker, still owned by some of his great grandchildren, opposite the present hamlet of the Corner Stores. General Grey, the victor at Paoli the night before, had his quarters at a house at the southwest corner of the White Horse road and Nutt's road. The Second regiment of light infantry and the Hessians under General Stern were here.

The Hessian general, Knyphausen, had his

quarters at the house of Frederick Buzzard, on the west side of the road above the Corner Stores. Elizabeth Rossiter, a daughter of Moses Coates, who lived on Main street west of Nutt's road, gave, in 1841, when eighty-five years of age, this description of their approach:

“The first that I saw of the British was the evening after the massacre at Paoli. Four girls of us were out walking in the road opposite to father's close by Polly Buckwalter's lane, when accosted by three men sitting on their horses near by us. They said, ‘Girls, you had better go home.’ We asked ‘Why?’ ‘Because the English regulars are coming up the road.’ At this moment two more Americans came riding up the road at full speed and announced that the army was just behind. We looked down the road and saw them in great numbers opposite Becky Lynch's. The army encamped the whole way from Valley Forge to Mason's Hill by the tavern.”

André says that large bodies of the Americans were seen on the opposite shore and that they frequently fired on the sentries. That same night Washington hastened to Potts Grove, twelve miles further up the river.

At that time the rules of warfare were more lax than they are at present, and the British occupation resulted in much destruction of property and violence to persons, and it caused the greatest consternation among the inhabitants. The Valley forge and Colonel William Dewees's mill at that place were burned, the powder mill on the French creek near here, where Peter Dehaven was making powder for the continental army, was destroyed, and at Matthias Pennypacker's mill on the Pickering, after all the grain and flour had been taken, the soldiers broke up the machinery and cut the bolting cloths into pieces. Upon all sides it was a scene of plunder. Patrick Anderson at that time had a company in the continental army, and his family abandoned their home and fled for safety, with a team of oxen, horses and provisions, to a lonely place in the woods along Stony run. In their absence the British destroyed the furniture and carried away property valued at £303 3s. 6d., including eleven cows, seven other cattle, forty sheep, ten swine, nineteen geese, six turkeys and ninety-six chickens.

The family of Edward Lane lived in a Conestoga wagon in the woods near Diamond rock for

several days. The beds in the house were ripped open and everything about was destroyed. A daughter of Moses Coates related in 1841:

“No sooner were they encamped than they began to plunder the surrounding country. They came in great numbers to my father’s, carrying away potatoes, fowls, hay and everything they could make use of. A flock of geese in the yard was taken from the door. A Hessian taking one by the neck and holding it up before us said, ‘Dis bees good for de Hessian mans,’ when Elizabeth told him she hoped he would choke on the bones.”

William Fussell then lived here in a house later converted into the Fountain Inn. It was thoroughly ransacked. His wife thinking to save some bed curtains, wrapped them about her person and covered them with her dress, but some Hessian women, of keen vision, without any ceremony, threw her down on the floor and unwound the coils.

The house of Benjamin Boyer had been stripped of everything of value. Some of the family then carried the hives of bees inside, and putting them in the room in the west end of the first floor, covered them with a sheet. An intruder appeared,

and demanding to know what was there concealed, was informed they were bees. Not to be deceived by what seemed to be so plain a subterfuge, he jerked off the sheet and was severely stung by the already disturbed and enraged insects. This story was told of no less important a person than Lord Cornwallis.

Joseph Starr, accused of being a spy, was placed in confinement and very much abused, but was soon afterward released.

Most of the young women secreted themselves and kept out of the way, but the three sisters of a farmer living within half a mile of this point, whose name I forbear to give, were dragged to the camp and outrageously maltreated.

A son of Moses Coates, then a mere youth, owned a horse which was stolen from the pasture field by some of the British. The young man went to headquarters, and upon asking to see the general in command, was met with derisive smiles. He however insisted and was finally ushered into the presence of Howe. There he was questioned and told that he could have his horse if he would cross the Schuylkill and report the location and condition

of the American army. The proposition was reinforced by the offer of six guineas in addition. He indignantly declined the suggestion, and after it had been found that he could not be prevailed upon to serve their purposes, he was given permission to search for his horse and take it away. That this family were held in high favor by the American officers appears from a letter to Colonel Thomas Bradford, dated Moore Hall, May 19th, 1778, and published in the Lee papers, which says:

“Col. Biddle mentions to me Mr. Moses Coates about a mile from hence just back of his quarters, where there is a good house and agreeable family with every convenient accommodation and will probably suit you both at least equally well with your present situation.”

At this time there was living in a cave in the hill just below the Pennsylvania railroad station in the present village of Mont Clare a man named Patrick Gordon, who had been a tenant under the Penns since 1761, and the ford across the Schuylkill, where is now the bridge at the terminus of Bridge street, became known as Gordon's ford. As such it is famous in the history of the Revolu-

tion, since here for the first time the British were able to cross the river. Colonel John Montresor, Howe's chief of engineers, writes in his journal on the 22d:

“At 5 this morning the Hessian Grenadiers passed the Schuylkill at Gordon's Ford under fire of their artillery and small arms and returned back being intended as a feint.”

He further tells us on the 21st “A bridge was ordered to be made across the Schuylkill at this place [Moore Hall] where the river is 120 yards and got in great forwardness intending to deceive the enemy.”

André says on the 22d:

“In the evening the Guards passed the river at Fatland Ford and the Hessian Chasseurs and some grenadiers passed at some distance above Moore Hall. Some light dragoons crossed at dusk at Long Ford. The guns of the Hessians and those of the third brigade fired a few shots across the river opposite their encampment to deceive the enemy with respect to the ford at which it was intended the army should pass.”

The firing of cannon therefore extended from

here to the Corner Stores and the balls were shot over what is now South Phoenixville. The Longford at which the light dragoons crossed is where the White Horse road passing through the Corner Stores reaches the river.

Howe in his report says:

“On the 22d the grenadiers and light infantry of the guards crossed over in the afternoon at Fatland Ford to take post, and the Chasseurs crossing soon after at Gordon’s Ford opposite to the left of the line took post there also. The army was put in motion at midnight, the vanguard being led by Lord Cornwallis, and the whole crossed the river at Fatland Ford without opposition.”

It is plain from the stories of the treatment of Starr and Coates and from other traditions that the British were eager to find local guides who were familiar with the country and fords, and that they had difficulty in securing them. In the early morning Cornwallis and his staff came riding across the fields toward Gordon’s ford, and at the residence of Thomas Robinson they called the old man and told him they wanted him to point out the location of the ford. He declined, but when they threat-

ened compulsion he put on his broad brimmed hat and went along, determined to be of as little use as possible. They were on horseback, he was on foot and he was soon lagging far in the rear, with slow gait and tardy steps. When Cornwallis reached the crest of the hill near the Starr farm house he turned to ask some questions and found that his guide was almost out of sight. An aide hurried him up to the general, who threatened and swore furiously. Just then, however, the balls from across the river began to whistle about them, distracting the attention of Cornwallis, and Robinson, taking advantage of the opportunity, briskly disappeared. The wing of the army which crossed at Fatland Ford took with them a son of Edward Lane as a guide. To all questions put to him he answered in a silly way, "I don't know," and they dismissed him as either stupid or obstinate. Then they compelled Jacob Richardson to conduct them across the river, and he went with them to Philadelphia, and he there remained, afraid to return. During the following winter he one day saw an American officer of some prominence disguised as a Quaker farmer selling provisions in the market. He told the officer he

was known and in danger and aided him to escape. On arriving at Valley Forge, the officer detailed the circumstances and made a certificate of the attachment to the American cause of Richardson, who then came back to his home. It appears of record officially that he was proclaimed as a tory and afterward discharged.

To protect the crossing at Gordon's ford the British planted a battery on the high ground on the Starr farm and from it they fired at least three shots, one of which struck the corner of the farm house in Mont Clare removed by Joseph Whitaker about forty years ago. The crossing was not accomplished without some sacrifice. A Briton and his horse were shot and killed under the buttonwood trees still standing where the roads to Norristown and Port Providence intersect in Mont Clare. The man was carried away, but the horse lay there for several days afterward. A rifleman concealed on the island shot a British officer just as he was about to enter the water at the ford. He fell and was taken back to the house of John Allen on the south side of Bridge street, where in a short time he died. He was buried in the Starr burying

ground directly in the angle at the northeast corner of Main and Church streets.

John Keiter, born at Skippack, then lived at the Rhoades farm house on the north bank of the French creek, and he went over the hill toward the mouth of the creek to watch the army. A Hessian raising his piece fired at him and the ball struck a tree near the river. The tree with its bullet hole stood until within a comparatively recent period.

A squad of the British stopped at Gordon's cave, and there found a goose roasting on the fire. While they were busy having a rich feast, they were abandoned by their comrades and were captured by a body of American militia who had come down from the hills to follow in the rear of the enemy.

While there is some difference in the contemporary statements as to the exact time when the main army crossed the river, Howe and Montresor agree that it began after midnight on the morning of the 23d, and according to Howe it ended at two o'clock in the afternoon, when Major General Grant with the rear guard and the baggage reached the further shore. Sergeant Thomas Sullivan, of the

Forty-ninth regiment of foot, in his journal makes the same statement. The country they had left was a scene of desolation. The fences had been torn down and burned, the corn in the fields had been beaten to the ground by the feet of horses and men, and what was left of the hay and straw from the barns lay in the mud of the deserted encampments. The two wings of the army came together at Bean's tavern, on the Manatawny road, and after stopping "to dry themselves and rest" they went on their way.

And what in the meantime was Washington doing, and what did he think of these occurrences? This is what he wrote from Potts Grove to the president of Congress on the 23d:

"The enemy, by a variety of perplexing manoeuvres through a country from which I could not derive the least intelligence, being to a man disaffected, contrived to pass the Schuylkill last night at the Fatland half a mile below Valley Forge and other fords in the neighborhood."

It is rather remarkable that the day before Montresor, the British engineer, had written exactly the opposite statement of fact and used the same word, saying:

“Inhabitants many about Moore Hall fled, being disaffected.”

General John Armstrong wrote to President Wharton from the Trappe a day or two later:

“A feint of the enemy in rapidly moving a part of their body up the Schuylkill by French Creek led the general to apprehend they designed to cross above us and turn our right wing. To prevent this he marched high on this side of the Swamp Road, when the same night or next morning they crossed at Fatland Ford. . . . So that before full intelligence of their crossing came to headquarters, or rather before it gained credit, they were thought in council to be at too great a distance to be harassed in the rear by fatigued troops.”

Upon Friday, the 26th of September, a cold, rough, windy day, about ten o'clock in the morning, fifteen hundred of the British and Hessian grenadiers, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, Sir William Erskine and Commissary General Wier, led by Colonel Harcourt and his light dragoons, with a band of music playing “God Save the King,” marched in triumph into Philadelphia. On the same day, almost at the same instant of time, Washington

and the continental army went into camp at Penny-packer's Mills. The campaign which had been believed to be fraught with consequences so momentous had ended with Howe in possession of the city and Washington out upon the hills of the Perkiomen.

The Revolutionary war was brought to a successful conclusion not by the display of exceptional military skill or by brilliant successes upon the fields of battle, but by the firmness and undaunted persistence of Washington, supported by a steadfast people. Had they been shaken by the clamor which arose against him at the close of the unsuccessful campaign of 1777, culminating in the efforts of Conway in the army, and certain members of the Congress, to remove him from his command, the colonies would probably have remained in the condition of Canada and South Africa.

Every age is confronted with its own dangers, and there is a lesson in the result of the Revolutionary war and in the conduct of our forefathers of that time amid trying difficulties, to which we may well give heed to-day. Mommsen wrote of the Celts that they have been "good soldiers but bad

citizens," and that they "have shaken all states and have founded none." The cause is to be seen in that weakness of character which led them to strike at every man who rose above the level of the mass, and therefore brought about internal dissension thwarting every important effort. So long as we cherish the virtues which conduce to self respect, to confidence in and support of those whom we select to administer our affairs, and to faith in our system of government, our institutions are safe, both against assault and disintegration, while the loss of these virtues will be the premonitory symptom of the fate that befell Assyria and Rome.

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY

[An address delivered before the Legislature of Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the memorial services, March 22, 1905.]

“ He reads much ;
He is a great observer and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men.”

Julius Cæsar, Act I, Scene II.

IN the township of Schuylkill, in the county of Chester, in this state, within two miles of the Valley Forge, and within half a mile of the famous colonial mansion known as Moore Hall, whence William Moore rode forth as a colonel into the French and Indian war, a rill of water starting in a spring along the slope of a hill finds its way to the Pickering creek, which a mile beyond empties into the river Schuylkill. There is no habitation in sight, but over the spring stands a dilapidated stone spring house and beside the rill are the trunks of some cherry trees which fruited long ago. On

a broken limb the robin unalarmed sings his note of hope, and on the decaying roof the red squirrel undisturbed sits to crack his nut. At this spot, now wild and deserted, blue with the violet and yellow with the dandelion, James Anderson, the earliest known American ancestor of Matthew Stanley Quay, built a rude log cabin in 1713 and became the pioneer settler in that region of country. His life had its chapter of romance. Born on the isle of Skye, in Scotland, as a youth he found his way to America, went to work for a Quaker preacher and miller of means living in the Chester valley, eloped with the daughter of his employer and brought her here to be his wife and companion in the woods. Their only neighbors were the Delaware Indians, who were near and friendly. When their oldest boy, Patrick, came into the world, later to be a captain in the French and Indian war, a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, a major in Wayne's regiment in the Revolution, and commander of the Pennsylvania musketry battalion after the battle of Long Island, he was at times suckled by an Indian squaw while his mother trudged across the Valley hills to visit her old home. Nearly two hundred

years afterwards the great grandson of this colonial and revolutionary soldier arose in his seat in the United States senate and compelled compliance by the national government with contracts, spurned and forgotten by every one else, which were for the benefit of the Delaware Indians in their reservation to the west of the Mississippi. What manner of man was this who alone had the will to take up the cause of the friendless, the strength to make his efforts successful, and who refused to permit two centuries of time to weaken an obligation ?

Matthew Stanley Quay in his character and work was a purely American product. To say that he was a typical Pennsylvanian does not much narrow the proposition, for Henry Adams has truly written: "If the American Union succeeded, the good sense, liberality and democratic spirit of Pennsylvania had a right to claim credit for the result." It has ever been the policy of the American government, following the example set by Penn in 1682, to open wide the doors for the inpour of people of other lands endeavoring to escape from the rigidity of institutions and conventionalities at home, and it is to be hoped this liberality may have

long continuance. Nevertheless he has a stronger incentive to patriotic effort and feels a keener interest in the welfare of both commonwealth and nation, who may look back to the participation of his forefathers in the early trials and struggles of the people. "A human life," wrote George Eliot, "should be well rooted in some spot of a native land."

Major Patrick Anderson married Ann Beaton, sister of Colonel John Beaton, as deft in penmanship as he was vigorous with the sword, who through the whole period of the Revolution performed effective service in the military affairs of Chester county. Joseph Quay wooed and won their daughter, and, with commendable pride, named his son Anderson Beaton Quay, and trained him to become a clergyman in the Presbyterian church.

The inheritance to which Matthew Stanley Quay succeeded was one of honorable traditions and little substance. No great career ever began under more unpropitious auspices and no leader of men ever depended less upon mere adventitious and personal advantages. He was born September 30, 1833, in Dillsburg, York county, where his father then had a church, a village which even to-day has

a population of only seven hundred and thirty-two persons. The family income probably never exceeded eight hundred dollars a year. He was short in stature, meagre in form and had no presence likely to impress the ordinary observer. His voice had so little volume that he shunned public speech. A weakened muscle permitted one eyelid to droop and seemed to those to whom the cause was unknown to give warning of a certain subtlety. A tendency to pulmonary trouble, which had brought death to many of the immediate household, was an ever present threat from early manhood to late maturity. At the age of seventeen years he was graduated from Jefferson College, at twenty-one he was admitted to the bar, and two years later became prothonotary of Beaver county. So freighted and so equipped he entered upon the struggles of a life beset from start to finish with tumultuous storm and unrelenting strife.

The task which nature in its adaptation of means to necessary ends had fitted him to perform, or toward which the current and pressure of events swept him, or, if it be preferred, which he, impelled by the instinct for the exercise of conscious

power, as some birds take to the water and others to the air, set for himself, was one of high importance and of vast complication and difficulty. Seldom in the history of the world have the forces which make for the advancement of the people been set in motion or directed by those charged with the functions of government. The ruler, whether hereditary or selected, is apt to be a conservative, satisfied with the conditions which have led to his elevation and interested that they should be continued. It might be written of the uncrowned king of many another land beside Miletus that

“He had grown so great
The throne was lost behind the subject’s shadow.”

It was no king of Prussia, but Count Bismarck, who brought about the consolidation of the German empire. In the struggle of England with France for supremacy it was not George III, but William Pitt, who welded the forces which finally led to the overthrow of the Corsican. How many of us can tell which one of the Bourbons was king of France in the time of Cardinal Richelieu? There is a catalogue of the kings of England. It is printed in the histories, and perhaps the children

are still compelled to learn it by rote, as they certainly at one time were, but the men whose characters left their impress upon the determining events in the development of English life and institutions were Becket and Wolsey, Shaftesbury and Clarendon, Disraeli and Gladstone. In the main the rulers who have been potent factors in shaping the destinies of their time have been those who like Cæsar, Cromwell and Napoleon grasped sceptres, set themselves upon thrones and established dynasties. The experience of other countries has been repeated in America because it is an evolution, the outcome of laws more permanent than any system of government, deep seated as nature itself, which influence all human institutions. Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, Thaddeus Stevens and many others of a type entirely familiar to the student of our affairs never reached the presidency of the United States, but they formulated measures and dictated policies to an extent which few presidents have been able to equal. When we reflect that the president is elected for a term of only four years, the governors of the states for a term of from one to four years, a period entirely too brief to permit the acquisition

of accurate knowledge, and that they reach these positions only through the nominations of political parties, it must be plain that men will arise who, possessing the capacity, devoting themselves to the study of public interests and the methods of advancing them, acquiring the skill and proficiency which come with experience, exercise a dominating influence in public affairs. Fortunately they succeed only by a sort of divine right and hold their power only so long as they serve the public need. No other steep is so hard to climb and the foothold upon no other crest is so precarious. He who reaches the height is a mental athlete, and he who holds it a marvel of capacity. We give our plaudits to the successful general who can command an army of a hundred thousand troops, but he has the power of life and death to enable him to enforce discipline. We wonder at the organization of a great railroad system, but every employé knows that the livelihood of his wife and children depends upon his attention to the orders given him. What are we to think of him who without any of these means of control prevails upon a million of men to forget their diverse views and interests and to work to-

gether for a common political purpose? Such masters of statecraft, in other lands and in earlier days in this country, were called statesmen and were honored for their achievements. That we have become so prone of recent years to apply to them opprobrious epithets only shows that we are beginning to forget the philosophy of our institutions and to be weary of the system of government handed down to us by the fathers.

In the capacity for the building up and the maintenance of political forces and for their application to the accomplishment of public ends, it may well be doubted whether the country ever before produced the equal of Mr. Quay. From the time of his election to the office of state treasurer, in 1885, down until his death on the 28th of May, 1904, public and political results in this state may be said to have rested upon his decision. During this long period every means which human ingenuity could devise and unlimited resources could bring to bear was used to overthrow his influence. Coalitions between shrewd politicians seeking for substantial reward, heated zealots and earnest reformers, looking backward to the golden age and forward to

Utopia, exerted their energies without effect. Men whom he had trained and who had gathered information as his allies were secured to do battle against him only to meet discomfiture. Scandal intended to be harmful to the state and to him, disseminated far beyond the state's borders, seemed only to give him strength. Even the processes of the criminal court of Philadelphia were invoked by his enemies and in vain. Thrifty commercialism reaching out to grasp the senatorship clutched the empty air. His final reliance was ever upon the confidence of the people. The bourgeoisie and the men in blouses never failed him. When, in 1885, the political powers then in control decreed his retirement, he announced instead his candidacy for a high state office and he won. Ten years later seemingly overwhelming forces united to wrest from him the control of the organization of his party. They included the governor, the mayor of Philadelphia, the party organizations in Philadelphia and Pittsburg and the strongest corporate influences in the state. The initial step was an effort to secure the chairmanship of the state committee and they suggested for the position a gentleman long identified with Mr. Quay

in political movements. Mr. Quay picked up the glove and announced that he himself would contest for the chairmanship. No such political battle was ever before or since waged in America. Neither Marlborough nor Bonaparte ever contended with such odds in opposition. But to use his own metaphor, he carried the "fiery cross" from Philadelphia to Erie, the very audacity of the movement brought the people to his support, and again he won. None but a real leader among men so compels adverse circumstances to yield to his will. And when he went, physically feeble, tottering toward his grave, quiet had settled over all factions and there were none to dispute his mastery.

In Southey's poem of the Battle of Blenheim, when little Peterkin asked:

"But what good came of it at last?"

the answer was:

"Why that I cannot tell, said he,
But 'twas a famous victory."

No such reply can be given by the political leader. Mere success, no matter how much we admire the skill and the prowess, can never be a justi-

fication. While he may be excused from adopting the standards of the idealist and from pursuing methods which are impracticable and lead to inevitable failure, the welfare of the community and the improvement of public life are the objects for which parties arise and governments are instituted, and unless these ends be served the outcome is a barren waste. The work of Mr. Quay must be subjected at last to this test. The majority for the Republican candidate for president in this state in 1888, the first presidential election after Mr. Quay became recognized as the leader of his party, was 79,458, and the majority for the Republican candidate for president in the year of his death had risen to 505,519. In other words, during the course of his career, the people of the commonwealth were rapidly drifting into accord with his political views. It at least shows that they were not dissatisfied with prevailing conditions. It may be open to dispute as to whether or not the principles of one political party are more nearly correct than those of another, but this much is certain, that those of the Republican party have controlled the affairs of the nation throughout a long period of great growth and pros-

perity, and that Pennsylvania has been their most pronounced and assured advocate and exponent. In 1885 her indebtedness amounted to \$17,972,683.28, and since that time it has been entirely liquidated except as to a comparatively small amount not due and covered by moneys in the sinking fund. Her revenues are more than twice those of the nation at the time Jefferson made the Louisiana purchase. She taxes no man's farm or home. Mr. Quay himself, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, carried into operation the act freeing real estate from taxation and resulting in the system of collecting her revenues from the corporations of the state, a system studied with benefit by those responsible for the financial methods of Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia. Where else on earth is there a people more prosperous, contented and happy? Her laborers receive in comparison with those of other lands and other states remunerative compensation, and her proprietors dissipate the surplus of their large fortunes in building universities in Chicago and libraries over the world. The management of her affairs has been in the main cleanly and efficient and conducted with a spirit so liberal

that many of her judges, for a long time the state librarian, and through three administrations the superintendent of her schools, directing the annual expenditure of \$6,000,000, have been retained in office, though of opposite political faith. In what other state is there the evidence of such advanced political thought? She has had sufficient breadth of view to give attention to correct sentiment and even to æsthetics. Monuments have been erected on distant battlefields to commemorate the bravery of her soldiers. She preserved the field of Gettysburg and after making it a Valhalla and marking it with a care unknown elsewhere, she gave it into the custody of the nation. She has established a park at Valley Forge that the tenacious courage of the American Revolutionary soldiers may not be forgotten. She has taken means to preserve and cultivate her forests. She protects the game in her woods and the fish in her waters. No one of these movements could have succeeded without the support of Mr. Quay, and many of them had their origin in his direct intervention. In that impressive speech in the American Academy of Music in 1901, wherein he prophetically announced that his political race was

run, and pathetically declared: "I have many friends to remember, I have no enemies to punish," he did not forget the cause of higher education and made this appeal for the University of Pennsylvania: "The state and the people of Pennsylvania should cherish it and make of it, as they can, the first temple of science in the world."

The time came when the personal influence of Mr. Quay, apart from that of the state in whose councils he was so potent, was exerted in national affairs. In 1887 he took his seat in the United States Senate. To an extent equalled by few other American statesmen, he permanently affected the development of our national life. For a quarter of a century no Republican could have been elected president of the United States and no national policy have succeeded without his consent. Two of the presidents were placed in that high office because of his personal efforts. In 1888, in charge of the national Republican campaign, he confronted his opponents in the city of New York, cowed them in their stronghold, where even Mr. Blaine had failed, and by the exercise of both strength and skill ensured the election of Mr. Harrison. In 1900, by

the defeat of Mr. Hanna, who came to the national convention fortified with at least the tacit support of the administration, he secured the nomination for the vice presidency of Mr. Roosevelt with all the momentous consequences later to flow from that event. The manufacturers of the country made their contracts for the erection of mills and the employment of workmen with a sense of entire security that so long as he remained in the Senate the doctrine of protection, so important to them, would be maintained as the national policy. The Force bill stood in its way and he defeated the measure. When Mr. Cleveland sought to destroy the tariff system, he thwarted the efforts of the president and obtained such a modification of the radical views urged as to have the act adopted comport with safety. Florida looked up to him as her third senator. Three territories relied upon him to lift them to the dignity of statehood, and in all probability only his death disappointed their expectations. When the religious sentiment of the country was aroused by the proposition to open the gates of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago on Sundays, through his efforts they were kept closed. When

there was need for wise counsel or energetic action, no other senator had more fully the confidence of his fellows and as a result no other of them was more effective in accomplishing or preventing legislation.

To what cause was his continuous success to be attributed? How did it come about that this bold sailor was able to guide his bark over the stormiest of seas in safety for a lifetime, when all around so many others sank beneath the waves? In the days of our savage forefathers, whenever an unusual or extraordinary event in the domain of nature happened, it was explained to their undisciplined minds as the outcome of sorcery or witchcraft. The ignorant of our own time, when the results of public controversies disappoint them, and "the rustic cackle of their burgh" has been mistaken for "the echo of the great wave that rolls around the world," find easy consolation in the thought that those who differ have been corrupt. It is a scientific axiom that whenever a fact is ascertained which is not in accord with an accepted theory, the theory must be discarded as incorrect. It happened in many of the most important of Mr. Quay's political battles, notably in the contest of 1895 and with Mr. Wan-

amaker, such power as comes from the possession of money was in the league against him. There is a story which has come down to us from the days of old that once a wonderful musician charmed the ears of the people with the wild and weird notes of an unearthly music and when the curious listeners peered into his instrument, behold! it turned out that he played but upon a single string, stretched across a dead man's skull. Mr. Quay was not that kind of an artist. He knew alike what were the needs of the manufacturer that the mills might be prosperous and what were the aspirations of the laborer that the little home might be adorned; he understood the manner of life in the trades, in the professions, and on the farms; he sympathized with the old soldier, proudly wearing his decorations at his Grand Army post, and with the miner carrying a light in his cap to dispel the underground darkness—and all these were chords in that mighty instrument which responded to his touch, and which embraced all the interests and hopes of a great commonwealth. The successful chess player wins his game because he is able to see the plans of his adversary and to make the combinations which are

necessary to overthrow them. It is idle to learn his moves, because the same situation never again occurs. Mr. Quay overcame his opponents because he saw more clearly, reasoned more accurately and delved more deeply. They who thought they knew some petty or unscrupulous device which they might learn by sitting at his feet and then go off to imitate wasted their efforts. Strong men brought into contact with him, impressed by the extent of his information, the breadth of his views, and the sagacity of his conclusions, became his adherents. Mr. Johnson, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Watson, of Pittsburg, both have testified to his perception of difficult legal propositions; Mr. Swank to his knowledge of the statistics of iron manufacture, and Mr. Kipling to his acquaintance with literature. He accumulated a large library, carried books with him when he went to fish, wrote from Florida letters in the Latin tongue and discussed the merits of the Italian poets over the table with Mr. Roosevelt. The only subscribers among the senators to Brown's *Genesis of the United States* were Mr. Quay and Mr. Lodge. He never doubted the people of the state or the merits of their achievements, and they reciprocated

the confidence. There are those among us who, like the false mother in the time of Solomon, would dissever the commonwealth if they could seize a fragment, and who never tire in their dispraise, but he wrote and in his heart believed that "of all this union of states, Pennsylvania is the fairest and the happiest and the most intelligent and the best governed." He could turn phrases with the same apt skill that he directed conventions.

He was not without faults. If his conduct sometimes fell below the highest ethical standards, where is the man who can honestly scan his own life and throw a stone? Though he cared nothing for the mere accumulation of money, and was little "afflicted with the mania for owning things," he exulted in the exercise of power and like the war horse in Job smelled "the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting." He regarded men and their aims too much as mere counters to be used for his purposes. He cared too little for their comment. But in nature, as a distinguished poet has observed:

"The low sun makes the color."

However much we may admire, we seldom love the austere virtuous.

He was simple and modest and absolutely without vanity. After his winning the presidency for Mr. Harrison, at no dinners amid the clanking of glasses did he tell of what he had accomplished and there is no record in his manuscript to narrate to us what he thought of the work of his life. Like Wayne and Meade, like Rittenhouse and Dickinson, he left behind him no book of memoirs to impress upon future generations how much they owed to his efforts, but if his letters to politicians and men of affairs could be gathered together, and printed, their cleanliness and delicacy, their indications of quick perception and abundant information, their gentleness and self restraint would lead to a higher and more just appreciation of the requirements of public life.

He had a keen sense of duty. There are men who would scorn to fail in the performance of the obligations of a sealed instrument who without compunction pass lightly over the claims of home, friendship and country. It signified much that his sons grown to young manhood ever gave him a parting kiss before they retired for the night. His grandmother as she neared her end three-quarters of

a century ago besought those around her to bury her among her kindred in Chester county. Their means were limited and her grave was dug in Ohio. Two years ago Mr. Quay, hearing of her wish, saw to it that thenceforth she rested in the family graveyard near the home of her youth. A hint was perhaps all that an appealing friend could secure, but it was never forgotten and seldom ineffective. In 1862 he had resigned from the colonelcy of the 134th Pennsylvania Volunteers. The army of the Potomac marched forth to do battle. Arising from a bed of sickness he hastened to the Rappahannock, fought as a volunteer aide along the front line at Fredericksburg and later received from Congress a medal of honor for brave and unusual service. With him it meant little to say that his term had ended.*

*The original of the following letter has been discovered since the death of the senator and it aids in forming an estimate of his character.

Camp near Falmouth,
Dec. 10, 1862.

Dear Col.:

My resignation has just been returned accepted.

The army moves on the rebel lines tonight unless orders are countermanded. There will probably be a bloody struggle & I will stay to see it through. Unless knocked on the head I will be with you on Friday or Saturday.

Respfly and truly yrs

Col. J. H. Puleston.

M. S. Quay

Who is there to-day who cares for the Indian, whether he comes or whether he goes? We hold by an unassailable title the lands that once belonged to him, and his braves in their moccasined feet count for nothing in the marts of commerce or in the conventions of parties. But Pennsylvania, which still looks back to that famous treaty at Shackamaxon, which was never signed and never broken, may feel her pride stir again when she reflects that the last service of her senator was rendered, not in an effort to gain political advantage or to advance her interests, but in aid of the wronged, the down-trodden and the helpless.

In every village in the state, and in many beyond it, may be heard the tales of his goodness of heart and his tender and helpful sympathy for the unfortunate. An old and impoverished widow of a soldier in Indiana, who had exhausted, without result, the influence of the politicians of her own state, as a last resort wrote to Mr. Quay, and in a few weeks the pension which gladdened her heart and lessened her miseries was granted. A little Seminole girl in Florida met with an accident which threatened permanent disability. He sent her to a

hospital and paid the expenses of the difficult operation necessary for her restoration. In 1886, a political opponent in Lackawanna county was thrown from a carriage and fractured his skull. Learning upon inquiry that his resources were narrow, Mr. Quay sent the noted surgeon Dr. Agnew from Philadelphia to Scranton upon a special train to minister to him, and through an agent still living who with tears in his eyes discloses the incident, himself met the large expenditure which in all probability saved a life. A great master of English fiction in one of the strongest of his novels with a skill which only comes with long discipline has woven a scene, the deep pathos of which appeals to the sympathies of every reader. An incumbent who has done many kindly deeds, worn with age and seeing that his end is approaching, is called upon by the Archdeacon. At the interview, which ensues, the incumbent tells that he is soon to die and asks not for prayer and absolution, but that the living be given to a clergyman of the neighborhood who has been weighed down with many trials and burdens. The Archdeacon himself somewhat gross and worldly, overcome by the situation, kneels and

kisses the old man's hand in mute recognition of superior worth. What Anthony Trollope devised in romance in an effort to exemplify the most exalted spirit of self abnegation was realized in the events of actual life. When the clouds began to settle down over Mr. Quay and their gloom steadily deepened, he sent for his private secretary, who had long been at his side and knew his every want, predicted his own death in the near future, and while he still had the strength, provided for his attendant an employment on which he could depend. The good and brave old heart deliberately denied himself the comfort and assistance which he needed more than ever before and accepted untrained help in order that one who had been near and useful to him should not suffer. Will Pennsylvania ever fully understand how large in character, as well as in strength, was this statesman she has lost! The time has gone by and the harvest we might have garnered, had we only known, will never be ours. The past is rolled up as a scroll. In the legend from Norseland the strange bird which the dull and grubbing flock pecked at and abused one day rose aloft upon strong pinion and soared away to the distant ether to return to

them no more. "It might have been" are the saddest of sad words. It is all too late for us to reap, too late even to bend over as did the Archdeacon to kiss his hand and acknowledge our shortcomings, but we still may implore for him that peace for which he uttered his last eloquent prayer and which we ever denied to him while he was upon earth.

THE DEDICATION OF THE CAPITOL

[October 4, 1906.]

THE capitol is much more than the building in which the Legislature holds its sessions, the courts sit in judgment, and the executive exercises his authority. It is a concrete manifestation of the importance and power of the state and an expression of its artistic development. Intelligent observers who look upon the structure and examine the proportions, the arrangements and the ornamentation are enabled to divine at what stage in the advance of civilization the people have arrived, and to determine with sufficient accuracy what have been their achievements in the past and what are their aspirations in the future.

The commission charged with the duty of erecting this capitol and those who have had responsibility in connection with it have felt that in

architecture and appointments the outcome ought to be worthy of the commonwealth. They have not forgotten the essential and unique relation which Pennsylvania has borne in the development of our national life: that in our first capitol the government of the United States had its birth; that during ten years of the early and uncertain existence of that government she gave it a home; that since its origin what has ever been accepted as the "Pennsylvania idea" has been the dominant political principle of its administration, and that its present unparalleled material prosperity rests finally in large measure upon the outcome of her furnaces and mines.

Nor have they forgotten that the thought of William Penn, enunciated over two centuries ago and rewritten around the dome of this capitol, has become the fundamental principle of our national constitution, acknowledged now by all men as axiomatic truth.

There is a sermon which the many Americans who hie hither in the future years to study chaste art expressed in form, as to-day they go to the Parthenon and St. Peter's, to the cathedrals of Antwerp

and Cologne, will be enabled to read in these stones of polished marble and hewn granite. When Moses set out to build "an altar under the hill and twelve pillars," he beforehand "wrote all the words of the Lord." Let us take comfort in the belief that in like manner this massive and beautiful building, which we have in our late time erected, will be for an example and inspiration to all the people, encouraging them in pure thoughts, and inciting them to worthy deeds. Let us bear in mind the injunction of the far-seeing founder of the province, which made it indeed, as he hoped, the seed of a nation—"that we may do the thing that is truly wise and just."

On behalf of the commonwealth, as its chief executive, I accept this capitol, and now, with pride, with faith, and with hope, I dedicate it to the public use and to the purposes for which it was designed and constructed.

THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCHMAN

AND WHEREIN HE HAS EXCELLED

[Written for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,
January, 1899.]

THE following article has purposely been put in definite and succinct phraseology. It is possible that some of the statements may be modified by subsequently ascertained facts, but the effect of the paper cannot be overthrown by mere generalities. If ever Pennsylvania shall receive due credit for her unequalled influence and achievement, it will be when her writers and talkers—historical, literary, and political—shall cease their efforts to belittle that accomplishment in which they think they and theirs have had no part. A wider knowledge of themselves and their antecedents may also disclose a nearer relation to events of importance in her history, due to the Pennsylvania Dutchman, than they at present recognize.

1. In 1615 Hendrickson, a Dutchman, first sailed up the Zuydt river and saw the site of Philadelphia.

2. In 1662 Pieter Cornelius Plockhoy, who subsequently died at Germantown, laid the foundation of our literature and history by publishing the first book by a resident concerning the country bordering on the Zuydt river, later the Delaware.

3. In 1688 Francis Daniel Pastorius, Dirck op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, and Gerhard Hendricks, by a public protest, made the first effort in America to overthrow the institution of slavery.

4. In 1690 William Rittenhouse built the first paper-mill in America on a branch of the Wissahickon creek.

5. In 1692 Francis Daniel Pastorius published his "Four Treatises," the earliest original American scientific work.

6. Among the immigrants to Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution were only two of the European nobility, Count Zinzendorf, of Bethlehem, and Baron Stiegel, of Manheim.

7. "The town of Lancaster, a place at that time (1750) remarkable for its wealth, and which

had the reputation of possessing the best and most intelligent society in America. It was chiefly inhabited by Germans, who, of all people in the practice of emigrating, carry along with them the greatest stock of knowledge and accomplishments.”*

8. The most eminent scholars among the early emigrants to America were Francis Daniel Pastorius, who wrote fluently in eight languages, and Henry Bernhard Koster, who had translated the Bible from the Septuagint Greek version, both of Germantown.

9. On the 24th of September, 1734, the Schwenkfelders established their Gedächtniss Tag, or Memorial day, to commemorate their escape from persecution, and they have observed it ever since, an event without parallel.

10. In 1743 Christopher Saur published his quarto Bible, the first in a European language in America. The Bible was published three times in German in America before it appeared in English.

11. In 1744 Saur published his first Testament. The Testament was printed seven times in German in America before it appeared in English.

*John Galt's "Life of West," 1816, p. 47.

12. In 1764 Saur began the publication of the "Geistliches Magazien," the first religious magazine in America.

13. Saur was the earliest type-founder in America.

14. In 1814 the Bible was first published west of the Alleghenies by Frederick Goeb, of Somerset, in German.

15. In 1749 was published, at Ephrata, Van Braght's "Martyrer Spiegel," historical, biographical, and theological, the most extensive literary production of the colonies.

16. The earliest original American essay upon music is the preface to the "Turtel Taube," printed at Ephrata in 1747.

17. The earliest American work upon pedagogy was the *Schul Ordnung*, written by Christopher Dock in 1754 and printed in 1770.

18. The earliest American essay upon etiquette was Dock's "Hundert Sitten Regeln," published in 1764.

19. The earliest American bibliography was the catalogue of the works of the Schwenkfelders.

20. The first contribution of real estate to the

Pennsylvania Hospital was made by Matthias Koplin, of Perkiomen.

21. The first approximately accurate calculation of the distance of the earth from the sun was made by David Rittenhouse in 1769. Of him Thomas Jefferson said: "He has not, indeed, made a world, but he has approached nearer its maker than any man who has lived from the creation to this day."

22. The first Continental treasurer was Michael Hillegas.

23. The president of the first national congress was Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg.

24. The first force to reach George Washington after he assumed command at Cambridge, in 1775, was a company from York county, Pennsylvania, under Lieutenant Henry Miller, which had marched over five hundred miles.

25. The first force to reach Abraham Lincoln at Washington in 1861 was composed of five companies from Reading, Allentown, Pottsville and Lewistown.

26. George Washington was first called the "Father of his Country" in a German almanac printed at Lancaster in 1779.

27. "The schools for young men and women at Bethlehem and Nazareth, under the direction of the people called Moravians, are upon the best establishment of any schools in America."*

28. The earliest American book on entomology was published by Frederick V. Melsheimer, at Hanover, York county, Pennsylvania, in 1806. Thomas Say calls him "The parent of entomology in this country."

29. "The first premium for excellency in printing was adjudged by the Pennsylvania Manufacturing Society to the publishers of a book in the German language in the inland town of Lancaster."†

30. The richest agricultural county in the United States, according to the returns of the last census, is Lancaster county in Pennsylvania.

31. The Wistar parties, the best known of early social events in Philadelphia, were established by Dr. Caspar Wistar.

32. Simon Snyder, Joseph Hiester, John Andrew Shulze, George Wolf, Joseph Ritner, Francis Rahn Shunk, William Bigler, John F. Hartranft

* Payne's "Universal Geography," 1798.

† Tench Coxe's "View of the United States," 1794.

and James A. Beaver have been governors of Pennsylvania.

33. Of the two largest telescopes in the world that in California was erected by James Lick, of Lebanon, Pa., and that in Chicago, by Charles T. Yerkes, of Philadelphia.

34. Leidy in science, Gross in surgery, Pepper in medicine, and Cramp in shipbuilding have reached the highest rank.

35. As a merchant, no American has ever surpassed John Wanamaker.

36. The Germans "have schools and meeting-houses in almost every township through the province, and have more magnificent churches and other places of worship in the city of Philadelphia itself than those of all other persuasions added together."*

37. The earliest Pennsylvania history of the Revolution was written by Colonel Bernard Hubley, and published at Northumberland in 1806.

38. The earliest original Pennsylvania school-book was the primer of Francis Daniel Pastorius, published in 1698.

* Answer to an invidious pamphlet, 1755, p. 73.

39. Our knowledge of the language, manners, and customs of the aborigines of Pennsylvania is mainly due to the Moravians Zeisberger and Heckewelder.

40. From 1732 to 1760 our relations with the Indians were conducted by Conrad Weiser.

41. The savages who defeated the Englishman Braddock in 1755 were overthrown by the Swiss-German Bouquet in 1764.

42. On the 17th of Ninth month, 1686, before the provincial council, "The Petition of Abraham op den Graeff was read for ye Gov's promise to him should make the first and finest pece of linnen cloath."*

43. Before the Revolutionary war there were more newspapers printed in German in Pennsylvania than in English.

44. The earliest effort in Pennsylvania in behalf of the adoption of the federal constitution was a petition from two hundred and fifty of the residents of Germantown.†

45. Of the nineteen members of the Pennsyl-

* "Colonial Records," Vol. I, p. 193.

† Lloyd's "Debates," Vol. I, p. 84.

vania Assembly who voted against the submission of that constitution to a vote of the people, not one was a German, and of the forty-three who voted in favor of it, twelve were Germans.*

46. When Whittier wrote,—

“Thank God for the token! one lip is still free—
One spirit untrammel’d—unbending one knee!
Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,
Erect, when the multitude bends to the storm;
When traitors to Freedom, and Honor and God,
Are bow’d at an Idol polluted with blood;
When the recreant North has forgotten her trust,
And the lip of her honor is low in the dust,—
Thank God, that one man from the shackle has broken!
Thank God, that one man as a *freeman*, has spoken!”

he referred to Governor Joseph Ritner, of Pennsylvania.

47. Whittier’s Pennsylvania Pilgrim was Francis Daniel Pastorius.

48. When Thomas Buchanan Read wrote,—

“Then from his patriot tongue of flame
The startling words of freedom came.
The stirring sentences he spake
Compelled the heart to glow or quake,

*Lloyd’s “Debates,” Vol. I, p. 135.

And rising on his theme's broad wing,
And grasping in his nervous hand
The imaginary battle-brand,
In face of death he dared to fling
Defiance to a tyrant king,"

he referred to General Peter Muhlenberg.

JOHANN GOTTFRIED SEELIG

AND THE

HYMN-BOOK OF THE HERMITS OF THE WISSAHICKON

[Written for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,
October, 1901.]

SUBSTANTIALLY all heretofore known concerning the learned enthusiasts who were called the Hermits of the Wissahickon and the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness can be found in the "Settlement of Germantown" and the biography of Hendrick Pannebecker. The sources of information there used were to a large extent the works of Seidensticker and Sachse. So far as known, there was only one manuscript extant in the handwriting of Kelpius, his journal, in the possession of the Wistar family, and all of the productions of Seelig had been lost. In the "Vitæ Theo-

logorum Altorphinorum," by Gustave George Zeltner, published at Nuremberg in 1722, may be gathered a few additional facts of interest concerning the early settlers of Germantown. Pastorius was a student at Altdorf from 1668 to 1670, and it was there that his thesis upon law was printed. In Zeltner's work are portraits and biographies of John Weinman, Luke Frederick Reinhart, John Conrad Durr, and John Conrad Schwaeger, four of the teachers of Pastorius. There is also a reference to a song written by Dr. Johann Wilhelm Petersen, one of the members of the Frankfort Land Company. From it we learn that the book of Kelpius entitled "Scylla Theologica" went through two editions. There are also a portrait and biography of Dr. John Fabricius, whom Kelpius called his master, and under whom he studied.

It was in a letter to Fabricius that Kelpius told the story of William Penn and the Indian chief narrated in the "Settlement of Germantown," page 252. Fabricius had written to Kelpius telling him of the report current in Germany that he had surrendered his theological tenets and become a Quaker, in reply to which he wrote a denial in one

of his few letters we possess. Thereupon Fabricius wrote a vindication of him, which appeared in the second edition of the "Scylla Theologica."

A recent discovery made in rather a remarkable manner has added materially to our store of information concerning the Hermits of the Wissahickon, and constitutes an interesting bibliographical incident relating to the earliest period of Pennsylvania history.

In the summer of 1894 I bought at a public sale at the house of one of the Schwenkfelder people, named Kriebel, on the Skippack creek, in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, a number of ancient books and papers, which were sent to my office in Philadelphia. After all that seemed to be of any importance had been selected, a residuum of what was regarded as rubbish lay exposed upon the top of a box for two years. Among the neglected material was a German manuscript volume about eight inches in length and four in width, whose title and front leaves had been lost, and which contained at the end a crude verse in a rude hand, written in 1772. It happened that I gave up my office, and the rubbish was collected by the express-

man and taken to my home, where it lay on a shelf unnoticed for four years longer. One day in 1900 the the words "Der einsamen Turteltauben," the peculiar language of the Dunkers of Ephrata, written on one of the pages of this volume, casually caught my attention and led me to give it a careful study. I found that the turtle-dove was singing "in the silent woods," and, fortunate chance! one of the hymns written in the book was dated in July, 1707, nearly forty years before the establishment of the community at Ephrata, and was signed "J. G. S." There was only one other set of people in early Pennsylvania life who used this phraseology, and upon a comparison of the unusual penmanship of the early hymns with that of the journal of Kelpius, the revelation became certain and complete. The hymn-book of the Hermits of the Wissahickon had been happily and strangely recovered.

Kelpius wrote in it nineteen hymns, and at the end of the book made an index of them. Of these there are seven entire, parts of two others, and the first lines of all. Another of the hermits, not identified with certainty, but who may have been Henry Bernhard Koster, the learned translator of the

Septuagint, added thirteen hymns. Then Johann Gottfried Seelig wrote four hymns, and fortunately signed and dated one of them in 1707. They constitute the only productions and the only manuscript of Seelig which the ravages of time have spared. The subsequent history of the volume can only be conjectured. Treasured as long as the community lasted, and then carried away from Germantown and trusted to chance, it fell into the hands of some person who made it the convenient receptacle for the meaningless verses of 1772 which misled me, and was thereafter knocked about the garrets of farm-houses, where it lost its title-page and twelve of its leaves. It is now bound in crushed levant and rests in a morocco case.

One of the hymns written by Seelig is here translated, and, being among the earliest of American poetical productions, is extremely interesting. It has much of the tone of a modern love-song. The dove is cooing for its mate. Christ is a bridegroom who is called to hasten to the awaiting soul. Each stanza suggests one single simple thought, which is emphasized by a descriptive word in the final lengthened line. The attempt has been made to preserve the rhyme, measure, and spirit as well as the

ideas of the original, a task rendered more difficult because of the brevity of the lines.

Der einsamen Turteltauben bewegliches Klaglied am Orte ihrer Probirung im stillen Büsche der Geduld gesungen von J. G. S.

The moving Song of Complaint of the Solitary Turtle Dove in the place of its trial. Sung in the still woods of patience by J. G. S.

1. Wo bistu mein Täublein!
Mein süssestes Englein?
Ich sehn mich mit schmerzen,
Und ruff dich im hertzen,
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Ach kom doch mein *tröstendes*
Englein.

1. My Dovelet, where art thou?
Sweet Angel, why part thou?
My heart is so painful,
Oh, be not disdainful.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Come, Angel, consoling my heart
now.

2. Sieh wie ich hier walle,
Stets nahe dem falle,
Ich mercke die tücke,
U. sehe die stricke,
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Kom eylend mein *rettendes* Englein.

2. See how I am heaving,
I stand here bereaving,
I watch all the threading
Of nets that are spreading.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Haste, Angel, deliver my heart
now.

3. Hör wie ich dir klage,
In eusserster plage,
Der Feind mir den glauben
Fast alle wil räuben,
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Ach kom doch *hertz-stärckendes*
Englein.

3. Oh! hear me complaining
In sharpest of paining,
The fiend is me reaving
Of faith and believing.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Come, Angel, and strengthen my
heart now.

4. Im finstern ich sitze
In zweiffel-angst schwitze;
Mein weg ist verborgen,
Mich quählen viel sorgen;

4. In darkness I'm sitting,
With doubt I am splitting,
My way is all hidden,
No care is forbidden.

Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch *erleuchtendes* Eng-
 lein.

My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, enlighten my heart
 now.

5. Es lebet die Seele
 In einsahmer Höhle
 Ohn freude, ohn friede,
 Von anfechtung müde,
 Kom paarendes Täublein,
 Ach kom doch *erfreuendes* Eng-
 lein.

5. My soul is but living
 In lonely misgiving,
 The time is but dreary,
 With struggles I'm weary.
 Come, Dovelet, and mate me,
 Come, Angel, rejoicing to sate
 me.

6. Irrleitende lichter,
 Verstellte gesichter
 Mich wollen bethören
 Von warheit abführen
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch *warhaftiges* Eng-
 lein.

6. False beacons misguiding,
 False faces deriding,
 Do often bewray me,
 From true ways betray me.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, the true way im-
 part now.

7. Ruch fühl ich die Hiebe,
 Der fleischlichen Liebe ;
 Wen die mich verwunden
 So bistu verschwunden :
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Kom lieb mich *reinliebendes* Eng-
 lein.

7. I feel all the glowing
 Of lust in me growing ;
 If fails my endeavor
 I lose thee forever.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, clean love in thy
 heart now.

8. Bey alle dem Kummer
 Fall ich doch in Schlummer
 Die Trägheit mich drücket
 Der Schlaff mich berücket ;
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch *ermuntrendes* Eng-
 lein.

8. Oft sorrows encumber
 While lying in slumber,
 My sin is enduring
 And sleep is alluring.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, awaken my heart
 now.

9. Soll ich noch mehr klagen ?
 Von kummernüss sagen ?
 O dass ich dich hette,
 In meinem hertz-bette !
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch *verborgenes* Eng-
 lein.
9. Why am I refraining,
 In sadness complaining ?
 Oh ! could I but hold thee
 And to my heart fold thee.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, and hide in my
 heart now.
10. Du bist ja alleine
 Die lieb die ich meine :
 Dich will ich nur haben
 Du kanst mich recht laben :
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch *hertz-liebenstes*
 Englein.
10. For thee am I lonely,
 For thee I love only,
 And I must possess thee,
 And thou canst caress me.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, with love in thy
 heart now.
11. Ach lass dich beschweren
 Die heissen hertz-zähren !
 Zu kommen, zu eylen
 Nicht länger verweilen !
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch *erwünschtes* Eng-
 lein.
11. Oh, why art thou keeping
 Thy hot tears from weeping ?
 Be coming and staying,
 No longer delaying.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, the wish of my
 heart now.
12. Nun hier wil ich warten
 In deinem Creutz-garten
 Bey der gedult Myrrhen,
 Stets ruffen und girren :
 Wo bleibstu mein Täublein ?
 Kom paar dich, kom lieb mich
 mein Englein.
12. Now here am I waiting,
 The Cross is inviting,
 By Myrrh is my wooing,
 Still calling and cooing.
 My Dovelet, I wait thee,
 My Angel, come love me, come
 mate thee.

SOWER AND BEISSEL

THE QUARREL BETWEEN CHRISTOPHER
SOWER, THE GERMANTOWN PRINTER,
AND CONRAD BEISSEL, FOUNDER AND
VORSTEHER OF THE CLOISTER AT
EPHRATA.

[Written for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,
April, 1888.]

THE personal controversy between these two remarkable men, which became bitter and caused, as we are told, "a great uproar through the land," certainly had a curious origin. Perhaps in no locality other than provincial Pennsylvania did ever so much commotion come about through the interpretation of the stanzas of a hymn. The results of the quarrel were as important for the bibliography of Pennsylvania as its origin was curious. It was not long afterward before the Dunker

monks at Ephrata established a printing-press of their own, from which issued a mass of literature interesting and attractive to the antiquarian, the poet, the musician, the theologian, and the historian, culminating in the production of the most immense literary work of colonial America. The hymn, whose interpretation led up to such discussion and to such important consequences thereafter, is numbered 400, and may be found upon page 450 of the "Zionitischer Weyrauch's Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg, &c., Germantown, C. Sauer, 1739," the first book from the press of Sower, and the first book printed in German type in America. This book contains six hundred and ninety-one hymns, some of them collected from other sources, but most of them written at the cloister by Conrad Beissel and other inmates of the institution. All of the information we have had hitherto concerning the controversy is contained in the following extract from the *Chronicon Ephratense*, that invaluable, quaint, and almost inaccessible record of the happenings of the cloister. It says,—

“Now the printing of the beforementioned hymn-book was pushed along, but toward the close

of it an affair happened which caused a great uproar through the land, and which will now be narrated. The printer Sower had become acquainted with the Vorsteher in Germany during an awakening, and regarded him as a God-fearing man, but when his foresight placed him at the head of a great awakening on the Conestoga the good soul began to suspect that he was trying to be a Pope. In addition, Sower was secretly displeased with the Vorsteher because he had taken the former's wife, who had separated from her husband, under his protection, and made her sub-prioress in the Sisters' house. At that time opinions in the land as to the Vorsteher's person were divided. The most and greatest part held him for a great witchmaster, and things which had happened certainly had this appearance. It has already been narrated that the spirit which controlled him at times made him invisible, of which, by the way, this may be told. A justice sent a constable after him with a warrant who took with him an assistant named Martin Groff. As they came to the house they saw him go in with a pitcher of water. They followed after him, and one held the door while the other searched the house from top to bot-

tom, but no Vorsteher could be found. But when they went out and were some distance off they saw him go out.

“But his brethren, who were about him daily and might have seen many such things, were of the other opinion, and thought as the Jews about John whether he was not Christ. Even Brother Prior Onesimus said he was much impressed with such thoughts, all of which was known to the printer. When in printing the hymn-book the hymn was reached beginning, ‘Weil die Wolcken-Seul aufbricht,’ he was convinced that in the 37th verse the Vorsteher intended himself. He called the attention of the proof-reader to the place, but this one asked him whether he believed there was only one Christ. This made him so angry that he wrote a sharp letter to the Vorsteher, pointing out to him his spiritual pride. The Vorsteher, who in things of this sort never was backward, sent a short answer of this import: ‘Answer not a fool according to his folly,’ etc. ‘As vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart.’ Prov. xxv. 20. This letter excited the good man’s ire, and he determined to avenge himself for the

affront. So he gave out a writing against the Vorsteher, in which he mentioned what a remarkable combination of stars ruled over the Vorsteher, and how each planet gave him its influence. From Mars he got his great sternness, from Jupiter his graciousness, Venus caused the women to seek after him, and Mercury taught him comedian tricks. He even found in the name Conradus Beisselus the number of the beast 666. In this way the relations between the printer and the community at Ephrata were for many years broken, and were not again restored until the printer's wife returned to him. From that time on until his death he lived on good terms with the Vorsteher and all of the Solitary (Einsamen), and by many acts of kindness won their lasting regard."

Recently, however, I have come into the possession of a hitherto unseen and unheard-of little publication whose full title is: "Ein Abgenöthigter Bericht: oder, zum offtern begehrte Antwort, denen darnach fragenden dargelegt. In sich haltende: zwey Brieffe und deren Ursach. Dem noch angehänget worden eine Historie von Doctor Schotte und einige Brieffe von demselben zu unseren Zeiten

nothig zu erwegen. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1739.”

It is Sower's own account of the controversy and contains the correspondence between himself and Beissel to which reference is made in the *Chronicon Ephratense*. Throwing light as it does upon the establishment of the earliest German printing-press, upon the publication of the Weyrauch's Hügel, and upon the characters and beliefs of these two conspicuous figures among the German settlers of Pennsylvania, it is an important contribution to our information. I have translated it entire, except the appendix relating to other matters, and have endeavored to render the hymn in English verse, preserving as correctly as possible the spirit and versification of the original. The text alone would hardly seem to justify the criticisms of Sower, but when we view it with a knowledge of the remarkable influence wielded by Beissel over the monks and nuns of Ephrata, and the intense mysticism of the doctrines inculcated there, we are apt to conclude that there was some foundation for the interpretation he put upon it. Even the writer of the *Chron-*

icon himself says, "Since he (Beissel) was a Saviour of his people and their transgressions were loaded upon his back it need not be wondered that he let some of his hard priest-like position appear in this hymn, but it was hidden so reasonably in figures of speech and put in such doubtful shape that no one could know for sure whom he meant."

AN EXTORTED STATEMENT OR AN OFTEN REQUESTED ANSWER LAID BEFORE THOSE ASKING FOR IT. CONTAINING TWO LETTERS AND THEIR CAUSE. TO WHICH IS APPENDED A HISTORY OF DR. SCHOTTE AND SOME LETTERS FROM HIM USEFUL FOR INSTRUCTION IN OUR TIMES. GERMANTOWN. PRINTED BY CHRISTOPH SAUR. 1739.

Preface.

To those who have so often, as well verbally as through letter, desired to know the ground and cause for two writings about a hymn lately printed, I give the following information through the press, in order to avoid much correspondence.

The affair happened in this way: Through the stars which ruled my birth or through nature I received some facility in acquiring the different kinds of handiwork without much trouble. I devoted this skill to the welfare of my neighbor, for the most part because it was my disposition so to do and partly without considering about it. I was finally seized with an earnest desire to dedicate the remaining period of my life to my God and his son Jesus Christ, and with my little strength to honor his service and truly to do it in such a way that my fellow-men should be benefitted by it; but only upon the condition that it should please God and be acceptable to him. God opened a way for this purpose by the aid of one* who was of a like opinion with me in this matter, and I secured a German printing-press. But before it reached me, it was strongly impressed upon my mind that often, in our efforts to do good, the enemy accomplishes his purpose as much as God himself is served. Therefore, I then prayed earnestly to God that he would not suffer it that I unwittingly, much less knowingly, should be such an unholy instrument. Scarcely were my materials on hand, before a hymn-

* Jacob Gass, a Dunker.

book, which had long been desired by many people, consisting of many choice beautiful hymns for the instruction of God-seeking souls, was ready, and I eagerly undertook to print fifteen hundred copies, according to the request of the publisher. And, after I had seen the parts and the register, I should have been pleased if I had printed instead two thousand copies, because I believed they would soon fall into the hands of those who wanted them, and a new edition would be difficult to publish. However, the edition remained as it was at first determined. I took hold of the work with loving earnestness, and gave every effort to have it soon finished. But as one foolish hymn after another came before me, such as I did not think suitable, I sometimes shook my head a little, but always with patience. At this time Peter Miller* came to me and said, "Amateur poets sometimes do such work." When I inquired concerning the author, I found that my conjecture was not incorrect, as his life and walk and the fruits of his belief show. Still it was not my affair. But presently there came a special command that certain hymns, which were by no means the poorest, should

*The Prior at Ephrata, whose cloister name was Brother Jabez.

be left out and certain others should be inserted, that this one which hereafter follows should be the first in the Rubric, and that since already another stood before it, there must be a change made, and it must be commenced with a larger letter, and the former initial be taken away, as if it were something important. It was left like all the others of its kind, in its place. But as so many have asked for the reasons and so many false reports have been scattered far and wide among which shrewdness itself could not detect the right color, I have determined to publish untouched and unchanged first the hymn itself; and secondly my letter, but only in order that the little calf may be seen away from the really spiritual and worthy hymns and that the wrong may be seen, and then the answer which I thereupon received from Conrad Beissel without his signature, and finally some thoughts concerning it for the information of the reader.

CHRISTOPH SAUR.

GERMANTOWN, Sep. 24, 1739

THE HYMN.

Weil die Wolcken-Seul aufbricht,
Die Gott Israel zum licht
Vorgestellet, drauf zu sehn
Wenn sie sollen weiter gehn.

Darum legt die Hütten ein
Und gebt acht auf ihren Schein,
Zu verfolgen unsre Reiss
Auf des höchsten Geheiss.

Es ist Zeit wir wollen gehn,
Und nicht länger stille stehn,
Weil die Seule geht voran
Und uns leuchtet auf der Bahn,

Wer nun würde stille stehn
Weil die Wolcke fort thut gehn,
Würd sich scheiden von dem Band
Und von Gott verheissnem Land.

Nun wir Mara sind vorbey,
In der grossen Wüsteney,
Wird mit vieler Segens-Lust
Nun erfüllet Hertz und Brust.

Doch, wenn wir nicht halten Wacht
Auf die Seule in der Nacht,
Die im Feuer leuchtet für
Den Weg, so verlieren wir.

Doch weil es nun ist an dem,
Dass wir wieder angenehm
Unserm Gott, zu seinem Preiss,
Kommen wir auff sein Geheiss.

Und erwarten seinen Rath,
Wie er es beschlossen hat,
Und auf weitem Unterricht,
Wie und wozu wir verpflicht.

While the cloud-like pillar gleams,
Which through God for Israel beams
So that all may easily know
When the time arrives to go,

Leave your camp now out of sight,
Fix your eyes upon the light,
Follow in your journey's course
Promptings from the highest source.

It is time for us to go,
Be no longer still and slow,
While the pillar goes before,
Lights the path we travel o'er,

He who longer still would stand,
Follows not the pillar brand,
Severs him from all the host—
Promised land to him is lost.

Now we hard on Mara press
In the lonely wilderness,
Every heart and each man's breast
Fill with hope that he is blest.

If we keep not careful watch,
Fail the pillar's gleam to catch,
Throwing light upon the way
Surely then we go astray.

If we now our God would please,
If we would our joys increase,
His commands we will obey
Honor him in every way.

In the order of our quests
Follow only his behests,
Follow whatsoe'er befalls
Where the voice of duty calls.

Soll es wähen noch viel Jahr,
 Dass wir durch so viel Gefahr
 Müssen wallen in dem Stand
 Auf dem Weg zum Vatterland,

So woll jedes bleiben treu
 In der langen Wüsteney
 Dencken, dass nicht Gottes schuld
 Sondern vielmehr seine Huld.

Die uns durch so lange Jahr
 Selbst will machen offenbahr
 Was in unserm Hertzen ist,
 Und wie bald man sein vergisst.

Wann es geht nach unserm Sinn,
 Meynen wir es sey Gewinn,
 Und vergessen Gottes Eyd,
 Und die grosse Seligkeit.

Darum schenckt Gott anders ein,
 Als wir es vermuthen seyn,
 Speisst uns erst mit Bitterkeit,
 Eh er unser Hertz erfreut.

Darum sammle dich aufs Neu,
 Israel, und sey getreu,
 Folge seiner Zeugen Licht,
 Das er in dir auffgericht.

Sieh jenes Israel an,
 Die gereisst nach Canaan,
 Wie sie Gott so lang versucht
 Unter seiner scharffen Zucht.

Vierzig Jahr sie musten gehn
 In so viel Versuchungs Weh'n,
 Oft ohn Wasser, oft ohn Brod,
 Bald geschlagen seyn von Gott.

Should it be for many years
 That we still must suffer fears,
 Must we wander whence we stand
 On our way to Fatherland,

Be ye steadfast in the stress
 Of the weary wilderness,
 Blame not God for what ye find—
 Rather think that he is kind.

What we bear for many a year
 He will make entirely clear,
 What is deepest in our heart
 And how soon we all depart.

When we have our wish secure
 Then we feel too safe and sure,
 Love of God we soon forget,
 Happiness we have not yet.

But 'tis not as we suppose,
 God does otherwise dispose,
 Sends us first some bitterness
 Ere a joy our heart does bless.

Gather then yourself anew,
 Israel, and be ever true,
 Seek the witness of his light
 That within will guide you right.

Look upon that Isra-el
 Which to Canaan journeyed well
 How so long the Lord did urge
 With his very sharpest scourge.

Forty years they went along,
 Felt the weight of biting thong,
 Wanting water, wanting bread,
 Driven by their God so dread,

Bis die alle fielen hin,
Und verdurben in dem Sinn
Der Gedanken, nach dem Bild
Womit ihre Lust erfüllt.

Da sie nach so vielerley
Lüsternd wurden ohne Scheu
Sich zu weiden ohne Noth
Wurden sie gestrafft von Gott.

Dass der grossen Sünden-Macht
Ihn zum Eyffer hat gebracht,
Und er sie umkommen lies
Durch der feurigen Schlangen-Biss.

Alles dieses ist geschehn
Ein exempel, dran zu sehn
Dem nachkom'nden Israel,
So betreten diese Stell.

Auf uns ziele dieser Rath,
Den man dort gesehen hat,
Da inzwischen Gottes Treu
In der grossen Wüsteney.

Sich erwiesen in dem Bund,
Machte sein Erbarmung kund,
Thät sie heilen von dem Biss
Da er sie ansehen liess.

Ein erhöhtes Schlängelein,
Der so treue Diener sein
Hat empfangen den Befehl,
Und gebracht auf ihre Stell.

Sieh, oh wehrtes Israel !
Der du bist an jenes Stell
Aufgekommen, dencke dran
Was dich dieses lehren kan.

Till at last they all succumb,
Sense and spirit overcome,
And in images they trust,
Filled are they with sordid lust.

Since they were so filled with lust,
Shamelessly so placed their trust,
Fed themselves without a need,
God did punish them indeed.

For his anger did begin
At the grossness of their sin,
And he let the serpent's fire
Gather round them in his ire.

This which happened long ago
Is a warning for us now,
An example that we may
Show the Israel of to-day.

And this counsel does disclose
What each mortal surely knows,
That God's loving tenderness
Through the weary wilderness,

In his promise did appear,
And was made entirely clear,
When he healed the serpent's bite,
When he raised within their sight,

Brazen serpent on a pole,
Faithful servant of the soul,
A partaker of his grace
Who has brought them to the place.

See ! oh, Israel ! good and true,
What there is to say to you—
You who, too, that place would reach
Think of what it you can teach.

Und wie du auf deiner Reiss
Bissher auf so manche Weiss
Dich verschuldet im Gericht
Wider deines Bundes-Pflicht.

Und durch deine Ungedult
Dich vergriffen mit viel Schuld,
Da du dich sehr hart gestellt
Wider den, so Gott erwählt.

Und mit Höhnen ihn verspott
Gleich der bösen Sünder-Rott,
Die nicht achten Gottes Ehr,
Und nicht folgen seiner Lehr.

Der vor dich getragen Leid
In so vielem harten Streit,
Must von dir verachtet seyn
Unter so viel Trug und Schein.

Der doch träget deine Last,
Und dabey hat wenig Rast,
Und vertritt dich im Gericht
Wenn des Herren Zorn anbricht.

Der dir so viel Guts gethan
Auf dem Weg nach Canaan,
Und mit Gottes Lehr und Rath
Dich sehr oft erquicket hat.

Der dich aus der finstern Nacht
Hat zu Gottes Licht gebracht,
Von Egyptens Dienstbarkeit
Und Pharaons Macht befreyt.

Dass dir drauf ist worden kund
Der so treue Gnaden-Bund,
Durch die Tauffe in dem Meer,
Da ersauft Pharonis Heer.

How you often on the way
Have been sought and found astray,
On your duties how you slept,
How your pledges were not kept.

How impatient you have been,
How you were inclined to sin,
Hard the pains might God inflict
Had he chosen to be strict.

How with scorn you him abused,
Like vile sinners him refused
Who his honor never prized
And his teachings have despised.

Him who often suffered sore—
Many a pang for you he bore,
Who for you must be bewrayed,
Oft by mean deceit betrayed.

Who with burdens still is pressed
From your loads has little rest,
Pleads your cause in many ways,
And the wrath of God allays.

Who has done you good a store
On the way to Canaan's shore,
Kindled life within your soul,
Brought you under God's control.

Who has oft in darkest night
Pointed you to heaven's light,
From the might of Pharaoh saved,
When in Egypt you have slaved.

That for you it might be shown,
Covenant of grace be known
Through baptism on that coast
Where old Pharaoh's hosts were lost.

Wurde dorten jederman
Heil, der nur thät schauen an
Die erhöhte ehrne Schlang,
Was solt dir denn machen bang.

Weil des Menschen Sohn erhöht
Und zu deinem Heil da steht,
Wer ihn ansieht ohn Verdries,
Wird geheilt vom Schlangen-Biss.

Der sehr viele hat verwundt,
Dass sie so viel Jahr und Stund
Noch nicht bracht die wahre Frucht,
Die doch Gott all Tage sucht.

Dieses hat dir zugedacht
Der zum öfftern sonst veracht,
Der dich liebet und vertritt,
Und bey Gott um Gnade bitt.

Sehet, Sehet, Sehet an !
Sehet, sehet an den Mann !
Der von Gott erhöhtet ist
Der ist unser Herr und Christ.

Der Sagts uns beständig für :
Kommet her und folget mir,
Ich bin euer bestes Theil
Wodurch ihr könt werden heil

Er ist die erhöhte Schlang
Bey dem rauhen Weg und Gang,
Durch die wird gezeigt an,
Wodurch man genesen kan.

Wann wir dann genesen seyn,
Wird das Lager wieder rein,
Und des Herren Gegenwart
Kan uns leiten auf der Fahrt.

Since each man is safe and sure,
Should he look with eye secure
On the snake raised up to view,
Why should fear then weaken you?

'Tis the Son of Man you see,
For your safety raised is he,
Who then looks without despite
Curèd is from serpent's bite—

Bite that has so much alarmed,
Has so many hurt and harmed,
That though seeking night and day
They have failed to find the way.

This has he for you devised
Whom you often have despised,
Who yet loves and intercedes,
And with God for mercy pleads.

Look and look and look intent,
See the man who here is meant.
He is raised by God the high'st
He's indeed our Lord and Christ.

He is saying constantly :
Come you here and follow me.
I am your most helpful friend,
I can save you in the end.

He is the uplifted snake
By the way which we must take
Through which we may surely know
How that we may better grow.

When completed is the cure,
Will the camp be clean and pure,
And the presence of the Lord
On the way will help afford.

Und der Wolcken-Seulen Gang
Machen einen rechten Klang,
Dass es schalle und erhön,
Und ausruffe, fort zu gehen.

Diese Bahn ist uns gezeigt
Von Gott, der sich zu uns neigt,
Richtet auf sein Hütt und Stadt
Unter uns aus lauter Gnad

Sind wir denn mit Gott versehn,
So wird unser Thun bestehn,
Und wir werden mit der Zeit
Gehen ein zur Seligkeit.

Darum freue dich aufs Neu,
Israel, und sey getreu,
Bleibest du auf dieser Bahn
So erreichst du Canaan.

Then the cloud-like pillar starts,
Rings resounding and departs,
Calls aloud that we may know
It is time for us to go.

'Tis the banner God has set,
He's inclined toward us yet,
Raises o'er his holy place
From the fulness of his grace.

We shall have the Lord's support,
All our work will be in sort,
And as time grows less and less
Go we on to happiness.

Israel ! then rejoice anew,
Steadfast be and good and true,
To this banner hold you fast
Canaan you will reach at last.

The objections which I had to this hymn were as follows: The pillars of fire and clouds are the martial and mercurial spirit. Nearly all the words of the first four verses of the hymn say as much. Then his command to depend upon him and do nothing except what he says especially in the 14th and 23rd verses. In the 25th he complains that he is despised by his brethren as well as by the sinners, and that he had already brought them to God's light, as is to be seen in the 31st verse. In the 33rd and 34th, he makes the assertion, that if one should look

upon him without despite he would already be free from the bite of the snake. In the 36th, he says, he who has made this little hymn, ought never to be despised. In the 37th, 38th, and 39th verses, Mercury springs to the front, and jumps upon the throne and cries, "Sehet, sehet," etc. And this stuff people are to sing! Surely one's hair ought to stand upon end at such blasphemy if he were not stricken blind or mad.

Now follows my letter to Conrad Beissel:

I have until within the last few days been in hopes that the work which I did, and caused to be done, upon the hymn-book would redound to the honor of God, to whom I am under the greatest obligations for all that he has done for me and all creatures, and will still do through time and eternity, and I remain bound to Him even though I should see no good day more. It is his way that when we dismiss all which is not from Him He fills us with that which more concerns Him. The result is that we love all that is from Him, and have a hatred and horror for all that does not please Him. In the be-

ginning much remains concealed, while we are in the shoes of children as the saying is, which in the years of youth and manhood become as clear as day. I have therefore with patience overlooked some hymns, which I had rather sacrificed to Vulcan by throwing them into the fire. I thought something might be given to the first alphabet scholars as it were according to their ability and which they could grasp and that it would not be wise to break down the first rounds of the ladder. I have willingly let go what the amateur poets through vanity and sentiment have brought together, especially since Brother Peter Miller said to me: "The worst soldiers are always put in the front rank." Taking this view of it I had nothing more to say. Afterward so much of wood, straw, stubble, and trash came that it went pretty hard with me. It was very deeply impressed upon me that each work should be a birth to appear in eternity, not in the lightness of the mercurial pictures drawn by men, but to stand in the clean way. However I remained in hope that something better would come in the future. A still greater misery befell me, to wit: In the beginning of the 16th Rubric or division there was placed a silly hymn

which, on first reading through it, I considered to be among the stupid, amateur poetry and I wished that something better could be put in its place. In the 29th verse it runs:

“Der doch träget deine Last
Und dabei hat wenig Rast.”

There I stopped and read the remainder over again, but while I was away attending to some other business, it was printed. I was not at ease about it. I regarded it as among those great errors of which to-day the world is full and wished that it might still remain among those rejected. I thought if it should come, either here or in Germany or any where else, before the eyes of an enlightened spirit who has found and delights in God and his Saviour as the true rest, he might be deceived by such miserable stuff after such a magnificently brilliant title-page and I should be ashamed because of my negligence. I might perhaps be able to find excuses that would answer before men, but in my breast would burn a fire that would be quenched by no excuses. I thereupon asked Brother Samuel* whether he did not think

*Samuel Eckerlin, whose cloister name was Brother Jephune and who later was driven from the Community.

that a great mistake had here occurred in writing, since unskillful poets are often compelled for the sake of their rhyme to use words which destroy the sense. He said to me, "No, I should let it stand just as it is." I consented to it then because it suddenly occurred to me, that in the pine forests the industrious ants gather together straw, wood, earth, shells, and resin from the pines which they carry underneath into the hill and that this is called "Weihrauch." This pacified me to some extent because it accorded with the title. Still I could not reconcile the word "Zionitisch" with it, because upon Mount Zion no such collection can be found as I have described. There God is praised in silence. There are there only two hymns. The one is the song of Moses, running, briefly, like this: "Lord, thou and no other hast delivered us from all our enemies and dost protect us and lead us through outer danger." Exodus, 15th. There is no fighting or quarreling more, no time, no change of day and night. It therefore occurred to me that you must have a wonderful idea of Zion since you fix its nature but know nothing of and have not experienced real and actual death. The second song

is short. It is the song of the Lamb which is strangled. It runs thus: "All is fulfilled. There is nothing more to do. Now praise we our God in silence."

But you said in the meeting when I was there that every verse was suitable for Mount Zion. That is easily said if a man has a well smoothed tongue. You will find out otherwise however. Meanwhile I regretted my lost time over the book and that my hope which had something honorable for its object should have so entirely failed. I spoke with Brother Samuel once more about it in what way it was to be understood. He answered me that I should not blame them for being Catholic, which I from my heart wished to be true since in the Community of Christ there are no others. For instance we believe in the mediation of holy ones and truly of those who are afterward in life. This caused me no scruple because it is my daily exercise notwithstanding I am still not holy. What then will the holy do. But when he asked me whether I believed only in one Christ I would have been shocked into a cold fever if true quiet had not prevented. I then read the whole hymn over again once

more and saw the man who was intended and it gave me great sorrow. But I remembered how far the human race depart from God and that man is inclined to idolatry and easily moved to make images and to honor himself while the tendency to depart from the true way (found only in the ground of the spirit and by the abandonment of all creature things) is born in him. He is therefore easily led to act with sects, parties, and like divisions, and one believes and receives from another that which is pleasant without real experience of what will be the outcome. It may be therefore that it ought not to be taken amiss in the writer of the hymn, since as the eyes are so do they see. Still I have no real peace about this affair. I determined then to write to you and to ask you whether you had not seen or read this piece or had not considered what a dreadful production it is; to say that without serious difficulty it can be still taken out and in its place something to the honor of God, or for the good of weak souls, can be put in where the two pages are cut out which I will do at my own expense; and to ask you whether on the other hand it was done according to your wish and inclination. If so, I would remind you

that the good Moses could not go into Canaan because he honored not the Lord when he said "must we fetch you water." See what an afflicted burden-bearer and once true knight Moses was and where is such a Moses? Herod may well have made such an unusually good address to the people that it caused them to say, "That is the voice of God and not of man." The angel struck not the unwitting people because they were inclined to idolatry but him who accepted the Godly honor. Already you suffer yourself to be called "Father."* Oh, would there were a single one who comprehended Christ and respected and carried out the commands of him who absolutely forbid that you should let any one call you master and should call any man "Father" upon this earth! The misery is already great enough, as you yourself said to me significantly. You are the greatest God in the community. When you sat still everything fell back. You had once for sometime given up the meeting and every thing fell away. Your dearest brethren hastened to the world. Even Brother N. had made a wagon in which to ride to the city. There were other instances which you

*His cloister name was "Vater Friedsam."

told me. And did you not the other day in the meeting significantly and at great length speak of this idolatry and how they went whoring after you as is indeed the case. And now will they with full throats call and sing:

“Sehet, sehet, sehet an!
Sehet, sehet an den mann!
Der von Gott erhöht ist
Der ist unser Herr und Christ.”

If Brother Samuel had not said to me concerning it that the hymn had a *double* meaning and one might take it as he chose, I should have considered the last as referring to Christ and looked upon the “God without rest” as a compulsion of the verse. Are there not already molten calves enough? Is not the door to Babel great enough that they should build another little door through which they can call loudly, “See here is Christ” in order to entice souls to themselves? Do not misunderstand me. I value highly the favor of returning to you. But I fear God will play his own part in it and leave the beautiful vessel empty lest otherwise upright souls might suffer an injury which certainly would

cause no single child of God pleasure. Much more were it to be wished from the innermost heart that all the might of the stars were entirely lost and that Christ were indeed the ruler in you and the whole community. This would give me great joy to look upon through my whole life long. There is nothing more to say except that, with the permission of Brother Michael,* I should like, if I might, to take out this one hymn and put another in its place because it concerns the honor of God. It is easy to see that I have no earthly concern in it and that the influence of no man's interest has anything to do with it. There are still as many as a hundred hymns with which you can feed the senses that they die not. I am sure that a thousand pounds would not persuade me to print such a one for the reason that it leads the easy way to idolatry. If it were my paper it would have been already burned. But my suggestion was met by the brethren only with scornful and mocking words and at last they said, "Now we will pack up the paper." I thought "they have still better right to it than the Hussars." With such disposition of the matter for my own part I can

*Michael Wohlfahrt, who in the cloister was Brother Agonius.

be at peace. God will find a way to protect His honor. As to the rest I love thee still.

CHRISTOPH SAUR.

Thereupon I received the following letter instead of an answer.

In some respects the subject is entirely too bad for me to have anything to do with thee about it since it has been written: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him."

"Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit." This is the reason that I have been moved and thou 'needst not think that thou hast made a point. But that I should be like unto thee from having to do with thee will not happen since we already before made the mistake of having too much to do with thee. Thou wast not fit for our community. Therein also was fulfilled what has been written: "As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart."

If thou hadst not always acted in this way it might perhaps have been thought that there was

some reason for it, but since thy whole heart is always ready to blame what is above thy conceited Sophist—heaven, it is no wonder to me that thou comst now puffed up with such foolish and desperate conceits: through which thou layest thyself so bare that any one who has only ordinary eyes can see that thou art indeed a miserable Sophist. If thou hadst only learned natural morality thou wouldst not have been so puffed up. A wise man does not strive to master or to describe a cause of which he has neither comprehension nor experience but it is otherwise with a fool. Thou ought first to go to school and learn the lowly and despised way of the Cross of Jesus before thou imaginest thyself to be a master. Enough for thee. This may inform thee that henceforth I will have nothing to do with thy two-sided double-hearted odious and half hypocritical pretensions of Godliness, since thy heart is not clean before God otherwise thou wouldst walk upright in the way and go not the crooked way thou dost.

One almost springs aloft when he sees how shamefully the name of God is misused.

The world sings its little song and dances straight and without hesitation to hell and covers it

over with the name of God so that the deception and wickedness may not be seen. Believe me, thy way is sure to come before God, thy juggling tricks and spiritual sleight of hand which thou, from the natural stars and not in the true fear of God, hast learned will come to judgment: and I say to thee as the word of truth that if thou dost not make atonement and change thy heart thou mayest expect a wrathful and terrible God, since the Lord is hostile to all that is double-faced and false. Indeed the paths which lead out from thee run through one another so wonderfully that the wonder is that God does not punish at once as he did the rebellious pack, Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

Thou hast also in thy letter to me said that a fire burned in thy breast over this or that. It would be a good thing if that fire, if there is one, should consume thee until there should nothing remain but a soft and sweet spring of water in which thy heart might be mollified to true repentance. Then indeed couldst thou for the first time learn to know rightly what is from God and what from nature, what from God and what from the stars in the heavens.

When I know of a man that he does not bend before God but still walks in his own highway, I accept absolutely no judgment as in Godly affairs, but say to him freely that he wash and clean himself before I can have anything to do with him.

As concerning those other things in which one man has to do with another it has also come to an end. Further and lastly it is my determination to remain as I have said above. I am so tired of the untruth of men that if I were not under the greatest necessity, if God did not plainly intend and it were not His will that I must be needed for the cause of conscience, I would rather be dismissed into the still everlasting. On that account I would have prayed that I might henceforth be spared from such defamation, but should it give pleasure to load me with more of it I shall bear myself as one who knows not that there are such things in the world. I will at the last be separated from all and will no further participate either pro or con. Still will I in some measure continue my writing and do it again if circumstances require it.

What I have still further to say is this: that henceforth all right over my person shall be taken

entirely out of thy hands, since thou for many years hast gone to work so wonderfully about it as if thou hadst bought it for a sum of money in order to do with it according to thy pleasure. Thou must not think that one is blind and foolish and dost not see what thou hast in mind. It does not even please me that I could write German to thee since thy envy and falsehood are so great that it is not easy to measure them. Therefore I consider thee entirely unfit to be a judge in Godly affairs, and for this reason I have little or nothing to answer to thy letter. Thou hast no experience in the way of God, for thou all the time walkest thine own way.

*Comment.**

We have here now heard a voice, whether it came from Zion or Mount Sinai may those judge who know the difference. I am inclined to make a comment upon each word but every one may make his own as he chooses. I wish him only the soft and sweet spring of water which he needs instead of the fiery zeal of Sinai. Otherwise when he goes forth soon will he make fire fall from heaven, which we already hear crackle in his letter, and do signs

* By Sower.

and wonders. If I had thought he would take the trouble to describe my propensities and his I would have sent him a great register of the old Adam in me which I could describe much better than he. Since I for a long time have besought God to enable me thoroughly to discern their enormity and since I had found so much to do with myself I am ready to say the simple truth so that no man need be disturbed about me. And this is the reason for my long silence, and also for my thinking seldom of his person, not that it is too bad for me but because it can neither aid nor hinder me. If I were in such a position as he is, to give my nature possession I should need only the princes and powerful who still to a considerable degree have rule over the conceited Sophist-heaven, since they desire much to rule upon earth and to fasten their throne there. I could also have given him certain information that I have been beloved by many spiritual persons who truly were more beautiful and purer than those whom he holds above Christ. God had also so willed it that I for the same time cannot otherwise believe than that all is good to which the same spirit impelled me. I blame not the spirit which impelled him. He is

God's creature. I only say: he is not clean and is still far from the spirit of Christ. I rejoice that he praises God the Lord as all good spirits do, and in that respect I love him. I hate only the untruth which he brings to light and wishes to lay in the hearts of men. Therefore is he a blending of good and evil. And when he (as that one which through a maid had his pleasure in telling only the truth) pointed out the Apostles to men, and sought to further their happiness (Acts ch. xv. v. 17), I should leave him in the place for which he is good and as for myself rather hunger until death for the completeness of my Jesus. In that I make myself entirely clear. In like manner I make a distinction between Conrad Beissel as he stands in his still well proportioned attributes derived from the old-birth or birth of the stars.

♃ ♀ ♂ ☉ ♀ ♃ ☽

When one approaches him he shows first the complaisance of Jove; when one bends, rises, and heeds well he finds his sweetness and lovingness from Venus, his solar understanding and mercurial readiness. If one fails a little he shows the gravity and earnestness of Saturn. If one attacks only a

little his spiritual pride he shows the severity of Mars with thunder and lightning, popely ban, the sword of vengeance and fiery magic. What can induce a weak soul in sorrow and need to come and lay itself humbly at his feet when the unclean spirit, which takes pleasure in the fact, triumphs in this way. Therefore would I counsel no one upon whom he has laid his hands or who has been baptized by him or by another Father since all those who have given up the world and the gross fleshly life are prepared to be the habitations of a spirit, and through their own freed spirit and its suggestions and the help of other spirits they have the power to torture a deserter and to put him in pain of body and soul and also those who have little strength and do not depend with their whole hearts upon the true living God, but rely particularly upon their own virtues. Conrad has subjected me to this proof. He has intruded upon my ethereal past, which has taught me how it goes with others, and how I have need of the support of my Saviour and to press into the centre of love or heart of Jesus where this aqua fortis cannot reach. Therefore as I have said I would counsel no one without higher strength to oppose

this Spirit. It is very powerful. And yet they are not bound by this strong magic, they have a free will. God has for many years shown me how many good and beautiful spirits there are which still are not clean. Already in the time of the Apostles there were many spirits which had gone beyond their limits in this our world. I therefore do not believe all that every one tells me, even when they speak through a spirit and speak only what the spirit says. The moon goes through many phases and this is also his nature. It has happened because of his beautiful and well proportioned nature that he would like to be something great. He looked upon the dumb creatures in their deformity and wanted to bring them to the right. For this purpose he took the means, method and way which pleased him. So that now all must dance according to his will and do what through the power of his magic he compels. But I also want to say that I by no means overlook what he has in him which is good, and I freely recognize that he has much that a true Christian cannot be without, and this many innocent people see and they are drawn to him by it. But for myself I can never be attached to him

for the reason that I know that his teaching hitherto has been a compound of Moses, Christ, Gichtel and Conrad Beissel. And no one of them complete. The spirit of Moses stood up boldly and prayed for the people who had disobeyed him and done wrong. Should his people oppose him how soon would Mercury spread his wings. Christ was of an entirely different disposition. He knew his betrayer long before, and when the latter came to take his life he was such a gentle lamb that he said, "Friend! wherefore art thou come?" He received his kiss. He cured the ear of Malchus. Our dear Conrad is very far from anything of that kind. In many points he is very close to Gichtel and still closer to the little beast, described in Revelations 13 ch. 11 v. which represents his peculiarity in spiritual things. His figure is such that if one beseeches him he has the horns of a lamb, but if one touches his temper only a little he speaks like a dragon and is indeed not to be regarded as the first great beast whose number is 666. He is not indeed so beast-like but is also not clean Godly, but is humanly peculiar and no other than CVnraDV_s BeIseLV_s. DCLVVVI. 666.

If he had not for the future entirely taken out of my hands all right to his very holy person I could and would have opened up to him the inner ground of his heart a little between me and him alone but I must now be entirely silent for I am bound hand and foot. It seems to me that during the two weeks which he took to write to me he did not once remember him who suffered an entirely different opposition from sinners, who although he was in the Godly image held it not for a wrong to be like God but lowered himself and became as a man. But this one must be regarded as a God and therefore the little calf should and must remain upon its place. When my Saviour had done a notable deed he desired that it should be unknown. See to it that no man learn of it. But to this God, we must sing his folly. If I had had ten hymns in the book and had been requested I would have taken them out, but Conrad is not accustomed to having his will broken. I could have overlooked it in silence out of natural modesty and as a printer but it concerned the love of God that I should not be silent. The spiritual harlotry and idolatry would have been increased

and confirmed by my support. I would rather die of hunger than earn my bread in such a way. It would go worse with me than with the primate in Poland who proclaimed a king upon the throne and could not keep him there. I have, without baptizing myself and letting myself be baptized four times (like him) placed myself under the standard of my Saviour and loved him and still have not had the freedom to ask of him that he make an officer of me, but I gave myself to him as he best knows as poor clay to be formed in his hand as by a potter, or to be thrown into a corner as clay which is worthless. He has nevertheless appointed me as the least beneath his standard as a sentry to watch my post, a watchword has been given me which reads "Love and humility." When I then upon the dark nights call out "who goes there" and this parole is not answered me I know that it is no good friend and no man of ours. I must then fire my piece so that each upon his post may be warned. But since the Commander is not far away he will himself have a care. To him only the honor. For me willingly the shame.

THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

[Address delivered on Memorial Day, May 30, 1898, before Colonel Frederick Taylor Post, No. 19, G. A. R.]

THE war of the rebellion was the outcome of conditions which had existed for so long a time, the events connected with it were so varied and complicated, its requirements of sacrifice both of life and substance were so tremendous, and its consequences were so limitless, that upon an occasion of this character no more can be expected than the expression of a few desultory thoughts upon a subject of such vast proportions. Should we be able to add anything in the way of information or suggestion to its literature, no matter how unimportant the contribution, we may well be content.

No more definite and correct forecast of a future event is chronicled in the history of any nation than a prophecy concerning the coming of Mr. Lincoln, to which I am about to call your attention.

Thomas Buchanan Read—a poet with a rare gift of song, whom the English critics compared to Gray, and whose “Wagoner of the Alleghanies” should be read in every American household—born along the Brandywine, in the county of Chester, in this state, wrote a “New Pastoral,” which was published in Philadelphia in 1855, but whose scene was laid in the early part of the century. In describing the wanderings of a Quaker family from Pennsylvania to the prairies of Illinois, he says:

“and northern lakes
Shall bear their produce, and return them wealth;
And Mississippi, father of the floods,
Perform their errands to the Mexic Gulf,
And send them back the tropic bales and fruits.
Then shall the generations musing here,
Dream of the troublous days before their time;
And antiquaries point the very spot
Where rose the first rude cabin, and the space
Where stood the forest-chapel with its graves,
And where the earliest marriage rites were said.
Here, in the middle of the nation’s arms,
Perchance the mightiest inland mart shall spring.
Here the great statesman from the ranks of toil
May rise, with judgment clear, as strong as wise;
And, with a well-directed patriot-blow,
Reclinch the rivets in our union-bands,
Which tinkering knaves have striven to set ajar!”

The underlying cause of the war was the determination of those whose commercial and political importance was based upon the ownership of labor to maintain and extend the institution of human slavery. I am well aware that under the softening influence of time and the restoration of kindly feeling there is a growing disposition to regard the struggle as involving solely the interpretation of the constitution and the settlement of the question of the sovereignty of the states. But experience teaches that while in every lawsuit the contestants are apparently striving for the determination of legal principles, the inspiring motives lie deeper and seek results more concrete and substantial. If our purpose be really to ascertain the truth we will turn away from the mere comment of a later day and look at the records of the time, and the conduct of the parties while in action, and see what this examination discloses. In 1862, the second year of the war, there was published at Atlanta, Georgia, "A System of Modern Geography," "For the use of Schools and Academies in the Confederate States of America." And the children were taught about the United States that "this number was reduced to

twenty States in 1861 by the secession of fourteen of the Southern States which formed a new government under the title of the Confederate States of America, upon a permanent basis the corner-stone of which is African Slavery;" and that "under the influence of slavery, which is the corner-stone of her governmental fabric, the Confederate States has just commenced a career of greatness." The Confederate States met in congress at Montgomery, Ala., and adopted a constitution on the 11th of March, 1861, which was at that time there printed. If the question uppermost in their minds had been the preservation of state sovereignty and the right of secession, when occasion demanded its exercise, a provision to this effect would have certainly appeared in definite and comprehensive phrase. This state paper contains no language which will bear such interpretation. Six of its one hundred and four clauses relate to slavery and the extension of that institution into new territory, and clause 4 of section 9 provides that "No bill of attainder, ex-post facto law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves, shall be passed." In other words, it was made a part of the fundamental law that even

if the people of the confederacy should wish in the future to modify the institution they should be without power to accomplish such a purpose.

Desperate as were the struggles of the war, and grim as were its features, it had its phases of humor. "Personne," who was the army correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, published at Columbia, S. C., in 1864, a book of war anecdotes, called "Marginalia," which well illustrate the spirit of the time upon the side to which he belonged. In it he tells in all soberness this marvelous story: "Sergeant Gray, of Captain Wood's company of Scott's Thirty-seventh Virginia regiment, captured in one of Jackson's recent battles a Yankee captain, lieutenant and eleven privates. He overhauled them and commanded a halt, when the captain ordered his men to fire. They did so without inflicting serious injury upon Gray, who rushed upon the captain, took his sword from him, and told him if he did not command his men to surrender he would kill him instantly. The gallant captain succumbed, when each private marched singly up to Gray and laid his arms at the conqueror's feet. After he had secured all he shouldered the eleven muskets and marched the

thirteen Yanks into camp. This is what one resolute man did." Those of you who remember that you had enough to do to carry with ease one musket, and that you regarded the second, which some comrade may have handed you temporarily, as a grievous burden, can well sympathize with the difficulties of this poor sergeant, wounded, though not seriously, in his efforts, with eleven muskets upon his sturdy shoulder, to corral thirteen Yankees and drive them into camp.

The war presents to us many and remarkable incongruities. There was one congressman, who, when his state had attempted to secede, refused to be controlled by the action of his people; who alone after all of his colleagues and the other members from the seceded states had departed, remained in the performance of his duties until the end of his term, participating in every military measure of the early part of the struggle. Does his name fill a niche in our history, and are our children taught to revere this solitary and remarkable instance of steadfastness, character and love of country? He died an outcast, driven from the home to which he was never permitted to return, and his memory has perished from the recollections of men. At this re-

mote time, and in this distant city, let me offer my tribute to the manhood of John Edward Bouligny, of the state of Louisiana.

There was one locality in the very heart of the south, covering a large part of a state, whose people continued true to the cause of the nation throughout the whole of the long and dreary years of the war. Though they were shot in their homes, hanged from trees and bridges, hunted with bloodhounds, with armies of their foes swaying to and fro across their land, their courage never faltered and their strength never failed. What the province of La Vendée was to the throne during the French revolution these people with loyalty unconquerable were to the union during our rebellion. And finally the cause for which they had suffered so much was triumphant. Its success brought to them neither wealth nor power, nor even conspicuous recognition and enduring reputation. In the working out of broad lines of policy, amid the exigencies of reconstruction, they were abandoned to the control and tender mercies of their old antagonists; and the heroism of East Tennessee, without example in our annals, is but a memory fading rapidly into the distance.

It was the only war recorded in history which to the victors was all loss and to the vanquished was all gain. The mighty north, after winning the struggle by the outlay of billions of dollars and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives, inflicted no punishment, imposed no additional burden, and added not one foot to its territory, not one cent to its resources, and nothing to its political advantages. The beaten south, relieved of the indebtedness it had incurred, freed despite its efforts from an incubus which for generations had been sapping its resources and undermining its prosperity, without the payment of indemnity or the curtailment of privilege, with large increase of political power due to the enfranchisement of its citizens, started upon a career of renewed promise and activity.

It has been often observed that Pennsylvania, founded and long controlled by a sect devoted to the principles of peace, has alone of the states vied with Virginia in the production of soldiers of eminence and skill. The war made especially conspicuous, in a military sense, the state wherein, a century before, independence had been declared and the constitution had been framed. At half after four o'clock on the

morning of the twelfth of April, 1861, the rebels opened fire upon Fort Sumter. Before the day had closed came the answer of the north, in resonant tones, from Pennsylvania. In the early morning an act calling the people to arms was introduced into the House of Representatives of this state and passed, sent to the Senate and referred to the finance committee, reported back under a suspension of the rules, made the special order for an evening session and was passed, and signed by the governor. It provided:

“SECTION 4. That for the purpose of organizing, equipping and arming the militia of this state, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, be and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid by the state treasurer out of any money not otherwise appropriated.

“SECTION 5. . . . And should the president of the United States at any time make a requisition for part of the militia of this state for public service, the adjutant-general shall take the most prompt measures for supplying the number of men required and having them marched to the place of rendez-

vous, and shall call them by divisions, brigades, regiments, or single companies, as directed by the Commander-in-chief.”

This first step of the war on the part of the north, quick as a flash, three days earlier than the call of the president for troops, followed by New York on the 15th, and the other states later, fixing the attitude of the loyal people toward the rebellion, and which, from beginning to end, was urged and directed by a still living member of this post,* is one of those momentous and overpowering events that determine the fate of nations and affect the future of all the inhabitants of the earth. What crossing the Rubicon meant to Cæsar, what the dinner of the Beggars of the Sea was to the Dutch in their eighty years' war with Spain, what Lexington was to our Revolution, this legislative call upon the people of the commonwealth to arms, and tender to the government of military support, was to the war of the rebellion.

In response and obedience, the first troops, consisting of five companies from the towns of Reading, Pottsville, Allentown and Lewistown, reached Wash-

* Alexander K. McClure.

ington on the 18th of April. On the 19th, the Seventh Pennsylvania and the Sixth Massachusetts regiments were attacked in Baltimore, and the first blood was poured out upon the streets of that city where the Star Spangled Banner had been written. Another fateful crisis soon occurred. After the army had been defeated at Bull Run and had fled to Washington, the president and his cabinet sat within the capital awaiting with each moment the approach of the victorious rebels. The direful effect which the threatened capture would have had in leading to complications abroad and depression at home is manifest. The battle was fought upon the 21st of July. Before the 25th seventeen thousand Pennsylvanians, armed, equipped and disciplined, were there to defend the intrenchments. Mr. Lincoln came to the depot to express his personal gratitude for the safety they ensured—and the danger passed.

Pennsylvania furnished two of the five commanders of that magnificent force, the army of the Potomac, upon which, after awarding due credit to other organizations, we must concede the burden of overthrowing the rebellion was cast—McClellan, who gave it form, and Meade, under whom it won

its greatest victory and its final success. Upon her soil were born fourteen army and corps commanders: Meade, McClellan, Hancock, Reynolds, Humphreys, Birney, Gibbon, Park, Naglee, Smith, Cadwalader, Crawford, Heintzelman and Franklin; and forty-eight general officers, including Hartranft, the hero of Fort Steadman, and Geary, who fought above the clouds at Lookout Mountain. Simon Cameron was secretary of war at the beginning of the struggle and Edwin M. Stanton at the close. No other state had an entire division in the army, and all of them were below her in the percentage of those killed in battle. A single Pennsylvania family sent into the war two generals, an adjutant-general, four colonels, a lieutenant-colonel, two surgeons, two assistant surgeons, an adjutant, nine captains, seven lieutenants and one hundred and sixteen sergeants, corporals and privates, including the most youthful of American generals,—in all one hundred and forty-five men, and, so far as has been ascertained, an unequalled contribution to the great struggle.

The decisive battle of the war, among the most fiercely contested combats of all time, requiring the utmost exertion combined with the largest capacity

and the highest technical skill, whose result was of more moment to the future generations of mankind than Cannæ, Agincourt or Waterloo, was fought at a village in Pennsylvania by one of her own sons, famous forever after among the soldiers of America and the world. The opening gun of the contest was fired by Hofmann's Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania regiment, and the battle begun by Reynolds was continued by Hancock the superb and by Humphreys. Gregg upon the right flank won a great and distinctive cavalry battle which saved the line from assault in the rear. And when Pickett led his division from the Emmettsburg road across the low land, in that charge destined to be futile but to be immortal, because never again did the waves of rebellion surge so far, by some strange chance he was turned away from the clump of trees and he hurled his command to destruction against the Philadelphia Brigade at the bloody angle of the stone wall. It so happened in the providence of God that this mighty convulsion of battle, these throes of tremendous forces, in mass and in detail and in all their incidents but tested the courage and character and added to the glory of our native state.

The purpose of those who appealed to arms was to disrupt the ties which held the states together in union. It was a vain hope. The blows that were intended to dissever and break into fragments but welded the mass into closer association. Laws were passed under the pressure of military necessity which had never before been even suggested and became precedents for the future. Powers were exercised which had never before existed and which never again will be called in question. When was it that this country became a nation? It was not, as has sometimes been alleged, at the time of the adoption of the constitution. After the execution of the agreement came the action under it and the interpretation of its terms. Never in the history of human affairs has the mere underwriting of a paper made a government. Governments are the results of germination and growth, of development from conditions, of the working out of consequence from existing cause. It was not in the debates upon the floor of the Senate, when the logic of Webster confronted the fallacy of Hayne, important as were the results of that great effort in teaching the American people the value of the union into which they

had entered. Nor was it in the decisions of that august tribunal, the supreme court of the United States, amid the conflicting opinions of John Marshall and Roger B. Taney. The philosophical historian of the future, carefully analyzing our institutions and reading events from the safe vantage point of distance, secure in the certainty of results attained, will tell the generations yet to be that the American people never became a nation until that skilled and masterful soldier, George G. Meade, wrote with his sword the final interpretation of the constitution of his country upon the crests of Round Top, Kulp's Hill and Cemetery Ridge.

Comrades, my story is told and I have done. Thirty-five years have rolled away upon their course since Lee, broken and dismayed, retreated from the battlefield of Gettysburg, and the American people are again confronted with the perils and trials of war. The fife and the drum once more are heard upon our streets, and the waves of the summer seas are disturbed with the roar of cannon. Great as are the calamities of war, they are not entirely unrelieved, and without compensation. To forget for a time the pursuit of money and the spur of

ambition, to abandon for a space, however brief, the trivialties and amusements of life, while we offer sacrifice to the welfare of the country and the maintenance of a just cause, is to strengthen the national purpose and to chasten the national character. Regret it as we may, the pathway of human progress is stained at every step with the blood of human victims. England exists to-day in the plenitude of her power, and Europe is free from the blight of the dark ages, because the Dutch under William of Orange dared to meet the Spaniard when he ruled the land and the sea. If we are able to remove the clutch of the same weakened but still mailed hand from an abused and oppressed people, lowly though they be, near our own shores, we need not stop to count the lives nor to reckon the cost. And it is a happy and propitious omen that at the very dawn of the contest the breezes from the south bear to our ears the names of another Lee of Virginia, and Brooke of Pennsylvania, who, not forgetting but overlooking and disregarding the dissensions of the past, meet together upon the front line to strike at the same foe in behalf of a common cause and a thoroughly united country.

Much benefit has the unwitting Spaniard conferred upon us, since he has removed the last trace of those resentments which the victories and defeats of the civil war left lingering in the hearts of our people.

GETTYSBURG

[Introducing Mr. Roosevelt, May 30, 1904.]

THE battle of Gettysburg, momentous in its exhibition of military force and skill, tremendous in its destruction of human life, had consequences which in their effect upon the race are limitless. As the seeds of the cockle are sown with the wheat, so in the constitution adopted by the fathers in 1787 lay the germs of an inevitable struggle. Two antagonistic forces grew in vigor and strength, side by side in one household, and like Ormuzd and Ahriman they must strive for the mastery. Upon this field the struggle came to a determination and the issue between them was here decided with cannon and musket. The rebellion was undertaken by the followers of the doctrines of Calhoun and Davis with the purpose to rend the nation asunder and break it into fragments. Alas for the futility of the expectations of men! The Lord who holds the peoples in the hollow of his hand, and who since the dawn of history has taken them up by turns in the search for one fit for

broad dominion, did not forsake us. The extraordinary powers exercised for the maintenance of the national life in that dire time of war became fixed as the principles of the national government. The flame of strife but tested the virtue of the metal. The blows intended to dissever, only welded the sovereignties together more firmly, for future wider effort. The nation as it exists to-day arose when Pickett failed to drive the Philadelphia Brigade from the stone wall on Cemetery Hill. A seer sitting on that dread day upon the crests of Big Round Top could have figured in the clouds of smoke rolling over the Devil's Den and the Bloody Angle the scenes soon to occur in Manila Bay, at Santiago and San Juan Hill, the beaming of a new light at Hawaii and in the far Philippines, the junction of the two mighty oceans and the near disappearance of English control of the commerce of the world.

The presidential office is so great a station among men that those who fill it are not to be regarded as personalities. Their individuality is lost in its immensity. They become the manifestations of certain impulses and stages of development of the national life. Jackson represented its rough,

uncouth and undisciplined strength. Lincoln looms up above all other Americans bearing the burden of woe and suffering which fate laid upon his broad shoulders in its time of stress and trial. Blessed be his memory forevermore! No people can look forward to the fulfillment of such a destiny as events seem to outline for us save one alert and eager with the enthusiasm and vigor of youth. No other president has so stood for that which after all typifies our life—the sweep of the winds over broad prairies, the snow-capped mountains and the rushing rivers, the sequoia trees, the exuberance of youth conscious of red blood, energy and power painting our bow of promise—as does Theodore Roosevelt. He has hunted in our woods, he has enriched our literature, he has ridden in the face of the enemy, he has maintained our ideals. Upon this day, devoted to the memories of the heroic dead,—in Pennsylvania a sad Decoration Day,—the achievements of the prolific past and the promise of the teeming future confront each other. To-day for the first time Theodore Roosevelt treads the field made immortal by the sword of George Gordon Meade and hallowed by the prose dirge of Abraham Lincoln.

26TH PENNSYLVANIA EMERGENCY INFANTRY

[Address delivered September 1, 1892, at the dedication of the monument on the battlefield of Gettysburg.]

ON the morning of the 26th of June, 1863, General Jubal A. Early, with his division of the rebel army, numbering 6,368 men, supported by White's battalion of cavalry and Jones's battalion of artillery, consisting of four batteries with an aggregate of thirteen guns,* started from Greenwood, upon the Chambersburg pike, on the way to Gettysburg.† It was the advance of that great host which two days later began to concentrate upon this historic town. The purpose of the movement plainly appears. Its object was to hold in check the army of the Potomac, then moving northward on the east side of the mountains,

* Jones's Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 493.

† Early's Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 464.

while Lee should continue his operations in the Cumberland valley and be enabled to reach Harrisburg. Lee says in his official report: "In order, however, to retain it (the army of the Potomac) on the east side of the mountains, after it should enter Maryland, and thus leave open our communications with the Potomac through Hagerstown and Williamsport, General Ewell had been instructed to send a division eastward from Chambersburg to cross the South mountain. Early's division was detached for this purpose."*

On the same morning a Pennsylvania infantry regiment, numbering in all 743 men, arrived in Gettysburg and, under the order of Major Granville O. Haller, U. S. A., the representative of Major General D. N. Couch at this place, marched out the Chambersburg pike to confront the approaching host. The men upon whom this duty was imposed, coming from the field, the college, and the home, had been in the service just four days; not long enough to have acquired a knowledge of the drill, hardly long enough to have learned the names of their officers and comrades. It has always seemed to

* Lee's Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 307.

me that the situation had in it much of the heroic. Untrained, untried, and unused to war, they were sent to meet an overwhelming and disciplined force, not in some Grecian pass or mountain defile of the Swiss or Tyrol Alps, but in the open field with the certainty that they could make no effectual resistance. These young men, in their unsoiled uniforms, and flushed with enthusiasm, were to be thrown as a preliminary sacrifice to the army of Northern Virginia for the accomplishment of a military end. The order setting before them this hopeless task has been criticised, but it was correct. In an artistic sense it was needful that Pennsylvania, in the preliminary movements leading up to the decisive battle of the war fought upon her soil, should take the first step. In a moral sense it was required of her to resent the invasion by a blow even though it should be impotent in effect. From a military point of view I hope to be able to show that the movement of the regiment produced results of importance in the impending struggle. It marched cheerfully and even gaily out the Chambersburg pike as far as Marsh creek, and then the inevitable happened. The rebel General Ewell, in his official

report says, sententiously: "In front of Gettysburg White charged and routed the Twenty-sixth regiment Pennsylvania militia, of whom 170 were taken and paroled."*

Who were the men whose fate it was to be thus suddenly caught up in the whirlwind of that momentous crisis? On the 15th of June President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for fifty thousand men from Pennsylvania, to be organized under the regulations of the volunteer service, to repel a threatened invasion of the state. It was supplemented upon the same day by a proclamation from Governor Curtin: "An army of rebels is approaching our border. . . . I now appeal to all the citizens of Pennsylvania, who love liberty and are mindful of the history and traditions of their revolutionary fathers, and who feel that it is a sacred duty to guard and maintain the free institutions of our country, who hate treason and its abettors, and who are willing to defend their homes and their firesides, and do invoke them to rise in their might and rush to the rescue in this hour of imminent peril. The issue is one of preservation or

* Ewell's Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 443.

destruction.”* In response to these urgent appeals the men of Pennsylvania began to collect at Harrisburg in large numbers, expecting to enter the service of the commonwealth and to remain until the danger should disappear. On reaching that place, however, they learned that they would only be accepted for a term of six months, and that they must be sworn into the service of the United States. Many of them, perhaps the larger number, returned to their homes. Simon Cameron appears to have been the first to suggest to the government at Washington the propriety of accepting troops for the “emergency.”† The suggestion met with little favor, but when the clouds upon the border had rolled nearer and become more ominous, it was adopted, and Secretary Stanton telegraphed to General Couch, “Muster them in whichever way you can.”‡ Eight regiments of infantry, two batteries, six companies of cavalry, and four independent companies of infantry entered the service for the “existing emer-

*Lincoln's and Curtin's Proclamations, War of Rebellion, No. 45, pp. 136, 145.

† Cameron to Lincoln, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 141.

‡ Stanton to Couch, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 185.

gency.”* It is believed to be the only body of troops during the entire war, unless we may except the veteran corps, who committed themselves to the control of the government for a period of uncertain duration. In fact, the time they were actually retained proved to be brief, but with Lee about to invade the state it threatened to extend into the indefinite future and they assumed the risk. Mr. Stanton wrote, June 15th, “No one can tell how long the present emergency for troops in Pennsylvania may continue. The present movement is but the execution of Jeff Davis’s original plan to make Pennsylvania and the loyal states the theatre of war. Human foresight cannot say how long it may take to drive out the rebels.”† Mr. Stanton gave his consent to the suggestion of Cameron, Curtin and Couch at twenty minutes of two o’clock on the 17th of June, and that same afternoon fifty-seven students of Pennsylvania College, four students of the Lutheran Seminary, and twenty-two other men from the town of Gettysburg, the first of the emergency troops, took the

* War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 215.

† Stanton to Cameron, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 141.

oath and entered the service. These eighty-three men became Company A of the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania emergency infantry.* Although these troops, for the sake of convenience, have been classed with the militia, the distinction between them drawn by General Couch when he reported "troops are mustered into United States service . . . to serve during the existing emergency. The governor mustered in the militia in the state service for three months,"† and based upon the fact that they were in the service of the general government and were paid, equipped and clothed by it, ought to be strenuously maintained.

Mustered and complete in organization on the 22d of June, the regiment under command of Colonel W. W. Jennings started for Gettysburg on the 24th, but meeting with a railroad accident, it was detained at Swift run, six miles away from its point of destination. About this time General Couch reported with some satisfaction to Mr. Stanton that he had "one Pennsylvania regiment near Gettysburg

*Stanton to Couch, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 185. Dr. E. W. Meissenhelder, in Pennsylvania College Book, p. 421.

† Couch to Stanton, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 408.

to harass the enemy and if possible to hold the mountains there."* The following evening a detail of one hundred men marched into the town, where they were joined by the rest of the regiment on the morning of the 26th. Driven by Early from the Chambersburg pike at Marsh creek, where a shot or two was fired and where he lost his pickets, Colonel Jennings, finding that he was becoming enmeshed with the forces of the enemy, already so strong that he was powerless to contend against them, and likely to be continually increased, determined to extricate himself if possible and make his way back to Harrisburg. Overtaken by White's cavalry on the Hunterstown road at the farm house of Henry Whitmer and attacked, the regiment was drawn up in line on the right hand side of the road and opened fire. An engagement ensued lasting for from twenty minutes to half an hour. At this obscure, unknown, and unvisited spot, four miles from the town, began the rattle of musketry which a few days later was to be heard in louder and fiercer tones from Kulp's Hill to Round Top, and which while time lasts the generations of men can

* Couch to Stanton, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 264.

never forget. In the language of Doubleday, here was the first serious resistance Lee's army encountered before the coming of the army of the Potomac. They were the opening shots of the battle of Gettysburg.* The attack was repulsed, but Company B, the rear company, commanded by Captain Carnaghan, were almost all taken prisoners. Private Thomas H. Dailey, Company C, was hit in the face by a ball and several rebels were shot from their horses before they retired.† Private A. Stanley Ulrich, Company E, and James K. Moore, Company C, becoming separated from the regiment in this engagement and refusing to surrender, finally found their way to Gettysburg on the 30th of June and there associating themselves with Company K of the One Hundred and Twenty-first P. V., fought in the army of the Potomac through the whole of

* About the only opposition he encountered came from a militia regiment at Gettysburg, but this was soon driven away. Doubleday's *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, p. 112.

† Mss. statements of Joseph L. Lenberger, hospital steward; William G. George and Joseph Donnel, of Co. H.; George B. Lessig, of Co. F; Lieutenant Edward P. McCormick, of Co. C; William Few, of Co. E. Contemporary ms. of Captain F. Kleinfelter, Co. A. Contemporary letters of Samuel W. Pennypacker, Co. F. Bates, Vol. V, p. 1225. Statements made in 1881 by Rufus E. Culp, J. W. Diehl, A. F. Gitt, and Henry Whitmer.

the battle, and afterwards aided in burying the dead.* Corporal Charles Macdonald and Privates George Steele and A. W. Shick, from Company F, had been ordered, after the performance of a special duty, to meet the regiment at Gettysburg. At the turnpike gate on the York pike they were charged upon by the rebel cavalry and were only captured after they had discharged their muskets and Shick had endeavored to bayonet a horseman, one of two who fired four shots at him.† Here was the first encounter within the limits of the town. J. Howard Jacobs, of Company F, was left in Gettysburg with a squad of men in charge of the wagons. They took a rebel prisoner and afterward about fifty in number participated in the engagement at Wrightsville in which nine men were wounded, and aided in the burning of the bridge over the Susquehanna.‡

Upon the repulse of White's cavalry on the Hunterstown road the regiment resumed its march,

* Ms. statement of A. Stanley Ulrich.

† Ms. statement of Corporal Charles Macdonald, Co. F.

‡ Ms. statement of J. F. Jacobs, of Co. F. Report of Colonel J. G. Frick, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 279. Report of Major G. O. Haller, War of Rebellion, No. 44, page 996.

and after having been drawn up in line of battle again at Dillsburg to resist a threatened attack, and after meeting at different other points small bodies of the enemy, it arrived opposite Harrisburg at Fort Washington at two o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday. It had lost one hundred and seventy-six men captured and all of its equipage and supplies. It had spent two days and a half in almost continuous marching and skirmishing, substantially without rest or shelter. From the time the men left Gettysburg early on Friday morning until dusk on Saturday evening they had been without food. For two days longer they were without tents, and through the nights lay upon the bank in the fort exposed to the rain.

About the hour of their arrival at Harrisburg, General Couch telegraphed to the president that the enemy had opened fire with his artillery within four miles of the defensive works, and it appears from the report of the rebel General Rodes that he made a thorough reconnoissance of the fortifications on the 29th, and had ordered an assault for the following day.* The army of the Potomac interfered

* Couch to Stanton, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 390. Rodes' report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 552.

with his purpose. At one o'clock on the 28th General Halleck sent word to Meade: "General Couch is also directed to co-operate with you and to move his forces as you may order."* On the 28th Meade reported to Halleck: "If he (Lee) is crossing the Susquehanna I shall rely upon General Couch with his force holding him until I can fall upon his rear and give him battle,"† and on the 30th Meade sent a dispatch to Couch: "The army is in good spirits and we shall push to your relief or the engagement of the enemy as circumstances and the information we receive during the day and on the marches may indicate as most prudent and most likely to lead to ultimate success. . . . Can you keep the enemy from crossing the river?"‡ What Meade requested was accomplished. Early was prevented from crossing the Susquehanna at Wrightsville by the resistance he encountered and by the burning of the bridge, and at Harrisburg, Rodes, confronted by Couch, by the fortifications, and by abattis thrown across the highways, did not quite reach the river.

* Halleck to Meade, War of Rebellion, No. 43, p. 62.

† Meade to Halleck, War of Rebellion, No. 43, p. 67.

‡ Meade to Couch, War of Rebellion, No. 43, p. 68.

At 12.15 on the 30th, General Halleck directed General Couch that "every possible effort should be made to hold the enemy in check on the Susquehanna till General Meade can give him battle,"* and at seven o'clock on the next morning Meade sent a dispatch to Halleck, saying: "If General Couch has any reliable force I shall call upon him to move it to aid me,"† to which Halleck responded: "I have ordered General Couch to co-operate with you as far as possible."‡ In compliance with these orders, by command of General Couch, the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania emergency infantry, together with some batteries of artillery and other infantry regiments, on the afternoon of the 30th, marched about four miles from the fort in pursuit of the enemy then in retreat from the Susquehanna.

Almost immediately after the failure of Pickett's charge had been demonstrated, at ten o'clock on the night of the 3d of July, General Meade sent a dispatch to General Couch suggesting the possibility that Lee would again assume an offensive attitude

* Halleck to Couch, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 433.

† Meade to Halleck, War of Rebellion, No. 43, p. 70.

‡ Halleck to Meade, War of Rebellion, No. 43, p. 71.

and await an attack, and saying that if so, "I will apprise you of the fact so soon as I am certain of it, and I then desire you either to form a junction with me, or, if in your judgment the same can be done without jeopardizing the safety of your command, attack him."* Lee, however, did not await the attack but retreated toward the Potomac. Couch then thought seriously of distributing his command among the regiments of the army of the Potomac as the best means of defending the state, but this plan was not carried into effect.† General W. F. Smith advanced from Harrisburg with all the available force and reached a point near Cashtown. It appears that he sent a captain entirely around the rebel army to report to General Meade that he proposed to throw his force across the turnpike in the rear of Lee, not then knowing that the battle was ended. General Meade, who was anxious about the safety of Smith's position, instructed him that he had better return, and Smith philosophically says: "I should have been two days earlier, and then such a move would have been of great service even

* Meade to Couch, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 499.

† Couch to Stanton, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 527.

if the militia had been very roughly handled, which would probably have been the case.”* On the 8th of July General Halleck ordered General Couch that all the forces in his department should “be thrown forward to assist Meade,”† and on the 10th he sent a dispatch to Meade that he thought it would be best “to postpone a general battle till you can concentrate all your forces and get up your reserves and re-enforcements.”‡ Another desperate struggle between the two armies north of the Potomac was then anticipated. “I think,” said Meade to Halleck, “the decisive battle of the war will be fought in a few days.”§ The Twenty-sixth was attached to the brigade of Brigadier General Charles Yates and the division of Major General N. J. T. Dana, U. S. V., and on July 12th was sent by rail as far as Shippensburg and from there marched to Chambersburg. On the 14th, with 467 men in ranks, it marched to Greencastle. From Chambersburg, Couch had sent word to Meade that he had with him at that point nine thousand men and eight

* Meade to Smith, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 539.

† Halleck to Couch, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 611.

‡ Halleck to Meade, War of Rebellion, No. 43, p. 89.

§ Meade to Halleck, War of Rebellion, No. 43, p. 86.

guns, but was unable to move them for want of transportation for the supplies. Under the spur of a dispatch from Halleck to Couch saying, sharply: "Take it wherever you can find it, and if you can find none go without it and live on the country. Do not stop at trifles at this crisis,"* we made our march of that day. General Couch did us the credit to report that he thought many of the Pennsylvania troops would do well; and he notified Meade that Dana's division, twelve thousand strong, would be at Greencastle on the night of the 14th and at his disposal.† In the providence of God, however, it happened that we were not then to be subjected to the final test. On that day Lee with his army crossed the Potomac, a defeated and almost dismayed leader, with a broken army whose victories were in the past and never more to recur.

What may be termed the active campaigning of the Twenty-sixth, and perhaps no regiment ever had more of it within so short a space of time, there ended.

And what was the outcome? Did the efforts

* Halleck to Couch, War of Rebellion, No. 45, p. 678.

† Couch to Smith and Halleck, War of Rebellion, No. 45, pp. 651, 697.

of these earnest young soldiers have any appreciable effect upon the mighty struggle with which they became associated, or were they but a picturesque and interesting preliminary, worthy to be remembered as an incident, but without substantial consequence? Let us again turn to the official reports for the answer. Early's division consisted of the brigades of Hays, Smith, Hoke and Gordon, supported as has been said by Jones's battalion of artillery and White's battalion of cavalry.* Early says in his report: "I moved towards Gettysburg and on reaching the forks of the road about one and a half miles from Cashtown, I sent General Gordon with his brigade and White's battalion of cavalry on the pike through Cashtown toward Gettysburg, and moved with the rest of the command to the left through Hilltown to Mummasburg. I had heard on the road that there was probably a force at Gettysburg, though I could get no definite information as to its size, and the object of this movement was for Gordon to amuse and skirmish with the enemy while I should get on his flank and rear so as to capture his whole force. On arriving at

* War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 285.

Mummasburg I ascertained that the force at Gettysburg was small, and while waiting there for the infantry to come up, whose march was considerably delayed by the muddy condition of the roads, a company of French's cavalry that had been toward Gettysburg captured some prisoners, from whom it was ascertained that the advance of Gordon's force, a body of cavalry from White's battalion, had encountered a regiment of militia, which fled at the first approach, and I immediately sent forward Colonel French with his cavalry to pursue this militia force, which he did, capturing a number of prisoners. Hays's brigade on arriving was also dispatched toward Gettysburg, and the other brigades, with the artillery, were halted and encamped near Mummasburg. I then rode to Gettysburg and found Gordon just entering the town, his command having marched more rapidly than the other brigades, because it moved on a macadamized road. The militia regiment which had been encountered by White's cavalry was the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania militia, consisting of eight or nine hundred men, and had arrived in Gettysburg the night before and moved that morning a short distance out on the

road towards Cashtown, but had fled on the first approach of White's cavalry, taking across the fields between Mummasburg and Gettysburg and going toward Hunterstown. Of this force one hundred and seventy-five prisoners in all were captured and subsequently paroled. Hays's brigade was halted and encamped about a mile from Gettysburg, and two regiments were sent to aid French in the pursuit of the fugitive militia, but could not get up with it."*

Leaving out of view, because immaterial, the uncomplimentary allusions to ourselves and the somewhat exaggerated descriptions of rebel prowess, the facts which appear beyond question from this report are that Early used all of his division, and spent the whole day of the 26th of June in an unsuccessful effort to "amuse" and "capture" this regiment. The engagement on the Hunterstown road occurred between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and he did not reach Gettysburg until after he had been informed of its result. He had been sent to meet the army of the Potomac, and, failing to find them, he encountered us. To him

† Early's Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 465.

had been entrusted the most important duty committed to any portion of the army of northern Virginia—that of checking the advance of the army of Meade—and he had been himself held for one day by a regiment of undisciplined troops. The elaborate preparations, which included “Gordon with his brigade and White’s battalion of cavalry” on the Chambersburg pike, and Early with “the rest of the command” on the Mummasburg road, had no outcome but 176 useless prisoners, and one-fourth of the time before the impending battle wasted and lost. But this does not yet tell the whole story. Stuart had taken a wild ride around the rear and on the other side of the army of the Potomac from Lee, and communication with him was impossible. The only bodies of cavalry remaining with Lee were Jenkins’s brigade and White’s battalion.* Jenkins accompanied the invading army on the way up the Cumberland valley toward Harrisburg, and Lee was, therefore, utterly dependent upon White’s battalion, which rode over the mountains with Early, to ascertain the whereabouts of the army of the Potomac. Lee was groping his way through an enemy’s

* Lee’s Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 316.

country without light. His wailing cry for his cavalry is almost as pathetic as that of the Roman emperor to Varus for his legions lost in the German woods. "The movements of the army preceding the battle of Gettysburg had been much embarrassed by the absence of the cavalry."* So late as the 27th, the day after our engagement, be it noted, he laments: "No report had been received that the federal army had crossed the Potomac, and the absence of the cavalry rendered it impossible to obtain accurate information."†

That body of cavalry, from which alone Lee could hope to get the facts necessary to determine his course, was engrossed in pursuing what they called the "fugitive militia," but Colonel Jennings, more skillful to save than General Early was to capture, by celerity of movement combined with firm resistance when it became necessary, thwarted every attempt and the regiment was not taken. To the military critic must be left the problem of determining the effect upon the impending battle of the detention for a whole day of Early's division and

* Lee's Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 321.

† Lee's Report, War of Rebellion, No. 44, p. 307.

White's cavalry, the only part of Lee's army which was upon the same side of the mountains with Meade. The selection of Gettysburg as a battle-ground was fortuitous, or, at most, a sudden inspiration upon the part of Reynolds, who, when he met the enemy and saw the location, determined to fight.

Colonel Garnett, of the rebel army, asserts: "I believe it was never General Lee's intention to fight a great battle so far from his base and that he was drawn into it by the want of information of the enemy's whereabouts."*

If, perchance, Early, instead of sending White and French to the Hunterstown road, and hurrying up the infantry of Gordon and Hays in the vain task to which he devoted them on the 26th of June, had been able to report to Lee the position and movements of the army of the Potomac, who can say that Rodes would not have made his assault upon Harrisburg on the 30th, or that a battle at Gettysburg would have ever occurred? Unlike Meade, who permitted Stuart to ride at will, Early

* Garnett's *Gettysburg*, p. 9.

"Yet it seems certain that neither Meade nor Lee had thought of it as a possible battle-ground until accident thrust it upon them." Drake's *Gettysburg*, p. 13.

was diverted from his object and tempted from his duty. That Providence which rules the universe sometimes works out its ends by means that to the lesser comprehension of men seem inadequate, and in the great chain of cause and effect no link, however apparently unimportant, can be omitted. If, in the play of events, your services were an essential factor at that crisis in the fate of America, your countrymen may well offer to you their grateful tribute, for you conferred upon them and upon their descendants for all the generations to come, benefits of incalculable magnitude.* If those services were not of such inestimable moment, it is still enough to preserve your memories green forever that in

* This regiment, on June 26th, was the first to encounter and exchange shots with the invaders of 1863. Alleman's *At Gettysburg*, p. 16.

"I immediately formed my Regt. in the field to the right of the road and opened fire on them, which checked them and caused them to move to the left of the road, and fall back on the infantry following them. . . . The conduct of the men under my command was such as could be desired." Official report of Colonel W. W. Jennings.

"Having been detached from General Lee's army my brigade had some days prior to the great battle passed through Gettysburg on our march to the Susquehanna. Upon those now historic hills I had met a small force of Union soldiers, and had there fought a diminutive battle." *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, General John B. Gordon, p. 140.

"When Gordon's brigade of Early's division met the 26th Pennsylvania Regiment at Marsh Creek, as we have already seen, it was the begin-

Pennsylvania's time of trial you, her sons, were there to show that her resentful arm was raised to smite the foe, and that you, the first of all the troops of all the states, unaided and alone, met the rebel army upon the battlefield of Gettysburg.

ning of a series of events which colored and determined all the issues of this campaign in a military sense. This regiment was as unconscious of the resultant consequences of its action as was Lee or anyone else. It was one of those insignificant events that so often are the important factors in great results." Spear's *The North and the South*, p. 97.

"It is an historical fact that owing to the advance movement of Col. Jennings' regiment Gettysburg became the battle ground." Circular No. 270 of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion.

THE ORIGIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

[Presentation of facts, June 3d, 1899, before Mr. Charles C. Harrison, provost, Mr. Samuel V. Merrick, Mr. Samuel Dickson, Right Reverend Ozi W. Whitaker, D. D., and Mr. John C. Sims, committee upon the University.]

THE subject of our inquiry is the origin of the University of Pennsylvania. I presume there can be no doubt anywhere as to the attitude that we ought to maintain in conducting such an inquiry. The University cannot afford to make a claim of priority, or of antiquity, which is not supported by the evidence produced in favor of it, and, on the other hand, it is equally clear that we ought not weakly to abandon a position which can be supported by such evidence. At the outset let us definitely understand just what is the nature of the inquiry. It seems to me that when you are looking for the origin you are asking when was the first movement commenced, which, being con-

tinued, constitutes an essential part of the organization. If you meet this requirement it is all that can be reasonably asked. And I do not think it is of importance in the inquiry as to whether or not the movement in its origin was regarded as one of importance. Some very great organizations are the result of initial movements which were apparently of very little consequence when they began. If we look for the origin of the oak tree, which is the greatest of all the vegetable productions, we find it in one of the smallest of the nuts, and the Amazon river, which is one hundred and fifty miles wide at its mouth, has its source in some spring up in the Andes mountains. The University has gone through a number of stages. It has been a charitable school, an academy, a college, and a university. Most of the writers who have examined the subject have been content, going further back than the University, and still further back than the college, to rest with the academy, and the reasons for it are natural enough. The gentlemen who were interested in the formation of the academy were people of influence here in Philadelphia at the time. And when they gathered together they made their records, and they wrote their

pamphlets and their books, and naturally they did not underrate their own importance in that which they did, and the writers since have been content to look simply at their statements without wider investigation.

But the time has arrived in the history of an institution which has reached great reputation and great influence, that we should be ready to look at all the facts, and if there was a prior movement still connected with the University, of importance in its history, we ought to be willing to go back and to give the credit of it to those who originated that movement, and to claim for ourselves such consequence as is due to greater antiquity.

Each one of the charters of the University shows the existence of the charity school. The charter under which we are acting now is the act of 1791, and I read from that charter the direction: "That charity schools shall be supported, one for boys and the other for girls." The University as a university was established in 1779. Section 5 of the act of 1779 provides for the appointment of a master and assistants "to uphold and preserve the charitable school of the said university." The charter, which was granted on the 16th of June, 1755, recites the

appointment of trustees and “that they had at their own expense, and by the donations of many well-disposed persons, set up and maintained an academy within our said city as well for instructing youth for reward as *poor children on charity*, and praying us to incorporate them and their successors.”

The first charter of the University is the act of July 13, 1753, and in its recital it sets forth: “Within our said city in maintaining an academy there as well for the instruction of poor children on charity as others whose circumstances have enabled them to pay for their learning.” Now this charitable feature of the University is still maintained in the free scholarships which are given to the city, and which were based upon that part of the general scheme. The minutes of the academy have little or nothing to say upon the subject of the charitable school. There is no contemporary printed article, no book, and no original paper known which shows that at the time the academy was designed the men who were instrumental in the foundation of it had any thought of the establishment of a charitable school. That idea was imposed upon them. They made that a part of the scheme of the academy because of

some force which came from without. I want to point out to you where it originated. In 1740 there was erected here, under the auspices of George Whitefield, a building which had two objects. One was to provide a place for him, so that when he came here he might be able to preach to the people in it instead of going out upon the streets and into the fields, as he had been accustomed to do, and the other was to establish a charitable school. That the school was not successful seems to be clear, and when the men who organized the academy started in their work its trustees transferred their building, real estate and funds to those interested in the academy, but they did it exercising some control, upon certain expressed conditions, and in maintenance of their trust. The deed, which was made by them in 1749 to the trustees of the academy, had in it a trust which I am going to read to you. That trust was "likewise to nominate and appoint one or more learned, able, sufficient person, or persons, as master or masters, usher or ushers, mistress or mistresses, to teach and instruct said children gratis in useful literature and the knowledge of the Christian religion."

Now where did that trust come from? I have

here a copy from the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, volume 22, page 49, of the advertisement issued by the trustees of the charitable school in July, 1740, and that advertisement sets forth as follows: "With this view it has been thought proper to erect a large building for a charity school for the instruction of poor children, gratis, in useful literature and the knowledge of the Christian religion." What I want to point out to you—and it seems to be conclusive upon the question—is that the identical words of this advertisement of July, 1740, are incorporated into the deed which gave you your home in 1749. If you examine it you will see that the trust for the charitable school is set out in precisely the same language in both papers. I think that it is not at all essential that I should go any further, because it is evident that such facts never happened by any chance. There is but one explanation of the trust then incorporated into your organization, and which has been continued down to the present time, and that is that it came from the scheme inaugurated in 1740.

I propose, however, not to rest here, but to call your attention to a number of authorities. Most of them, perhaps all of them, have never been referred

to by anybody heretofore who has written upon the subject. I shall begin with the most recent, and read an extract from *A Journal of Law*, published in Philadelphia in 1831. This legal periodical, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Dickson, was edited by William M. Meredith, who, in his day, was the leader, or one of the leaders, in our profession, and while, perhaps, it represents only the traditions of the lawyers at that time, it comes from an intelligent man who was in association with the older members of the bar, and who was in a profession where the necessity of evidence is always recognized. In an article on the University, page 28, he says: "The charity school contains about one hundred and sixty scholars, of both sexes, who are taught gratuitously the elements of a solid English education. The funds for its establishment and support were originally given by several benevolent individuals, and particularly by John Keble. Since its institution, in 1740, it is calculated that several thousand children have enjoyed the benefit of its instructions. It has at present three well-qualified teachers, one in the female and two in the male department. The grammar school, which, together

with the charity school, constituted under the title of the Academy and Charitable School, the foundation on which the college was afterward erected, has passed through various fortunes. It is associated with the recollections of boyhood to many individuals who now occupy the most distinguished stations in the several professions in our city; and the shrill summons of its piercing bell, and the shriller intonations of several of its able instructors, as they plied the work of mental discipline on their youthful charge, are cherished topics of remembrance."

As you see, he takes precisely the same view as that which I have presented to you.

There was a volume of poems written by John Searson, formerly of Philadelphia, merchant, printed in Philadelphia in 1797. You would hardly expect to find information of this character in such a publication, but he says, page 87, "In this small collection of poems, I cannot persuade myself to pass over a recitation of the solemn hymn, sung through the States of America, on the death of that animating, that admirable and instructive divine, the Rev. George Whitefield, with an anecdote of him. This gentleman, indeed, like his Master, 'went about

doing good.' I lived before and after his decease in the city of Philadelphia, having married there, and remember that it was he who procured the orphan house of Georgia to be built, as also the college and academy of Philadelphia."

The next authority to which I ask your attention, showing the importance of the charitable feature in the life of the University, is a poem delivered at the public commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 1, 1760, by Francis Hopkinson. He was one of the first graduating class of the college. I believe it was his first appearance before his alma mater upon such an occasion, and the theme he chose was, "Charity." In his quite long poem, he expresses his views upon this subject, and closes :

"Some such there are, without whose friendly care,
Long had his seeds of glory slumbered there ;
Without whose bounty all his powers had been
The slaves of ignorance, perhaps of sin.
Of deeds like these, Oh! who shall sing the praise,
Weak is the muse, and feeble are her lays—
But angels silver-tongued from heaven shall part
To whisper blessings to the bounteous heart;
And those who justly charity regard,
Will find that virtue is her own reward."

And to emphasize his thought, he adds a note saying

that he refers to "the trustees of the college, who maintain a charity school for seventy poor children."*

We now come to a contemporary period and writer. I have here an exceedingly scarce little political pamphlet, which was published in Philadelphia in 1764. It is called "A Looking-glass for Presbyterians," and one of the charges which this political writer makes (page 19) against the Presbyterians of that time (1764) is as follows: "The college in this City, planned upon the principles of moderation and liberty, and intended for the use and benefit of every denomination, is now got into the hands of a Presbyterian faction. The professors and tutors being generally chosen of that persuasion, lord it with such a high hand over other professions, that they are not contented with using their power to keep all others out, but are indefatigable in planning to thrust those out who differ from them that are in." What I want you especially to notice is the statement, made at a time when the founders were living, that this college was "intended for the use and benefit of every denomination." Now that principle in the history of the University is of the

* Hopkinson's Works, vol. iii, p. 58.

very greatest importance, for the reason that the University arose over that very question, and when the act of 1779, which took the college estates away, was passed, it was based upon the ground that they had departed from their fundamental principles, and their charters, and had fallen into the hands of one sect. The act recites: "Whereas, the college, academy, and charitable school of the City of Philadelphia, were at first founded on a plan of free and unlimited catholicism; but it appears that the trustees thereof, by a vote in the year 1764, have departed from the plan of the original founders, and narrowed the foundation of said institution." That was the ground upon which their charter was taken away and the University was established. Now where does that feature of your institution come from? There is not the slightest evidence to show anywhere that the founders of the academy had any such thought in their minds, but fortunately we have clear proof of the origin. It is not always that you can get evidence upon such remote points, but upon this question you have positive testimony. I shall read now from the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. In telling us concerning the build-

ing and the trustees of the charitable school, he says: "It is to be noted that the contributions to this building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees, in whom the building and ground was to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time that predominancy might be a means of appropriating the whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention. It was therefore that one of each sect was appointed, viz., one Church of England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian, etc., and those in cases of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election from among the contributors."

In addition to this plain statement by Franklin, in going back to the advertisement of July, 1740, you find that they set out: "It has pleased Almighty God to visit with his Holy Spirit, the hearts and minds of many professing Christianity, however divided or distinguished in denomination or interest, so as to make them lay aside bigotry and party zeal." So that you have this feature of the original plan traced directly not to the academy but to the charitable school beyond it, and you fur-

ther find that the establishment of a university was due to the belief that that feature in the original design had been broken by the then trustees of the college and academy.

I shall now read to you an extract from the address to the trustees of the academy, at its opening (1751), which was made by Richard Peters, who had been selected for that purpose, and I want you to look at it bearing in mind that Peters was one of the men connected with the organization of the academy, so that in order to understand it you have to read between the lines, as it were. "Thus successful, it became a matter of debate where to place the academy, and many arguments were offered for some village in the country as best favoring the morals of the youth, too apt to be corrupted by the bad examples abounding in populous cities. But when it came to be considered that it would take a large sum to erect proper buildings at a distance from the city; that the circumstances of many of the citizens would not admit of a distant place on account of the expense; that the trustees were men of business who could not be absent from their habitations without much inconvenience; and that the

success of the whole, under God, would, in a great measure, depend, whether in town or country, on the personal care and attendance of those entrusted with the management, it was thought proper to fix it somewhere within the City; and the more so, when the minds of the trustees of the building, where we are now assembled, came to be imparted. These thoughtful persons had been for some years sensible that this building was not put to its original use, nor was it in their power to set forward a charity school, which was also a part of the first design, and that it was more in the power of the trustees of the academy than of others to do it; they therefore made an offer to transfer their right in it to the use of the academy; provided the debts, which remained unpaid, might be discharged, and the arrears of rent paid off. This was thankfully accepted, and a conveyance was executed, and on the settlement of the moneys due on account of the building, some of its trustees even generously forgave a considerable part of their just demands."

It appears, therefore, from the statements of this address, that the determination to establish the academy in the city, in preference to the country

was reached upon consideration of the views of the trustees of the charitable school; that the specific location of the academy was fixed by the convenient and suitable structure which they had previously erected; that they conveyed, without charge or return of outlays, the building in which the work of the academy was begun, and for many years continued; and, further, that they gave a portion of the moneys needed by the academy as a contribution to its purposes.

Peters says, moreover: "Whilst I am acknowledging their merit, let me not forget to do justice to their absent co-trustee for his ready and hearty concurrence, signified in his letter to the president on that subject." That co-trustee was George Whitefield, and in the letter he wrote from England to the president, dated February 26, 1750, he said: "I think also that in such an institution there should also be a well-approved Christian orator, who should not be content with giving a public lecture upon oratory in general, but who should visit and take part with every class and teach them early how to speak and read and pronounce well. An hour or two in a day ought to be set apart for this. . . ."

I should also like the youths to board in the academy, and by this means to be always under the master's eye. . . . If these ends are answered, a free school erected, the debts paid, and a place preserved for public preaching, I do not see what reason there is for any one to complain." You will observe that he was perhaps the first to suggest the dormitories which have only recently been erected, but what I want you especially to notice is the tone of the letter. It is not that of a man who is making a surrender, but that of one who has the situation well within his own control, and who is expressing the views which, in his judgment, ought to be impressed upon the academy they were then starting. Whitefield was an orator—one of the greatest the world has ever seen,—and naturally his attention was directed toward that subject, and he tells us in this letter how he thinks oratory should be taught. In his view, it is essential, and ought to be taught not only by the professor's giving general public lectures, but by his going to each pupil and seeing that he is taught to pronounce properly and read well. In connection with that subject, I want to show you, from the description which Dr. William Smith

wrote of the academy, how that direction was carried into effect. In the papers of Dr. Smith, printed in London in 1762, upon pages 100 and 112, he says: "Oratory and the correct speaking and writing of English are branches of education too much neglected, as is often visible in the public performances of some very learned men. But, in the circumstances of this province, such a neglect would have been still more inexcusable than in any other part of the British Dominions; for, being made up of so great a mixture of people, from almost all corners of the world, necessarily speaking a variety of languages and dialects, the true pronunciation and unity of our own language might soon be lost, without such a previous care to preserve them in the rising generation." And this is the way he says it was done: "For attaining this, a small rostrum is erected in one end of the school and the youth are frequently exercised in reading aloud from it, or in the delivery of short orations, while the professor of English and oratory stands by to correct whatever may be amiss either in speech or in gesture." So that when the academy was established, the teaching of oratory was fol-

lowed upon precisely the plan indicated by Whitefield in his letter.

Mr. Harrison informs me that this method of teaching oratory was continued at the University until a very recent period.

I have now gone substantially over the evidence which I intended to present to you. No doubt further inquiry would bring out still other points, but there already has been established, I hope to your satisfaction, enough to prove that much of the organization of the University was derived from the charitable school of 1740. To resume, it has been shown that the determination to put the academy in Philadelphia; the location of the academy on Fourth street; the building itself in which all the exercises were conducted for the greater part of a century; the charitable idea which has run through all of your charters and still exists; the very considerable proportion of the moneys used for the establishment of the academy; its feature of catholicity, about which there can be not the slightest question, and which has been of the greatest consequence in the history of the University; and the establishment of the school of oratory

and its methods can be traced directly to the charitable school.

Now it does seem to me that with all of these facts before us, if we should attempt to disregard them, or to set them aside, we should not only commit a grave injustice to those who did so much to benefit the cause, but display singular inaptitude and want of good judgment.

Perhaps before concluding, I ought to say that the view which I have been presenting to you with respect to the origin of the University has been accepted by most of those who have recently written about our institution. Dr. McMaster and the late Thompson Westcott, who was perhaps our leading local historian, both entertained that view, although neither of them had the opportunity to consider the papers I have presented to you here. There is, however, one exception, and that is an exception of importance. There was no man who was better informed with respect to our history and more earnest in its investigation, than the late Dr. Frederick D. Stone. He wrote a chapter for the recent edition of the History of the University by Dr. Wood, in which he takes a different view. In his preface

Dr. Stone says that it is a controversial chapter. Now I believe I have never known in my experience of any claim which has ever been made in behalf of the importance or priority of Philadelphia, that there did not arise some Philadelphian who was ready to enter into a controversy to show that the claim was not well founded. The main evidence upon which Dr. Stone rested he set forth in this paragraph: "No charity school had been opened up to August, 1747, as in that month a petition was presented to the assembly by some of the subscribers to the new building, stating that the establishment of a charity school was a part of the original scheme; that none had been established; and they therefore prayed that the trustees be obliged to pay the petitioners their subscriptions, or that an act be passed to sell the building and devote the proceeds to that purpose."

To begin with, there is a miscitation of the evidence. In that petition which was presented to the assembly it was not said that no charity school "had been established." The entire extract from the Votes of Assembly, Vol. IV, page 59, is as follows: "6 mo., 8th, 1747. A petition from sundry

persons, inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, setting forth that they contributed largely, according to their respective circumstances, towards the building of a house in the said City which was intended to be a charity school for the instruction of poor children gratis in the knowledge of the Christian religion and in useful literature, and also for a place of public worship: But the trustees not having executed their trust, the principal end for which the petitioners engaged in the subscription and paid their money is not in the least degree answered; and therefore praying that the said trustees may be compelled to refund and pay the money advanced by the petitioners as well as their other just demands; or otherwise that leave may be given to bring in a bill for the sale of the said building for that purpose was presented to the house and read and ordered to lie on the table."

As you see, that was a petition presented to the legislature upon the part of some people who had contributed moneys, and who wanted the building to be sold and the moneys to be paid back to them. They were therefore in the position of plaintiffs in a cause. Dr. Stone, unfortunately, has taken that

statement of the plaintiffs as though it were necessarily correct, and then he has put an interpretation upon their language, and then he has given you not what they say, but what was his interpretation, as a fact. But on the same page of the minutes of the assembly is this entry: "A petition from Charles Brockden and James Read, two of the trustees of the house commonly called the new building, was presented to the house and read, setting forth their purpose to lay before the house a full and particular answer to the petition and complaint of John Coats and Edmund Woolley, but several of their number whose concurrence they would willingly have therein being at present out of the province, or at a considerable distance, and so have had no opportunity to see the copy of the said petition, they request the house would indulge with further time for the purpose. Ordered to lie on the table."

So it appears that the defendants in this cause were ready to file an answer, and that the facts, whatever they were, were in dispute, and what more appears is that if there ever was any decision it was in favor of the defendants, because the men who presented that original petition wanted to sell the

building, and we know that that power never was granted. In addition to that fact, if you look at the words of the petition, you will see that what they say is not that there was no charitable school established, but that the principal end was not accomplished, and to find out their meaning it is necessary to ascertain what was the principal end. There were two ends to be accomplished. One was to erect a charitable school and the other was to provide for the preaching of Whitefield, and Whitefield was not in America, so that it is also altogether probable that the principal end was the preaching of Whitefield rather than the charitable school. In any event the meaning of the paper remains in doubt and its allegations, whatever they were, were to be met by an answer, which fact Dr. Stone entirely ignored.

In conclusion, even if you should determine that the charitable school was a very unimportant affair, and one not at all successful, which I believe to be the truth, you will be entirely justified in your claim by the precedents furnished by the action of other and earlier colleges.

Harvard University celebrated on the 8th of September, 1836, her two hundredth anniversary,

so that she claimed as the date of her beginning September 8, 1636. But Harvard, who gave by will the money for her foundation, did not die until September 26, 1638, two years later. In seeking to establish the earliest possible time, the university relies upon this action of the court: "September 8, 1636: The court agreed to give four hundred pounds towards a school or college, whereof two hundred pounds shall be paid the next year and two hundred pounds when the work is finished, and the next court to appoint where and what building." So you see all that they have of a tangible character to support the claim is a promise upon the part of somebody to pay two hundred pounds a year afterwards, and yet it has never been a subject of criticism.

Yale claims as the date of her origin the year 1701. Such school as was then established was at Saybrook, and it was not until 1716 that a building was erected at New Haven, and the year after their asserted origin there was just one stray young man who came to be instructed.

When, therefore, you are able to show facts of much more moment than those upon which these

precedents are based, that in 1740 you had a commodious building erected, a large sum of money already contributed, and the organization of a charitable school under a board of trustees which has continued without lapse down to the present, it seems to me that the most pronounced hypercriticism cannot object to your contention that that date is properly the date of your origin.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN ITS

RELATIONS TO THE STATE*

[Written for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,
April, 1891.]

THE settlement of Pennsylvania being due to the unrest of the members of a religious sect whose advanced thought brought them into conflict with existing conditions in England, and the moral and mental breadth of its founder having led him to offer it as a home, not only for those of his own way of thinking, but for all in that island and upon the continent who had in vain

*In the preparation of this paper I have used freely Dr. Stillé's "Memoir of William Smith" and Wickersham's "History of Education in Pennsylvania," and I am indebted to Mr. F. D. Stone for calling my attention to the interesting fact that the constitution of 1776 provided expressly for university education.

wrestled against intolerance, it was but natural that his province should attract more men of learning than other colonies whose promoters were simply seeking for profit, or were bent upon the enforcement of illiberal policies. Therefore it came about that among the early colonists of Pennsylvania were an unusual number of men of scholarly attainments, some of whom had been doughty champions upon one side or the other in the polemical warfare then being everywhere waged, a struggle necessary for, and preparatory to, the establishment of the principle that humanity is capable of governing itself. Penn, the founder of a successful state and a practical legislator whose work has stood the test of time, as well as the most conspicuous figure among the colonizers of America, was a student of Oxford University and a profuse writer of books of verse, travel, doctrine, and controversy, which made a strong impress upon the thought of his time. James Logan devoted the leisure left to him after attending to the interests of the proprietor to the translation from the Latin of the *Cato Major* and the *Moral Distichs*, and he collected a library of rare books which was then unrivalled upon this side

of the Atlantic, and even now would be considered extraordinary. David Lloyd, a lawyer, ready and pertinacious in the discussion of all questions affecting the polity of the province, was equally skillful in the drafting of acts of assembly and the compilation of the laws. George Keith, trained in the schools of Edinburgh, was the author of numerous treatises upon theology, and, together with Penn and Robert Barclay, of Ury, defended the Quaker doctrines against the assaults of the learned divines of the European churches. Francis Daniel Pastorius, lawyer, linguist, and philosopher, proud of his pedigree, and fresh from the public discussion of abstruse questions of ethics and government upon the university platforms of the continent, signaled his arrival at Germantown by the preparation and publication, in 1690, of his "Four Treatises," and left for future generations a bibliography in manuscript of the volumes in his library. Ludwig, Count Zinzendorf, of noble lineage and influential surroundings, came with the Moravians, whose leader he was, to the hills of the Lehigh, but was not prevented by the practical duties of looking after the welfare of his flock from writing numerous collec-

tions of hymns, sermons and addresses. Christopher Taylor, familiar with the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, of which he had prepared and published a text-book, had long been the head of a school at Edmonton in Essex. Not only were there many such individual instances of more than ordinary learning, but the sects from which the early population of Pennsylvania was mainly drawn, though they regarded the amusements and adornments of life as frivolities by means of which Satan was enabled to lead souls astray, were, nevertheless, people of great intellectual activity, finding prolific expression abroad in a flood of publications, and it was not surprising that soon the printing-houses of the Bradfords, Keimer, Sower, Ephrata, Franklin, and Bell, the most productive in the colonies, sprang up here to supply their mental needs. A community with such examples before them, and permeated with such influences, could not long remain without an institution giving the opportunities for the higher education of youth. The frame of government announced by Penn as early as April 25, 1682, provided that the "Governor and Provincial council shall erect and order all publick schools and encour-

age and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions," and directed the council to form a "committee of manners, education, and arts, that all wicked and scandalous living may be prevented, and that youth may be successively trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts." At the meeting of the council on the 17th of Eleventh Month, 1683, a "school of arts and sciences" was proposed, and in 1689 the William Penn Charter School, still in existence and doing most valuable work, was formally opened. Following the suggestion of the petition of Anthony Morris, Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, David Lloyd, and others, the assembly, in its charter granted in 1711, provided for the instruction of "poor children" in "reading, work, languages, arts, and sciences." This school, in its successful operation, was the forerunner of the University of Pennsylvania, and the later institution had, like its predecessor, its origin in that spirit of broad philanthropy, regardful of the welfare of the lowly, which has ever been characteristic of Philadelphia, and has resulted in the establishment of so many of her public institutions.

In 1740 a number of citizens of different reli-

gious denominations united in raising subscriptions for the purpose of erecting a large building to be used as a charity school for the instruction of poor children gratis in useful literature and the Christian religion, and also as a place of public worship. In addition to the establishment of the school, they had in view the special object of providing a convenient house in which George Whitefield could preach whenever he came to Philadelphia. The lot was purchased on the 15th of September of that year and the building was erected. Subsequently the design was enlarged to include the idea of an academy, and on the 1st of February, 1749, the lot and buildings were conveyed to James Logan and twenty-three other trustees, upon the trust that they should keep a house or place of worship for the use of such preacher as they should judge qualified, and particularly for the use of Whitefield, and a free school for the instructing, teaching, and education of poor children, and should have power to found an "academy, college, or other seminary of learning for instructing youth in the languages, arts and sciences." The same year Benjamin Franklin, ever quick to catch inspiration from the events occurring

around him, published his "Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." He alleges in his autobiography that the foundation of the academy was due to the publication of this paper and his own subsequent personal efforts. He says: "This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds prepared by the perusal of it I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy—avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the publick as the author of any scheme for their benefit." The question may be raised whether this account, written many years later, is quite accurate. Dr. Caspar Wistar, a contemporary, and himself long identified with the work and fame of the University, says, in his "Eulogium on William Shippen," p. 21, while speaking of the services of Phineas Bond: "In conjunction with the much respected Thomas Hopkinson, he originated the scheme of the college now the University of Pennsylvania." The trustees, among whom Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Francis, and Richard Peters, with Franklin, appear to have been particularly active and efficient,

secured among themselves and their friends an endowment for the academy amounting to eight hundred pounds a year for five years, and the city gave an additional sum of one hundred pounds a year for five years, and two hundred pounds in cash.

The institution thus established was incorporated by Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietors and governors of the province, on the 13th of July, 1753, under the name of "The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania." The charter sets out, that it having been represented by the trustees named that for establishing an academy "as well to instruct youth for reward as poor children whose indigent and helpless circumstances demand the charity of the opulent," several benevolent persons have paid subscriptions expended in the purchase of lands and a building commodious for maintaining an academy "as well for the instruction of poor children as others whose circumstances have enabled them to pay for their learning," and that favoring such useful and charitable designs, the trustees are given power to purchase lands, to receive any sum of money or goods "therewith to erect, set up, main-

tain, and support an academy or any other kind of seminary of learning in any place within the said province of Pennsylvania where they shall judge the same to be most necessary and convenient for the instruction, improvement, and education of youth in any kind of literature, erudition, arts, and sciences which they shall think proper to be taught;" to sue and be sued, and to have a seal, and to make ordinances and statutes for their government. A confirmatory charter was granted by the same proprietaries, dated June 16, 1755, which changed the name to that of "The Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of the Province of Pennsylvania," and limited the power to hold lands to an amount not exceeding five thousand pounds sterling in yearly value; and gave power to confer degrees and to appoint a provost, vice-provost, and professors. It is thus seen that the plan of the charitable school which originated in 1740 is not only maintained in the deed of 1749 and in both of the charters, but is made an essential and conspicuous feature of the design. It is of importance to call particular attention to this fact, because in all printed accounts of the University heretofore its

origin has been assigned to the efforts of 1749, though the movement really began with the subscription purchase of land and erection of a building for a charitable school nine years before, and the institution is entitled to claim 1740 as the date of its birth, and philanthropy as its primary object.*

By the confirmatory charter of 1755, the Rev. William Smith, M. A., was, at the request of the trustees, appointed the first provost. He was a native of Aberdeen in Scotland, and was graduated from the university there, became a clergyman of the Church of England, and coming first to New York and subsequently to Philadelphia, where an article written by him upon "The College of Mirania" had made a favorable impression, he was selected to take charge of the college and academy in 1754. To his intelligence, energy and activity in its behalf its immediate and great success was mainly due. He submitted a plan of education, adopted and carried into effect in 1756, more comprehensive, as Dr. Stillé tells us, than any other then in exist-

* "There is also an Academy, or College, originally built for a Tabernacle by Mr. Whitefield." Burnaby, p. 60.

ence in the American colonies.* When in England, in 1759, he secured from Thomas Penn a deed conveying for the benefit of the college one-fourth of the manor of Perkasié, in Bucks county, consisting of about two thousand five hundred acres of land, and finding it in debt, he went again abroad, in 1762, and in two years, by indomitable exertion, secured, notwithstanding the opposition of Dr. Franklin, who "took uncommon pains to misrepresent our academy," the very large sum of £6921 7s. 6d. Of this amount, Thomas Penn, the chief patron of the college, whose gifts for the purpose during his life equalled £4500, contributed £500, the king £200, and there were over eleven thousand other contributors. In those days the pursuits of men were not so much differentiated as they have since become, and, as might have been expected from one with the acquirements and mental activities of Dr. Smith, his voice was heard and his hand was felt in all of the affairs of the province. As a clergyman, he preached fast-day sermons; as an orator, he delivered

* Rev. Andrew Burnaby, D.D., says, in his "Travels through North America in 1760," "This last institution is erected upon an admirable plan, and is by far the best school of learning throughout America." Third edition, p. 66.

addresses upon public occasions; he made investigations in astronomy and other sciences, edited a magazine, and, moreover, he was a speculator in lands, and an active politician. He was regarded as the exponent of the views of the college and the custodian of its interests, and while it was benefited by his exertions, it also suffered through the antagonisms he aroused. A churchman and a friend of the proprietors, he cordially disliked and opposed the Quakers, who elected the assembly and controlled public affairs, and the German Mennonites, Dunkers, and Moravians, through whose support they were able to do it. In 1755 he published a political pamphlet in which he denounced the Quakers for being influenced by interest rather than conscience, and accused the Germans of sympathizing with the French in their aggressions. He married the daughter of William Moore, president judge of the court of common pleas of Chester county, an aristocratic and influential personage, living on his estate at Moore Hall, on the Pickering creek, twenty-five miles from the city.

On the 23d of November, 1755, Moore, who, besides holding his peaceful judicial office, was a

colonel in the militia, wrote a letter to the assembly, saying that he was coming down to Philadelphia with two thousand men to compel them to pass a law providing means for military protection. His letter marked the beginning of a struggle that shook the whole province and was fraught with baleful consequences to both Smith and the college. During the succeeding two years numerous petitions were presented to the assembly, charging Moore with tyranny, injustice, and even extortion, in the conduct of his office, and asking that he might be removed. The assembly, after a hearing, many times adjourned in order to give him an opportunity to be heard, but which he declined to attend upon the ground that they had no authority to make the investigation, determined that he was guilty of the wrongs charged. Soon afterwards, October 19, 1757, he wrote and published a paper wherein he fiercely reviewed their action, calling it "virulent and scandalous," and a "continued string of the severest calumny and most venomous epithets, conceived in all the terms of malice and party rage." Immediately after the meeting of the new assembly, composed for the most part of the same members

as the preceding, they sent the sergeant-at-arms with a warrant for the arrest of Moore and of Dr. Smith, who was supposed to have aided in the preparation of the paper. Upon being brought before the assembly, they refused to make a defence, though Moore admitted he had written the paper, and declined to retract any of its statements, and it was ordered that he be confined until he should recant, and the address be burned by the hangman. They were given into the custody of the sheriff and were kept in jail in Philadelphia for about three months, "herding with common thieves and felons," but after the adjournment of the assembly were released on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Smith went to England to prosecute an appeal to the crown, and on February 13, 1760, "His Majesty's high displeasure" was announced to the assembly at their unwarrantable behavior in assuming power that did not belong to them, and invading the royal prerogative and the liberties of the people. It was a personal triumph for Dr. Smith, but ere long came the Revolutionary war, when his opponents grasped the reins of power, and neither the royal government nor the king himself could render him any aid.

Early in 1779 the assembly appointed a committee "To inquire into the present state of the college and academy," and in July, General Joseph Reed, president of the state, suggested to the trustees that since some of them were under legal disqualifications, it would be wise not to hold a public commencement. When the new assembly met, in September, the president in his message said, with reference to the college, that it "appears by its charter to have allied itself . . . closely to the government of Britain by making the allegiance of its governors to that State a prerequisite to any official act," and that he could not think "the good people of this State can or ought to rest satisfied or the protection of the government be extended to an institution framed with such attachments to the British government, and conducted with a general inattention to the authority of the State." A committee appointed to consider the subject reported, recommending a bill which should "secure to every denomination of Christians equal privileges, and establish said college on a liberal foundation, in which the interests of American liberty and independence will be advanced and promoted, and obedience and

respect to the constitution of the State preserved." An act of assembly was thereupon passed, November 27, 1779. It set out that the trustees had narrowed the foundations of the institution, and it declared the charters of 1753 and 1755 void. It provided that the estate, real and personal, should be vested in a board of trustees, consisting of the president and vice-president of the supreme executive council of the commonwealth, the speaker of the assembly, the chief-justice of the supreme court, the judge of admiralty, and the attorney-general, the senior ministers of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, German Calvinist, and Roman churches in the city, Benjamin Franklin, William Shippen, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, James Searle, William A. Atlee, John Evans, Timothy Matlack, David Rittenhouse, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Samuel Morris, George Bryan, Thomas Bond, and James Hutchinson, by the name of "The Trustees of the University of the State of Pennsylvania," and directed that confiscated estates of the yearly value of not over fifteen hundred pounds should be reserved for the maintenance of the provost and assistants and to uphold "the charitable school of the said

University." An oath of allegiance to the commonwealth was substituted for the former one to the crown, and means were provided to compel a transfer of the property by the trustees of the college to the trustees appointed by the act. This action of the assembly has been characterized as a simple act of spoliation, and so much of it as took away the estates and franchises of the college was repealed in 1789, upon the ground that it was "repugnant to justice, a violation of the constitution of the Commonwealth, and dangerous in its precedent to all incorporated bodies." Its supporters had succeeded in driving Dr. Smith away from the city, but they had not been able to infuse life into the new University, and, though aided by a loan by the state of two thousand pounds, it languished in debt. The effect of the repeal was to renew the college, and, in consequence, there were two institutions having in view substantially the same objects and seeking the same support. They were united by an act of assembly of September 30, 1791, which provided for the vesting of the estates of both in a board of new trustees, consisting of twelve elected by each, and the governor of the commonwealth,

under the name of "The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania," who were given power "to do everything needful and necessary to the establishment of the said University and the good government and education of the youth belonging to the same, and to constitute a faculty or learned body to consist of such head or heads and such a number of professors in the arts and sciences, and in law, medicine, and divinity as they shall judge necessary and proper." The connection of the institution with the state was maintained by providing that the governor should be one of the trustees, and that an annual statement of the funds should be laid before the legislature. This final act of fundamental legislation affecting the grant of rights to the University declared that "charity schools shall be supported, one for boys and the other for girls," thus preserving the chief thought which was in the minds of its originators in 1740. The school intended in its beginning to be a charity had been enlarged into a college and academy to teach the arts and sciences in 1753, and had now grown into a university, including in its course instruction in law, medicine, and divinity.

The school of medicine was opened in 1765 by Dr. John Morgan, that of law in 1791 by Justice James Wilson, and each was the first upon that special subject in America.

The reservation of confiscated estates in the act of 1779 was the first direct contribution made by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the cause of higher education. The lands so reserved were estimated to be worth £25,000, and in 1785 their annual value was £1381 5s. 7½ d. By the act of March 19, 1807, the sum of \$3000 was granted "out of the monies they owe the State," to the trustees, "for the purpose of enabling them to establish a garden for the improvement of the science of botany and for instituting a series of experiments to ascertain the cheapest and best food for plants and their medicinal properties and virtues."* By act of May 5, 1832, their real estate in the city of Philadelphia was exempted from "county, poor, and corporation taxes" for fifteen years. A general act which became a law April 16, 1838, exempted

*In W. P. C. Barton's "*Compendium Floræ Philadelphicæ*," published in 1818, there are numerous references to plants in the botanical garden of the University.

“all universities, colleges, academies, incorporated, erected, ordained, or established by virtue of any law of this commonwealth, with the grounds thereto annexed, from all and every county, road, city, borough, poor, and school tax.” This act received judicial construction in the case of the City of Philadelphia *vs.* The Trustees, 8 Wright, 360, where it was held that the medical hall of the University, occupied by the faculty, whose compensation was derived from the proceeds of their respective chairs, was under it exempt from taxation. Section 1, Article IX, of the present constitution of the state provides that the assembly may by general law exempt from taxation “institutions of purely public charity,” and the act of May 14, 1874, passed in pursuance of this article of the constitution, relieves from county, city, borough, bounty, road, school, and poor tax all universities, colleges, seminaries, and academies “endowed and maintained by public or private charity.”

In 1838 the legislature made provision for an annual appropriation of one thousand dollars for ten years to each university maintaining four professors and instructing one hundred students. The Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania received the annual sum until 1843. In that year the appropriation was reduced one-half, and the following year it failed utterly. The act of May 11, 1871, extended the power of the trustees to acquire real and personal property, and enabled them to hold an additional amount to the clear annual value of thirty thousand dollars. In 1872 the state gave to the University the sum of one hundred thousand dollars upon condition that it should raise an additional sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, "the entire appropriation to be expended in the erection of a general hospital in connection with said institution, in which at least two hundred beds free for persons injured shall be forever maintained," and the following year a further sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the same purpose, upon the condition that it should raise a like amount. By the act of May 29, 1889, the state made an appropriation of twelve thousand five hundred dollars, to be paid to the trustees for the erection of a veterinary hospital, upon the condition that they should furnish free of cost "to deserving young men of this state to the number of not less than twelve in attendance

at one time, said young men to be nominated by the governor of the commonwealth, and in perpetuity, free instruction in the art and science of veterinary medicine and surgery." It is interesting to note that this last act of legislation affecting the welfare of the University is one of generosity upon the part of the state, looking toward enlarged usefulness in the conduct of the institution and the further extension of its benefits among the people of Pennsylvania, and that the broad-minded and liberal policy adopted by Thomas Penn one hundred and forty years ago has been continued down to the present time. In the language of General John F. Hartranft, himself a distinguished soldier, governor of the state, and president of the board of trustees, in an address at the inauguration of the hospital thus established, this policy is "in keeping with the generosity of the great state which gave this institution its corporate existence, and is to-day, and it is hoped always will be proud of her offspring, the University of Pennsylvania."

When the impartial historian comes to record the many events in which Pennsylvania has reason

to take great pride, not the least of them will be the fact that in her first constitution, that of 1776, she made it a part of the fundamental law that "all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."

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