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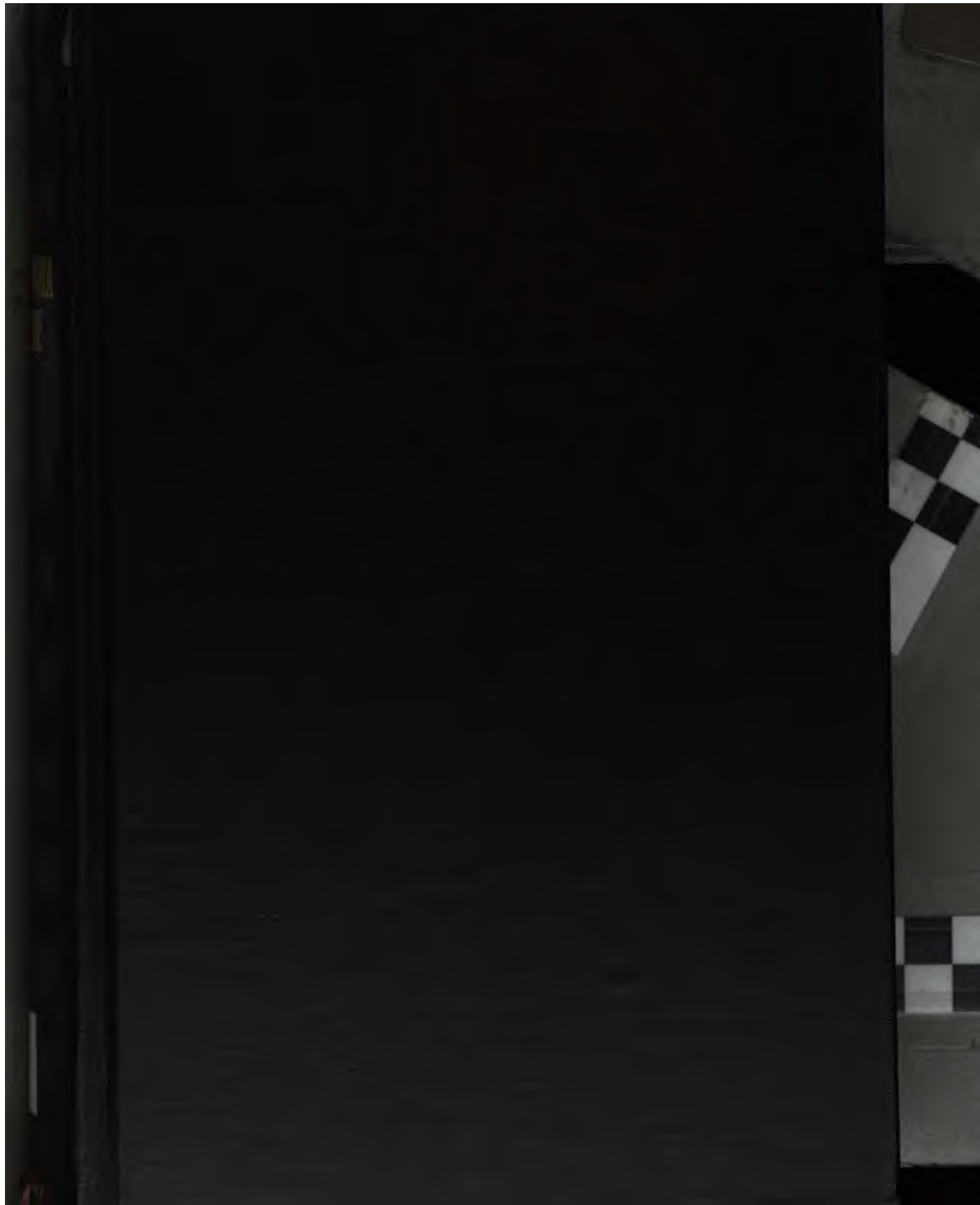
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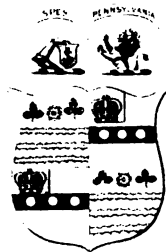
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ADAM OGDEN



The History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

as it is contained in the

Journal of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1776-1777

As inscribed, A. D. 1876, by
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. 1.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLICATION FUND OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

No. 820 SPRUCE STREET.

1877.

A.

2020

2020

P R E F A C E .

IN closing the first volume of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, the editors gladly avail themselves of the opportunity it affords to express their thanks for the hearty co-operation they have met with on every side; this has encouraged them in their task and made their labors almost nominal.

The objects of the MAGAZINE, as stated in the announcement made with the first number, are to foster and develop the interest that has been awakened in historical matters, and to furnish the means of inter-communication between those of kindred tastes. How far these ends have been accomplished the volume now completed must attest; to the contributors to it, for their ability and research, belongs whatever credit is bestowed.

The kind words which have greeted each number of the MAGAZINE have assured the Trustees of the Publication Fund, that the object for which the money entrusted to them was subscribed, was being promoted, and they have generously allowed the number of pages first decided upon to be considerably augmented. To continue the MAGAZINE in its present form, to add to its attractions, and at the same time to lessen the demands made upon the Publication Fund, are the aims of those who have its management in hand. More

money will be expended on the forthcoming volume than is likely to be received for it ; but it is hoped that the historical value of the material produced in the volume issued, and its typographical excellence will so commend the enterprise to the public, that the Fund will be materially increased, and even greater expenditure warranted.

The organization of the Publication Fund, the list of subscribers to it, and the titles of the books already issued, are to be found at the end of this volume.

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THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. I.

1877

No. 1

THE DIARY OF ROBERT MORTON.

KEPT IN PHILADELPHIA WHILE THAT CITY WAS OCCUPIED BY THE
BRITISH ARMY IN 1777.

SAMUEL MORTON, the father of Robert Morton, whose diary is here given, was a merchant of Philadelphia, the son of James Morton, of Aberdeen, Scotland. In 1758 he married Phebe, daughter of Robert and Mary Lewis, of Philadelphia. Robert Morton was b. 10 mo. 30, 1760. His father died when he was quite young, and in 1775 (7 mo. 12th) his mother became the third wife of James Pemberton (see page 6). On the 10 mo. 14th, 1784, Robert Morton married his step-sister, Hannah, third child of James Pemberton and his first wife, Hannah Lloyd. He died on the 17th of Augt., 1786, in his 26th year. His wife died on the 4th of Sept., 1788.

The diary of Robert Morton was written when he was between sixteen and seventeen years of age, and shows him to have possessed a well-cultivated mind for one of his years, a facility of expression, and much observation.

The events he records can nearly all be corroborated, and the picture he gives of our city during the occupation of it

by the British is, in some respects, the most graphic that has come down to us; especially interesting is the change of sentiment towards the English, on the part of those who at first welcomed them, which appears to have resulted from the conduct of the army, and it is to be regretted the MS. does not continue until the retirement of the troops under Sir Henry Clinton, that we might learn from the same source what the state of feeling was at that time.

There can be no doubt that the sympathies of Morton and the family with whom he was connected were biased in favor of the Royal cause so far as was consistent with their religious convictions. This feeling had no doubt been stimulated by the oppressive measures that a number of the prominent members of the Society of Friends had been subjected to by order of the Continental Congress and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Many of them had been arrested on a groundless charge and sent to Winchester, Va., among whom were the husband of Phebe Pemberton and his two brothers, John and Israel. A full statement of the facts connected with this painful incident in the revolutionary history of our State will be found in Gilpin's interesting "Exiles in Virginia," etc. etc., Phila. 1848.

DIARY.

Philada., September 16th, 1777.—This afternoon about 4 o'clock, I, in company with my agreeable Friend Dr. Hutchinson,¹ set off on a journey to Reading, on business relating to the Friends now confined there on their way to Winchester in Virginia. We rode about 4 Hours in an excessive hard rain, when we arrived at Thomson's Tavern,² about 20 miles from Philada., where upon Enquiry we found nothing

¹ Dr. James Hutchinson, a native of Bucks Co., Pa. B. 1752, d. 1793. A nephew of Israel Pemberton. He served as a surgeon in the American Army, and held many important positions. In the zealous pursuit of his profession, he fell a victim to the yellow fever in 1793, having acquired, at an early age, a reputation that gives his name prominence in the medical annals of Philadelphia.

² Now Norristown.

to our Satisfaction, the house being filled with militia. From thence we went to Mrs. Toy's, in the upper Reading Road, who, apologizing for her not being able to accommodate us, directed us to an old Dutchman's, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from her house. Upon asking him for lodgings he at first hesitated, thinking we were military officers, but upon scrutinizing us he found we made a different appearance, and introduced us with many apologies for the meanness of his house, the badness of his beds, and other excuses of the same nature. We thanked him for his kindness, and kindly accepted of his mean tho' grateful Fare. In the morning we crossed Skippack though very rapid, and proceeded on to Perkioming, where we found it dangerous to pass owing to the rapidity of the stream and the inconvenience attending the swimming of our horses. We enquired the distance of the head of the creek, and found it was about 20 miles, and in our way had to cross many small creeks which were impassable at that time without great danger. Upon mature deliberation we thought it most advisable to proceed to Pawling's Ferry upon Schuylkill, which having raised above 8 feet perpendicularly, and great number of trees and other rubbish coming down so fast, the Boatman would not go over. Every safe means of proceeding on our journey being now out of our power, and sensible that our consequence at Reading would be inadequate to the risque we run, both of ourselves and our horses, we determined to proceed home, where we arrived about 6 o'clock Wed. Ev'g after an agreeable journey and no other misfortune than a fall from my horse, which hurt my left arm, which I hope shall soon be recovered of. 17th and 18th included in the above.

Sept. 19th.—This morning, about 1 o'clock, an Express arrived to Congress, giving an acco. of the British Army having got to the Swedes Ford on the other side of the Schuylkill, which so much alarmed the Gent'n of the Congress, the military officers and other Friends to the general cause of American Freedom and Independence, that they decamped with the utmost precipitation, and in the greatest confusion, insomuch that one of the Delegates, by name Ful-

som,¹ was obliged in a very *Fulsom* manner to ride off without a saddle. Thus we have seen the men from whom we have received, and from whom we still expected protection, leave us to fall into the hands of (by their accounts) a barbarous, cruel, and unrelenting enemy.²

This afternoon we rec'd a letter from my Father, I. P., informing us that Alex. Nesbit,³ who was one of the Guards, had arrived at Reading with advices from the Executive Council of this State, from which they were apprehensive we were to be deprived of a hearing, and sent off to Winchester immediately.

O Philada. my native City, thou that hast heretofore been so remarkable for the preservation of thy Rights, now sufferest those who were the Guardians, Protectors, and Defenders of thy Youth, and who contributed their share in raising thee to thy present state of Grandeur and magnificence with a rapidity not to be paralleled in the World, to be dragged by a licentious mob from their near and dear con-

¹ Nathaniel Folsom, of New Hampshire. He was a captain in the expedition against Crown Point in 1755; was present when Baron Dieskau was defeated. He was a member of the 1st Congress (1774), and of that of 1777, and held many positions of public nature in his own State, among which were those of Judge, Member of the Committee of Safety, and Maj.-Gen. He died May 26, 1790.—See *Col. of N. H. Historical Society*, vol. v.

² John Adams, writing to his wife from York Town, Pa., on the 30th of Sept., says: In the morning of the 19th instant, the Congress were alarmed in their beds by a letter from Mr. Hamilton, one of General Washington's family, that the enemy was in possession of the fords over the Schuylkill, and of the boats, so they had it in their power to be in Philadelphia before morning. The papers of Congress belonging to the Secretary's office, the War office, the Treasury office, &c., had, before this, been sent to Bristol. The president and all the other gentlemen had gone that road, so I followed, with my friend, Mr. Marchant of Rhode Island, to Trenton, in the Jerseys.—*Letters to Mrs. Adams*, vol. ii. p. 7.

³ Alexander Nesbit and Samuel Caldwell, both members of the light horse of the City of Philadelphia, were detailed from that body to conduct the prisoners to their place of exile. Mr. Nesbit was an early member of what is now known as the "First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry," and also of the "Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," from the history of which society we learn he was a highly respectable dry goods merchant, and partner of General Walter Stewart. He died Sept. 1791.

nections, and by the hand of lawless power, banished from their country unheard, perhaps never more to return, for the sole suspicion of being enemies to that cause in which thou art now engaged; hadst thou given them even the form of a trial, then thou wouldst have been less blameable, but thou hast denied them that in a manner more tyrannical and cruel than the Inquisition of Spain. Alas, the day must come when the Avenger's hand shall make thee suffer for thy guilt, and thy Rulers shall deplore thy Fate.

Sept. 20th.—Went with Charles Logan to his Plantation, and returned about 5 o'clock; my mother rec'd a letter from my Father, giving a particular Acco. of his Journey to Reading, and the Treatment they rec'd there,¹ being all confined in one house, but kindly treated by their Friends, who

¹ "On going through the town, there appeared to be much enmity amongst the people, and some stones were thrown at us On our getting into the Widow Withington's, a house provided for us, we found ourselves made close prisoners. Guards were put around the house, and the face of everything much changed. Our friends, Isaac Zane and James Starr, coming to the door to speak to us, were violently pulled away, struck, and stoned, the former of whom was considerably bruised and hurt.

"Our friends were kept from us, Samuel Morris, who kindly sent us a dinner and some wine, soon after our arrival, being the only person admitted, for it did not appear any provision had been made for us."—See *Journey to Virginia, Gilpin*, p. 136.

The next day their friends were allowed to visit them, and amongst others, came Alexander Graydon, then a paroled prisoner residing at Reading. In his memoir he writes that Miers Fisher, one of the prisoners with whom he was acquainted, told him "he did not look as if he had been starved by those sad people the British," and he returns the sally by recording that "the prisoners were not much dejected, probably looking upon themselves as martyrs to the cause of their country; among the prisoners he found his old fencing master Pike, whose affections clung so close to his native England that it was considered best he should accompany the friends to Virginia." "His laced hat and red coat," says Graydon, "were to be seen strikingly in contrast with the flat brims and plain drab-colored garments of the rest of the assemblage; nevertheless, from an internal similarity, this seemingly discordant ingredient incorporated perfectly well with the mass and friend Pike, as he was called, officiating in the capacity of a major domo, or caterer at the inns they put up at, was a person of no small consideration with his party."

are residents there from this City, and as much hated and despised by the deluded multitude.

Sept. 21st.—Nothing remarkable this day.

Sept. 22nd.—This morning I saw Benj. Bryan, who has just returned from Thos. McKean, Esq's, Chief Justice of this State, by whom I understand that the Executive Council have deprived the Justices of executing part of their Offices, by virtue of an Act of Gen'l Assembly passed last week, to suspend the Granting of Writs of Habeas Corpus, to persons who are taken up on suspicion of being inimical to the United States. He made many professions of his disapprobation of the unprecedented measure, and would willingly, were it in his power, grant them a hearing, but as the Council had prevented him, he would receive no payment for the granting the writs. An instance worthy of imitation. This morning they went about to the inhabitants seeking for Blankets, Cloathes, &c. From some they rec'd a little, but not generally so.¹ They got one from us. My mother rec'd a letter from my father, I. P.,² dated 20th inst., giving an acco. of the Prisoners moving from Reading on their way to the place of Banishment. The two armies having moved up Schuylkill yesterday, it is thought the British have crossed the river,³ a heavy cannonade being heard this evening it is supposed near to Potts Grove.

¹ On the 22d of Sept. 1777, Hamilton wrote to the President of Congress, "I left camp last evening, and came to this city (Phila.) to superintend the collection of blankets and clothing for the army."

Hamilton's letter to the ladies of Philadelphia on this occasion was highly spoken of by Washington.

² James Pemberton, the fifth son of Isaac and Rachel Pemberton, was born in Philadelphia, 26th of 6 mo. (August), 1723. A successful and upright merchant, he devoted a great part of his time to objects of benevolence and charity. He was a director of the Pennsylvania Hospital, one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, an active member of the Friendly Association for preserving peace with the Indians. He was a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and was a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, from its commencement in Philadelphia, in 1756, until the year 1808, when he resigned.—See *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. vii. p. 49.

³ Howe crossed the Schuylkill on the afternoon and night of the 22d, and morning of the 23d.

Sept. 23rd.—Employed this day in making hay. In the evening the inhabitants were exceedingly alarmed by an apprehension of the City being set on fire. The British troops being within 11 miles of the City, caused the disturbance, and gave rise to those womanish fears which seize upon weak minds at those occasions—Set up till 1 o'clock, not to please myself, but other people.

Sept. 24th.—This day 4 Row Gallies were set up at 4 cross streets with 2 field pieces at Market Street Wharf to annoy the enemy on their march thro this City, but they not coming according to expectation, they fell down with the tide about 12 o'clock. N. B. Yesterday, in the evening a number of horses were taken out of the City to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

Sept. 25th.—This morning the news arrived of the British army being about 5 miles from the City. In the evening they sent a letter to T. Willing desiring him to inform the inhabitants to remain quietly and peaceably in their own dwellings and they should not be molested in their persons or property. Set up till 1 o'clock patrolling the streets for fear of fire. 2 men were taken up who acknowledged their intentions of doing it.

Sept. 26th.—About 11 o'clock A. M. Lord Cornwallis with his division of the British and Auxiliary Troops amount'g to about 3000, marched into this city, accompanied by Enoch Story,¹ Jos. Galloway,² Andw. Allen, William Allen and others, inhabitants of this city, to the great relief of the inhabitants who have too long suffered the yoke of arbitrary

¹ "Enoch Story, of Penna. In 1775, when he attempted to establish a newspaper at Phila., a distinguished Whig said that he knew no more about printing and composition than an old horse. When Sir Wm. Howe occupied that city, Story was inspector of prohibited goods. In 1778 he was attainted for treason, and went to England."—*Sabin's Loyalist*.

² An interesting notice of Joseph Galloway will be found in the seventh volume of the works of Franklin, edited by Sparks, from the pen of the late J. Francis Fisher. It is also printed in the appendix of Littell's *Graydon*. Sketches of Wm. and Andrew Allen will be found in Mr. Sabine's excellent volumes.

Power; and who testified their approbation of the arrival of the troops by the loudest acclamations of joy.¹ Went with Chas. Logan to Head Quarters to see his Excell'y Gen. Sir Wm. Howe,² but he being gone out, we had some conversation with the officers, who appeared well disposed towards the peaceable inhabitants, but most bitter against, and determined to pursue to the last extremity the army of the U. S. The British army in this city are quartered at the Bettering House,³ State House and other Places, and already begin to show the great destruction of the Fences and other things, the dreadful consequences of an army however friendly. The army have fortified below the town to prevent the armed vessels in our River coming to this city—likewise have erected a Battery at the Point. This day has put a period to the existance of Continental money in this city. “*Esto Perpetua.*”

Sept. 27th.—About 9 o'clock this morning 1 Ship of 34 guns, 1 of 18, 4 Row gallies and a schooner came opposite to the Batteries erected in this city, who fired upon them when at a proper distance. The engagement continued for an hour when the Frigate got aground and struck to the British troops. The other ship immediately made sail and got off with the 4 gallies, the schooner coming down was fired at several times, when a shot struck her foremast and carried it away, which bro't her to and run her aground, when all the men on board escaped. This execution was done by 4

¹ J. P. Norris told Watson (see vol. ii. p. 256): “I recollect seeing the division march down Second Street when Lord Cornwallis took possession of the city—the troops were gay and well clad. A number of our citizens appeared sad and serious. When I saw him there was no huzzahing.” A lady told Mr. Watson, “I saw no exultation in the enemy, nor indeed in those who were reckoned favorable to their success.”

² When Gen. Howe first entered the city, he made his quarters at the house of Gen. Cadwalader, on 2d St. below Spruce. He afterwards removed to the house on the south side of Market St. east of 6th, which afterwards was the residence of Washington, while President.

³ The Bettering or Alms House stood on the south side of Spruce St. between 10th and 11th Sts.

pieces of Artillery.¹ This afternoon about 3 o'clock an engagement happened near my Uncle's plantation, between 100 C. Troops and 30 British, the Con. troops gave way, their loss unknown. 3 officers and 1 private wounded, and 1 private killed on the side of the British, whom I see—

Sept. 28th.—About 10 o'clock this morning some of the Light Dragoons stationed near Plantation² broke open the house, 2 desks, 1 Book Case and 1 closet besides several drawers and other things, and ransacked them all. I apply'd to their officer, who informed me that if the men were found out they should be severely punished.

I have been informed that a soldier this day rec'd 400 lashes for some crime, which I do not know.

Sept. 29th.—Went with Dr. Hutchinson to Israel Pember-

¹ "As soon as the British had taken possession of Philadelphia, they erected three batteries near the river to protect the city against such American shipping and craft as might approach the town. On the 26th of Sept., before the batteries were finished, Commodore Hazelwood, by the advice of a council of officers, ordered two frigates, the Delaware and Montgomery, each of twenty-four guns, the sloop Fly, and several galleys and gondolas, to move up to Philadelphia and commence a cannonade on the town, should the enemy persist in erecting fortifications. The Delaware anchored within five hundred yards of the batteries, and the other vessels took other stations as were suited to their object. At ten on the morning of the 27th the cannonade began; but on the falling of the tide the Delaware grounded. In this disabled condition the guns from the batteries soon compelled her colors to be struck, and she was taken by the enemy. A schooner was likewise driven on shore, but the other frigate and small craft returned to their former stations near the fort." The above note, from the writings of Washington (vol. v. p. 77), is appended to a letter of Washington's mentioning the incident it illustrates, and giving a rumor of the day, that the crew of the frigate Delaware had mutinied. Mr. Sparks continues: "The suspicion that the crew mutinied was never confirmed, nor was there any such hint in the British commanders describing the event." As Morton, an inmate of the city, fails to mention the story, it probably had its origin within the American lines. Marshall says "this repulse of the American fleet was rendered material by its giving the enemy the entire command of the ferry, and, consequently, free access to the Jersey shore, while it interrupted the communication between the forts below and above Trenton, from whence garrisons were to have been supplied with military stores."—*Marshall's Washington*, vol. iii. p. 174.

² Now the site of the Naval Asylum, on the Schuylkill.

ton's Plantation where we found a destruction similar to that at our Plantation, 3 closets being broke open, 6 doz. wine taken, some silver spoons, the Bedcloaths taken off 4 Beds, 1 rip'd open, the Tick being taken off, and other Destruction about the Plantation. The officers were so obliging as to plant a centry there without application. Upon our return home we pass'd thro' part of the camp and saw a man hanging.

Sept. 30th.—This morning my mother and I went to Col. Harcourt,¹ Com. of the Light Dragoons, near our plantation, to make intercession for the men who are apprehended for breaking and ransacking our plantation and house. The Col. upon my application, behaved very unlike a Gent'n by asking me "what I wanted" in an ungenteel manner, and told me he could not attend to what I had to say, and said that the trial was coming on and I must attend to prosecute them. I informed him there was a lady who would be glad to speak with him. He then came to my mother and behaved in a very polite genteel manner, and assured her that he could not admit her application as the orders of the General must be obeyed, and that the soldiers were not suffered to commit such depredations upon the King's subjects with impunity. Some of the British troops came to my mother's pasture on 6th and 1st days last and took away 2 loads of hay without giving a Rec't or offering Paym't.

We had a verbal acco't this morning of the Prisoners being seen on 4th day last at Carlisle on their way to Banishment.

It is reported that the Con. Troops have erected several batteries on the other side of the River to annoy and distress their enemy. One at White Hill, one at Trenton, and one nearer to the city.

Oct. 1st.—The man who was found guilty of robbing our Plantation rec'd punishment this day, which was —— lashes.

¹ Col. Harcourt, subsequently Earl Harcourt. While commanding the 16th Dragoons, with a patrol of thirty men he captured Gen. Charles Lee, at Basking Ridge, N. J., in Dec. 1776.

The man found coming out of Mary Pemberton's¹ plantation House is sentenced to be executed. M. P. has petitioned the Gen'l for a mitigation of the punishment. The British are erecting batteries from Delaware to Schuylkill on the north side of the city. Great numbers of officers and men belonging to the Row Gallies have deserted their posts at this time of approaching danger;² and, among the rest, to his eternal disgrace and immediate death, if taken by the Con's, is Dr. Dun, Jr., who, I am told, served as Surgeon Gen'l to the Fortifications upon the River.

Oct. 2nd.—The Quarter M. Gen'l of the Light Horse took 1 load of hay from our Pasture, which he promises to give a Rec't for the 2 loads taken before by order of the Quarter Master, 2d Batt. Grenadiers, he has given me a Rec't for 100 lbs. which 2 loads Jacob declares was near 1000 lbs. 'Tis said Lord Howe with the Fleet arrived in the River last week.

Oct. 3rd.—10 of the Row Gallies men have deserted and come up this morning, who gave an acco of the Forts at Billingsport³ and Red Bank being taken and a universal disaf-

¹ "Gen. Howe, during the time he stayed in Philadelphia, seized and kept for his own use Mary Pemberton's coach and horses."—*Watson*, ii. p. 285.

² Washington wrote (Oct. 7): "It is to be lamented that many of the officers and seamen on board of the galleys have manifested a disposition that does them little honor. Looking upon their situation as desperate, or probably from worse motives, they have been guilty of the most alarming desertions. Two whole crews, including the officers, have deserted to the enemy."—See *Sparks*, vol. v. p. 84.

³ This report was true only so far as Billingsport was concerned. Marshall (vol. iii. p. 176) says (Sept. 29): "Col. Stirling with two regiments was detached to take possession of the forts at Billingsport, which he accomplished without opposition; the garrison, which was entirely of militia, having spiked their artillery and set fire to the barracks, withdrew without firing a gun. This service being effected, and the works facing the water entirely destroyed, so that the attempts to cut away and weigh up the obstructions to the passage of vessels up the river could no longer be impeded by the fire from the fort, Col. Stirling returned to Chester, from whence he was directed to escort a large convoy of provisions to Philadelphia," probably that mentioned by Morton in his MS.

fection among the men. Enoch Story is appointed to administer the oath of allegiance to those who come in and put themselves under his Majesty's protection.¹ A foraging party went out last week towds Darby and brought in a great number of cattle to the great distress of the inhabitants. A paper is handing about to be signed by the inhabitants agreeing to take the old lawful money,² which I signed.³ The following report is this day prevalent concerning the defeat of Gen'l Gates near Albany—Gen'l Washington on last 1st day orderd a feu-de-joie to be fired in his camp by way of rejoicing for a victory obtained by Gen'l Gates over Burgoyne on the 18th⁴ Ulto. A letter is come to town, the postscript of which being wrote in Irish, gives an acco. of a Battle being fought on the 18th of Sept. in which Gen'l Gates was successful, that Gen'l Burgoyne returned on the 19th to bury his dead, which brot. on a general engagement in which Burgoyne was successful, and that he was advancing towards Albany. A man is arrived in town who left Albany since the 19th, and says that there was no acco. of Burgoyne advancing when he left it. An intercepted letter of Dr. Potts⁵ is arrived in Town which says that he was going to Albany to establish a Hospital for the sick and wounded. From which Accot. if true, we may infer that

¹ A fact not mentioned by Sabin in *The American Loyalists*.

² That issued under the colonial government "sanctioned by the King."

³ The list of those who signed this paper will be found in Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, Chap. ccli.

⁴ Probably the 19th should be the date, as on that day Gates gained his first important victory.

⁵ Jonathan Potts, a native of Berks Co., Pa., graduated at the Philadelphia College, 1771, appointed medical director of the N. Department, Jan. 1777. "I cannot close my letter," Gen. Gates wrote to the Pres. of Congress (Oct. 20, 1777), "without requesting your Excellency to inform Congress of the great care and attention with which Dr. Potts and the gentlemen of the general Hospital have conducted the business of their department. It must be that some honorary mark of the favor of Congress may be shown to Dr. Potts and his subordinate associates." Dr. Potts was the first surgeon of the Philadelphia City Troop. Several volumes of his MS. papers are in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—See also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, vol. xviii. p. 21, and *Potts' Memorial*.

there has been an engagement, but which party is successful is dubious

Oct. 4th.—This morning early the picquet of the British near Germantown was surprised by the Americans, which brought on a very severe engagement in which the British lost 500 men killed and wounded and the Americans about 400 prison'rs, their killed and wounded is uncertain. I went this morning to the plantation, from thence to the middle ferry, where I saw a number of the citizens with about 30 of the Light Dragoons on Foot watching the motions of the enemy on the other side. I waited there about an hour during which time there were several shots from both sides without much execution, when 3 columns of the Americans with 2 field pieces appeared in sight marching tow'ds the River. The Dragoons were order'd under arms and an express sent off for a reinforcement immediately, after which the Americans fired a field piece attended with a volley of small arms. I thought it most advisable to leave the Ground, and rode off as fast possible. The Americans afterwards came down to the River side with 2 Field Pieces, which they fired with some small arms and run and left them; soon after they returned and brought them back without any considerable loss, 1 man being wounded on their side and none on the other.¹ The British in the engagement of this morn'g lost a Gen'l Agnew, Col. Bird, and 1 Lieut. Col.² be-

¹ These troops composed the extreme right of Washington's army. They were Pennsylvania militia under the command of Gen. James Potter, and the attack, or feint, made by them was to attract the attention of the British, and prevent the sending of reinforcements to Germantown. The movement is not often mentioned in accounts of the battle of Germantown, though very favorable results were hoped from it. Major Jno. Clark, Jr., wrote to Washington (Oct. 6, 1777) that one of his friends told him that "if the troops had arrived at the middle ferry earlier 'twould have prevented the enemy's reinforcement from the city joining the main body."

² The remains of Gen. Agnew and Lt.-Col. Bird lie in the burying ground at the corner of Fisher's Lane and Main St., Germantown, the spot being marked with a neat marble slab placed there by the late John F. Watson. In Lossing's Field Book (vol. ii. p. 113, 2d ed.) will be found a very interesting letter to the widow of Gen. Agnew, from his servant, giving an account of his death.

sides an amazing number wounded; the loss of the Americans is undetermined, as they carried off as many of their killed and wounded as they could. It is reported that Gen'l Wayne is among the slain.

Oct. 5th.—This morning I went to Germantown to see the destruction, and collect if possible a true acco. of the Action. From the acco's of the Officers and Sold'rs it appears that the Americans surprised the picquet guard of the English, which consisted of the 2d Batt. Grenadiers, some Infantry, and the 40th Regt., altogether about 500. The English sustained the fire of the Americans for near an hour (their numbers unknown), when they were obliged to retreat, the ammunition of the Grenadiers and infantry being expended. The 40th Regt. retreated to Chew's House, being about 120 men, and supported the fire of the Americans on all sides. The Americans came on with an unusual firmness, came up to the Doors of the House, which were so strongly barricaded they could not enter. One of the Americans went up to a window on the N. side of the house to set fire to it, and just as he was putting the Torch to the window he rec'd a Bayonet thro. his mouth, which put an end to his existence. The Americans finding the fire very severe retreated from the house. A small party of the Americans which had gone in near the middle of Germantown and had sustained the fire in the street for some time, perceived the British coming up in such numbers that they retreated. Gen'l Grey¹ with 5000 men pursued them to the Swedes Ford, his men being much fatigued and very hungry, and the Americans running so fast, that he gave over the chase and returned to his old encampment. The greatest slaughter of the Americans was at and near to Chew's Place. Most of the killed and wounded that lay there were taken off before I got there, but 3 lay in the field

¹ Subsequently Earl Grey, the same officer who surprised Wayne at Paoli and Baylor at Tappan. He was the father of the celebrated Charles Grey, afterwards Lord Howick and Earl Grey, well known for his earnest advocacy of the reform measures introduced into the British Parliament in the early part of the present century.

at that time opposite to Chew's Place. The Americans were down as far as Mrs. Mackenet's Tavern.¹ Several of their balls reached near to Head Qur's, from all which Accos. I apprehend with what I have heard that the loss of the Americans is the most considerable. After I had seen the situation of Chew's House,² which was exceedingly damaged by the Balls on the outside, I went to Head Qur's,³ where I saw Major Balfour,⁴ one of Gen'l Howe's Aid de camps, who is very much enraged with the people around Germantown for not giving them intelligence of the advancing of Washington's Army, and that he should not be surprised if Gen'l Howe was to order the country for 12 miles round Germantown to be destroyed, as the People would not run any risque to give them intelligence when they were fighting to preserve the liberties and properties of the peaceable inhabitants. On our setting off we see His Excellency the Gen'l att'd by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Chewton,⁵ the Gen'l not answ'g my expectations.

Oct. 6th.—A heavy firing this morning down by Billingsport; I went to see the wounded soldiers now in this City, some at the Seceeder meeting house, some at the Presbyterian meeting house in Pine Street, some at the Play House,

¹ In 1765 Daniel Mackenet owned a lot of ground on the east side of the Main Street above where the Market House stood, and it is probable the tavern kept by his widow in 1777 stood there.

² The doors of Chew's house, perforated with balls, can be seen in the National Museum in Independence Hall.

³ Howe's quarters were then at Stenton.

⁴ Nisbet Balfour, a native of Edinburgh. A sketch of this officer will be found in Gents' Magazine, May, 1823. He served during a greater part of the Revolution; was wounded at Bunker Hill and Long Island. He commanded at Charleston, S. C., at the time of the execution of Col. Hayne, for which act he has been censured. He was Maj.-Gen. in 1793, Gen. 1803.

⁵ Probably George Lord Chewton, subsequently fourth Earl of Waldegrave, a great nephew of Horace Walpole. Gen. Fitzpatrick wrote to the Countess of Ossory, from the head of Elk, Sept. 1777: "Lord Chewton was very ill during our voyage, and is yet hardly recovered; his good nature is heartily disgusted at these scenes of iniquity and horror, and he is impatient for the winter, when he will probably return to England with Lord Cornwallis."

and some, and those the most, at the Penns'a Hospital,¹ where I see an Englishman's leg and an American's arm cut off. The American troops are mostly at 2 new houses in Fourth Street near to the Presbyterian meeting house, amt'g to about 30 and not so much attended to as might be. The British have about 300 wounded in this city. A heavy firing all this evening, supposed to be at the Forts down the river. An acco. come of the fleets being in the River.

Oct. 7th.—A certainty of the Fleets being below, 14 men have deserted from the Row Gallies, who give an acco. of their disabling a British Brig last ev'g, and that the men belonging to the American Fleet would desert were it in their power. News arrived this morning of 3000 men being arrived at New York, and 5000 at Quebec. No further intelligence of Burgoyne's movements. No certain acco. of the Chevaux de Frise being as yet raised. The wounded Americans in this city are removed to the State House.

Oct. 8th.—Admiral Howe is arrived at Chester. David Sproat² is come to town, who reports that there is a letter in the fleet from Gen. Clinton to Gen. Howe, giving an acco. of Gen. Burgoyne defeating Gen. Gates, and that he is now on his march to Albany. I went to see Doc. Foulke³ ampu-

¹ The Seceders' Meeting House, on Spruce St. above Third; the Pine St. Presbyterian Church, situated on south side of Pine, between Fourth and Fifth Streets; the Play House was on the south side of South St. east of Fifth St.; a portion of the walls of this building forms a part, we believe, of the brewery now standing on the site. Mr. Westcott, in his History of Philadelphia, mentions (in addition to the above) the following edifices, which were used for hospital purposes: The First Presbyterian Church, Market St. below third; the Second Presbyterian Church at Third and Arch Streets; Zion's and St. Michael's Lutheran Churches at Fourth and Fifth and Cherry Streets; and Cornman's sugar refinery.

² David Sproat; previous to the Revolution he was a merchant in Philadelphia. He was commissary of naval prisoners. The mortality of persons under his care at New York was very great, but it is impossible to state facts which concern him personally with accuracy. He was attainted of treason in Pennsylvania, and his estate forfeited. He died at his house, Kirkcudbright, Scotland, in 1799, aged sixty-four years.—*Sabine*.

³ "Dr. John Foulke was the earliest demonstrator and lecturer on human anatomy in the Medical College of Philadelphia. He was polished and

tate an American soldier's leg, which he completed in 20 minutes, while the physician at the military hospital was 40 ms. performing an operation of the same nature. A report that some of the Chevaux de Frise are raised.

Oct. 9th.—A heavy cannonade last night and this morning. The British are about to open Batteries to bombard the Fort at Mud Island. Cap. Ewald call'd this morning with a letter from my uncle, N. L., dated New Jersey, Dec. 12th, 1776, at which time many in Jersey were apprehensive that the British would take possession of this city as soon as the river was fastened by the ice, but Gen'l Washington's taking the Hessians at Trenton turned the scale against them, disconcerted their measures, and prevented their coming that winter. At the time of his coming into the house I was not within, but being sent for, and presenting myself to him, he handed me ye letter, and behaved in other respects much like a gentleman. After a long conversation and he offering to go, I invited him to dine with us, but he politely excused himself and promised to wait upon us when he again comes to the City, being stationed at the Widow Lewis' Plantation.

Oct. 10th.—Nothing remarkable this day.

Oct. 11th.—A heavy cannonade this morning. A report that the battery erected by the British on Province Island was taken. Went with a number of Gent'n to Hollander Creek's mouth, where we had a sight of the American Fleet and 5 of the British lying a little way below the Chevaux de Frise. From all appearances the British Fort was not taken, as from the Acco's of numbers who were present at the time of the American Boats landing at the Fort (the acco's of their numbers are various and contradictory) and the boats returning without their men and the Gondolas 2 hours afterwards firing upon the Fort, it is reasonable to

liberal, zealous and humane; during the epidemic of yellow fever, he would be absent from his home for several days at a time, devoting himself to medical attendance on the sick in the infected district."—*Memoir of W. Parker Foulke.*

conclude that the Report is groundless and that the Fort is not taken.

Oct. 12th.—About 1 o'clock this morning, the inhabitants were alarmed by the cry of fire, which happened at a stable above the Barracks, supposed to have been occasioned by a number of Hessians lodging in the Stable, but was happily extinguished notwithstanding the inactivity of the inhabitants, and a 3 story adjoining house which caught 3 Times, in less than 2 hours. Went this afternoon to the middle Ferry at Schuylkill, where I see a man from Chester who said that last night about 300 militia came into that town and took off the Sheriff of Sussex, whom Governor McKinley¹ some time since advertised with a reward of 300 Dol's. Several Acco's at this ferry of the Americans approaching this City, particularly one who said that they were within 7 miles and that his Brother was taken off.

Oct. 13th.—This morning about 1 o'clock there was the most severe cannonade that has yet been heard, near Province Island, supposed to be from the British ship, upon the American ships and battery. I went down there this morning and perceive the British ships to have altered their stations and come up higher, the American fleet nearly in the same place they were some time since. This ev'g I see a man from Chester County who says that Gen'l Potter² with 1600 militia is now in Newton Township about 16 miles from this City.

Oct. 14th.—This ev'g my mother rec'd a letter from my Father, J. P. dated 1 and 6 inst. by which we find that the prisoners had arrived at Winchester, that the people were very much enraged at them and declared that they should

¹ Gov. McKinley, of Delaware, was taken from his bed and made prisoner by the British the night after the battle of Brandywine. The arrest of the Sheriff of Sussex was probably an act of retaliation.

² Gen. James Potter, of the Pennsylvania Militia, of whom little is known. "In order to prevent Gen. Howe from obtaining supplies for his army in the well-cultivated district west of the Schuylkill, Gen. Potter with 600 militia was ordered to scour the country between that river and Chester."—*Smith's Del. Co.*

not stay there long; that they had petitioned Gov. Henry of Vir. and the Congress for a Releasement from their confinement and their return to their families.¹ The British are erect'g a strong Battery upon Province Island, and they suppose will be completed and opened this morning.

Oct. 15th.—A heavy firing this morning near to Province Island. The American Fort is abandoned by a number of their men who have carried a great deal of their Stores, Baggage, &c. to Redbank and the American Fleet is moved further up the River. The Americans came down to the middle Ferry upon Schuylkill and cut the rope about 4 o'clock this morning, which caused some platoon firing between them and the Light Dragoons.

Oct. 16th.—Some bombs were this day thrown at the American Fort, and it is reported set fire to their Barracks. The Americans are fortifying at Red Bank. The British at Wilmington have marched to take their Fort. Provisions are very scarce. Good beef sells for 2/6 Mutton 2/6 Veal 2/ Butter 7/6. A prospect of starvation.

This day the English Battery burnt some of the Barracks belonging to the American Fort.

Oct. 17th.—No remarkable occurrence this day.

Oct. 18th.—Went to the mouth of Hollanders Creek this morning, where I had a view of the American and 4 of the British Fleets. The upper and lower British Batteries fired several times at the Mud Island Fort, but I believe without execution. The American Fort returned the fire. The lower English Battery fired 3 Bombs. The American Fleet lay nearly under Red Bank to be out of the way of the bombs. The American Flag was this day hoisted at Red Bank. The British troops that left Wilmington and were supposed to have gone to take Red Bank y's ev'g came up as far as Geo. Gray's Ferry and bro. a number of their sick and wounded into Town. A smart platoon firing this ev'g above Germantown.

Oct. 19th.—A firing this morning at the fort. Went this

¹ See *Exiles in Va.*, pp. 164, 167.

afternoon to the Plantation. When I had got as far as I. Pemberton's Place, I see about 100 Hessians¹ com'g down the road on a foraging, or rather plundering, party. As soon as they came to the corner of the road, their com. gave them permission to take all the cabbage and Potatoes they could find. Being afraid y't they would take our cabbage, I applied for a guard to the House and Garden, which was immediately granted, and by that means prevented our cabbage from being plundered. After they had taken all Jno. King's Cabbage and Potatoes they marched off. Bro't our cabbage home. It was surprising to see with what rapidity they run to, and with what voraciousness they seized upon Jno. King's Cabbage and Potatoes, who remained a silent spectator to their infamous depredations.

Oct. 20th.—Went to the plantation to see about the potatoes, &c., and when I got to the corner of ye road I see another party of Hessians com'g down with Horses, Carts, bags, &c., to carry off Hay, potatoes, &c. The com'r rode up to Jno. King's House, and I followed him. He said he was come by orders of the General to take the Hay and Potatoes. I told him who it belonged to, but to no purpose. By this time a guard which Col. Harcourt had sent came up and declared they should not take it. From thence they went to J. Bringhurst's Place² where they took all the Hay and most of ye Potatoes which belonged to the Tenant, to the great distress of the family. I went a little further and see a number of Hessians crossing over the bridge of boats lately made for that purpose, with Bennett³ of W—n, a prisoner. 14 of the Eng. flat bottomed boats came by the Che-de-Frise

¹ Capt. Henrichs, the German officer who wrote the letters printed on page 40, must have been stationed in the neighborhood of Pemberton's plantation.

² On the opposite side of the road from Pemberton's place and nearer to Gray's Ferry.

³ Possibly Caleb P. Bennett, who died at Wilmington, Del., May 7, 1836, while governor of that State. He held the rank of major, was in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and in the Southern campaign. We have no record of his being taken prisoner, and are unable to connect him with the person mentioned by Morton.

this morning, which occasioned some firing. I went this afternoon to see the British encampment, which extends in nearly a line from Delaware to Schuylkill. The reason of their leaving Germantown was because their lines were too extensive for the number of ye men.¹ The troops appeared in good spirits, good health and heartily desirous for the

¹ Sargent, in his *Life of André* (p. 117), says: The troops that entered with Cornwallis had been quartered at the State House, the Bettering (or Poor) House, &c., and had at once set to fortifying the river front against our ships and galleys. The disposition made of the main army placed the Hessians and grenadiers on Noble and Callowhill, between Fifth and Seventh Sts.; the British grenadiers, Fourth, Fortieth, and Fifty-fifth, &c., on the north side of Callowhill, from Seventh to Fourteenth Sts.; eight other regiments were on the higher grounds of Bush Hill from Fourteenth St. in about a line with Vine to the upper Schuylkill Ferry, near which was a Hessian post; while the Yagers were on a hill at Twenty-second St. and Pennsylvania Ave. Infantry corps were at Eighth, near Green Sts. and by Thirteenth, on the Ridge Road. The 16th Dragoons and three foot regiments were by a pond between Vine and Race, and Eighth and Twelfth Sts.; and a body of Yagers at the Point house on the Delaware. When winter came on, the men were quartered in the public buildings and private houses, and in the old British Barracks in the Northern Liberties. The artillery were on Chestnut from Third to Sixth Sts., and their park in the State House Yard, now Independence Square. On the north side of the town ten redoubts, connected by strong palisades, were erected from the mouth of Conoquonoke Creek on the Delaware near Willow St. to the upper or Callowhill St. Ferry. They were thus situated: Near the junction of Green and Oak Sts., where the road then forked for Kensington and Frankford; a little west of Noble and Second Sts.; between Fifth and Sixth and Noble and Buttonwood Sts.; on Eighth St. between Noble and Buttonwood; on Tenth between Buttonwood and Pleasant; on Buttonwood between Thirteenth and Broad; on Fifteenth between Hamilton St. and Pennsylvania Ave.; at Eighteenth St. and Pennsylvania Ave.; at Twenty-First and Callowhill Sts., and on the Schuylkill bank near the Upper Ferry. These works were begun on the 1st of October. To a British officer writing in October, our city did not present a very favorable appearance. He says: "I cannot say much for the town of Philadelphia, which has no view but the straightness and uniformity of the streets. Till we arrived I believe it was a very populous city, but at present it is very thinly inhabited, and that only by the *canaille* and the *Quakers*, whose peaceable disposition has prevented their taking up arms, and consequently has engaged them in our interests, by drawing upon them the displeasure of their countrymen."

fleets getting up that they might pursue General Washington. The most heavy firing at the fort y't we have had yet: On 1st day, the 19th, Gen'l Howe came to his quarters at Jno. Cadwalader's house in consequence of the Army contracting their lines. The B. Camp is below Kensington. We see a number of the Con. troops about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the British Piquet, having exchanged several shots.

Oct. 21st.—This morning about 2500 Hessians, under the Command of Count Donop, crossed the River in order to attack Red Bank, and marched from Cooper's Ferry tow'ds Haddonfield. No firing this day at the fort.

Oct. 22nd.—Went to the Plantation this morning and found that the British had taken 1 load of hay without paying or giving a Rec't. A number of the British have crossed the lower ferry in expectation of an attack with the Continental Troops, and keeping a communication open with Chester. The British have taken 2 more loads of hay upon the same conditions as the first. Last 7th day I rec'd a Rec't for the load of hay taken for the Light Horse, which I omitted mentioning at that time. The Hessians having taken all the Stores belonging to the A. Army at Haddonfield, proceeded on tow'ds Red Bank.

Oct. 23rd.—5th day of the week. An acco. is just arrived of Count Donop having attacked the fort at Red Bank, and his being repulsed 3 times with the loss of about 300 killed and wounded; and the great Count, who petitioned for the command in order to signalize himself and his famous Hessians, rec'd a fatal blow of which he shortly died. The wounded are brot. to town, and a number of Grenadiers and infantry gone over to make another effort. From this instance we see the important effects of despising the American army, and of Red Bank not being possessed by the British at the time they took Billingsport.¹ This morning 20 of the British ships moved nearer to the fort in order to do more execution than they have yet been able to do.

¹ Lee's Memoirs, and the Travels of Marquis de Chastellux, both contain interesting accounts of the attack on the fort at Red Bank.

After the British batteries, erected on Province Island, and the British ships had been firing near 6 hours at the Mud Island Fort, the *Augusta*, a new 64 Gun Ship, by some means or other, caught fire and burnt near 3 hours and then blew up; and the *Zebra*, a 16 gun sloop, likewise caught fire, and about 3 o'clock in the afternoon likewise blew up, to the great amazement of the inhabitants and the disappointment of the soldiery, who having a number of troops embarked to storm the fort, and which in all probability would have surrendered in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour and the besieged fallen victims to their vengeance. The Hessians this morning broke open the Plantation house, but did no considerable damages. The British that crossed Schuylkill yesterday, have returned and broke up the bridge at Gray's ferry, where they are erect'g a Facine Battery to defend the pass instead of carry'g it to the upper ferry, where its proximity to ye camp would render it more conveniently protected and where, from the situation of the ground, it would be impossible to demolish it from the opposite side.

Oct. 24th.—No firing this morning. The Hessians and British Soldiers have taken above 50 Bus. of our Potatoes, notwithstanding the gracious proclamation of his Excell'y to protect the peaceable inhabitants in a quiet possession of their property. The ravages and wanton destruction of the soldiery will, I think, soon become irksome to the inhabitants, as many who depended upon their vegetables, &c. for the maintenance of their families, are now entirely and effectually ruined by the soldiers being permitted, under the command of their officers, to ravage and destroy their property. I presume the fatal effects of such conduct will shortly be very apparent by the discontent of the inhabitants, who are now almost satiated with British clemency, and numbers of whom, I believe, will shortly put themselves out of the British protection; I mean not to dictate to men of whose superior abilities I have a just appreciation, but had the necessities of the army justified the measures, and they had paid a sufficient price for what they had taken, then they would have the good wishes of the people, and perhaps

all the assistance they could afford; but contrary conduct has produced contrary effects, and if they pursue their present system, their success will be precarious and uncertain. It is reported that Count Donop, after he had taken a view of the American Fort, found it impossible to take it without great loss; but as his orders were peremptory, he must take it or nobly fall in the attack. He del'd his watch and purse to Lord Bute's natural son, and then bro. on the attack; being soon after wounded, he fainted and he died.

Oct. 25th.—Great part of this day employed at Plantation taking down the fences to prevent the soldiery taking them. A report is this day prevalent, that Gen'l Burgoyne with 4000 men, surrendered prisoners of War on the 15th inst.¹

Oct. 26th.—This day employed at Plautation taking down the fences. About 3 o'clock P. M., a small party of the Americans, chiefly militia, attacked a sentry of the British upon the Hill opposite Ogden's house at the middle ferry, which bro. on a smart firing between them and the British Picket. It continued about 15 min., when a Regiment marched over the Bridge to reinforce them. Upon their appearance, the Americans marched off, and the firing ceased.

Oct. 27th.—Nothing remarkable this day.

Oct. 28th.—Remarkably rainy weather, and nothing very material except that the English had burnt the Town of Esopus in New York Province.

Oct. 29th.—A firing at the fort about 1 o'clock.

Oct. 30th and 31st, and Nov. 1st.—These three days employed at the plantation taking up the posts and rails. A report in town that Esopus,² in the Province of New York, was burnt, and that a number of the inhabitants had fired

¹ If what we have of General Burgoyne's situation be true, and that he and his whole army are literally prisoners, I think neither the war nor the Ministry can possibly last another campaign.—*Gen. R. Fitzpatrick to Countess of Ossory*, Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1777.

² The burning of Esopus, or Kingston, N. Y., occurred on the 16th of October, and, although an act of severity hardly warranted, was not attended with the atrocities mentioned in the text. A full account of the event will be found in the "Collections of the Ulster Historical Society," vol. i. p. 109.

upon the British troops from out of the windows, for which reason the town was set on fire, and guards placed at all the avenues to prevent the inhabitants from making their escape, which, if true, is an instance not to be paralleled in the annals of any nation who have so long boasted of their civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. The Americans have advanced to the borders of Schuylkill on acco. of the British at the destruction of their bridge being obliged to retreat to this side, which has occasioned a smart firing from each side. Having mentioned all that is necessary of my particular affairs, I shall now take a review of the conduct of the great, and candidly deliver my sentiments concerning their measures, and my opinion of their success provided they pursue them. Previous to their taking this city, their Gen'l published a proclamation warranting security and protection to those who should quietly remain in their dwellings, and thereby give a convincing proof of their attachment to his Majesty's government. Relying on the General's candor and generosity, they embraced the benefit of his proclamation, and remained quietly in their dwellings, expecting him to afford them that protection which the subjects of the British Empire are of right entitled to, but alas! melancholy experience has convinced them of the contrary, and the ruin of numbers has stamped it with infallible certainty. After they had, without much opposition, taken possession of the City, they sent a number of troops and took possession of Billingsport, and at the same time might have possessed Red Bank with a very inconsiderable loss had not their confidence dictated to the contrary. The City being well fortified, they erected batteries on the Province Island, to silence the Mud Island Fort,¹ they fired to no purpose till the 23 ult., when 3 ships

¹ Gen. Fitzpatrick, writing to the Countess of Ossory from Philadelphia, on the 26th of October, 1777, entered his complaint at the delay in the capture of the forts on the Delaware as follows: "We arrived at this place above a month since, though we cannot possibly be said to be in possession of it all yet, as the ships cannot get up the river, and in spite of all their exertion, do not seem more likely to succeed in that object than they were three days after our arrival."

and the batteries engaged the Fort. After a few hours firing, the *Augusta*, 64 gun ship, and a small sloop blew up. The same morning ye Count Donop, with a body of Hessians, attacked the Fort at Red Bank and was repulsed, with a great number killed and wounded, himself mortally, and now among the slain. Here we have an additional instance of the experience of their confidence. As the last resource they are building 2 Floating Batteries, to make another attempt, and if that should fail, the consequences will be dreadful. But as by their expectations heightened by their confidence they will make great efforts, it is highly probable they will take the fort and their shipping come to the city. The Fort or bomb-battery was, by the last rain, so overflowed that the men were up to their middles in water. A certain acco. arrived by one of Gen'l Burgoyne's captains sent for the purpose, that on the 16th¹ ult., the army consisting of 3500 men, 13,000 stand of arms, 40 picces brass cannon, and marched out with the honors of war and surrendered themselves prisoners.

Nov. 2nd.—This afternoon I took a walk to see the camp, and went by the way of Schuylkill where we see some of the Americans on the other side. The soldiers appeared clean and neat.

Nov. 3rd.—No occurrence remarkable this day, a firing in the eve'g. We rec'd a letter from Winchester giving an acco. of the Friends, that they had a large room to dine in, that they were all very healthy, and that they had rec'd no answer to their address to Gov. Henry, and their remonstrance to Congress.

Nov. 4th.—An acco. of Burgoyne's surrender given out to day in General orders. The terms of capitulation are, "That the army should march out of their entrenchments and pile up their arms on the Bank of the Hudson River, that the men should march to, and encamp as nearly as convenient to the Town of Boston, there to remain at the expense of Congress till transports should be sent to carry them to G.

¹ The articles of capitulation were signed on the 17th instant.

B.," agreed to on the 16th Oct. 1777. Burgoyne's army ammo. to 1900 British,¹ 1600 Germans, Gates' Army to 16,000 men Con. and Militia. For the Particulars see Humphrey's paper, Nov. 5th.

Nov. 5th.—Nothing remarkable this day. Have heard that one of the floating batteries was launched yesterday. They report that the Fort is to be attacked the beginning of next week.

Nov. 6th.—No remarkable occurrence. Men employed at Plantation cutting our wood.

Nov. 7th.—Nothing remarkable this day.

Nov. 8th.—A report prevails that the British have, by orders evacuated Rhode Island. I went this morning to see the floating batteries upon the banks of Schuylkill, one of which had been launched the day before and was found very leaky and insufficient for that purpose. They are now repairing her, expecting to be ready to make the attack in a few days. A proclamation is at last published to prevent the soldiers plundering the inhabitants, and persons appointed to patrole.

Nov. 9th.—No remarkable occurrence. *10th.* Monday Morning, a smart firing this morning at the Fort.

Nov. 11th.—Went to the mouth of Schuylkill and see the firing between the Mud Island Fort and the British Batteries upon Province Island. This ev'g 2 Brigs and 2 Sloops came from the fleet with provisions for the Army and went up Schuylkill.

Nov. 12th, Fourth day.—This day a severe firing by which the American Barracks was several times set on fire, but soon extinguished. I went this ev'g down to Province Island where I see the 2 Brigs, one called the Lord Howe and the other the Betsy, and the 2 sloops. One of the floating batteries has got to the mouth of Schuylkill and the other at Everley's, preparing with all possible dispatch and we may soon expect a general attack to be made upon the Fort.

¹ Bancroft gives the number at 5791, and 1856 prisoners previously captured.

Nov. 13th.—A firing this day on the Fort. *14th.* Ditto.

Nov. 15th, 7th day of the week.—This morning about 11 o'clock the Vigilant and 6 more ships of war came up and attacked the fort together with the 6 gun, 2 do., and other batteries on Province Island. The Vigilant took her station between the Province and Mud Islands and the other 6 ships just above the Hog Island. The firing continued till 6 o'clock P. M., and then ceased, being returned but seldom by the American Fort. The damage which the Fort sustained by an almost incessant fire for 7 hours, which burnt the Barracks, knocked down the Block Houses, dismounted the cannon and otherwise rendered the Fort untenable, obliged the besieged to evacuate and retire to Red Bank.¹ The damage sustained by the British Ships and Batteries is unknown, but the Vigilant was huld several times by the Gondolas. Thus by American perseverance and the Fort's situation a British Army of 12,000 men and a fleet of 300 sail had been detained in their operations near 7 weeks by a power far inferior to theirs and which has always appeared contemptible in the eyes of men who have uniformly despised the Americans as a cowardly insignificant set of People. We rec'd a letter from my father by way of Wilmington giving an acco. of their being enlarged and permitted to ride 6 miles from their Dwellings. The British Troops entered the Mud Island fort this morning the 16th inst., and by the appearance of the Fort apprehended the Americans must have lost great numbers killed and wounded. They found a flock of sheep and some oxen in the Fort, besides 18 pieces of Cannon.

Nov. 18th.—This ev'g Lord Cornwallis with 2500 men marched over the Bridge at the middle ferry, with intentions as is supposed to attack the Fort at Red Bank. The next morning on their march tow'ds Darby they surprised the American Piquet, who retreated to the House called the

¹ An interesting account of the attack on Fort Mifflin may be found in a letter, written by Lt. Col. John Laurens, to his father, printed in *Materials for History*, edited by Frank Moore, N. Y., 1861.

Blue Bell¹ and fired from the windows and killed 2 Grenadiers, some of the Grenadiers rushed into the House, bayoneted five, and the others would have shared the same fate had not the officers interfered.

Nov. 19th.—This ev'g a Body of Hessians marched over Schuylkill.

Nov. 20th.—A report this day that the Americans last night set fire to the 2 floating batteries. A fireship, gondola, Armed ship or Floating battery, unknown which belonging to the Americans, was this afternoon seen on fire between the city and Gloucester point. The cause of her being fired is unknown, she burnt for several hours and extinguished without doing further damage. We, this morning, rec'd a letter from my Father dated at Winchester the 12th inst., informing us that they had rec'd no intelligence from hence these 6 weeks, expressing an earnest solicitude for our welfare in this time of general calamity and distress; but they had rec'd an answer from Gov. Henry to their remonstrance by which they apprehended they are not to be sent further, but we imagine they have rec'd an answer by no means conducive to their releasem't. They had seen a Baltimore paper doubtless filled with gross misrepresentations and falsehoods respecting our situation, which, added to their not hearing from us for such a length of time, must have occasioned alarming apprehensions concerning us. That on the 24 ulto. the roaring of cannon had been heard within 100 miles of the city; that he had wrote 15 letters since their arrival at Winchester, 5 only of which we have received. A firing heard this evening supposed to be at Red Bank.

Nov. 21st.—This morning about 4 o'clock the inhabitants were alarmed by a very severe firing, which proved to be from the Delaware Frigate at the Gondolas as they passed the town on the other side of the river. I walked down to the wharf and see all the American Navy on fire coming up with the flood tide, and burning with the greatest fury. Some of them drifted within 2 miles of the town and were

¹ Situated on the Darby Road near Cobb's Creek, and still standing, with its ancient name judiciously preserved.

carried back by the ebb tide. They burnt nearly 5 hours; 4 of them blew up. This manœuvre is supposed to have been occasioned by the British having taken Red Bank. The Gondolas passed by in the fog. Lord Cornwallis being joined in the Jerseys by 4000 men from the fleet, it is said is to proceed to Burlington, to cross the Delaware and come in the rear of Washington's Army.

Nov. 22d.—Seventh day of the week. This morning about 10 o'clock the British set fire to Fair Hill¹ mansion House, Jon'a Mifflin's and many others amo'tg to 11 besides out houses, Barns, &c. The reason they assign for this destruction of their friends' property is on acco. of the Americans firing from these houses and harassing their Picquets. The generality of mankind being governed by their interests, it is reasonable to conclude that men whose property is thus wantonly destroyed under a pretence of depriving their enemy of a means of annoying y'm on their march, will soon be converted and become their professed enemies. But what is most astonishing is their burning the furniture in some of those houses that belonged to friends of government, when it was in their power to burn them at their leisure. Here is an instance that Gen'l Washington's Army cannot be accused of. There is not one instance to be produced where they have wantonly destroyed and burned their friends' property. But at the last action at Germantown with the same propriety as the British, could have destroyed B. Chew's house, and then would have injured a man who is banished in consequence of his kingly attachment. On the other side they have destroyed most of the houses along the lines, except Wm. Henry's, which remains entire and untouched, while J. Fox's, Dr. Moore's, and several others are hastening to ruin, so that if they want to make any distinction, it is in favor of their open, professed and

¹ Mrs. Logan in her letter to Col. Garden states that there were seventeen houses burned on this occasion, others say twenty-seven. The Fair Hill (Fairhill) mansion was owned by the Norris family and occupied by John Dickinson, a portion of whose valuable library was destroyed.

determined enemies. I went to the top of c. steeple¹ and had a prospect of the fires. A passage being made through the chevaux de frize, several sloops came up to the city this evening. Price of provisions in market on the day of the fleet's coming to the city, Beef—, Pork—, Veal—, Butter—.

Nov. 23d.—Several reports concerning Lord Cornwallis' expedition, but not to be depended upon. The kitchen at Evergreen burnt by the carelessness of some Hessian soldiers that were in it. The numbers of people who have by permission of Washington been going to Pennapack for these some weeks past for flour at 40 sh. per cwt., c. m.,² are now stopped by his order.

Nov. 24th.—Twenty or thirty sail of vessels came up this morning from the fleet that the city now begins to receive. People in expectation that Germantown will be shortly burnt.

Nov. 25th.—The fleet daily arriving in great numbers. Burnt about one-half of a house near Gloucester belonging to one Hogg, a person that is reported to be an American Patriot. Lord Cornwallis, with the detachm't under his command, arrived in town this ev'g and brought over 400 head of cattle from the Jerseys.

Nov. 26th.—This morning I had an opportunity of seeing 63 sail of vessels coming to the city between this and the Point. Lord Howe arrived in town this morning. It is supposed that none of the larger vessels will come up to the city. From all appearances I am of opinion that the Army will not follow Gen'l Washington this winter. A report that additional number of soldiers are to be quartered on the inhabitants this winter. Rob't Ritchie of this city, merch't, is apprehended and secured on suspicion of giving intelligence to Gen'l Washington's Army.³

Nov. 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th.—These 4 days the fleet coming up in great numbers. Some part of the army have marched over Schuylkill, and reports are prevalent that the main part

¹ Christ Church.

² Continental money.

³ Some accounts say the wife of Ritchie. See *Marshall's Remembrancer*, p. 169. Phila. 1839-1849.

of the army will soon move off. The Americans are moving off their heavy cannon. Gen'l Washington, it is said, is going to Virginia in a few weeks, and the command to devolve upon Gen'l Gates. Great exertions are making, both by the men and women of this city, to support the credit of the paper money legally issued. The women are determined to purchase no goods with hard money. Some of those who agreed to receive paper money have refused it for their goods, and among the rest some of our Society.

Dec. 1st, 2nd, 3rd.—Numbers of the Fleet daily arriving. None of the large ships have yet come up. A contest has subsisted in this City since the arrival of the fleet, concerning the legal Paper Currency. The English merchants that came in the fleet will not dispose of their goods without hard money, alleging that no bills are to be bought, no produce to be obtained, and no method can be adopted by which they can send remittances. Numbers of the most respectable inhabitants are using all their influence to support it, and numbers of others who have no regard for the public good, are giving out the hard money for what they want for immediate use, thus purchasing momentary gratifications at the expense of the Public, for if the circulation of this money should be stopt, many who have no legal money but paper, and have no means of obtaining gold and silver, will be reduced to beggary and want, and those who are so lost to every sense of honor, to the happiness of their fellow citizens, and eventually their own good, as to give out their hard money, either for the goods of those who are newcomers, or in the public market where it is now exacted for provisions, will, by their evil example, oblige those who possess hard money, to advance it and ruin the credit of the other money for the present. The consequence of which must be that we shall be shortly drained of our hard cash, the other money rendered useless, no trade by which we can get a fresh supply, our ruin must therefore be certain and inevitable. This depreciation of the Paper Currency will not only extend its baneful influence over this City, but over all the continent, as the friends of government and others

have been collecting this legal tender for several mo's past, expecting that in those places in the possession of the British Army it will be of equal value with gold and silver. But from the enemies of the British constitution among ourselves, who give out their hard money for goods, from the almost universal preference of private interest to the public good, and from a deficiency of public virtue, it is highly probable the paper money will fall, and those newcomers having extracted all our hard money, will leave us in a situation not long to survive our Ruin.¹ Reports prevail, I suppose with some foundation, that the British Army are to march to-morrow. By the packet which sailed the first of this month for England, I wrote a letter to Dr. Fothergill in answer to one he wrote my father, also to Jno. and R. Barclay, acknowledg

¹ The transports brought to the city a number of merchants who seized upon the most desirable vacant stores, and filled the papers with the advertisements of their wares. Christopher Marshall, who retired to Lancaster, Pa., previous to the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, records in his Remembrancer Feb. 28, 1778, News from Philadelphia, that there are one hundred and twenty-one new stores, amongst which is one kept by an Englishman, one by an Irishman, the remainder being one hundred and eighteen Scotchmen or Tories, from Virginia. Westcott, in his History of Philadelphia, gives a list of a number of these itinerant traders and the stores they occupied, with two poetical effusions which appeared at the time (relating to the trouble caused by their refusal to receive the paper money), one entitled "Song by Flotilla" on the agreement to support the Old Paper Currency, beginning—

Come, all ye good people, attend :
Pray, hear what a newcomer offers,
I've all sorts of good things to vend,
If you will but open your coffers.
Here we go, up, up, up,
Here we go, down, down, downward.

R. R.

The other, by Joseph Stansbury, called "The Petition of Philadelphia to Sir Wm. Howe," ends with the following lines:—

We pray the General in a general way
Would grant redress, and that without delay ;
And *value* give the *paper* we possess,
And then we'll sign the long since penned address.

the rec't of theirs of ye 1st Jany. last. Welsh, the Deputy Barrack Master, seized upon the house at Chestnut Street, late T. W.'s, for the 64th Regt. to put their baggage in it. I applied to Mr. Robinson the Barrack Master, and he ordered the house to be immediately del'd up.

Dec. 4th.—5th day of the week. This evening about 8 o'clock, the British Army under the com'd of his Ex'y Sir Wm. Howe, marched out of the entrenchments and advanced towards Germantown, leaving a few regiments to keep possession of the City. Their advanced party arrived at Chestnut Hill about daylight, the rear of the army about leaving Germantown. On their march they took an American picket and a Brig. Gen'l Erwin of the P. Militia. A report that they had an engagement on Chestnut Hill. The Continentals at Frankford, not hearing of the British advancing till 12 o'clock, moved off to Germantown, when they took Christ'r Sower, Jun., who went with a division of the Army to that place. *6th.*—Several of the inhabitants went out to day and brought in provision. *7th.*—No certain acco. of the situation of the armies.

Dec. 5th.—No reports to be depended upon concerning the armies.

Dec. 6th.—Nothing material.

Dec. 7th.—Gen'l Erwin¹ came in with a few Continental troops as prisoners yesterday morning. A heavy firing this day.

Dec. 8th.—Several reports about the armies, but this ev'g, to the great astonishment of the citizens, the army returned. The causes assigned for their speedy return are various and contradictory, but ye true reason appears to be this, that the army having marched up to Washington's lines near to White Marsh, and finding him strongly posted, thought it most prudent to decline making the attack. The Hessians on their march committed great outrages on the inhabitants, particularly at John Shoemaker's, whom they very much abused. Bro't off about 700 head of cattle, set fire to the

¹ A sketch of Gen. James Irvine, the officer here alluded to, will appear in a future number of the Magazine.

house on Germantown Road, called the Rising Sun,¹ and committed many other depredations, as if the sole purpose of the expedition was to destroy and to spread desolation and ruin, to dispose the inhabitants to rebellion by despoiling their property, and to give their enemies fresh cause to alarm the apprehensions of the people by these too true melancholy facts. John Brown² of this city, is now confined in Lancaster gaol for carrying a verbal message to Rob't Morris from Thos. Willing, the purport of which was, that if the Congress would rescind independence, they should be put into their situation in 1763. This is said to have come from Gen'l Howe to T. W. R. Morris communicated it to Congress; they demanded the name of the person who bro. the message, ordered him, thro. the council of safety, to be imprisoned for his attempting to lull them into security by these fallacious proposals. Flour excessively scarce at 23/9 pr Quarter of cwt, Beef 3/9, Mutton 2/3, Veal 3, Pork 2/3. The poor are very much necessitated, are turned out of the Bettering house, put into Fourth Street meeting house, the Lodge, and the Carpenters' Hall. No prospect of the paper money being established. Joseph Galloway, Esq., is appointed Superintendent General³ with three other citizens as magis-

¹ The Widow Nice's.

² A biographical sketch of Thomas Willing (with an account of his connection with John Brown) will be printed in a future issue of the Magazine.

³ REGULATIONS.

Philadelphia, December 8, 1777.

Under which the inhabitants may purchase the enumerated articles mentioned in the proclamation of his Excellency Sir William Howe, K. B., General-in-Chief, etc. etc. etc.

1. No rum or spirits of inferior quality, are to be sold (except by the importer) at one time, or to one Person, in any greater quantity than one hogshead, or in any less than ten gallons, and not without a permit first obtained for the quantity intended to be purchased, from the inspector of the prohibited articles.

2. Molasses is not to be sold (except by the importer) in any quantity exceeding one hogshead, at one time, nor without a permit as aforesaid.

3. Salt may not be sold (except by the importer) in any quantity exceed-

trates, to regulate the police of the City. Jos. Parker is dead at Lancaster. A report that the British Army is to go to Wilmington¹ in a few days. Several boats have come up with provisions, one to day with ab't 200 Hogs, some sheep, fowls, &c., from Dover.

Dec. 9th, 10th.—This Evg., Lord Cornwallis, with a division of the Enemy, marched over Schuylkill.

Dec. 11th.—This morning, Gen'l Washington left his strongholds, which he demolished, and marched over Schuylkill to watch Cornwallis' movements. A firing this morning on the Lancaster Road.²

ing one bushel at one time, for the use of one family, nor without the permit as aforesaid.

4. Medicines not to be sold without a special permit by order of the Superintendent General.

By order of His Excellency Sir William Howe.

Joseph Galloway, *Superintendent General.*

¹ Washington was of the opinion that the British would establish a fort at Wilmington, for the purpose of countenancing the disaffected in the State of Delaware, and drawing supplies from the surrounding country and the lower part of Chester County, Pa. To prevent this, he ordered Gen. Smallwood to occupy Wilmington, and recommended President Geo. Read, of Delaware, to call out the militia.—See *Sparks*, vol. v. p. 190, 191, 196.

² Washington writes to the President of Congress on the 14th inst., 1777, from head-quarters near the Gulf:—

“On Thursday morning we marched from our old encampment, and intended to pass the Schuylkill at Madison's [Matson's] Ford, where a barge had been laid across the river. When the first division and a part of the second had passed, they found a body of the enemy, consisting, from the best accounts we have been able to obtain, of four thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis, possessing themselves of the heights on both sides of the road leading from the river and the defile called the Gulf, which, I presume, are well known to some part of your honorable body. This unexpected event obliged such of our troops as had crossed, to repass, and prevented our getting over till the succeeding night. This manœuvre on the part of the enemy was not in consequence of any information they had of our movement, but was designed to secure the pass whilst they were foraging in the neighboring country. They were met in their advance by General Potter, with part of the Pennsylvania militia, who behaved with bravery and gave them every possible opposition, till he was obliged to retreat from their superior numbers. Had we been an hour sooner, or had the least information of the measure, I am persuaded we should have given

Dec. 12th.—Provisions scarce, people daily going out for it. Hard to pass the paper money.

Dec. 13th.—Nothing material.

Dec. 14th.—This Evg., Dr. D. Smith returned from Winchester, to the great amazement of his friends and fellow-citizens, having been confined better than 3 mos. He says that the Lieutenant of the County told them they were at liberty to go where they pleased. He, with the knowledge of his fellow-prisoners, left them on 2nd day last.¹ This extraordinary and unexpected affair may occasion the remainder being more closely confined, or else have a discharge with a permission to return home. It appears that no orders have been given concerning them, since the election of our new council, by the Assembly. The British Army, on their last excursion to Abington and Chester County, plundered a number of the inhabitants of everything they had upon their farms, and abused many old, inoffensive men. Some of them have applied for redress, but have not obtained it. Dr. Hutchinson entered into the Am. Army, as a surgeon, with 22/6 Con. money per diem. Paper money entirely dropt, and not passable.

Dec. 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th.—E. E. returned this week from his journey, and left Winchester the 3rd inst., came thro' Yorktown, and says the friends are to be removed to Stanton, owing to Owen Jones² selling $\frac{1}{2}$ Joes @ £22 10,

his Lordship a fortunate stroke, or obliged him to return without effecting his purpose, or drawn out all General Howe's force to support him. Our first intelligence was, that it was all out. Lord Cornwallis collected a good deal of forage, and returned to the city the night we passed the river. No discrimination marked his proceedings. All property, whether of friends or foes, that came in his way was seized and carried off."—*Sparks*, vol. v. p. 185.

¹ The journal of the exiles states the case as follows: 11th m., 8th, "Wm. Drewet Smith soon afterwards rode out to take the air, as we expected, but not returning as usual, we apprehend he has gone to Philadelphia."

² In the diary of Christopher Marshall we find the following [*Lancaster Co., Dec. 11th, 1777*]: "By some letters intercepted, there appears to have been a combination between the Friends sent into Virginia by the President and Council, and some inhabitants of Lancaster, in order to depreciate the

Continental, by which means the support of their cause is injured. The American Army lay near the Gulph Mill,¹ about 16 miles from the city. Rec'd a letter from Winchester, of the 10th inst. Lord Cornwallis went to England this week.

Dec. 21st, 22nd. — This morning, the main body of the Army marched over Schuylkill on a foraging party.

Continental currency. Some of the letters are from Owen Jones, Jr., to John Mercer (Musser), Matthias Slough, and Matthias Graeff. This discovery has obliged the Board of War to send all the Quaker prisoners to Staunton, in Augusta Co., Va., and Owen Jones to close confinement, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, except in the presence of the Lieutenant of the County or his deputy."

The letters spoken of by Marshall will be found in *Pa. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 53-56. The order of the Board of War was not carried into effect.

¹ Gulph Mills—situated on the west side of the Schuylkill, about thirteen miles from Philadelphia, at the mouth of a creek of the same name. Washington's army remained here from the 12th of Dec. 1777, until about the 21st, when it removed to Valley Forge. It is possible that at one time, Washington thought to make this place his winter-quarters; such, at least, was the idea of Albigenice Waldo, a surgeon, who writes in his journal, Dec. 13th: "The army marched three miles from the west side of the river, and encamped near a place called the Gulph, and not an improper name, neither. For this Gulph seems well adapted, by its situation, to keep us from the pleasures and enjoyments of this world; or being conversant with anybody in it. It is an excellent place to raise the ideas of a Philosopher beyond the gluttoned thoughts and reflections of an Epicurean. His reflections will be as different from the common reflections of mankind, as if he were unconnected with the world and only conversant with material beings. It cannot be that our superiors are about to hold consultations with spirits infinitely beneath their order—by bringing us into these utmost regions of the Terraqueous Sphere. No! It is, upon consideration, for many good purposes, since we are to winter here: 1st, There is plenty of wood and water; 2d, there are but few families for the soldiers to steal from—though far be it from a soldier to steal; 3rd, there are warm sides of hills to erect huts on; 4th, they will be heavenly-minded, like Jonah in the belly of a great fish; 5th, they will not become homesick, as is sometimes the case when men live in the open world, since the reflections which must naturally arise from their present habitation, will lead them to the more noble thoughts of employing their leisure hours in filling their knapsacks with such materials as may be necessary on the journey to another home."

This journal, giving an excellent picture of the army at this time, will be found in the *Historical Magazine* for 1861.

Dec. 23rd.—Nothing material this day.

Dec. 24th.—This Ev'g, about 7 o'clock, 1 Brigade of the Americans, with 3 pieces of cannon, attacked the British lines. After firing 6 ps. they retreated.¹

Dec. 25th.—Lord Howe sailed for New York a few days ago.

Dec. 26th.—Nothing very material except very hard weather.

Dec. 27th, 28th, 29th.—Exceeding cold.

Dec. 30th.—Last night severely cold. The navigation obstructed by the ice for the first time this season. The Army returned on the 28 inst., after collecting a great deal of Forage and taking a few prisoners. Some of the Transports in the River have been drifting with the ice. One was cast on the Jersey shore and plundered by the inhabitants, who came down in great numbers to participate of the plunder. One of the transports caught fire, was loaded almost with powder, but was happily extinguished without doing much damage.

¹ This attack was made by the Pa. Militia, on the British outposts in the Northern Liberties.—See *Life of Gen. John Lacy*, by W. W. H. Davis, p. 54. Marshall records (Dec. 28th, 1777): "News of the day is that Col. Bull, on the twenty-fifth instant, made an excursion into Fourth Street in Philadelphia, with two thousand militia, and alarmed the city by firing off some pieces of cannon into the air, whereby some of the balls fell about Christ Church. He then made a good retreat back to his station, without the loss of a man."—*Remembrancer*, p. 173.

See *Exiles in Virginia*, pp. 164 and 167.

THE HESSIANS IN PHILADELPHIA.¹

A GERMAN OFFICER'S IMPRESSION OF OUR CITY.

FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PROFESSOR SCHLÖZER OF GÖTTINGEN,
VOL. III. P. 149.

TRANSLATED BY MISS HELEN BELL.

AT PHILADELPHIA ON THE NECK, JAN. 18, 1778.

I received on November 4, your short letter of the 25th of May, directed to "Lieut. H—— in New York, or to Captain H—— at Philadelphia."

My present opinions of America differ very much from those which I expressed in my former letters. It is true that I could not now picture to myself an earthly paradise without thinking of a great part of the Jerseys and Long Island, but not of Pennsylvania! If the Honorable Count *Penn* should surrender to me the whole country for my patent, on condition that I should live here during my life, I would scarcely accept it. And this is the promised land, the land flowing with milk and honey, which so many before us have praised! You know already that as every North American province has an especial existence, and is governed according to its own principles, it must therefore be judged as differently. The packet boat goes to-morrow, and with it these few and hasty observations on the country and climate.

Among 100 persons, not merely in Philadelphia, but also throughout the whole neighborhood, not one has a healthy color, the cause of which is the unhealthy air and the bad water. Assuredly this is not a consequence of the latitude,

¹ The writer of this letter was Captain John Heinrichs (Henrichs), of the Hessian Yager Corps. He was several times wounded during his service in America, most severely at the capture of Fort Washington, where a ball penetrated his breast. In 1784, he entered the infantry. He soon passed over to the service of Prussia, was ennobled, and advanced to the rank of Lieutenant General. He died in 1834. (See *German Auxiliaries*, by Von Felking.) His corps was stationed in the southern part of the city, probably on the road to Gray's Ferry.

for Pennsylvania lies in one of the healthiest degrees, but the woods, morasses, and mountains, which partly confine the air, and partly poison it, make the country unhealthy. Nothing is more common here than a fever once a year, then eruptions, the itch, etc. Nowhere have I seen so many *mad* people as here. Only yesterday, as I was dining with a Gentleman, a third person came into the room, and he whispered in my ear: *Take care, this gentleman is a madman.* Frequently the people are cured, but almost all have a quiet madness, a derangement of mind which proceeds from sluggish, not active blood. One cause, perhaps, is that no food here has as much nourishment as with us. The milk is not half so rich, the bread gives little nourishment. There is a noticeable difference in the quality of the produce which is brought to market in Philadelphia, from the Jerseys and from Pennsylvania.

The cold in winter and the heat in summer are quite moderate, but the thunderstorms in summer, and the damp reeking air in spring and autumn, are unendurable. In summer, mists fall and wet everything, and then in the afternoon there is a thunderstorm. And in winter, when the trees are frosted in the morning, it rains in the afternoon. Such phenomena are common occurrences here.

Like the products of the earth, animals too are only half-developed. A hare, a partridge, a peacock, etc., is only half-grown. Wild game tastes like ordinary meat. One of the few good consequences of this war is, that more forests will be destroyed, and the air will become purer. A man from this city, by the name of Hamilton,¹ alone lost 1500 acres² of woodlands, which was cut down for the hospital, and he had sufficient patriotism to remark recently in company, that it was good for the country.

The *fertility* of the ground is so great, that it can be planted and harvested twice a year; but the corn itself is not as good as ours. The greater part of America is rich in minerals, particularly the tract where we operated last summer, on the Elk River, Brandywine Creek, Valley Hills, and

William Hamilton, of the Woodlands.

² Probably 150 acres.

on the Schuylkill. There is plenty of *wood* here; I burn seven kinds of firs, besides the varieties of sassafras, cedar, and walnut, in my chimney place and in the watch fires. Besides, the land yields corn, wheat, oats, flax, hemp, Indian corn, potatoes (which are not so good as those from Holland, although this is their native land), turnips, and garden stuff of all kinds, though not so well grown as with us. The tree fruits also are not unlike. The vine cannot ripen on account of the before-mentioned mists. Pears are scarce, and apples seldom have a good flavor.

You have doubtless heard, from the newspapers, of the *defences*, which cut up this country to such a degree, that cavalry cannot manœuvre even on the plains. The *defences*, which are wooden enclosures of the fields, are only on account of the cattle, for every one turns out his cattle, horses, sheep, cows, etc., without a herdsman. As soon as a field is harvested, the farmer turns his cattle into it, and into each in turn, so that almost every field has its own enclosure. This costs a great deal, but an old German farmer, two miles from Philadelphia, assured me that it would do him more harm to lose a foot of land by a hedge and ditch. A still more important reason why there are no hedges is, that they do not thrive here at all. The thorn cannot grow on account of a certain insect, the name of which I have forgotten, and the willow does not grow everywhere. Last week I saw at Hollanders' Creek, a newly planted hedge of willows.

Hogs are quite as good here as the best in Holstein, for there is good mast for them in the woods, and they feed there the whole year. There are plenty of Guinea-fowls, but not so many as in the Jerseys and Long Island. Turkeys belong to the wild animals, and are in all the woods in flocks like partridges. There are plenty of sheep, but as the farmer drives them into the wood, he loses the wool; however, he sells the skin for 18s. York money. Ducks and geese are as common and as good as ours, but no better. You cannot conceive of the superabundant swarms of flies here. Hares, woodcock, partridges, etc., are very abundant,

but they are not half so large as ours. There are still bears and wolves in Tolpahaky,¹ thirty-six miles from Philadelphia, whence they are brought to Philadelphia; the leg of a bear is a great delicacy.

There is no scarcity of *snakes*. The *great blacksnake* has been near the Schuylkill lately, quite near our quarters. A countryman, cutting wood, was chased by one quite recently, but a neighbor killed it with a stick. There is nothing, however, more terrible than the big *rattlesnake*, which is from twelve to sixteen feet long, and which, as it is believed here, kills by its glance. A countryman in my quarters lost a relative of his in this way, some years ago. He had gone hunting, and seeing a bear standing still, aimed at and shot it; scarcely had he reached the bear, when he too was obliged to stand motionless, remained thus awhile, fell and died; all this was caused by a rattlesnake, which was perched in a high tree. The nearest ones to Philadelphia are in Tolpahaky,¹ and there were some also between Elk Ferry and Head of the Elk, where we encamped three days. So much for the *country*. I will write of the *people*, their civilization, etc., in my next letter.

Perhaps the reason why the domestic animals are not half so good as ours, is, because they are left out, winter and summer, in the open air.

I wrote before, that no white glass is made in America, but a manufactory was established at *Mannheim*, in Pennsylvania, two years before the war. But it thrives as poorly as the manufacture of china, and all other arts and manufactures, because the price of labor is so high.

Would you like to know where I live? Turn to Burnaby's Description of his Travels: "From here to the city, the whole way was lined with country houses, pleasure gardens, and fruitful orchards." Among these "country houses, pleasure gardens, and orchards," the highly esteemed Yäger Corps have their winter quarters, and where he says "on the Schuylkill," there I mount guard to-morrow. It seems to me as if this sketch were plainer than many an engineer could draw it.

¹ Tulpehocken—more nearly sixty-six miles.

PITTSBURG AND UNIONTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA,
IN 1782-83.

LETTERS FROM EPHRAIM DOUGLASS TO GEN. JAMES IRVINE.

FROM THE IRVINE PAPERS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

We cannot better preface the first of the letters here printed than by referring the reader to that very interesting book entitled, "An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, under Col. Wm. Crawford, in 1782," by C. W. Butterfield. In it will be found accounts of the destruction of Hanna's Town (July 13, 1782), sketches of Slover and Dr. Knight, and the story of their sufferings and escape. The letter was written shortly after the unfortunate termination of Crawford's expedition, at a time when the whole western border of our State was open to the inroads of the savages. The letter from Uniontown will be entertaining to the residents of Fayette County, and to all interested in the history of the western section of the State.

PITTSBURG, 26th July, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—

To assert that I feel as sensibly whatever affects your health as you do yourself were too extravagant to gain belief, but that I feel whatever the sympathetic heart of a sincere friend can suffer from the distresses of one to whom it is powerfully attached I will not hesitate to assert, and much less blush to own; but I hope you were prophetic when you bid me expect you would be well before your letter reached me. My own health is as usual, neither to be boasted of nor much to be pitied. My greatest misfortune is the want of something to employ the restless, active mind—even the savage consolation of wandering thro' the lonesome but hospitable woods is denied me by the frequency of the Indians' visits to this wretched country; for tho' I have nothing but the regret of parting with my valuable friends, and the common and natural aversion we all have to death, to bid me dread it, I am unwilling to risque the possibility of becoming a prisoner and the probable subject of their horrid executions, when unattended by the alluring prospect

of advantage to myself, or the pleasing idea of rendering service to my fellow-creatures and countrymen.

My last contained some account of the destruction of Hanna's Town, but it was an imperfect one—the damage was greater than we then knew, and attended with circumstances different from my representation of them. There were nine killed and twelve carried off prisoners—and, instead of some of the houses *without* the fort being defended by our people, they all retired within the miserable stockade, and the enemy possessed themselves of the forsaken houses, from whence they kept a continual fire upon the fort from about twelve o'clock till night, without doing any other damage than wounding one little girl within the walls. They carried away a great number of horses and everything of value in the deserted houses, destroyed all the cattle, hogs, and poultry within their reach, and burned all the houses in the village except two; these they also set fire to, but fortunately it did not extend itself so far as to consume them; several houses round the country were destroyed in the same manner, and a number of unhappy families either murdered or carried off captives—some have since suffered a similar fate in different parts—hardly a day but they have been discovered in some quarter of the country, and the poor inhabitants struck with terror thro' the whole extent of our frontier. Where this party set out from is not certainly known; several circumstances induce the belief of their coming from the heads of the Alleghena or toward Niagara, rather than from Sandusky or the neighborhood of Lake Erie. The great number of whites known by their language to have been in the party, the direction of their retreat when they left the country, which was toward the Kittanning, and no appearance of their tracks, either coming or going, having been discovered by the officer and party which the General¹ ordered on that service beyond the river, all conspire to support this belief, and I think sincerely to be wished, on account of the unfortunate captives who have fallen into their hands, that it may be true; for the enraged

¹ General William Irvine.

Delawares renounce the idea of taking any prisoners but for cruel purposes of torture. All who fell into the hands of any of the nations engaged at Sandusky were delivered over to them and put to the most cruel deaths, except two who made their escape; Doctor Knight, whose history I have already given you, and a considerable time since one Slover, who gives this account. He was so near suffering, after having been adopted into the Shawneze Nation, and living several weeks among them, that on being delivered over to the Delawares he was fixed to the stake and every preparation made for his execution. It was now evening, and a heavy shower of rain falling he was respited till morning; in the night, when his keepers were asleep, he stole away entirely naked, and by the help of a horse which he caught and rode till he was worn down, arrived at Wheeling in six days, an emphatic spectacle of human distress.

I can give you no hopes, nor indeed any account of the proposed expedition against the Savages, other than that there have been frequent meetings of some of the militia officers, with very little effect. The General had intimated his wish that they might be ready to set out by the first of August, but, from the backwardness of their affairs, and I think I may venture to say dispositions, that will now be impossible.

Oblige me in making my most respectful compliments to Mr. Rush and his family. I am uncertain when I may have the pleasure of seeing you and them, but I am well assured that I will never cease to remember you with esteem and gratitude.

I am, Dear General, sincerely

Yours,

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

Being in a communicative strain I resume my pen at a late hour of the night, to tell you (a) story, the novelty of which, if (it) has nothing else to recommend it, will excuse it.

Some three months ago, or thereabouts, a party of Indians made a stroke (as it is called in our country phrase) at a station distinguished by the name of the owner of the place,

Wolthower's (or as near as I can come to a German name), when they killed an old man and his sons, and captivated one of his daughters. This massacre was committed so near the fort that the people from within fired upon the Indians so successfully as to wound several and prevent their scalping the dead. The girl was carried to within about six miles of this place, up the Alleghena River, where her bones were afterwards found with manifest marks on her scull of having been then knocked on the head and scalped. One of the Indians who had been wounded in the leg, unable to make any considerable way and in this condition deserted by his companions, after subsisting himself upon the spontaneous productions of the woods for more than thirty successive days, crawled into this village in the most miserable plight conceivable. He was received by the military and carefully guarded till about five days ago, when, at the reiterated request of the relations of those unfortunate people whom he had been employed in murdering, he was delivered to four or five *country warriors* deputed to receive and conduct him to the place which had been the scene of his cruelties, distant about twenty-five miles. The wish, and perhaps the hope of getting some of our unfortunate captives restored to their friends for the release of this wretch, and the natural repugnance every man of spirit has to sacrificing uselessly the life of a fellow-creature whose hands are tied, to the resentment of an unthinking rabble, inclined the General to have his life spared, and to keep him still in close confinement. He was not delivered without some reluctance, and a peremptory forbiddance to put him to death without the concurrence of the magistrate and most respectable inhabitants of the district; they carried him, with every mark of exultation, away. Thus far, I give it you authentic; and this evening, one of the inhabitants returned to town, from Mr. Wolthower's neighborhood, who finishes the history of our pet Indian (so he was ludicrously called) in this manner: that a night or two ago, when his guards, as they ought to be, were in a profound sleep, our Indian stole a march upon them and has not since been seen or heard of. I may,

perhaps, give you the sequel of this history another day; at present, I bid you good-night; my eyes refuse to light me any longer.

PITTSBURGH, 4th of August, 1782.

DEAR SIR: To continue my narrative—our pet Indian is certainly gone; he was seen a day or two after the night of his escape very well mounted, and has not since been seen or heard of; the heroes, however, who had him in charge, or some of their friends or connection, ashamed of such egregious stupidity, and desirous of being thought barbarous murderers rather than negligent blockheads, have propagated several very different reports concerning his supposed execution, all of them believed to be as false as they are ridiculous.

The Indians appear at length to have taken up the business of killing us in good earnest—within this week they made an attempt (happily a fruitless one) within a mile and a half of this place, upon a number of people—whites and slaves at work in the cornfield of a gentleman living in town—they were pursued without success. Since this they have been frequently seen in our neighborhood and have killed several within a few miles of us. The General has had so many alarming accounts by expresses from Washington county of the numbers and probable designs of the Savages at or toward Wheeling, that this morning he marched in person with so many of his regulars as he thought prudent to take from the defence of this post in order to join a body of Militia or volunteers assembled for the purpose. With these he means to make a tryal of the spirit of the Indians, and from the complexion of the commander and forwardness of the troops, I think he will push them hard if they stay his arrival. The number of the enemy is estimated at about one hundred. The Gentleman who first viewed them and made this computation was Major McCullogh, a militia officer of invincible spirit and acknowledged enterprise. On his first discovery of them they had not yet crossed the river—he returned to a neighboring fort from whence he

wrote letters to apprise the country and at the same time communicated it the County Lieutenants. Still desirous of keeping a strict watch upon their motions, he returned towards the river with his brother and some others accompanying him. In his way he came upon the track of some of the enemy who had crossed the river and having penetrated some distance into the country were now on their return; in all probability they had discovered McCullogh's party, for having with their usual artfulness made a *double* upon, and way-laid their own track, they fired upon them undiscovered, and the unfortunate Major lost his life, justly regretted by all who know his character; the rest of the little party fled, but not till the brother of the unfortunate had shot the Indian who attempted to scalp him. About the same time two young men were fired upon in a canoe almost within sight of Wheeling, Milnes and Smith, the latter wounded in the flesh of his thigh, the other's thigh broken by one of thirteen balls that entered his body and limbs; they were both alive when the accounts came away. Every new day produces events worse than the past, besides a thousand false and groundless reports attended with all the evil consequences to the defenceless and terrified inhabitants that the reality of them could produce; our settlements are almost every day contracted and every new frontier more timid than the last. I have determined to be down before the end of this month, but in present state of alarming incidents I cannot prevail upon myself to leave the country; I wish to see the issue. In the mean time I will endeavor to give you the best account of our affairs that the confusion inseparable from a perpetual state of alarm will permit me.

Take the trouble to tender my best wishes as usual, and suffer me once more to remind you of what is ever present with me, that I shall never so far forget myself as to cease under any circumstances to be,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend

and humble servant,

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

UNIONTOWN [— 1784].

MY DEAR GENERAL:—

If my promise were not engaged to write to you, my inclinations are sufficiently so to embrace with alacrity any opportunity of expressing the gratitude so justly due to your valuable friendship, of declaring the sincerity of mine.

This Uniontown is the most obscure spot on the face of the globe. I have been here seven or eight weeks without one opportunity of writing to the land of the living; and though considerably south of you, so cold that a person not knowing the latitude would conclude we were placed near one of the Poles. Pray have you had a severe winter below? we have been frozen up here for more than a month past, but a great many of us having been bred in another state, the eating of Homany is as natural to us as the drinking of whisky in the morning.

The town and its appurtenances consist of our president and a lovely little family, a court-house and school-house in one, a mill, and consequently a miller, four taverns, three smith-shops, five retail shops, two Tanyards, one of them only occupied, one saddler's shop, two hatter's shops, one mason, one cake woman, we had two but one of them having committed a petit larceny is upon banishment, two widows and some reputed maids. To which may be added a distillery. The upper part of this edifice is the habitation at will of your humble servant, who, beside the smoke of his own chimney, which is intolerable enough, is fumigated by that of two stills below, exclusive of the other effluvia that arises from the dirty vessels in which they prepare the materials for the stills. The upper floor of my parlour, which is also my chamber and office, is laid with loose clapboards or puncheons, and both the gable ends entirely open, and yet this is the best place in my power to procure till the weather will permit me to build, and even this I am subject to be turned out of the moment the owner, who is at Kentucky and hourly expected, returns.

I can say little of the country in general, but that it is very poor in everything but its soil, which is excellent, and

that part contiguous to the town is really beautiful, being level and prettily situate, accommodated with good water and excellent meadow-ground. But money we have not nor any practicable way of making it; how taxes will be collected, debts paid, or fees discharged, I know not; and yet the good people appear willing enough to run in debt and go to law. I shall be able to give you a better account of this hereafter.

Colonel Maclean¹ received me with a degree of generous friendship that does honor to the goodness of his heart, and continues to show every mark of satisfaction at my appointment. He is determined to act under the commission sent him by Council, and though the fees would, had he declined it, have been a considerable addition to my profits, I cannot say that I regret his keeping them. He has a numerous small family, and though of an ample fortune in lands, has not cash at command.

I have had no certain accounts from Fortpitt lately; the winter has been so severe that we have had no communication with any other part of the country either over the mountains or on this side. Report some time ago did say that one of the tame (for I cannot call him friendly) Indians at Pittsburg had killed a man in the neighborhood of it, and was in confinement for the crime, but the people of this country have so great an aversion to those wretches, and are so fond propagating a story to their disadvantage, that I do not pretend to give you this for truth. I have not heard a word of the Censors since I left Philadelphia; pray what have they done? A rumor of war between Spain and America has been circulating here, but whence it arose I know not.

The general curse of the country, disunion, rages in this little mud-hole with as much malignity as if they had each pursuits of the utmost importance, and the most opposed to each other, when in truth they have no pursuits at all, that

¹ Alexander McLean was appointed Justice of the Peace for Fayette Co., March 19, 1784.

deserve the name, except that of obtaining food and whisky, for raiment they scarcely use any. The animosities which have at different periods arisen among them still subsist when the original causes have been long since removed. The people in this country may be divided into four different classes, the friends to Pennsylvania, the advocates for Virginia, the favourers of a new government, and the enemies to all, the tories, who were once in some degree formidable, and yet, in some instances, have not prudence enough to conceal the inveteracy of their hearts, and each of these descriptions abhor each other as heartily as ever did Guelph and Ghibellines, or any other descriptions of men in the world. The Commissioners, Trustees, I should say, having fixed on a spot in one end of the town for the public buildings, which was by far the most proper in every point of view, exclusive of the saving expense, the other end took the alarm and charged them with partiality, and have been ever since uttering their complaints. And at the late election for justices, two having been carried in this end of the town and none in the other has made them quite outrageous. This trash is not worth troubling you with, therefore I beg your pardon, and am with unfeigned esteem,

Dear General,

Your very humble servant,

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

February 11th.¹

The tardy departure of Mr. Parish, who is to favor this, will give me time (to) write a journal. My Landlord is come; he tells me that the people at Kentuck still continue in their Forts or Stations, but more from the apprehension of the Southern than western Indian; those still continue to do mischief occasionally; he passed the bodies of three men who had been murdered by them, on his way home, near the crossing of Cumberland River.

¹ No doubt 1784 should be here supplied, as on the 6th of October, 1783, Major Douglass was elected by Council, Prothonotary of Fayette Co., the office he no doubt held at the time the letter was written.

It appears that the incroachments of the white people on the settlements of the Cherokees, have been repeatedly complained of, and may be one cause of their continuing hostilities. I am told that after I left Sandusky, the deputies from these southern nations endeavored to dissuade the western ones from resigning the tomahawk. By a man lately from Weeling, I am informed that there has been one man killed and another wounded by the Indians over the river, at some distance from that place; the story tells thus: That those gentlemen, being in the Indian country, came on one of their camps, when they were treated with great hospitality by the owners; but falling in love with their peltry, they watched the Indians' motions, and finding them all absent a hunting, packed up their skins and marched off. The Savages returning and finding what was done, followed them; the consequences of which, I have related. I fear this will not be (the) last death we shall hear of in that quarter, for I am told there are a number of families settled opposite and below that place.

I understand that a Mr. Culp, one of the disappointed candidates in one end of the town, which I have already described to you, remonstrated to Council against our late election. I have not taken notice of it in my letter to them as a body, because I have not a certainty of the fact; but in case he should, I will venture to tell you that, in my opinion, the election was as fair and regular as is possible for one to be here. He alleges his tickets were suppressed, it may be that some of them were, for I judge there were very few gave in his name who had a right to vote; and the inspector and judges, knowing the qualifications of all the voters, and to avoid the confusion that openly rejecting them would necessarily have produced, took this method of suppressing their votes who were not entitled to poll. I will not so far intrude on you as to give his character at large, but only remark that, had he been elected, he is as little qualified for the duties as almost any man that could be found.

I am now on the point of quitting my smoke-house, without the prospect of getting another nearly as convenient.

I have no chance but a room in a sort of a tavern, or to intrude on the goodness of Colonel Maclean, either of which will be very disagreeable.

I have made an assertion to Council, that the tax was not assessed in this county till after its separation from Westmoreland; and though this be literally true, I am now in some doubt of the certainty of my idea at the time, as well as of that which Council will probably affix to it. My meaning was that the taking of the return was subsequent to the act of assembly, and I thought I had it the best authenticated; but I have since made much enquiry, and am not able to ascertain the precise time, but all agree that it was nearly about that period—whether shortly before, or immediately after, I cannot determine with certainty.

With my most respectful compliments to all your worthy family, I have the honor to be most respectfully, Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

MAJOR ANDRÉ'S PAROLE.

ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MR. SIMON GRATZ.

[From the American Antiquarian.]

I, the Subscriber, Lieutenant of his Majesty's 7th Regt. of Foot or Royal Fuzileers, taken at St. John's, now being at Lancaster, having perused the Resolutions of the Continental Congress of the 8th and 16th of November and 16th and 18th of December last, transmitted by their President to the Committee of Inspection for the County of Lancaster, and having requested some Time to make choice of a Place of Residence agreeable to the said Resolutions, do hereby promise and engage upon my Parole of Honour, that during the Time which shall be allowed me to make such choice, I will not go into or near any Seaport Town, nor further than six miles distance from the said Borough of Lancaster, without leave of the Continental Congress, and will carry on no political correspondence whatever on the Subject of the Dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies, so long as I remain a Prisoner; and after having made such choice agreeable to the tenor of those Resolutions, I will give and sign my Parole agreeable to the Request and Directions of the Congress to the said Committee, that they may transmit the same to the Congress.

JOHN ANDRÉ,

Lt. R. Fuz'leers.

LANCASTER, *February 23d, 1776.*

EDWARD WHALLEY, THE REGICIDE.

BY ROBERT PATTERSON ROBINS.

There has been much written and said concerning the life of this most remarkable man, and especially with reference to that part of it which was spent in this country, and not a few have been the theories concerning the last resting-place of one whose life was characterized by so much adventure. A most valuable, although somewhat discursive work by President Stiles, of Yale College, published in 1794,¹ opened a discussion which is even now being carried on with as much vigor and perseverance as characterized the worthy doctor's attempts to clear away the then almost impenetrable fog of mystery which surrounds the later years of the Regicide's life. Upon the many suppositions and theories concerning this much-mooted point, I propose to offer another theory, by endeavoring to adduce the evidence which leads me to believe that the regicide Whalley lies buried neither at New Haven nor Hadley, nor yet at Narraganset, but that his later years were spent on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in the *then* county of Somerset, and that there he died and was buried.

Before entering upon the discussion of the points referred to above, a brief sketch of his career is necessary to preserve the continuity of the narrative, and to supply information to those who have not been able to obtain a history of the previous life and military services of Cromwell's relative and ally.

Major-General Edward Whalley was the second son of Thomas Whalley of Kirkton, Nottinghamshire, and Frances Cromwell, third daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook (grandfather of the Protector), and was born about

¹ A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I., etc., by Ezra Stiles, S.T.D., LL.D., President of Yale College.

1615. Bred to mercantile life, though in what branch we have no record, he pursued his avocations until the breaking out of the war between King Charles I. and the Parliament, when he gave up trade for arms, and embraced the side of the Parliament. In August, 1642, he is recorded as Cornet of the 60th regiment of horse, and his rise from that position was rapid, until he occupied a post of high honor in the army. In 1645, in reward of his gallant and distinguished bearing at the battle of Naseby, he was made a Colonel of Horse, and received other honors. "The first civil war lasted for two years longer, and no regiment was more busy than Col. Whalley's. We trace him at the defeat of Goring's army at Langport (July 10, 1645), at the sieges of Bridgewater (July 11-25, 1645), of Sherborne Castle (Aug. 1-15, 1645), of Bristol (Aug. 21 to Sept. 11, 1645), of Exeter (Feb. 1646), of Oxford (March, 1646), and of Banbury. On May 9, 1646, the day on which his letter to the Speaker, announcing the storming of Banbury Castle, was written and received, the House voted him their thanks and £100 for the purchase of two horses."¹ In January, 1649, he was one of the fifty-nine who signed the warrant for the execution of King Charles, and was present at the execution of his unhappy sovereign. Continuing steadfast in his allegiance to his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, he was advanced by him to the rank of Major-General, and was entrusted with the government of the five counties, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester. He was one of the representatives for Nottinghamshire in the Parliament held in 1656-57, and a short time after was appointed by the Protector, Commissary-General for Scotland, and was called up into the other house, in which he sat as "Edward, Lord Whalley."

"During the eight months' Protectorate which succeeded the death of Oliver Cromwell, Whalley was the mainstay of the Cromwell dynasty; but Richard's abdication came on

¹ *Vide* "Memoranda concerning Edward Whalley and William Goffe," by Franklin B. Dexter. New Haven, 1876.

May 5, 1659, and the Long Parliament on reassembling withdrew Whalley's commission as General, through fear of his influence with the army. In October, when the army tried to seize the power, Whalley was sent as one of their Commissioners to treat with his old comrade Monk; but Monk refused to meet him, and presently the Restoration was accomplished."

When it was no longer safe for any of those immediately concerned in the murder of Charles I. to remain in England, Whalley, together with his son-in-law, Goffe, who also had played an important part in the bloody drama which had been enacting for the past twenty years, embarked from Gravesend in a swift-sailing vessel,¹ bound for Boston, and arrived in New England on July 27, 1660. Upon landing in Boston, they proceeded immediately to Cambridge, where they remained for seven months. When the act of Indemnity was brought over, and it was found that they were excepted from its benefits by name, and when Governor Endicott summoned his council of Assistants to consult about securing them, it became imperative for the judges to retire to a more secluded place. Accordingly on February 26, they left Cambridge, and after a nine days' journey arrived at New Haven, where they appeared openly as Mr. Davenport's guests for three weeks. But the news of a Royal Proclamation for their arrest coming to New Haven, on March 27, they went to Milford, and appearing openly there, they returned the same night to New Haven, and remained in concealment at Mr. Davenport's until May. After many narrow escapes, they contrived to turn away the Commissioners on a false scent, and for nearly four years they remained at Milford. In 1664, four Royal Commissioners arrived in Boston (towards the end of July), and "on the 13th of October, 1664, the judges removed to Hadley, near an hundred miles distant, travelling only by night; where Mr. Russel, the minister of the place, had previously consented to receive them. Here they remained

¹ Under the names of Edward Richardson and William Stephenson.

concealed fifteen or sixteen years, very few persons in the colony being privy to it. The last account of Goffe is from a letter, dated *Ebenezer*, the name they gave their several places of abode, April 2, 1679." (Stiles, p. 26.)

All the New England historians agree in fixing the death of Whalley between 1674 and 1676, which is the first vital difference between the narratives published up to this time and the theory of the present essayist. Let us examine, then, their authorities for this assertion.

A letter of Goffe's to his wife, in England, dated 1674, in which he says of Whalley, "your old friend, Mr. R., is yet living, but continues in that weak condition of which I formerly have given you account, and have not now much to add." (See Stiles' *Judges*, pp. 118 and 119.)

Yet the same year we have him writing to Hooke, and saying, "I do not apprehend the near approach of his death more now (save only he is so much older) than I did two years ago." (See Dexter's *Memoranda*, p. 24.)

Yet the letter from Goffe to his wife, together with the discovery of a man's bones in the cellar wall of Mr. Russel's house, is the only evidence upon which this assertion (that Whalley died in 1675 or '76) can be based. And there is no reason to presume these remains to be those of Whalley any more than those of Goffe. As the matter stands, it is impossible for any one to say more than that both of the judges were living in 1674, and that there is no mention of Whalley after this date; that the bones found in Mr. Russel's cellar may as well have been the remains of Goffe as of Whalley.

With regard to the theory that *both* of the regicides were interred near the grave of Dixwell, in New Haven, a word must now be said.

President Stiles, in citing this evidence, says (p. 170): "When I first visited the E. W. stone, the moss of antiquity being yet upon it, both by inspection and feeling the lacunæ with my fingers, I read the date 16₂8, thinking it a mistake of the engraver, without once thinking or perceiving that the inverted 2 might be 5. But afterwards revisiting it, I perceived that the inverted 2 was also 5. The moss being

now thoroughly rubbed off, the 5 is more obvious than the 4." Here the President himself acknowledges what he afterwards says must be either "error or deception." It is very evident that all the conclusions of Dr. Stiles with reference to the E. W. stone were *forced* judgments; in other words, that the theory that Whalley and Goffe were buried in New Haven was caused by the fact that two grave-stones with unsatisfactory and contradictory inscriptions were found near the grave of Dixwell, the other regicide. And it does not, moreover, seem to me that Dr. Stiles has proved satisfactorily that the M. G. stone is that of Goffe, and not that of Governor Gilbert. He merely says, "It will ever be difficult to persuade a New Haven man, and especially one of the family of Gilbert, that so small and insignificant a stone was put up at the grave of so honorable an ancestor, and so distinguished a person in civil life as Governor Gilbert." And then he proceeds to state that tradition had it that the Governor's grave was among those taken down in 1754 when the meeting-house was enlarged. If this be true, where could there be a more proper place for the stone to be transferred to than near the graves of Governor Eaton and Governor Jones? And even should such a conclusion seem forced, it could not be more so than that at which the President arrives, *i. e.*, that M. G. means William Goffe, and 80 stands for 1680. Granting for the nonce that the M. G. stone is that of Governor Gilbert, how insignificant becomes the evidence that the E. W. stone is that of Whalley. Indeed, I see no reason to doubt that this stone also belonged to a citizen of New Haven, one Edward Wigglesworth, who died in that place on the first of October, 1653. "I acknowledge," says Mr. Dexter in his interesting "Memoranda," "that the 3 is more like an 8; but nobody except Dr. Stiles ever suspected that the 5 was a 7." I do not see that there can be any doubt that both these stones have obtained their notoriety because of their proximity to the grave of Dixwell. The curious resemblance between the lettering on the stones and the initials of the regicides, I regard as nothing more

than a remarkable, although not unprecedented, coincidence.

We have now to consider a tradition which Dr. Stiles treats as of little importance, and which other writers on this subject entirely ignore, viz., that in 1680, one of the judges left Hadley, journeyed west and south, and finally brought up in Virginia.

“It has always been in public fame,” says President Stiles (p. 179), “that of the two judges at Hadley, one died there and was buried in the minister’s cellar, but *which this was, was never said*; and that the other, to escape Randolph’s dangerous searches, disappeared, and was supposed to have gone off to the west towards Virginia, and was heard of no more. This I perfectly remember to have been the current story in my youth. No one in conversation pretended to designate which was which until 1764, when Governor Hutchinson first published his history . . . when therefore, Mr. Prout and others used to speak of one going off to the westward, no one before 1764 thought of its being Goffe more than Whalley.” In another place (p. 204), he says, “The story of one going off to the westward, after the other’s death at Hadley, is spread all over New England, and is as trite at Rhode Island at this day, as at New Haven and Hadley.” There Dr. Stiles leaves the matter, saying, “on the whole, I consider it by no means certain, yet rather probable, that they all three lie buried in New Haven.” Nor is there any reason to suppose the bones found in Mr. Russel’s cellar to be those of Whalley, any more than Goffe. (See Mr. Dexter’s Memoranda, p. 26.) So that the subject is, at best, by no means settled.

But there follows upon this chaos a piece of evidence which, to my mind, does much to resolve it into an orderly series of events, and which reconciles many heretofore apparently conflicting statements. This evidence is contained in a document written by Thomas Robins 3rd, of Worcester County, Eastern Shore of Maryland, in the year 1769, and reads as follows:—

“As most men wish to know something of their ancestors,

“and as I have from authentic documents and direct tradition, collected a number of facts relative to my ancestor Edward Whalley, otherwise Edw. Middleton,¹ ye regicide, I desire to set down here ye facts concerning his life and death in Maryland.

“Edward Whaley was born in Northamptonshire, England, about 1615, & married Elizabeth Middleton: soon after he joined in ye rebellion, under Oliver Cromwell, & was one of ye judges yt condemned king Charles ye first, and at ye restoration of Chas. ye second (ano domini 1660), he fled to America with many of his misguided companions: he went to Connecticut, and there lived in concealment until ye reward offered by ye Crown of England made his residence amongst ye Yankees unsafe, and he then came to Virginia in 1681, where two of his wife’s brothers met him with his family: he then traveled up to ye province of Maryland and settled first at ye mouth of ye Pokemoke river, but finding yt too publick a place, he came to Sinepuxent, a neck of land open to ye Atlantic Ocean, where Col. Stephen was surveying, & bought a tract of land from him, and called it Genezar, it contained 22 hundred acres, south end of Sinepuxent, & made a settlement on ye southern extremity, and called it South Point, to ye which place he brought his family about 1687 in ye name of Edward Midleton;¹ his owne name he made not publick until after this date, after ye revolution in England (in ye yeare of our lord 1688) when he let his name be seen in publick papers & had ye lands patented in his owne name. He brought with him from ye province of Virginia, six children, three sonnes and three daughters. He had one daughter, ye wife of his companion Goffe, in England. His sons were John, Nathaniel, and Elias, his daughters were Rachel, Elizabeth, and Bridges. Nathaniel Whaley married and settled in Maryland, John Whaley went to ye province of Delaware and settled, and his family afterwards removed away from ye province to ye south. Elias Whaley

¹ In both the places in which this word occurs, it is so blurred and faded as to be almost illegible; *Middleton* seems, however, to be what was written.

"married Sarah Peel, daughter of Col. Thomas Peel, & died
 "leaving one darter, Leah Whally, and she married Thomas
 "Robins 2d of ye name, & died leaving one son Thomas
 "Robins 3d of ye name, ye deponant. Edward Whalley's
 "darters all married, Rachel married Mr. Reckliffe, Eliza-
 "beth married Willm Turvale, and Bridges married Ebenezer
 "Franklin. Col. Whaley lived to a very advanced age, and
 "was blind for many years before his death, he died in ye
 "yeare of our Lord 1718, æt. 103 years. His will and yt
 "of his sonne Elias, we have here in ye records. His de-
 "scendants are living here in ye province but hold to ye
 "established church, for ye which they ever pray ye divine
 "protection. So died Whalley ye regicide. Had he re-
 "ceived yt due to him, he would have suffered and died on
 "ye scaffold as did many of his traitorous companions.
 "Vivat rex.

"THOMAS ROBINS, 3rd of ye name.

"July 8th, in the year of our Lord 1769."

This document forms a valuable addendum to the proofs that one of the regicides *did* leave New England and visit Virginia, and likewise fixes the fact on Whalley. Nor is it improbable (as Dr. Stiles rather rashly concludes) that Whalley could be able to make such a journey. Indeed, there are many reasons which render this journey highly probable without our having recourse to the evidence contained in the above paper; for example—

(1) The renewed persecution incident upon the arrival of Edward Randolph, the King's Commissioner, in 1686.

(2) The advantage of a warmer climate in his then weak condition of body.

(3) The more comparative safety of a Proprietary Government over a Charter Province. When we add to these the additional reason given us in the paper above cited, that his wife and sons¹ were in Virginia awaiting him, the possibility becomes almost a certainty.

¹ In a letter from Frances (Whalley) Goffe, to her husband, dated 1662, she says: "My brother John is gon across the sea, I know not wither."—See *Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.*, p. 534.

I must also draw attention to the following *coincidences*, which are of themselves almost convincing proof.

(4) The sequence of events. Edward Whalley (or one of the regicides, it matters not which) leaves New England in 1680. In 1681, Edward Middleton appears stealthily in Virginia. He seems especially unwilling to be noticed, and finding Virginia "too publick" (*i. e.* too many Churchmen there), he leaves, and travels into Maryland. Here he settles, first at the mouth of the Pokemoke River, but this also proves "too publick," so he moves down to Sinepuxent. Here he buys land and settles—all this time under an assumed name. *But*, after the Revolution of 1688, when all danger to the regicides vanishes upon the accession of William and Mary, he reassumes the name of Whalley, and has his lands repatented.

(5) The assumed name, being, as nearly as one can ascertain, that of the wife of Whalley, the regicide.

(6) The names of his children being names common in the Whalley and Cromwell families.

In fact the whole paper actualizes what was before nothing but a supposition. (It must be remembered that the paper was written some quarter of a century before the publication of Dr. Stiles' Book, and consequently there could be no information gleaned from that source.)

To sum up our evidence, we conclude—

(1) That there is no *proof* that Whalley died in New England.

(2) That the bones found at Hadley may as well have been those of Goffe as of Whalley.

(3) That modern writers on this subject have decided that *neither* of the judges was buried in New Haven.

(4) That there has been in New England from 1680 a tradition, that one of the judges left Hadley in 1680, and journeyed west and south to Virginia.

(5) That in 1681 Edward Middleton appeared in Virginia, and settled afterwards in Maryland; that after 1688, he put off the name of Middleton (the maiden name of the regicide's wife) and resumed that of Whalley; that some of his children

bore the family names of the Whalleys and Cromwells. That the presence in America of John Whalley, son of the regicide, is shown by the letter of Frances Goffe to her husband; and that the bearing of Middleton was that of one who was in danger of his life, until (in 1689) all danger from England was past, when he reassumed boldly his own name.

These facts, together with many traditions (too voluminous to cite here, where we have to do mainly with fact) leave no doubt in my mind as to the identity of the Edward Whalley of Maryland with the celebrated regicide.

THE WILL OF EDWARD WHALLEY, THE REGICIDE.

FROM THE WILL-RECORDS OF WORCESTER CO., MD.

In ye name of God Amen, ye 21st day of Aprill Anno Domini One, thousand seven hundred and Eighteen I Edward Wale of Somerset County in Maryland being sick and weak of body butt of sound and perfect mind and memory praise be therefore to ye Almighty God for ye same and knowing ye unsartanty of this life on Earth and being desirous to settle things in order do make this my last Will and testament in manner and form following yt is to say first and principally I commend my soul to ye Almighty God my Creator assuredly believing that I shall receive full pardon and free remission of all my sins and be saved by ye precious death and merits of my blessed Lord & Redeemer Christ Jesus and my body unto earth from whence it was taken to be buried in such decent & christian manner as by my Executors hereafter named shall be thought meatt and convenient and as touching such wordly estate as ye Lord in mercy hath lent me my will & meaning is yt ye same should be employed and bestowed as hercafter by this will is expressed and first I do hereby renounce frustrate & make void all wills by me formerly made and declare and apint this my last will and testament—

Emprimis, I give and bequeath unto my eldest son John Wale ye plantasion where we here dwell att with two

hundred and fifteen acres of land and marshes begenen att ye creek side att ye mouth of a gutt yt runs into a side pond where now ye pastor fence gines unto so running up ye north side of ye fence yt now partes Jno and Nathll and so running along a line of mark trees unto ye road and so along ye west side of ye road unto ye head line and so along ye line to ye creek and so down ye creek to ye aforesd. gutt to him and his heirs forever. Item, I give & bequeath unto my sun Nathll Wale all ye rest of ye land and marshes yt lyeth between my brother Ratcliffe's line and ye bound aforesd and so up to ye head line for two hundred and five acres more or less to him and his heirs forever. Item, I give and bequeath unto my son Elias Wale ye plantation whereon I now live with three hundred and seventy acres of land & marshes there belonging to him and his heirs forever. Item, I give and bequeath unto my three sons, Jno Nathll and Elias two hundred and twenty-five acres of land called Cay's folly to be equally divided among ye thre to them and their heirs forever. I give and bequeath unto my well beloved wife Elizabeth ye third of ye plantation and land yt I now live upon during her life and ye third of my personall estate to her and her disposing.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my son Elias my grate . . .¹ and form and a chist of drawers and one small leather trunk. I give and bequeath unto my son Jno. two steers of five years old and two heifers of two years old. Item, I give and bequeath unto my son Nathll Wale two stears of four years old and two heifers of two years old. Item, I give and bequeath unto my son Elias Wale four cows and calves & one heifer of three years old, and five stearrs ye choys of all my stears yt I have. Item, I give and bequeath unto my darter Elizabeth Turvile two heffers of two years old and three stears one of seven years old and two of three years old. Item, I give and bequeath unto my son Elias Wale one feather bead and furniture of bead yt is in ye end chamber and my grate pott and one small one and

¹ Illegible.

pott-raike. Item, I give and bequeath to my darter Bridget Frankline one six yeare old steare. Item, I give and bequeath unto my darter Rachell Ratcliff one cow and calf and one steear of three years old and all ye other part of my estate not before menchanted to be equally divided when my debts being paid unto my three sons and three darters as John Nathll Elias Elizabeth Bridget and Rachell. I also leave my two sons Nath Walell and Elias Wale my hole and sole Exectors of this my last will and testament being contained in one sheatt of paper, where I set my hand and seall this day and year above rettone.

his
EDWARD x WALE.
mark

Signed & sealed in ye presence of us,

EDWD. CRAPPER
WILLIAM BOWEN, Junr.
RICHD. HOLLAND.

June ye 18th 1718 Came before me Edward Crapper & Richd. Holland in their proper persons and made oath before me upon ye Holy Evangelist that they saw ye testator sign & declare ye above instrument as his last will & testament & that he published pronounced & declared ye same so to be & that at ye time of his so doing he was of sound and perfect mind & memory to ye best of their knowledge.

Teste SAM. HOPKINS, *Dept. Comsr.*

[From the will records of Worcester Co., Md.

G. T. BRATTON, *Recorder of Deeds.*]

BARON STIEGEL.

BY THE REV. JOS. HENRY DUBBS, OF LANCASTER, PA.

The early German settlers of Pennsylvania were generally poor, and laid no claim to aristocratic descent. A few of their earliest clergymen, we know, were in the habit of sealing their letters with armorial bearings; but among the people generally there was so strong a prejudice against everything that savored of the tyranny of the fatherland, that those who were entitled to this distinction soon laid it aside. A special interest, therefore, attaches to the brief career of the solitary German nobleman who attempted to maintain the dignity of his rank in the wilds of Pennsylvania.

Henry William Stiegel is said to have been a native of the city of Manheim, in Germany. Of his early history we know nothing, beyond the fact that he spent some time in England, and there moved in excellent society. When he came to America, about 1757, he is said, on excellent authority, to have brought with him "good recommendations, and a great deal of money."

About 1758 Stiegel came to Lancaster County, and purchasing one-third of a tract of 714 acres from the Messrs. Stedman, of Philadelphia, laid out the town of Manheim, according to a plan of his native city which he had brought with him from the fatherland. He also built the Elizabeth furnace, which he named in honor of his wife; though it is said by one authority that the actual proprietors were Messrs. Benezet & Co., of Philadelphia.

In order to furnish labor for the inhabitants of his new town, the Baron also erected extensive glass-works at Manheim. One of the aged inhabitants of the place has informed the writer that "the main building was so large that it would have been easy to turn around in it with a six-horse team." The glass-works have long since disappeared, and

all that is left of them is the Baron's office, a neat building, which is now occupied as a dwelling.

The magnificent mansion which Baron Stiegel built at Manheim, of bricks imported from England, we regret to say, has recently been entirely modernized, so that not a vestige of its original grandeur remains. A writer in the *Reformed Church Messenger* in 1868 thus speaks of its appearance at that date:—

“There is a chapel in the house, where he was accustomed to conduct divine worship for those in his employment. The internal arrangements, the wainscoting, the cornices, the landscape painting covering the walls of the parlor,¹ representing scenes in the falconry, and the beautiful porcelain tiles adorning the fireplaces, are all in good taste, and would be admired by good judges in our day. Everything would tend to show that the Baron was a gentleman of cultivation and refinement.”

At some period of his career Baron Stiegel also built a furnace and a summer residence at Schaefferstown,² Lebanon County. These are said to have been strongly fortified for fear of the Indians. At this place he made iron stoves which bore the inscription:—

Baron Stiegel ist der Mann
Der die Ofen machen kann.³

It was a silly rhyme, but it was easily remembered by the people, and probably served its purpose as an advertisement.

Many stories are related concerning the baron's extravagance and love of display; and there is no doubt that he lived in a style which to his simple-minded Mennonite neighbors appeared exceedingly imposing. It is said, for instance, that he rode in a carriage drawn by *eight* fine horses; but it is much more likely that he drove his “coach

¹ A fine piece of tapestry, a part of which has been presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by Mr. Henry Arndt, the present proprietor of the mansion.

² Elizabeth Furnace, six miles from Schaefferstown.

³ That is, “Baron Stiegel is the man who knows how to make stoves.”

and four," as was done by Judge Allen and other wealthy men, and that tradition has simply doubled the number of the horses. According to one account, he maintained a band of music, which always accompanied him on his journeys; but another and more probable version of the story is that there were among his workmen several excellent musicians, who frequently sat on the balcony of his mansion and regaled him with their music. All accounts agree that his visits to his furnaces and his return to his residence were always heralded by the firing of cannon.

It has generally been supposed that Baron Stiegel was a mere adventurer, who wasted his money in unprofitable speculations; but this is certainly a mistake. On the contrary, his enterprises were generally successful, and for a time he made money rapidly. His glass-works at Manheim, he says in one of his letters, brought him an annual income of £5000.

Stiegel's error was one which has been committed by thousands of others—he sought to get rich too rapidly. Not satisfied with the extent of his estate, he purchased the entire interest of the Messrs. Stedman in the Manheim tract, never doubting that he could speedily meet all his obligations. He would probably have accomplished his purpose if the colony had continued prosperous, but just then troubles with England began. In consequence of the tyrannical measures of the British ministry, the commerce and manufactures of the colonies were utterly prostrated, and such enterprises as those of Baron Stiegel were necessarily among the first to feel the blow. His creditors became clamorous, and though he struggled manfully for several years, the final result was utter and irretrievable ruin.

We have recently read a number of autograph letters addressed by Stiegel, at this period, to his legal counsellor, the Hon. Jasper Yeates, of Lancaster. In these letters he pleads, in broken English, for counsel and aid in weathering the storm. "Let them give me time," he says, "and I will pay every dollar." He speaks of the successful efforts of his wife to induce his creditors in Philadelphia to grant him an

extension, and then exclaims: "Can it be that my former friends in Lancaster will drive me to ruin, when I have increased the wealth of the country by at least £150,000?"

The following letter, which is the first of the series, will give the reader a good idea of this correspondence:—

MANHEIM, August 4th, 1774.

DEAR SIR: You being just at trial and my affairs requiring dispatch prevented me to have the pleasure of speaking to you myself. I am really at present in a distressful situation, being persecuted by most every body. Your kind and friendly behaviour to me at court has assured me that you are my real friend, and as at present I lay at the mercy of several that I am afraid are not my friends, I would beg of you for assistance in what is just. Mr. Geo. Ross, my attorney, is so often from home and engaged in Publick Affairs that I have often suffered very hard. I desired Mr. Zantzinger to speak to you concerning my affairs, but as he is a man of much business he might have forgot, and as my present situation is very serious in consequence, I hope you will be kind and take it in hand. I would have been at court myself, but came only home last night so much fatigued and spent that I can hardly move in trying to gather and collect what I promised to pay this court, but could not succeed. I was just able to get the money for the sheriff, and this I have hereby sent by my clerk. Desire you will see it paid and justice done to me. It is at the suit of Joseph Standsbury. I gave Nicholas Steele my wife's gold watch in pledge last week to have the money at court, as I hear notwithstanding there has been a great noise made and I very much exposed. I have further promised to pay your neighbor Eberhard Michael £100, and several persons disappointing me that owed me, and also for glass sent on orders for cash, I have not been able to get it, but must have more time. I have no doubt but shall have it in a few weeks. I desire you will speak to him that he may not do anything ill-natured. I was also to pay Mr. Singer £100. In the action Fred. Stone was sued, as they say, for my sake, and have made a great noise about laying the blame to me of his being in gaol, for which I should be very sorry if it was so. I settled it with Mr. Singer, and he promised me on my paying £100 to take my bond for the rest, before Mr. Michael, which shall be done in a few weeks. The time and circumstance too short towards this court. I shall not disappoint either of them,

only must have a little more time and shall satisfy them honorable. It is impossible for a man to do all at once. Please to talk to them, it cannot make so much difference for a few weeks to them. Please God and I have my health I will have it for them. As to some other actions against me you will find on the docket, speak to Messrs. Ross and Biddle, who generally appeared for me, that no judgments may be obtained, as I am assured I can get over them all this fall. They are too hard to add distress to my distress and cost upon cost, when I am striving to collect it in and to sell my produce. I beg therefore you will take pity of an honest man that wants nothing but time to satisfy everybody and maintain my cause. I could not send you a fee at present, being too scarce, but shall satisfy you with honour and gratitude. I shall expect by my clerk your favourable answer, and I really am in great distress and uneasiness of mind which add greatly to my distemper.

In the mean time I remain, Dear Sir,

Your much afflicted and distressed humble servant,

HENRY WM. STIEGEL.

All the letters of the series of which the above is a specimen were, with a single exception, written in the fall of 1774, and are of similar tenor. Stiegel's affairs grew more and more desperate, and in October the correspondence suddenly ceases. About this time he was probably arrested for debt and lodged in the jail at Lancaster, whence he was liberated by special Act of Legislature, passed Dec. 24th, 1774. The latest of Baron Stiegel's letters which has come under the notice of the writer is dated at Heidelberg, Berks County, Aug. 13th, 1783. It is very brief, and refers to certain old debts which he was desirous of collecting.

The baron's history subsequent to his failure is involved in the greatest obscurity. There is a tradition, related by Harris, in his "Biographical History of Lancaster County," that he was an active loyalist, and that his son raised a company for the royal service. "His company being severely pressed for provisions, young Stiegel pledged his gold watch to a farmer for a bullock; and, whether the story be mythical or not, his watch is yet said to be in the possession of a gentleman in Lancaster County." With reference to the

time and place of Baron Stiegel's death, our local historians are by no means clear or harmonious. Rupp¹ simply says, "He died a schoolmaster." Harris says, "He was somewhat supported by the iron-masters who came into possession of Elizabeth furnace. He died in great indigence, and, though his place of burial is unknown, he is thought to be laid somewhere east of Elizabeth furnace near the line between Berks and Lancaster Counties." A writer in Frank Leslie's "Illustrated News," a few years ago, insisted that "he died some sixty years since in the county poor-house at Harrisburg, a pauper;" and finally a correspondent of a German paper, published in Baltimore, 1867, declares that "just when he had lost all hope, and was about to commit suicide at Womelsdorf, Berks County, he unexpectedly received a letter from Philadelphia, enclosing five hundred dollars. Whereupon he immediately left the neighborhood, and was never heard of again."

There is nothing more remarkable in this whole history than the fact that there should be such a conflict of authorities concerning the occurrences of a period which can hardly be said to be beyond the memory of the "oldest inhabitant." It is possible that some one of our readers may be in possession of information that will enable him to settle the dispute, and to throw more light on the career of the eccentric German baron. If our present sketch should suggest the publication of such information, it will have accomplished its mission.

¹ History of Lancaster County p. 348.

JOHN HANCOCK.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

A MEMOIR PREPARED FOR THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ADOPTION
OF "THE RESOLUTIONS RESPECTING INDEPENDENCY,"
AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, JULY 1, 1876.

[The continuation of this series will be designated, as from the Centennial Collection.]

JOHN HANCOCK derived his descent from the Puritan fathers in Massachusetts. When the first of the family came out does not appear, but his son, the first recorded in the catalogue of the graduates of Harvard College, was born in 1670, and issued from that Institution to fit himself for the ministry in 1689. He soon became pastor of the parish of Lexington, a few miles from Boston, where he served with great acceptance until his decease in 1752, in the eighty-second year of his age. He left three sons, the eldest of whom, inheriting his name and adopting the same profession, issued from Harvard College in 1719, and became the pastor of the parish of Braintree, also a few miles to the south of Boston, where he remained for twenty-five years, until his death.

In this town of Braintree, in the year 1737, was the third John Hancock, the subject of this narrative, born. His name likewise appears in the catalogue as a graduate in 1754, though not marked by the same characters which denoted his ancestors as of the Clergy. Far the contrary. Instead of their modest italics, it stands in Capital Letters, and is followed by a long series of civil and literary distinctions, denoting one of the shining lights of his generation.

The cause of this deviation is easily explained. John Hancock, of Lexington, had a son Thomas, who did not go to College, but established himself in the town of Boston, as a merchant and trader. Fortune appears to have wonderfully favored him, for in a few years he got the name of

being very rich. This son Thomas then took his nephew John, who had early lost his father, into his counting-room, and the result was a decided variation from the ancestral calling.

The third John Hancock had entered upon his duties faithfully and to the satisfaction of his uncle, and pursued them for ten years successfully, when that uncle died. All the property, barring some liberal donations to Harvard College, was found to have been bequeathed to him. The excitement in a small town, of not exceeding fifteen thousand people, was prodigious. Governor Hutchinson, in his history, reports the estate as estimated at seventy thousand pounds, but whether in sterling or in the depreciated currency of the Colony, he does not define. He likewise reports the malicious stories of the time to account for this great accumulation, all which must be taken with great deductions for the force of his own passions. In any event, it is conceded on all sides that John Hancock, the heir of his Uncle Thomas, was universally regarded as the richest man in Boston, and in the whole province. But this was not all. He had succeeded in earning a favorable reputation for his modesty, his genial manners, and his faithful attention to business. To these popular qualities he soon joined a degree of liberality to private and public objects, which fixed him for the rest of his life as the idol of the people of Massachusetts.

The first proof of this was shown in his immediate election to one of the places of Selectmen of the town. In two years he was made a representative from that town in the General Court of the province, thus placing him on a level with James Otis, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Cushing, all veterans in politics. Here he distinguished himself more as Chairman of Committees maturing the measures of the house, than as an Orator, and his reports added to the weight of his reputation. As the conflict between the Governor and the House became more vehement, he grew more and more identified with the policy of resistance. He became less and less attentive to his own affairs, whilst lavish of his

money for the public. Every day fastened him more permanently to the side of freedom. Then came the famous riot of the fifth of March, which stirred up the popular hostility to the British troops with such vehemence at the moment, and the attempt to keep up the indignation by the observation of the annual recurrence of the day. Among the thirteen orators who successively officiated on this occasion, John Hancock appears as the fourth. His oration remains as a production creditable to the principles and the patriotism of the speaker.

The year succeeding this event, Hancock was selected as a delegate to attend the meeting of the Congress at Philadelphia, in addition to the four chosen in the preceding year. The proclamation of General Gage excepting him from amnesty, and the rumor of the attempt to seize him and Samuel Adams at Lexington, contributed greatly to spread his reputation all over the country. His polished manners and agreeable address had their effect after he came to meet the delegates from the Southern States, so that when it soon happened that Peyton Randolph of Virginia, elected President of the Congress, was imperatively called home, he was at once summoned by a unanimous call to fill his place. This was the position, above all others, for which he was peculiarly fitted. It was also that which has given to his name a lustre that can never be dimmed. His fine, bold handwriting on the great paper creating an independent Nation on the broad North American Continent cannot fail to be transmitted forever to the eyes of the latest posterity.

Hancock was a man of society, genial, self-indulgent, and perhaps rather a free liver. In the position he now occupied there was naturally much confinement indoors, and more of fatigue than opportunity for wholesome exercise. The consequence was an access of the gout, which now began and continued with him at intervals to the close of his career. His health had declined so rapidly in two years that he decided to resign his place in Congress, and accordingly took his leave of that body in October, 1777. A resolution of thanks was formally voted to him, though not without

serious opposition from his own New England brethren, who were too stern to admit that the performance of duty could claim any higher reward than the satisfaction of conscience.

The next event of political importance in Massachusetts after the return of Mr. Hancock was the establishment of a form of government by the people themselves in the room of the obsolete royal charter, an obvious consequence of independence. A convention of delegates was called and Mr. Hancock appears to have been returned as one of them. But it does not appear from the record of the proceedings that he took any active part whatever. The probability is that he was still suffering from illness. But on the adoption of that instrument, when perfected and submitted to the decision of the people, at the first election held for the choice of the officers designated in it, he was chosen the first Governor in 1780, and re-elected in each succeeding year until 1785, when he again voluntarily withdrew.

The times were growing very dark. The Continental Congress had lost what little of authority had ever belonged to it, and the State Governments were in no situation to supply the want. James Bowdoin had been elected in Massachusetts, as Governor in the place of Hancock; a man of excellent character, and perfectly competent to the service to which he was called, a service of no ordinary trial. For the people were suffering severely from poverty consequent upon the struggles for independence, and the absence of confidence in any effective policy of restoration. Numbers of small debtors stood in terror of the exactions of the law in the hands of persons not disposed to soften its severity by any compromises. Presently these grievances made themselves visible by attempts to stop the process in the courts by force. Then came signs of a formidable insurrection, in the western section of the State. Governor Bowdoin lost not a moment in making the necessary preparations to meet this danger. By his energetic will, seconded by the solid support of the independent class of citizens in Boston, an adequate force was raised for the suppression of these disorders. Peace was restored without the shedding of much blood. Nothing

but praise can be awarded to him for the firm and yet moderate policy under which he restored the public confidence in the power of the government. Yet there has never been an instance in the history of the country in which a public man has been treated with more marked ingratitude. The disaffected party, smarting under the pain of their defeat, resorted to a method of vengeance as curious as it was effective. On the return of the annual election for the Chief Officers of the State, they put in nomination for Governor the popular favorite John Hancock, and he was elected by a large majority over the man whose labors had saved them from the danger of absolute anarchy.

Yet it may be regarded as a fortunate result for the State, and the United States, that John Hancock should have assumed the chair, which he never left again until he died in 1793. In the interval came up the gravest of all public questions that have agitated America; the formation of a government adequate to the purpose of keeping the different States of the Confederacy in one common bond of unity, and yet energetic enough to cope with any disturbing force from outside. The result of the labors of the Convention of 1787, is the government under which we now live and prosper. It is needless to enlarge upon the subject further than to point out the fact that one of the most serious obstacles to the ratification of the form of Government when submitted to the consideration of the separate States, was removed by the agency of John Hancock. In the convention of Massachusetts, he had been chosen to preside over its deliberations. There was much division of opinion on many points, and a large if not preponderating resistance. A negative from that State would probably have turned the scale in the convention of others equally divided, and thus have defeated the measure altogether. It was in one of these critical moments that John Hancock rose from his seat and submitted a proposition of a conciliatory nature. This had probably been carefully matured in a private council of leading men, but it came supported with the strong position of the President, without which it could scarcely have been carried. It is due

to Mr. Bowdoin to say that it met with his earnest co-operation. It was finally adopted by the Convention, and that adoption turned the scale in favor of the Constitution elsewhere. It makes a dignified conclusion to the career of an eminent man, whose name can never be forgotten.

John Hancock died with harness on his back, 8th October, 1793, and great honors were paid to his memory.

PATRICK HENRY.

BY WILLIAM WIRT HENRY.

(Centennial Collection.)

PATRICK HENRY was born at Studley, Hanover Co., Virginia, May 29th, 1736, and died at Red Hill, Charlotte Co., Virginia, June 6th, 1799. John Henry, his father, was a Scotchman, the son of Alexander Henry and Jean Robertson, nephew of the historian Wm. Robertson, and first cousin of the mother of Lord Brougham. Sarah Winston, his mother, was of Welsh blood, of good family, and of marked intellect and piety. His father, a scholar, gave him a classical education. Marrying at eighteen, he first tried farming, and then merchandise, but without success, and finally came to the bar in 1760. His fee books show a large practice from the first, but he discovered his great eloquence first in December, 1763, in the "Parson's Cause." Amidst cries of treason he then took the ground on which the Revolution was afterwards fought, holding that "A King, by disallowing acts of a salutary nature, from being the father of his people, degenerates into a tyrant, and forfeits all right to his subjects' obedience." On 29th May, 1765, nine days after taking his seat for the first time in the Virginia House of Burgesses, he moved his famous resolutions against the Stamp Act, and by his great eloquence carried them against the old leaders. America was inflamed, and the Revolution commenced.

From that time he led Virginia. He sat in the Congress of 1774 and of '75. He opposed, seemingly single-handed in the debate, the plan of reconciliation brought forward by Joseph Galloway, which would have prevented independence. On his motion, March 23d, 1775, in the Convention, Virginia was put into a state of defence. In May, 1775, he led the Hanover Volunteers against Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, making the first forcible resistance to British Authority in that Colony. He left Congress to accept a commission as Colonel of the 1st Va. Regiment, in 1775. In May, 1776, he was the great advocate of independence in the Virginia Convention, and by his eloquence produced unanimity in the instructions to her delegates to move it in Congress. To him we are indebted for the article in the Virginia Bill of Rights securing Religious Liberty, and for the first Amendment to the Federal Constitution embodying the same principle. Elected Governor of Virginia in 1776, he was re-elected in 1777-78-84 and '85, declining in 1786, and again elected in 1796 and declining to serve. His great executive talents were invaluable during the Revolution. In 1778, at the suggestion of George Rogers Clark, he set on foot the expedition to the Northwest, drew up the instructions indicating the plan of operations, and induced Clark to take command. By one brilliant campaign, a vast empire was secured to the United States. He led the opposition to the Federal Constitution in Virginia, and procured amendments which satisfied him apparently, but his predictions were prophetic. Washington offered to make him Secretary of State in October, 1795, and Chief Justice in December, 1795; and Adams to send him as a Minister to France in April, 1799. Private reasons made him decline. He retired from public life in 1791, but was induced by General Washington to offer for the Legislature in 1799, to oppose the famous resolutions of 1798 and '99. He did not approve, however, the Alien and Sedition Laws. Death prevented him from taking his seat. He married twice, his second wife being a granddaughter of Governor Spotts-

wood. He was a pure man, a devoted patriot, and a devout Christian. Though classed amongst the great orators of the world, George Mason pronounced his eloquence the smallest part of his merit.

HENRY WISNER.

BY HENRY W. BELLOWS, D.D.

(Centennial Collection.)

HENRY WISNER, the precise dates of whose birth and death are unknown, was the son of Hendrick Wisner, who settled in Orange County, New York, about 1714. He was the son of Johannes Weasner, a Swiss subaltern, who emigrated to America after the peace in Queen Anne's time. Henry grew up with only ordinary advantages of education, but gave evidences of strong talents and an insinuating address, and was early made a justice of the peace. He married a Norton from the east end of Long Island, and settled in Goshen, New York. Acquiring property and weight of character, he was elected in 1759, and continued until 1769, a member of the Colonial Assembly of New York. He was a member of the first county committee to consider the grounds of difficulty between Great Britain and her American Colonies, and his zeal commended him so much, that he was sent a delegate from Orange County, to the first Congress convened at Philadelphia, in the autumn of 1774. In 1775, he was appointed by the Provincial Congress of New York one of the delegates to represent the province in the second Continental Congress. From 1775 to 1777, he was a member of the Provincial Congress (subsequently convention) of New York; was one of the Commissioners to report the first constitution of the State; and under it, became a Senator from the middle district, at the election of 1777, and served until 1782.

On Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1774, he presented his credentials

to the Congress assembled in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, and was duly seated. The session was short, and its leading feature (Oct. 14), the passage of "the non-importation agreement," bears Henry Wisner's signature in characters as plain and bold as the agreement itself was strong in its terms and decisive in its tendency towards independence.

New York, at this time, was clearly anxious to maintain peace, and doubtful of the policy of independence. In December, the New York Convention had voted that five only of the twelve delegates she had appointed, should continue at Philadelphia, and that any three or four should be a quorum in the absence of the rest, to represent the colony. On the 8th of June, 1776, Floyd, *Wisner*, Livingston, and Lewis wrote to their constituents, "your delegates here expect that the question of independence will, very shortly, be agitated in Congress. Some of us consider ourselves as bound by our instructions *not to vote* on that question, and all wish to have your sentiments thereon. The matter will admit of no delay." The New York Congress declared, June 10, that it had *not* given its delegates any *authority* to declare the colony to be, and continue independent of the Crown of Great Britain. On the 2d of July, *Wisner*, Alsop, Floyd, and Lewis united in a letter, saying "the important question of independence was agitated yesterday, in a committee of the whole Congress; and this day will be finally determined in the house; we have your instructions and will faithfully pursue them." Excepting Alsop, they did not like their position. Every other hesitating colony had withdrawn its instructions, or left its delegates free to follow the general feeling, strongly in favor of independence. *Wisner* seems to have felt more keenly than the rest, the awkwardness of the New York position, and he proved it by adding to the joint letter, a special one of his own, in which he says, "Since writing the inclosed, the great question of independence has been put in Congress and carried without one dissenting vote; I therefore beg your answer as quick as possible, to the inclosed." The delegates from New York had not voted. They were silent again on the formal

adoption of the declaration July 4th. At last, on the 9th of July, the Congress of New York, at White Plains, resolved "that the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress, for declaring the United Colonies free and independent," were "cogent and conclusive," and that, while lamenting "the cruel necessity," it would, "at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting it." Thus the instructions were reversed, and on the engrossment of the Declaration, it was signed by all the delegates then present, fifty-four in number, including Floyd, Livingston, Lewis, and Morris; Clinton and *Wisner* had left Philadelphia, and were not present on that occasion. This concludes all that appertains to Mr. *Wisner's* relations to the Declaration of Independence. His subsequent career in his own State, patriotic, earnest, judicious, and most useful, established his claim to a worthy place among the men who founded our National Independence.

Though lacking a superior education, he was a man of clear, strong mind, energetic and determined, efficient in counsel, trusted by his fellow citizens, and the companion and friend of the leading patriots of the country. He was evidently ardent, and bolder than many of his associates; ready to take the initiative and abide the consequences. If his name has disappeared from the records of churches and the face of grave-stones; if it does not appear, where it belongs, on the Declaration of Independence, it was not written in water, nor is it likely to be forgotten while many patriotic and honorable descendants of it remain; least of all, when history shows itself so busy, in this centennial year, in hunting up the record of those whose hearts and lives contributed a sensible support to the trembling tree of our national liberty when it was first planted and in danger from every breeze of selfish cowardice or calculating distrust.

CHARLES HUMPHREYS.

BY A. A. HUMPHREYS, MAJ.-GEN. U. S. A.

(Centennial Collection.)

CHARLES HUMPHREYS was born in 1712 at The Mansion House, his father's residence, about seven miles west of Philadelphia, in Haverford Township. His father, Daniel Humphreys, of Porthwen, Merionethshire, Wales, came to this country in 1682, and, repeating the quaint language of the quarterly meeting of Merionethshire, bore here, as in his native country, a reputation "that was, and is, of good savor." In August, 1695, he, Daniel Humphreys, married Hannah Wynn, daughter of Dr. Thomas Wynn, of Merion, another daughter, Mary Wynn, marrying John Dickenson, the father or grandfather of John Dickenson, author of "The Farmer's Letters."

The testimony is universal that Charles Humphreys was held in high esteem for his talents, his integrity in private and public life, his hospitality and courteous and dignified manners. At the solicitation of his fellow-citizens he became a member of The Assembly of the Province in 1763, and continued there until the summer of 1776. On the 22d July, 1774, the Assembly resolved that a Congress of deputies from the several colonies should be held to adopt a plan for redressing American grievances, ascertaining American rights, and establishing union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies; and appointed seven deputies to the Congress, Charles Humphreys being one. The Congress met in Philadelphia, Sept. 5, and adjourned in October, after having passed unanimously—

I. A declaration of rights.

II. An address to the king, reciting the wrongs committed in his name, and enumerating the unconstitutional Acts of Parliament, the enforcement of which in the colonies produced great injury to private and public interests, and

great uneasiness and depression in the public mind, and the king was petitioned to redress the grievances and restore harmony, confidence, prosperity, and happiness.

III. An association of non-intercourse was entered into.

All these Resolutions and Acts were signed by the members, including Charles Humphreys. Addresses were also issued by the Congress.

The second Congress met on the 10th May, 1775, and of this Congress also Charles Humphreys was a member. On the 26th May, Congress resolved that, as the ministry were attempting to enforce the unconstitutional and oppressive measures of the British Parliament by force of arms, the colonies should be immediately put in a state of defence. They accordingly raised an army and a navy, and money to pay them, and on the 5th of July issued a declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of the colonies taking up arms. The organization of a government was completed, fortifications were erected and military enterprises undertaken. On the 9th November the Pennsylvania Assembly instructed its members of Congress not to assent to any proposition that might lead to a separation from the mother country. This restriction was not withdrawn until the 8th June following.

On December 6th the proclamation from the Court of St. James of Aug. '75, was met by a counter proclamation in which the Congress, while acknowledging their allegiance to the king, denied that they had ever owed any allegiance to the Parliament, asserting that with arms in their hands they opposed the exercise of unconstitutional powers to which Crown nor Parliament was ever entitled. On the 7th June, '76, the resolutions of Independency were introduced. In all the measures up to this time Charles Humphreys had cordially united, taking an energetic part in them, but dissented from the Resolution and Declaration of Independency of the Crown, voting against both. In this dissent he agreed with John Dickenson, Thomas Willing, Edward Biddle, and Andrew Allen, members from Pennsylvania. After having taken part in all the proceedings and Acts of the Congresses previous to the Resolution and Decla-

ration of Independence, I have been at a loss to understand why Charles Humphreys did not unite in the final Act which carried with it such great advantages in the contest, and I have been led to suppose that it arose, in great part, from conscientious scruples growing out of the oath (affirmation) of allegiance to the Crown he had taken as a member of the Colonial Assembly, a position he held continuously from 1763 to the 4th July, 1776, when he withdrew from the Congress and Assembly. However that may be, the integrity of his motives was never questioned. He lived in a simple, upright community, and retained their respect and esteem to the day of his death, which occurred in 1786. He left no descendants.

The house in which he was born, and in which the greater part of his life was passed, was known then, and for a century afterwards, as The Mansion House. It had a hipped roof, was built partly of stone and partly of brick, the windows irregularly scattered about, with small panes of glass and leaden frames, which were still extant when I was a youth. It was situated on a pretty stream known now as Cobb's Creek. Close by on a hill overlooking it, is Haverford Meeting House, the second built in Pennsylvania. On this hill Lord Cornwallis halted his command for the night on the 11th of December, 1777, upon his return to Philadelphia from his reconnoissance to Matson's Ford on the Schuylkill. He made his head-quarters at the Mansion House. The position occupied by his troops is a commanding one.

The Mansion House passed from the family about sixty or seventy years ago, and was torn down a few years since.

FRANCIS DANA.**BY RICHARD H. DANA, JR.**

(Centennial Collection.)

The civil struggle between the province of Massachusetts and the mother country, from 1760 to 1775, trained and brought forward the best abilities of the province, in political and legal discussion, in a remarkable manner. In a country which had no nobility or privileged class of any description having leisure for public affairs, the lawyers naturally came to the front. They were nearly all Harvard College men, and their public speeches, and the documents they penned, were not more remarkable than the patience, wisdom, and spirit they showed in their public actions. Among the leaders in the earlier part of the struggle was Richard Dana. He was born at Cambridge in 1699; graduated at Harvard in 1718; married a sister of Edmund Trowbridge, whom Chancellor Kent calls "the Oracle of the old real law of Massachusetts." During the first part of his life, Mr. Dana devoted himself to the practice of law, in which he became distinguished. In the book of "American Precedents," in Oliver's Precedents of Declarations, and in Story's Common Law Pleadings, he is frequently cited as of the highest authority. He was little past the age of sixty, when the struggle became most critical, and he devoted himself, heart and soul, to the cause of his country. His distinction as a leader of the bar and a magistrate, his independent fortune, his age, the dignity and severity of his manners, and especially his absolute moral courage and passionate devotion to his cause, made him a leading figure on the patriot side. He frequently presided at the famous town meetings held at Faneuil Hall and the Old South Meeting House, and was often upon the committees with the Adamses, Otis, Quincy, Hancock, and Warren, in preparing the addresses to the

patriots throughout the country, and the appeals to the King and Parliament. He reported the celebrated papers of Nov. 20, 1767, and May 8, 1770. His death in 1772, three years before the outbreak, is spoken of in the letters of the patriots of that day, as a great loss to their cause; and President Adams, in later days, speaks of him as one who, had he not been cut off by death, would have furnished one of the immortal names of the revolution. Perhaps the most distinguished act of his life was his administering of the oath to Secretary Oliver. In the latter part of 1765, the commissions of stamp distributors had arrived, and it was generally understood that Secretary Oliver was to be the chief commissioner. The leading patriots waited upon him and demanded that he should refuse the office; he promised to do so, and the next day there appeared in the newspaper a letter from him, which, however, was not quite satisfactory. The "Sons of Liberty" again waited upon him, but in more persuasive numbers, and invited him to attend them to the Liberty Tree, where they were in the habit of holding their open air meetings. It was an invitation he did not consider it prudent to decline. There, under that tree, on the 17th of December, 1765, Oliver signed the declaration—"I never will directly or indirectly, by myself, or any under me, make use of said deputation, or take any measures for enforcing the stamp act in America, which is so grievous to the people," and made oath to it before Richard Dana, who put his name to the jurat as magistrate, thereby subjecting himself to the penalties of treason, according to the constructions of those days.

In the *Boston Post* of June 1, 1772, appears a notice of Richard Dana from which his chief characteristics may be gathered. "He hated flattery; agreeably to the natural severity of his manners, was a most inveterate enemy of luxury and prodigality; a very steady, strenuous, and it must be confessed, many times a passionate opposer of all those, from the highest to the lowest, but especially the former, who, in his judgment, were enemies to the civil and religious rights of his country, and he very well understood

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In the *Boston Post* of June 1, 1772, appears a notice of Richard Dana from which his chief characteristics may be gathered. "He hated flattery; agreeably to the natural severity of his manners, was a most inveterate enemy of luxury and prodigality; a very steady, strenuous, and it must be confessed, many times a passionate opposer of all those, from the highest to the lowest, but especially the former, who, in his judgment, were enemies to the civil and religious rights of his country, and he very well understood

what those rights were." (See Washburne's *Jud. Hist. of Mass.*, Bradford's *New England Biography*, the *Lives and Letters of Josiah Quincy and John Adams.*)

FRANCIS DANA, son of Richard, was born June 13, 1743; graduated at Harvard in 1762, and studied law five years, according to the custom of that time, with his uncle, Judge Trowbridge, and came to the bar in 1767. This was at the height of the civil struggle. Living with a father from boyhood until past the age of thirty, who was so zealous and prominent a patriot, he naturally threw the force of his character into the same cause. He joined the Sons of Liberty, and John Adams's diary of 1766 speaks of the club in which "Lowell, Dana, Quincy, and other young fellows were not ill-employed in lengthened discussions of the right of taxation." He became an active practitioner at the bar, but especially in causes involving civil and political rights. The death of his father in 1772 left him in possession of a competent fortune, which he regarded only as increasing his opportunities for service in the public cause. The next year, in concert with John Adams, he acted in behalf of the Rhode Island patriots, for the prosecution in the matter of Rome's and Mottatt's letters. In 1774, when Governor Hutchinson was about leaving the country, it was proposed that the bar should present him a complimentary address. This led to a sharp debate, in which Mr. Dana, though one of the youngest of the members, opposed the address with great courage and zeal. In 1773, he married a daughter of the Hon. William Ellery, afterwards a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In April, 1774, he sailed for England, partly to visit his brother, the Rev. Edmund Dana, who was settled there; but chiefly to represent the patriots of Massachusetts among their friends in England. He took confidential letters to Dr. Franklin from Warren, the elder Quincy, Dr. Cooper, and other leaders, and rendered all the service he could at that time. His brother had married a daughter of Lord Kinnaid, who was also a niece of Sir William Pulteney and Governor Johnstone, and through them and their connections Mr. Dana had especial opportunities of ascertaining the state of

English feeling, and the probable measures of the government. He became quite intimate with Dr. Price, and contributed materials for the work which the learned doctor published in defence of the colonies. He remained in England two years, and arrived in Boston in April, 1776, bringing with him a decided opinion that all hope of an adjustment with England on any terms which the colonists could accept, must be abandoned.

From the time of his return, he was a member, by repeated re-elections, until 1780, of the Massachusetts Council. In November, 1776, he was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress—too late to affix his name to the Declaration of Independence, but in July, 1778, he put his signature to the Articles of Confederation. His course in Congress was distinguished, and although one of the youngest members, he held many important and critical posts. In 1778 he was placed at the head of a committee charged with the entire reorganization of the continental army. Indeed, on his return from England, he was not decided between the military and civil service of his country, and there is still in the possession of his descendants a service sword, which, among like articles, he procured in London, with a view of joining the army. It was, probably, with this intent, that immediately upon his return, in April, 1776, he took a letter of introduction to General Washington from John Adams, who presents him as “a gentleman of family, fortune, and education, who has just returned to his country to share with his friends in their dangers and triumphs. He will satisfy you that we have no reason to expect peace from Britain.”¹

Early in January, in 1778, he was chairman of the committee to visit the army at Valley Forge, and remained there during five months of that distressful season. While there, he was engaged with Washington in concerting the plan subsequently submitted by Congress to the commander-in-chief, on June 4, 1778, “to be proceeded in, with the advice and assistance of Mr. Reed and Mr. Dana, or either of them.”

¹ Perhaps it was his immediate election to high civil office that determined him to that part of the field of public service.

It was in this year that the English Peace Commission came to this country, charged with the duty of carrying out the purposes of the Conciliatory Bills, as they were called, of Lord North. On this commission was Governor Johnstone, whom, as an uncle of the Hon. Mrs. Edmund Dana, Mr. Dana had known well, while in England. It was probably in reliance on some such influence, that Governor Johnstone addressed him a letter immediately upon his arrival, expressing the hope of having his co-operation. The letter contained no obnoxious proposal, as did that to Mr. Reed of Pennsylvania, but Mr. Dana thought it his duty to lay it before Congress. But the attempts of the Peace Commission had been forestalled by measures in which Mr. Dana had taken an active part. A committee had been appointed by Congress, consisting of Mr. Dana, Mr. Drayton, and Mr. G. Morris, to consider the subject, and on their report, the conciliatory proposals of Lord North had been unanimously rejected.

In 1779, an embassy was appointed to proceed to Paris, in the hope of negotiating treaties of peace and commerce with Great Britain, and to watch over our relations with France. Mr. Adams was placed at its head, and Mr. Dana was made secretary of legation, with certain contingent powers. Mr. Adams and Mr. Dana sailed from Boston November 13, 1779, in the French frigate *Sensible*. Fear of the British cruisers led the frigate to take a southerly course, and she landed her passengers at Ferrol, in Spain; from whence they made a journey across the Pyrenees, in the depth of winter, arriving at Paris early in February, 1780. They found no prospect of negotiation with Great Britain, and their relations with Count Vergennes were not cordial, and afterwards ripened into a severe controversy between Mr. Adams and Count Vergennes, in which Dr. Franklin did not sustain Mr. Adams. Mr. Dana, being in Russia, was not a party to the controversy, but had been a party to the facts out of which it arose. Mr. Adams, years afterwards, in vindicating his course, says, "I had the advice and approbation of Chief Justice Dana, then with me as secre-

tary of the legation for peace, to every clause and word of the whole correspondence . . . Mr. Dana said, 'The Count neither wrote like a gentleman himself, nor treated me like a gentleman, and it was indispensably necessary that we should show him that we had some understanding and some feeling.'

As affairs were not advancing at Paris, Mr. Adams left France for Amsterdam, Mr. Dana remaining a few months at Paris, then joining Mr. Adams in Holland, they being jointly charged by Congress, with the duty of raising loans in Europe. He again returned to Paris, where he soon received the appointment of Minister to Russia, and proceeded towards St. Petersburg; having been detained by Mr. Adams in Holland nearly three months. He went by way of Frankfort and Berlin, and arrived at the Court of Catherine in the latter part of the summer of 1781. The relations of the Empress with both Great Britain and France were, at this time, very critical. To have received Mr. Dana in full form, as a minister plenipotentiary from the United States, would have been a recognition of the independence of the United States, and would have been regarded by England as an act of war. The Empress also expected to be asked to act as mediator between the three powers. This position she would lose by recognizing our independence. Consequently Mr. Dana was not received in form, but he had constant intercourse with Count Osterman, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which was conducted with the most friendly spirit. At the same time, Mr. Dana was in constant correspondence with Congress; with the Marquis de Verac, the French Minister at St. Petersburg; with Mr. Robert R. Livingston, whom Congress had appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs; and with Mr. Adams. Both Mr. Adams in France, and Mr. Dana at St. Petersburg, doubted the sincerity of the French Cabinet and its minister at St. Petersburg, as respected our purposes with Russia and an immediate peace with England.

Mr. Dana drew up a plan of a commercial treaty with Russia in forty-one articles, going into details not only as to commercial relations, but especially those rights and duties

of individuals in time of peace, which are now classed under the head of Private International Law. Mr. Dana conceived that he had staid as long in Russia as appeared to him compatible with the dignity of his country, and was opposed to taking the steps that were evidently necessary for the conclusion of the complete treaty, but thought it desirable to secure a treaty of amity and commerce if possible. His health, which had never been strong, had suffered under the extremes of the climate of St. Petersburg, and this furnished another ground for his objection to remaining there longer. Count Osterman informed him that Her Imperial Majesty would give him an audience in due form as minister, when the preliminaries for a peace between the United States and Great Britain should be concluded, an event which was expected to take place immediately. But as Mr. Dana had determined to leave Russia, and had obtained the permission of Congress for that purpose, and as Congress did not think it worth while to enter upon negotiations for a general treaty at that time, Mr. Dana did not consider it a becoming course to remain in St. Petersburg merely to await his formal reception, on which he would immediately be obliged to go through the ceremony of taking leave. He quitted St. Petersburg Sept. 4, 1783, and arrived in Boston directly, by ship, in December following.

Within two months after his return to Boston, he was again appointed a delegate to the Continental Congress. In the summer of 1784, Congress took a recess of several months, and appointed a committee of one from each State to continue in session, clothed with very considerable powers. Mr. Dana was the member of this Committee for Massachusetts. At the beginning of the year 1785, he left Congress for a seat on the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts. He was appointed a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States. Very unfortunately, he was unable to accept the appointment, partly by reason of his health, which he had never fully recovered, and partly because his attendance would interfere with his judicial duties; but in the Massachusetts Conven-

tion of 1788, called to decide upon the adoption of the Constitution, Judge Dana took a leading part in its favor. There is no doubt that when the Massachusetts Convention met, a majority was opposed to the Constitution, and this opposition was led by such men as John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were supported by Gerry, who had been a delegate to the Convention which framed it. Mr. Rufus King, also a delegate to that Convention, and Theophilus Parsons, afterwards Chief Justice, showed great skill and wisdom in recommending the Constitution to the Convention. After a long struggle, with many vicissitudes, the weight of character, intellect, political experience, and eloquence turned the scale, and the Constitution was adopted by a small majority. This was a turning point in the history of America, for if Massachusetts had rejected the Constitution, no other considerable State would have adopted it, as it was in none of them more popular, and in several of them less so than in Massachusetts.

This was the last of Judge Dana's political services. Three years afterwards, in November, 1791, he was appointed Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and during the fifteen years in which he held that honorable post, he took no active part in politics beyond being chosen a presidential elector in 1792, 1800, and 1808.

When Mr. Adams, in the first year of his administration, found himself involved in great difficulties with the French Government, it was determined to send a special embassy to Paris, of three envoys, and for that purpose he appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Francis Dana, and John Marshall. It was a misfortune for the country as well as a matter of regret with himself and his friends, that Chief Justice Dana felt obliged, on account of his health, to decline this appointment; for had he accepted it, he would have stood by Pinckney and Marshall in the position they took at Paris, and our embassy would have presented to France, and to their own country, a united front, which would have averted the embarrassments and censures brought upon the country by reason of the course taken by Judge Dana's successor.

Judge Dana resigned the post of Chief Justice in 1806, and

Francis Dana.

died in his mansion house at Cambridge in 1811, at the age of 67. He was slight of figure, very erect, remarkably well-featured, with a fair complexion, an eloquent mouth, an eye of light blue, full of expression, capable of showing fire when under excitement, and his whole countenance exhibiting what may be called an illumination, when under the influence of emotion. His voice was musical and attractive in conversation, and in ordinary public speech, but when deeply moved, especially if by moral indignation, it had, without any explosion or increase of volume, something in it that thrilled every hearer, and brought to a dead silence the most excited assemblies. In his dress, not only was he careful for neatness, but, though never over-dressed, his habit had an air of elegance. Mr. Sargent, in his "Dealings with the Dead," speaks of him as presenting something of the ideal of the English gentleman of those times. He was doubtless what may be called a high-strung man, sensitive as to manners and conduct, and intolerant of anything underhand or mean or rude, whether shown at the bar, in the Senate, the popular assembly, or in private intercourse. He lived through the severest political conflicts, which entered deeply into private life, and while his democratic party opponents sometimes inveighed against him as proud, over-sensitive, and, what is absurdly called in this country, aristocratic, no question was ever made of his integrity, patriotism, courage, or public spirit. Like his father, he had the highest degree of moral and civil courage, and was never suspected of doing anything for the sake of popularity or official position. As a lawyer, he had been thoroughly well-grounded by his five years' term of study under Judge Trowbridge, and he had, for several years, a large practice until he entered upon public life, about the time of the breaking out of the Revolution. He saw but little of the bar for the intervening eleven years, when he was placed upon the Supreme bench, but the experiences of those years in a variety of high duties, developing character to the utmost, and requiring constant recurrence to the first principles of social and political science, were by

no means lost upon him as the head of the judiciary of his State.

Judge Dana inherited a competency from his father, and the greater part of the estate of his uncle, Judge Trowbridge, as well as his library and papers. His mansion stood upon the hill now called after his name, between the college buildings, which formed the centre of the village of Old Cambridge, and the bridge to Boston. He held very large tracts of lands, and employed himself, in his intervals of leisure, in superintending his farms, and in laying out streets and highways through them, for the anticipated increase of population. His house was a place of generous hospitality, and was frequented by his friends, the leaders of the Federal party of that day. Among his guests were also the more distinguished students of the University, who were attracted, in a large degree, by his reputation and the general air of dignity and kindness which surrounded *his home*, among whom were Allston, the Channings, Buckminster, and the sons of prominent men from the Southern and Middle States, and others, who afterwards rising to distinction, have, in various ways, recorded their sense of the advantages they derived from intercourse with him and the visitors to be found at his house, and not a few of them for the pecuniary aid they had received, when straitened in their circumstances at college. He supported through their college courses several men who became eminent in different professions.

Francis Dana left several children; one of his sons being Richard H. Dana, the poet and prose writer, and one of his daughters the wife of Washington Allston. He is buried in the family tomb near the gate of the old churchyard in Cambridge, opposite the main entrance to the University, where lie several generations of those who preceded and came after him.

SILAS DEANE.**BY CHARLES J. HOADLEY.**

(Centennial Collection.)

SILAS DEANE was born in Groton, Connecticut, December 24, 1737. He was graduated at Yale College in 1758, and after teaching school a short time, studied law. He settled in Wethersfield, where he married, October 8, 1763, the widow of Joseph Webb, a merchant of that town, whose estate he settled, and he went into trade. His entrance into public life was as a Representative of the town of Wethersfield in the Lower House of the Connecticut General Assembly, at the October session 1768, and he was chosen to the same station in 1772, 1773, and 1774, and probably, also, for both sessions in 1775, although prevented from taking his seat by his attendance upon Congress in Philadelphia.

He took an active part in public affairs immediately before the breaking out of the Revolution. He was chosen one of the Colonial Committee of Correspondence in May, 1773, and by that body was appointed a delegate to the first Continental Congress, where he served as a member of the committee to examine and report the several statutes affecting the trade and manufactures of the colonies.

In the spring of 1775, Mr. Deane was one of the principal projectors of the expedition which resulted in the capture of Ticonderoga, and in conjunction with five others, gave his obligation to the colony treasurer, for the moneys borrowed by them for that enterprise.

With his former colleagues, Messrs. Dyer and Sherman, he attended the second Congress which met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775; they having been chosen as delegates, by the House of Representatives, in the month of November preceding.

The journals of Congress show, that during his service in

that body from May, 1775, to January 16, 1776, Mr. Deane was upon about forty committees, some of them standing ones, and involving much labor and correspondence. Particularly, he was one of the Secret Committee appointed September 18, 1775, to contract for the importation and delivery of arms and ammunition. He was also a member of the Marine Committee, and purchased the first vessel for the navy of the United Colonies. He had a facile pen, and his correspondence of this period, published in the *American Archives*, and in the second volume of the *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, exhibits him in a very favorable light. It is evident also, that he enjoyed the respect and esteem of his associates. John Adams, who was a member of a committee whereof Deane was chairman, speaks of him, in a letter to his own wife, as "a very ingenious man and an able politician."

At their October session 1775, the General Assembly of Connecticut resolved that the choice of delegates to Congress should be made annually, and made new appointments in the places of Messrs. Dyer and Deane. However, the same autumn Mr. Deane was nominated by the freemen, as a candidate for election to the office of Assistant, or member of the Council or Upper House of the Colonial Legislature, and the nomination was repeated in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779. The General Assembly also renewed his appointment as a justice of the peace in 1776 and 1777, during his absence from the country.

The United Colonies entered upon the Revolution very slenderly provided with warlike stores, nor could these be procured at home; so on the second of March, 1776, Deane received from the Committee of Secret Correspondence, the appointment of Commercial and Political Agent for the United States, in Europe, and was instructed by them, to purchase 100 pieces of brass cannon, and arms, and clothing for 25,000 men, and ammunition proportionable, and to procure ships in Europe to transport the whole to America. He had previously contracted with the Secret and Commercial Committee, to make a voyage to France, and buy a

quantity of goods for the public. The commission was of the highest importance, and its execution attended with danger and very great difficulties. He embarked without taking leave of his family, save by letter, and arrived in France in June, with but slight knowledge of the language and manners of the people, without an acquaintance, and without that best of all patrons and supporters, a fund adequate to the purpose, and for months, he received no advices from his constituents. However, he found in France a disposition friendly to the American cause, and was far more successful in accomplishing the objects of his mission than could have been reasonably expected. Through him those arms were procured, without which, the campaign of 1777 would have resulted otherwise, and with him was made the agreement of Lafayette and De Kalb, to serve in our army. In December, 1776, he was joined by Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee, who, with himself, had been appointed by Congress as commissioners at the Court of France, and with them negotiated and signed the treaties of February, 1778.

In July, 1778, he returned to America, having been recalled by Congress to acquaint them with the state of their affairs in Europe. His recall was brought about chiefly by the malicious representations of Arthur Lee, falsely charging him with having, by a fraudulent agreement with Beaumarchais, and contrary to the intentions of the French Government, converted a gratuitous gift into a commercial operation. William Lee and Ralph Izard also sided with Arthur Lee against Franklin and Deane, and interfered in the affairs of the French mission. Upon his departure, the King presented him with his portrait set with diamonds on a gold snuff-box, the Count de Vergennes wrote a highly complimentary letter to him and another to the President of Congress, and Dr. Franklin, who had lived intimately with him for fifteen months, the greater part of the time in the same house, and been a constant witness of his public conduct, gave, unasked, this testimony in his behalf: "I esteem him a faithful, active, and able minister, who, to my knowledge, has done, in various ways, great and important services to his country,

whose interests I wish may always, by every one in her employ, be as much and as effectually promoted." In later letters of Franklin are also found expressions of his confidence in Deane's abilities and integrity, particularly in 1782, when they no longer agreed in political sentiments, the former certified, upon the appearance of certain articles in the newspapers importing that the latter had been guilty of fraudulent practices while in the public service, that the paragraphs in question, according to his best knowledge and belief, were entirely false, and that he had never known or suspected any cause to charge the said Silas Deane with any want of probity in any purchase or bargain whatever, made by him for the use or account of the United States.

Upon his arrival at Philadelphia, he found Congress so far from anxious to hear the state of their affairs in Europe, that he was unable to obtain an audience in six weeks. Insinuations that he was a defaulter and peculator were scattered about, but though he pressed to have his accounts examined, the only way to determine the truth of such charges, his enemies prevented it, knowing well that the balance would be found in his favor, and he was kept waiting on Congress to no purpose until, in August, 1779, a resolve was passed to appoint a suitable person to examine the accounts of commissioners and other agents in Europe, and Mr. Deane was discharged from further attendance. He now returned to France, but had the mortification to find that the person appointed had declined to act. He remained in Paris until the close of the summer of 1781, when he retired to Ghent, where he could live at less expense, and remained there until the peace, constantly soliciting to have his accounts audited, but in vain; nor were they settled until 1842, when a large sum, though less than what was justly due, was paid to his heirs.

In May and June, 1781, he wrote some private letters to friends in this country, which were intercepted by the British and published in New York. They were written at a time when the cause of America seemed to be desperate, and his own distressed circumstances combined to depress him.

They were written with great freedom, and contained some unpalatable truths. They were published at a time when, by the surrender of Cornwallis, the face of affairs was changed. His enemies saw their advantage, and he found himself looked on as little less than a traitor to his country and to France. At this day these letters do not stand in need of an elaborate defence; they may be read without entertaining a doubt of their author's patriotism.

In March, 1783, he went to England. There he published the next year an address to his countrymen in vindication of himself, written in excellent temper. He died in great destitution at Deal, August 23, 1789, as he was on the point of returning to America.

He was twice married. His first wife died October 13, 1767. By her he had one son. His second wife was a daughter of Gen. Gurdon Saltonstall, of New London, and grand-daughter of the Governor of Connecticut by that name. She died June 9, 1777, while her husband was in France, leaving no children. There is a portrait of Mr. Deane in the Athenæum Gallery at Hartford.

EDWARD BIDDLE.

BY CRAIG BIDDLE.

(Centennial Collection.)

EDWARD BIDDLE was the fourth son of William Biddle, a native of New Jersey, whose grandfather William was one of the original Proprietors of that State, having left England with his father in 1681. His mother was the daughter of Nicholas Scull, Surveyor-general of Pennsylvania. Judge James Biddle, President Judge of the first judicial district, Commodore Nicholas Biddle, and Charles Biddle, Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, were three of his brothers.

On the 3d of February, 1758, being then sixteen years of age, Edward Biddle was commissioned an ensign in the provincial army, and was present at the taking of Fort Niagara. He subsequently resigned from the army, having attained the rank of captain, and received for his services five thousand acres of land. After the usual course of study, he established himself as a lawyer in Reading, Berks Co., Pa.

He represented the county of Berks in the Assembly of Pennsylvania continuously from 1767 to 1780. Having once acquired the confidence of his German constituents, they adhered to him with the unwavering fidelity so characteristic of that sturdy and determined race.

A meeting of the freeholders of the county of Berks was held in Reading July 2d, 1774, relative to the Boston port bill, at which Edward Biddle was called to the chair. Resolutions of the most decided character were passed, and "the thanks of the assembly were unanimously voted to the chairman for the patriotic and spirited manner in which he pointed out the dangerous situation of all the American Colonies, occasioned by the unconstitutional measures lately pursued by the British Parliament, expressing at the same time loyalty to our sovereign and the most warm and tender regard for the liberties of America."

On the 15th of October, 1774, he was elected to succeed Mr. Galloway as Speaker of the Assembly, which event is thus referred to by Gordon in his History of Pennsylvania, p. 478: "At the first meeting of the Assembly of Pennsylvania after the election of this year Edward Biddle, of Berks County, was unanimously elected speaker. Mr. Galloway had filled this respectable position for many years, having succeeded Mr. Norris. Mr. Biddle had long represented Berks County, and enjoyed the confidence of the House in an eminent degree, being placed upon the most important committees, and taking an active part in all current business."

On the 2d of July, 1774, the Assembly of Pennsylvania elected eight delegates to meet in Congress with any other delegates from the other Colonies. Mr. Galloway, the

Speaker, and Mr. Biddle were two of the delegates. Mr. Galloway became a delegate at the earnest solicitation of the Assembly, and only on condition that the instructions as to their conduct, drawn by himself, should first be passed by the Assembly. They were of the most pacific character, and enforced on them "to dissent from and utterly reject any proposition that may cause or lead to a separation from our mother country, or a change of the form of their government."

On the assembling of this Congress on the 5th of September, 1774, the great subject which principally occupied their attention was referred to a committee of two from each colony, Galloway and Biddle being the Pennsylvania members, who were directed "to state the rights of the colonies in general; the instances in which those rights are violated, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restitution of them."

The very able declaration reported by the committee was earnestly opposed by Mr. Galloway, but met the approbation of his colleague. On making their report of the proceedings of this Congress to the Assembly, the course of Mr. Biddle and those of his colleagues who had dissented from Mr. Galloway was approved, and Pennsylvania has the credit of being the first constitutional House of Representatives that ratified the acts of the General Congress. Mr. Galloway and Mr. Biddle were again appointed delegates to the new Congress to be held on the 10th of May, 1775. Mr. Galloway was, however, excused from serving. Mr. Biddle, on his way from Reading to Philadelphia to attend Congress, fell overboard from his boat into the Schuylkill River, and having been obliged to sleep in his wet clothes, took cold, which, being neglected, resulted in a violent attack of illness which deprived him of the sight of one of his eyes, and left him a confirmed invalid for the rest of his life.

Gen. Wilkinson says in his Memoirs (see p. 330): "I took Reading in my route, and passed some days in that place, where I had several dear and respected friends, and among them Edward Biddle, Esq., a man whose public and private

virtues commanded respect and excited admiration from all persons; he was Speaker of the last Assembly of Pennsylvania under the Proprietary government, and in the dawn of the Revolution devoted himself to the cause of his country, and successfully opposed the overbearing influence of Joseph Galloway. Ardent, eloquent, and full of zeal, by his exertions during several days and nights of obstinate, warm, and animated discussion in extreme sultry weather, he overheated himself, and brought on an inflammatory rheumatism and surfeit, which radically destroyed his health, and ultimately deprived society of one of its greatest ornaments, and his country of a statesman, a patriot, and a soldier; for he had served several campaigns in the war of 1756, and if his health had been spared would, no doubt, have occupied the second or third place in the revolutionary armies."

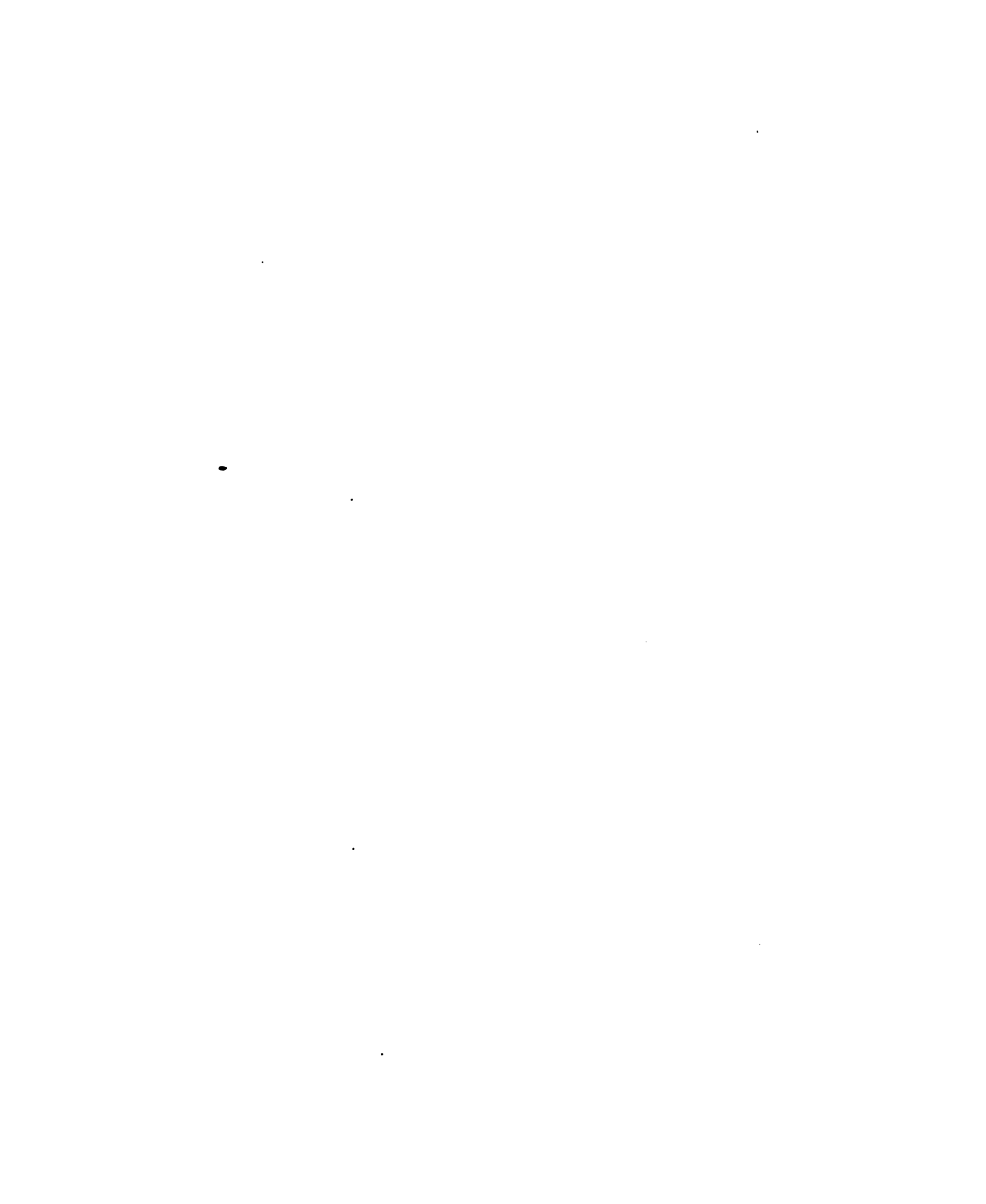
On the occasion of his death the following notice of him appeared in Dunlap's paper, attributed at the time to the pen of Mr. James Read, then a member of the Supreme Executive Council: "On Thursday last, after a very lingering illness, died at Baltimore, in the forty-first year of his age, that great lawyer, Hon. Edward Biddle, of Reading, in this State. In early life, as captain in our provincial forces, his military virtues so highly distinguished him that Congress designed him to high rank in the American army, which, however, his sickness prevented; his practice at the bar for years having made his great abilities and integrity known, the county of Berks unanimously elected him one of their representatives in Assembly, who soon made him their speaker and a delegate in Congress, and the conduct of the patriot did honor to their choice. As a public character very few were equal to him in talents or noble exertion of them, so in private life the son, the husband, the father, brother, friend and neighbor, and master had in him a pattern not to be excelled. Love to his country, benevolence, and every manly virtue rendered him an object of esteem and admiration to all that knew him."

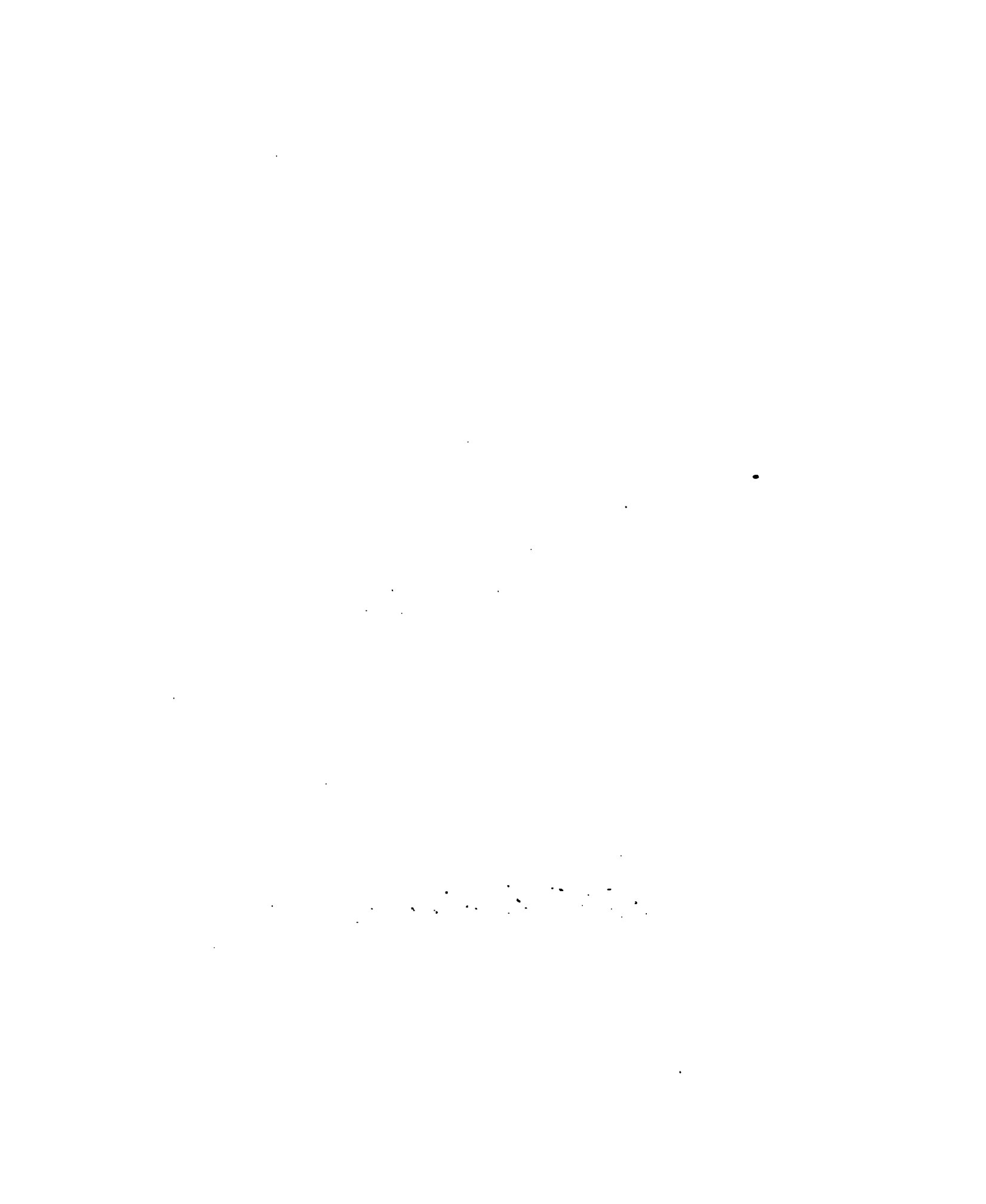
**MEMORIAL NOTICE OF THE REV. WILLIAM
C. REICHEL.****(WITH PORTRAIT.)**

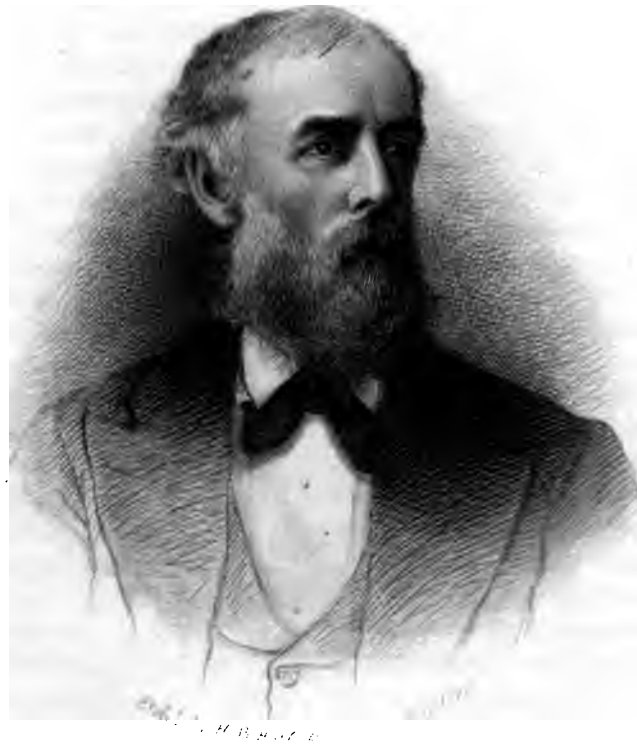
Read by JOHN W. JORDAN, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
Nov. 13th, 1876.

It is with deep regret that I announce the death of our highly valued associate, the Rev. William C. Reichel, Professor of Latin and Natural Sciences in the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in the fifty-third year of his age. Persistent and severe literary labors during the intense heat of the past summer engendered a nervous prostration which developed into typhoid fever, and terminated fatally on Wednesday evening, Oct. 15th, 1876.

William Cornelius Reichel was born at Salem, in Forsyth County, North Carolina, on the 9th of May, 1824. His father was the Rev. Benjamin Reichel, principal of the Salem Female Academy, and for some time pastor of the Moravian congregation at that place. His grandfather, the Right Rev. Charles G. Reichel, D.D., was President of the Executive Board in the Southern Diocese, and then in the Northern Diocese of the Moravian Church, from 1802 to 1817. It is also worthy of record, that members of his family for six generations, have devoted themselves to the holy ministry, in this country and in Europe. In 1834 he entered Nazareth Hall, and passed through a complete course in that venerable institution of learning. In 1839 he entered the Theological Seminary at Bethlehem, graduating in 1844. After a service at Nazareth Hall as a tutor, in 1848 he became one of the Professors of the Theological Seminary, where he was an earnest advocate of thorough theological culture. In 1862 he was appointed Principal of Linden Hall, a seminary for young ladies, at Litiz, in Lancaster







W. B. Reichel

County, where his character and reputation were largely increased. On his resignation, in 1868, he resumed teaching, and for the last six years he filled the duties of Professor of Latin and Natural Sciences in the Young Ladies' Seminary. He had been ordained a Deacon in June of 1862, and a Presbyter in May, 1864.

At an early age he developed talents of a high order, and distinguished himself particularly by his proficiency in the ancient languages, and by his thorough knowledge of the German tongue; he was familiar with the natural sciences, and with botany in particular; and had a decided gift for drawing and painting. In fact, there were but few branches of knowledge in which he could not excel, did he determine to pursue them. To teach was his delight, and for upwards of thirty years he stood at the head of the educators of his church. In his manners he was singularly unpretending and unostentatious, and it was only those who were intimately acquainted with his varied talents and his great fund of information who understood or appreciated his character. It is, however, as an author and historian that Professor Reichel is best known without the borders of his church. His fondness for research and literary pursuits, particularly those relating to the early history of the Moravian Church in America, were encouraged and assisted by members of this Society. He read thousands of pages of manuscripts, principally written in the German language, examined old books of accounts, and copied drafts of buildings and lands belonging to his Church, preserved in their archives. In fine, he has done more to elucidate the early history of the Moravian Church, and local antiquities, than has been attempted by any of his predecessors or contemporaries. As a writer he is distinguished for his chasteness of conception and purity of diction; as a historian he is conscientious and thoroughly reliable; and none knew better than he how to present his information in most attractive form. He was a voluminous writer. In addition to the articles contributed to *The Moravian*, the local press, and quite recently, a sketch of Northampton County, prepared

for Dr. Egle's Illustrated History of Pennsylvania, just published, Professor Reichel wrote the following works:—

A History of Nazareth Hall, based on the MSS. of the Rev. Levin T. Reichel, his uncle, pp. 162. Philadelphia, 1855.

A History of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Bethlehem Female Seminary, with a catalogue of its pupils, 1785–1858, pp. 468. Philadelphia, 1858. (Illustrated.)

Moravians in New York and Connecticut. A memorial of the dedication of monuments erected by the Moravian Historical Society, to mark the sites of ancient missionary stations in New York and Connecticut, pp. 185. Philadelphia, 1860. (Illustrated.)

Historical Sketch of Nazareth Hall from 1755 to 1869, with an account of the reunions of former pupils, and of the inauguration of a monument at Nazareth, June 11, 1868, erected in memory of Alumni who fell in the late Rebellion, pp. 356. Philadelphia, 1869. (Illustrated.)

Memorials of the Moravian Church, vol. i. pp. 366. Philadelphia, 1870.

Wyalusing, and the Moravian Mission, at Friedenshuetten. Part v., Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, pp. 45. Bethlehem, 1871.

Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to rivers, streams, and localities, within the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, with their significations. Prepared from a MS. by John Heckewelder. Part vi., Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, pp. 55. Bethlehem, 1872.

A Red Rose from the Olden Time; or, A Ramble through the Annals of the Rose Inn, on the barony of Nazareth, in the days of the Province, pp. 50. Philadelphia, 1872.

The Crown Inn, near Bethlehem, Penna., 1745. A History, touching the events that occurred at that Notable Hostelry, during the reigns of the Second and Third Georges, etc., pp. 162. Philadelphia, 1872. (Map and illustrations.)

The Old Sun Inn, at Bethlehem, Penna., 1758. Now the Sun Hotel. An authentic History, pp. 51. Doylestown, Pa., 1873.

A Register of members of the Moravian Church, and of persons attached to said church in this country and abroad, between 1727 and 1754. By Rev. A. Reincke. Illustrated with historical annotations by W. C. R., pp. 144. Part vii. of the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. Bethlehem, 1873.

History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States. By the Rev. John Heckewelder. New and revised edition, with an introduction and notes, pp. 465. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1876.

'He was also engaged in writing for this Society, a History

of Bethlehem, for which he had been collecting materials during the past fifteen years. This was to be followed by a History of Northampton County.

On Saturday afternoon, October 28, his remains were interred in the old cemetery at Bethlehem.

**MEMORIAL NOTICE OF THE REV. WILLIAM M.
REYNOLDS, D.D.**

Read by **TOWNSEND WARD** before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Nov. 13, 1876.

MR. PRESIDENT: Our fellow member, the Rev. William Morton Reynolds, D.D., of Oak Park, near Chicago, died on Tuesday, the 5th of September, 1876. His illness extended through a period of twenty days; and it was attended by intense suffering, which he bore with the patience and resignation befitting his faith.

Dr. Reynolds was born at Little Falls, in Fayette County of this State, on the 4th of March, 1812. Regretting that I know nothing else of his earlier years, I can only say, that when he arrived at manhood, he entered the Lutheran ministry, and was the Professor of Latin in Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg for about eighteen years, when, in 1850, he resigned to accept the presidency of Capitol University at Columbus, Ohio. Subsequently to this he took charge of a collegiate institution at Allentown in Pennsylvania, and afterwards he accepted the presidency of the Illinois State University at Springfield. About 1864, he left the Lutheran ministry, and entered that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was, at the time of his death, the rector of the church at Oak Parks.

On the 18th of May, 1848, Dr. Reynolds was led to make an address on "The Swedish Church in America." It was delivered before the Historical Society of the American Lutheran Church at Gettysburg, but it was not published until the following year. Its preparation for the press in-

volved considerable research, and during the interval, he found the subject so much more important than he had at first supposed it to be, that he announced in a note to the address, his contemplated intention to translate the history of New Sweden, by Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Churches on the Delaware.

Dr. Nicholas Collin, of the church of Gloria Dei at Wicaco, had, in 1799, begun the translation of this most important work, but his labor extended only so far as a few chapters. Du Ponceau, in 1834, had spoken of it as "much more complete, and in every respect superior," to the work of Campanias, but still it remained to us a sealed book, for it was in Swedish; a language little known among us. Dr. Reynolds' declaration, that were he able to obtain a copy, he would study the language and translate it, led to one being borrowed, and twenty-five years after that time, he handed over to the trustees of the Publication Fund, his translation completed. His translation was now submitted to a most rigidly critical test. Our fellow member, Mr. Joseph J. Mickley, a good Swedish scholar, read aloud in English, from the original Acrelius, to the writer of this, who held in his hand the translation by Dr. Reynolds; every error, and there were very few, was noted, as was also every instance where a delicately modified expression might better render the author's meaning, and of these there were hardly more than one hundred. The suggestions were all accepted, sometimes with further modification by the translator. One case only occurred, of serious difficulty, and in this, after a correspondence of several weeks, Dr. Reynolds was adjudged by an educated lady from Sweden to be correct.

I have thought it due, Mr. President, to the memory of this excellent man, who worked as scholars did in the olden time, that a knowledge of such protracted, unselfish, and valuable labor should be recognized and preserved by us. Those who properly regard such labor come at last to know that it is priceless, and that it renders illustrious the community that fosters it.

DESCENDANTS OF DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN.

COMPILED BY CHAS. R. HILDEBURN.

On page cxxxv of "Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania, with some Notices of the Writers," the editor, Mr. Balch, after referring to a preceding page on which he gives only the parentage and date of birth, remarks: "Of Dr. William Shippen I have no further information than such as is already in print. The following table of Dr. Shippen's descendants has been prepared to supply the omission, and to correct the confusion which has arisen from Linnæus (Dictionary of Congress), Alexander (History of Princeton College), and others having confounded the elder Dr. Wm. Shippen with his son Dr. Wm. Shippen, Jr.

William Shippen,
of Hillham, Yorkshire, England.

AUTHORITIES.

- 1 Named in father's Will.
- 2 Mamed in grandfather's Will.
- 3 Records of the First Presbyterian Church.
- 4 Records of the Second Presbyterian Ch.
- 5 Records of Presb. Church, Germantown.
- 6 Records Presbyterian Church, Abington.
- 7 Newspaper of the period.
- 8 MSS in the possession of Ed. Shippen, M.D.
- 9 Tombetone.
- 10 Thatcher's Medical Biography.
- 11 Wood's History of the Univ. of Penna.
- 12 Journal Centennial Address, Penn. Hosp.
- 13 Colonial Records, Vols. XI-XII
- 14 Cat. Colleg. Nova Casaria.
- 15 Hodge's Obstetrics.
- 16 Carson, Hist. Med. Dept. Univ. Penna.
- 17 Charter, By-Laws, etc., Coll. Physicians.
- 18 N. E. Gen. and Hist. Mag., XXV.
- 19 Sprague's Annals Am. Pulpit, Vol. III.
- 20 Decda.

Edward Shippen, == Elizabeth Lybrand,
emigrated to Boston, Mass., 1669, and == first wife,
removed to Philadelphia, 1689.

Joseph Shippen == Abigail Gross,
first wife.

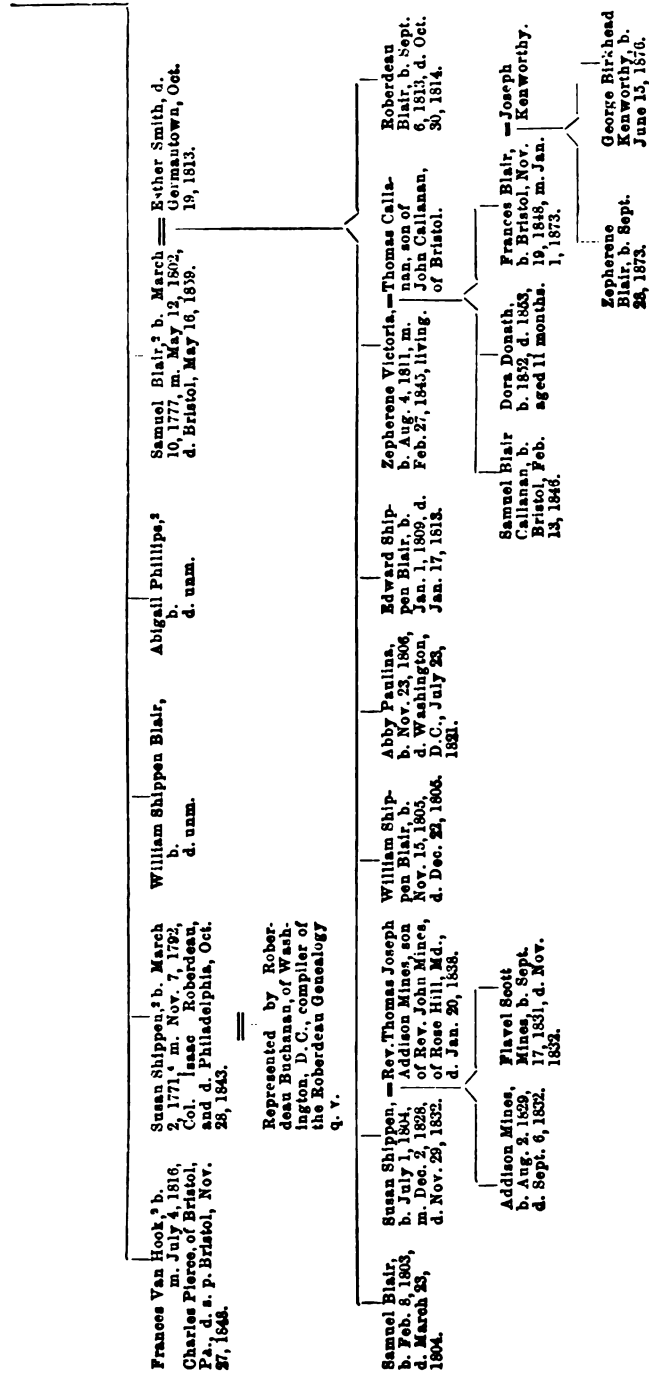
Dr. William Shippen,¹
youngest son born Philadelphia, Oct. 1, 1712, married Sept. 19, 1735,²
died Germantown, Nov. 4, 1801.³ He early applied himself to medicine,
and soon attained eminence in his profession.⁴ Of Dr. Shippen's descendants has been prepared to supply the omission, and to correct the confusion which has arisen from Linnæus (Dictionary of Congress), Alexander (History of Princeton College), and others having confounded the elder Dr. Wm. Shippen with his son Dr. Wm. Shippen, Jr.

born Philadelphia, Oct. 21, 1736;⁵ married in London's circle, 1760;⁶ died
Germantown, July 11, 1808.⁷ Graduated at College of New Jersey,
1754, delivering the Valedictory for that year. Studied with his father,
till 1758,⁸ when he went to England and studied anatomy under Dr.
John Hunter and in surgery under Drs. Wm. Hunter and McKeenzie in
Glasgow. M. D. of the University of Edinburgh, 1761, and after a short
visit to France returned to Philadelphia in May, 1762.⁹ On Nov. 16,
1762, he commenced the first course of lectures in anatomy delivered
in America. The introductory course, at the State House, he con-
tinued to lecture on Anatomy and Midwifery until Sept. 23, 1765. He con-
stituted Prof. of Anatomy and Midwifery in the Medical School of the Col-
lege of Philadelphia, by which he was the founder. On July 13, 1776,
he was appointed Chief Physician for the Flying Camp.
March 1777 he laid before Congress a plan for the organization of a
Hospital, which, with some modifications, was adopted, in
and April, 1777, he was unanimously elected Director General
of all the Military Hospitals for the Armies of the United States.¹⁰ He
resigned Jan. 3, 1781.¹¹ On the reorganization of the College of Phila-
delphia, as the University of Pennsylvania, he was elected M. D. in
1784, Prof. of Anatomy, Surgery, and Midwifery; he resigned in 1801.¹²
He was one of the original members of the College of Physicians, 1787, and
President 1800, till his death.¹³

Alice, youngest daughter of Col. Shippen,¹
Thomas Lee, born Philadelphia, Oct. 17,
vice of Virginia, by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard
Ludwell, and married, at Oxford, N. J. 1760.
Henry, only son of Richard Lee, born 13, 1765.
In Virginia, where he received his education at the College of William and Mary, 1784.
He died in Philadelphia, March 26, 1817.

John Shippen,¹ M. D. born Philadelphia, Jan. 23, 1740;² graduated at Coll. N. J. 1757; died under his father's care, after a short illness, Oct. 17, 1757.
Susan, eldest daughter of Joseph Harrison, of Philadelphia, born Philadelphia, June 30, 1711; died between June 4, 1774, and Jan. 10, 1775.³

See page 111.



NOVEMBER PROCEEDINGS OF THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The stated quarterly meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Nov. 13, 1876, the President, Mr. John William Wallace, in the chair.

On motion, the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with.

Mr. Robert P. Robins read a paper on the life of Gen. Edward Whalley, the regicide, which will be found in another part of the Magazine.

Dr. Edw. Shippen, U. S. N., offered a resolution tendering the thanks of the Society to Mr. Robins for his interesting address.

Mr. Hector Orr expressed his regret at the absence of Mr. Angus McKay, Commissioner of Queensland, who had intended to be present to communicate to the Society information regarding the wonderful progress of that island.

Mr. John W. Jordan announced the death of the Rev. Wm. C. Reichel, Professor of Latin and Natural Sciences in the Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and editor of the new edition of Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, the volume lately issued by the Publication Fund of the Society.

The death of the Rev. William Morton Reynolds, D.D., to whose labors the Society are indebted for the translation of the History of New Sweden, by Acrelius, was announced by Mr. Ward. The remarks of Mr. Jordan and Mr. Ward will be found elsewhere.

The Council reported that since the last meeting there had been received

- 512 bound volumes;
- 552 pamphlets;
- 7 maps;
- 16 manuscripts; and
- 39 miscellaneous articles.

The Society has also received from Mr. Jasper Yeates Conyngham, of Lancaster, a large number of letters written to Judge Jasper Yeates; and from Miss Fox sundry papers of Dr. Franklin, formerly in the possession of Wm. Temple Franklin.

Dr. Elwyn called the attention of the Society to the statement lately made, that "the original flag of the American Union, first displayed by Commodore Paul Jones on the Bon Homme Richard," was recently displayed in this city. He was induced to believe that this could not be the original flag, and, in support of his view, read an original letter from John Adams to Gov. Langdon, which went to show that the flag was used long anterior to the time stated. A committee of three was appointed to consider the matter.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

COL. ABERCROMBY.—In giving accounts of the military operations in the neighborhood of Philadelphia during the revolution, it is generally stated that the Lieut.-Col. Abercromby who surprised Gen. Lacey at Crooked Billet was the same officer who died a general in Egypt in 1801. A reference to Drake's Biographical Dictionary will show that this is an erroneous idea. The name of the officer who was in this country was Robert, a brother of Sir Ralph. Robert Abercromby served in Canada previous to the revolution, was made captain in 1761, lieutenant-colonel in 1775, colonel in 1781, major-general in 1790, lieutenant-general in 1797, general in 1802. He was wounded at Monmouth, and taken prisoner at Yorktown. He afterwards served in India, and succeeded Cornwallis in the chief command in 1793.

COL. EDWARD BARTHOLOMEW.—This gentleman was a member of the Convention of 1776 from the county of Philadelphia, and subsequently an officer in the army of the revolution. At the time of the celebration of the former event last September, inquiry was made concerning him for a biographical sketch, but nothing was ascertained. It seemed strange that such a prominent personage should have passed quietly off the stage of life without any reference. Recently, however, in one of the early newspapers of the interior of the State, we came across a statement that Col. Bartholomew, while on a visit to Dr. Robert Johnston, a surgeon of the revolution residing in Antrim Township, Franklin County, in the summer of 1800, was accidentally shot by the careless handling of his pistols by a Wm. Henderson, Col. Bartholomew's son-in-law, which resulted in his death. Upon inquiry among the old residents of that locality, we find from one source that Col. Bartholomew was buried at Brown's Mills, not far from Dr. Johnston's residence; while from another that his body was embalmed by the doctor and sent to Philadelphia. As the latter service was performed for two or three prominent individuals of that city who visited Dr. Johnston for medical advice, the latter authority may be mistaken, and the valiant colonel may sleep the last sleep with his grave unmarked beside his brother-in-arms, Gen. James Potter, in the neglected graveyard at Brown's Mills. Who can inform us?

DAUPHIN.

AN ANCIENT LANDMARK.—About sixteen years ago, while entering Philadelphia by way of the North Pennsylvania Railroad, a gentleman in the car pointed out to me a mile-stone standing in the built-up part of the city, which he said bore the inscription "One mile to Phila." Feeling curious to know if this remnant of the past was still in existence, on the 12th of December, 1875, I walked up Front Street to see if I could discover its whereabouts. On the pavement at the northern corner of Keen & Contes's tannery, No. 943 North Front Street, I met with the object of my search. It is a dressed stone, with a circular top, about one foot and a half in height, ten inches wide, and six inches thick, inscribed 1 M. to P. We understand that all distances to Philadelphia in former days were computed from the old court-house at Second and Market Streets. While the old stone has been performing its silent duties, what a change has been going on around it! miles of houses have been built beyond it, while the edifice to which it directed the traveller has disappeared from the face of the earth, and will soon be remembered but by few.

W. J. B.

THE ACADIAN EXILES.—The late Mr. Wm. B. Reed, in an address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, entitled "The Acadian Exiles, or French Neutrals in Pennsylvania" (see *Contributions to American History*, Phila. 1858), took exception to the statement made in the notes of the London edition of Mr. Longfellow's poem of *Evangeline*, that the government of Pennsylvania proposed to sell the Acadians, with their own consent; but that when this expedient for their support was offered to their consideration, it was rejected with indignation. After stating that Mr. Longfellow had disavowed all knowledge of this aspersion on the Colonial Government of Pennsylvania, and that the note had been added to the London reprint without the author's consent, Mr. Reed says he found the passage in Judge Haliburton's *History of Nova Scotia*, in the very words used by the English annotator, and there—for no other authority or document was cited—the responsibility must rest.

It is curious that so general a reader of American history as Mr. Reed should not have known that the objectionable passage was quoted by Judge Haliburton from Entick's "General History of the Seven Years' War," and the whole passage and much other curious information on the subject is to be found in "Walsh's Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain." While referring to this subject, it will be well to note that the student of this period of American history will find in the *Nova Scotia Archives*, published at Halifax, N. S., in 1869, a number of papers and documents relating to the removal of the Acadian French. This material was used by Dr. I. W. Anderson, President of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in a paper read before that society on the 19th of January, 1870, entitled "Evangeline," and "The Archives of Nova Scotia; or, The Poetry and Prose of History," printed in part 7 of the *Transactions of the society, Quebec, 1870*.

THE REED CONTROVERSY.—The controversy regarding the intentions of Gen. Joseph Reed, previously to the battle of Trenton, which was reopened by the publication of the ninth volume of Bancroft's *History of the United States*, in which Mr. Bancroft supported the charges brought against Gen. Reed by a quotation from the unpublished journal of the Hessian Colonel Count Donop, stating that Colonel Reed, having taken a protection from the British, informed Gen. Mifflin that he would no longer serve in the defence of his country, has received a quietus which will no doubt settle it for all time to come.

Adjutant-General Wm. S. Stryker, of New Jersey, has brought to light the report of Count Donop to his superior officer Gen. Grant, from which it is evident that the Col. Reed alluded to in the Donop diary was Col. Chas. Read of the New Jersey Militia, and not the adjutant of Washington's army; and that the Gen. Mifflin spoken of by the Hessian colonel was Col. Samuel Griffin, who commanded the Americans in the neighborhood of Mt. Holly, at the time of the reported defection of Col. Reed.

So decided are the conclusions that result from an investigation of the evidence submitted by Gen. Stryker, that we are at a loss to understand how, with all the research that has been brought to bear on this period of the history of the revolution, the truth remained so long obscured. Although we know but little regarding Col. Chas. Read, his apostasy is a matter of history recorded in more than one volume to be found on the shelves of almost any historical library, public or private (see *Pa. Archives*, 2d series, vol. i. page 496; *Marshall's Remembrancer*, page 129, Philadelphia, 1839-1849). Indeed, had not the investigations of the late Wm. B. Reed been influenced by a spirit other than historical, it is likely he would have struck on the truth, for, on page 92 of his pamphlet entitled *President Reed*, he writes

in a note, "Were I disposed to make minute criticisms, I might express a doubt whether, after all, the Col. Reed of the diary of the 21st of December was my ancestor, for, according to Mr. Bancroft, there were other Colonel Reeds. There was (page 246) 'the New England Reed.'"

When the attention of Mr. Bancroft was called to the result of Gen. Stryker's investigation, he at once, to use his own language, perceived the bearing of the discoveries, and asked to be allowed the favor to be the first to announce them to the public, a privilege that was courteously granted; and in the centenary edition of Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. v. page 479, the correction is made. Gen. Stryker has printed, for private distribution, a small edition of a pamphlet containing his investigation on this subject.

Queries.

ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS.—Frequent inquiries have been made if there is in existence a portrait of this gentleman, one of the most renowned of the provincial governors of Pennsylvania. Is there none among the family in New York?
DAUPHIN.

GOV. JOHN PENN.—It is stated that the portrait of John Penn in the executive department at Harrisburg and in the rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is that of John Penn the poet, and not that of John Penn the last of the provincial governors—who can tell? If correct, it is important that the matter be remedied, and *the* John Penn's portrait be substituted.
DAUPHIN.

[The catalogue of paintings, etc., belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, thus describes the portrait of John Penn in that collection: "John Penn, son of Thomas and Lady Juliana Penn, b. Feb. 23, 1760, d. —, 1830." The original is by Pine in 1787, and was presented by John Penn to his friend Edmund Physick, accompanied with the following note, Dec. 18, 1787: "This picture of one of a family in your connection, with whom your probity and attachment have been so conspicuous, is presented as a testimony of gratitude and regard by your sincere friend and obedient servant.—John Penn." We are informed that this portrait was copied and presented to the Historical Society, under the impression that it was that of Gov. John Penn, and that the error was not discovered until some time afterwards.]

TREASON OF CHARLES LEE.—I have heard that an answer to George H. Moore's "Treason of Gen. Charles Lee" appeared shortly after the publication of that volume. Can any one state if such was the case, and if so, give the title of the reply?
A. W. S.—

"THE CRISIS."—Was the author of "The Crisis," a paper printed in London in 1774, and reprinted in a 12mo. volume in New York in 1776, ever discovered? Christopher Marshall, in his Remembrancer (22d of April, 1775), recorded that the news from London was that, on "March 7th, at noon, the two sheriffs and the hangman attended at the Royal Exchange, in order to burn a periodical paper called 'The Crisis, No. 3.' . . . As soon as the fire was lighted before the exchange, it was immediately put out, and dead dogs and cats thrown at the officers." On the 7th of May Marshall writes that the news was "that the printers of the piece called the Crisis were had before the ministry on account of finding out the author, who, being interrogated and pressed hard, declared that one of the writers

was the Duke Gloucester. They immediately discharged them without any farther confession." Had the Duke of Gloucester anything to do with the matter?
"DR. DRYASDUST."

GEN. DANIEL MORGAN.—It is stated in a number of biographical notices of this officer that he was a native of New Jersey; but we find the late Winthrop Sargent, in his History of the Braddock Expedition, page 240, claims him as a Pennsylvanian. W. W. H. Davis and Wm. J. Buck, in their histories of Bucks County, make the same statement. Gen. Davis quotes as his principal witness one Michael Fackenthal, who died thirty years ago, and was told by Morgan that he was born in Durham Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. What are the claims of New Jersey?
M. F.

DAGWORTHY.—In Marshall's Washington, 2d ed., p. 12, a Captain Dagworthy is referred to as having successfully contested precedence with Col. Washington in 1756. Further information regarding him is desired by
W.

JOHN CAREY.—John Carey, attorney-at-law, Salem, N. J., married in 1774 Catharine Lawrence. I would be glad to receive any information in regard to John Carey and his descendants.
BRUNHILDE.

DAVENPORT FAMILY.—Dr. B. F. Davenport, 751 Tremont Street, Boston, is collecting for publication a history of the Davenport family, and will be glad to receive information on the subject.

JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE.—Can any information be furnished regarding the descendants of Joseph Kirkbride, who came to Pennsylvania in 1681? His first wife was Phoebe, daughter of Randall Blackshaw of Bucks County; second wife a daughter of Mahlon Stacy; third wife Mary Fletcher, widow of —Yardley.
H.

PHILADELPHIA DOCTORS.—I wish to learn something about Dr. Chew, who lived in Philadelphia in 1730; also of a Dr. Samuel Chew, of West River, Maryland—if he originally came from Philadelphia or not; where Dr. John Karsley, Sr., and Dr. John Karsley, Jr., were born, and whom they married; the names of the father and mother of Dr. John Morgan, and whom he married.
G.

SIR COLLINGWOOD FLEMMING.—On page 581, vol. ii. 2d series, of Penna. Archives, Harrisburg, 1876, we find the name of Sir Collingwood Flemming mentioned as a lieutenant in the provincial service. On page 610 of same volume he is returned dead. Is anything known of his history?
ROGERS.

LADY CHRISTIANA GRIFFIN.—Who was the wife of the Hon. Cyrus Griffin, of Virginia, sometime President of the Continental Congress? In the records of Christ Church in this city she is styled "Lady Christiana Griffin."
TRIGNEY.

MICHAEL HILLEGAS.—Has there ever been a biographical sketch made of Michael Hillegas, one of the Continental Treasurers?
STONE.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. I.

1877.

No. 2.

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM BLACK,
1744.

SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR GOOCH, OF
VIRGINIA, TO UNITE WITH THOSE FROM THE COLONIES OF PENNSYLVANIA
AND MARYLAND, TO TREAT WITH THE IROQUOIS OR SIX NATIONS
OF INDIANS, IN REFERENCE TO THE LANDS WEST OF THE
ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS.

Edited by R. Alonzo Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society.

INTRODUCTION.

The following graphic portraiture of the social life of our ancestors, of Colonial Days, is a verbatim transcript of a manuscript journal, hitherto unpublished, kept by William Black, a native of Scotland, and apparently, at the era of its writing, not long a resident of the colonies, and, it may reasonably be inferred, from the vivacity of his style and the gayety of his habits as recorded, then quite a young man. It will be observed that the so-named "sociality" was a cherished and habitual feature of entertainment. The "cheerful glass" was not only indispensable at the domestic board, but appears to have been an essential even at State Councils; it was the symbol of welcome, and its omission would have been considered a breach of the requirements of

hospitality. Much deferential courtesy marked official intercourse, and the graces were not only cultivated, but learning and the arts and sciences were duly appreciated, whilst mechanism and manufactures were conducted on no paltry scale and in no mean degree of excellence in the childhood days of the colonies.

And though our goodly ancestors were nothing loath in the mazy dance, and may now be considered as having been perchance somewhat o'er-partial to the flowing bowl, yet midst their pleasures, there appear to have been due consideration of the useful and ample attention to graver things. Not only trading vessels, but ships of war were built, and that not unfrequently, as a launch is more than once mentioned in the following pages, which will be found also to embody the names of some of the actors of those days.

Mr. Black appears to have accompanied as secretary, in May, 1744, a commission composed of Colonels Thomas Lee and William Beverley, appointed by Governor Gooch, of Virginia, to unite with commissioners from the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, to treat with the Iroquois, or Six United Nations of Indians,¹ in reference to the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains, which the Indians claimed as having been conquered by their forefathers. These lands were also claimed by the French, M. Joliet,² a peltry trader,

¹ The Iroquois were of the Huron type of aborigines; they were superior to all other native tribes of North America, whom they kept in terror of their warlike abilities.—*Garneau's Canadian*, vpl. i. 84.

The Iroquois, in 1666, consisted of nine tribes, comprised by two divisions of four and five tribes respectively. They united together for common defence for purposes of aggression. The "Six Nation Confederacy," in 1763, comprised the Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas (the Tuscaroras, who were from the south, having united with the original Five Nations, the designation of the Six Nations was assumed), and various tribes scattered over the region of the Ohio and around the lakes, numbered more than 4000.—"Papers relating to the Iroquois and other Indian tribes." *Doc. Hist. of New York*, E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., 4to., 1850, vol. i. pp. 13, 25.

² Joliet was a man of talent, who was educated in the Jesuits' College of Quebec, probably for the church; but who had gone into the peltry trade. He had travelled much in the neighborhood of the lakes, and had gained much knowledge of the Indian tribes. He received as a reward for his western discoveries, and for an exploratory voyage to Hudson's Bay, the

and Pere Marquette, a Catholic friend,¹ having, in 1673, passed in a canoe from Quebec down the Mississippi to the Arkansas River, thereby, according to alleged maxims of laws of nations, acquiring a right to all the lands watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, or about one-half of the North American Continent. These conflicting claims led to the war between the French and English, in 1754, in which General Washington, then Colonel in the Virginia Line, figured. Upon such absurd foundations do nations ground their claims!²

The commissioners were also instructed to adjust all differences and unpleasant relations existing between the Indians and the colonists.³

A treaty was concluded in July, 1744, by which the Indians, in consideration of £400 paid, and a further sum promised, relinquished the country lying westward of the frontier of Virginia, to the Ohio River.⁴ The expense of this treaty was paid out of the royal quit-rents.⁵

Island of Anticosti, on which he built a fort, which, however, he afterwards abandoned. He was also nominated hydrographer-royal, and was enfeoffed in a seignory, near Montreal. A mountain near the river des Plaines, a tributary of the Illinois, and a town near Chicago, take their names from him.—*Garneau's Hist. of Canada*, translated by A. Bell, Montreal, 1862, 2d edition, vol. i. p. 258.

¹ Marquette died among the Illinois Indians, with whom he remained as missionary.—*Ibid.*

² Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. i. p. 48.

³ A conflict occurred in 1743, in West Augusta County, Va., between a band of Shawanese Indians and a company of militia, under Capt. McDowell, in which the latter and a number of his command were killed.—*Harrison*, vol. i. p. 428.

“In the year 1744, by reason of some strife between the frontier people and Indians of Virginia and Maryland, they aim to settle their dispute by the medium of the Pennsylvania Governor, through a treaty, to be convened at John Harris's Ferry (now Harrisburg), which was, however, not held there but at Lancaster, where the affair was adjusted satisfactorily.”—*Watson's Annals of Phila.*, ed. 1857, vol. ii. p. 160.

⁴ Campbell's Va., p. 433.

⁵ Quit-rent, a tax of two shillings per hundred acres, was required annually by the Crown on all land patents, seven years after the dates of their issue.—*Henning*, vol. i. p. 228.

It is to be regretted that the journal terminates, as it does most abruptly, on the 15th of June, at Philadelphia.

Mr. Black afterwards married a Miss Dent, of Maryland, and it is probable that his acquaintance with her may have commenced at this time, and have caused a dissolution of his connection with the commission, and the closing of the journal. He located himself in Manchester, Virginia, and engaged in mercantile pursuits; he was highly successful in business, and acquired a large and valuable estate. He owned the Falls Plantation, lying on James River, near Richmond, numerous slaves, trading vessels, and other personal property. The first was plundered, and the vessels were destroyed by the British, under the traitor Arnold, in the expedition of 1781. One of his servants died about the year 1854, at an advanced age, who distinctly remembered Arnold's "Red Coats," from whom he escaped, after being carried several miles down James River.¹

The original of the journal is contained in a small duodecimo volume bound in undressed calf. The handwriting is beautifully minute and regular, and yet withal remarkably distinct. Mr. Black was a close observer, seemingly of everything that came within his vision, and his style of narrative, though quaint, is pleasing. His expressed sentiments exhibit sensibility and refinement, and stamp him as possessing much nobility of character.

He is mentioned by a contemporary as being a hospitable gentleman and a true patriot.²

The journal has been preserved in the family of the author, and has descended through the hands of succeeding generations to its present proprietor—who is naturally the great-grandson of Wm. Black;³ he is also a lineal descendant of Wm. Clayborne, the Rebel, of Virginia History—Herbert A. Claiborne, Esq., of this city, who has courteously permit-

¹ He was owned by Herbert A. Claiborne, Esq.

² MS. Journal of Col. B. Hill, 1777-81.

³ His mother was Delia Hayes, the daughter of James Hayes, a native of England, and Ann Dent, the daughter of Wm. Black.

ted it to be copied under the direction of the late Thomas H. Wynne, Esq., whose long devotion to historical, archæological, and kindred pursuits, evinced by zealous and untiring research, will entitle him to the respect and grateful consideration of his fellow-citizens of the Old Dominion.

DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM BLACK.

1. William Black married — Dent, of Maryland; had issue.
2. Ann Dent Black, who married, first, — Hardiman; had issue, one daughter (Lucy K.), who married — Greenhow; who had issue, two sons (James Greenhow and Samuel Greenhow), and two daughters (Cora, who married Judge Abner Ellis of Vincennes, Indiana, and Lucy K. (now dead), who married James C. McFarland, President of the Va. Bank at Charleston, Kanawaha).
2. Ann Dent Black married, second, James Hayes from England; had issue by him, one son and two daughters.
3. Dr. John Hays, who married — — (his widow and children are in Fredericksburg, Va.).
3. Ann Dent Hays, who married — McRae.
3. Delia Hays, who married Herbert Augustine Claiborne of Richmond, Virginia; and had issue.
4. John H. Claiborne, Major C. S. Army.
4. Herbert Augustine Claiborne, Jr., Counsellor at law, and President of the Mutual Fire Association Company of Richmond, Virginia.

JOURNAL.

Thursday, May the 17th.

This Morning at 9 of the Clock, in Company with the Hon'ble Commissioners, and the Gentlemen of their Levies, Colonel John Taylor, Jun'r,¹ Presley Thornton,² Warren Lewis, Philip Ludwell Lee,³ James Littlepage, and Robert Brooke,⁴ Esquires, I Embarked on Board the Margaret Yacht

¹ Colonel John Taylor was one of the first Council appointed under the Virginia Constitution of 1776.—*Campbell's Va.*, p. 651.

² Member of the House of Burgesses, from the County of Northumberland, until 1760, when he was appointed a member of the State Council. He filled both offices with great credit. He died in 1769.—*Bishop Meade's Old Churches and Families*, vol. ii. p. 143.

³ Son of Thomas Lee, Commissioner.

⁴ Presumed to be the brother of Richard Brooke, who was the father of the late Hon. Francis T. Brooke, Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia.

lying off Stratford¹ on Potomac, and about 10 minutes after, was under sail with a small Breeze of Wind at S. W. One Jack Ensign and Pennon flying. After the Vessel had got way, with the Trumpet we hailed the Company (who came to the Water-side to see us on Board) with Fare-you-well, who returned the Complement, wishing us a Good Voyage and safe Return, for which, on the part of the Company, I gave them Thanks with the discharge of our Blunderbuss.

As farr as I could observe the Gentlemen and Ladies on the Sandy Bank, we had full Sails, but on loosing the Sight of them, or on their retiring, we lost our Wind, which made me conclude, the Gentle Gale we then had was nothing else but the tender Wishes of the Women for their Husbands, and the Affectionate Concern of the Mothers for their Sons, Breath'd after us in Gentle Sighs. We was off the Table of Poplars when becalm'd, when we sent the Barge ashoar for Cherries, and in a little time the Wind Springing up at E., made two Tacks which brought Us into the Mouth of Nominine Bay, where we had a change of Wind to S. W. that carried us down as far as the Mouth of St. Mary's River, where we Spoke a Sloop from Dorset² County, in the Eastern Shoar, Load with Plank, in our way thither fir'd a Gun and hail'd a Ship lying off Corbin's Creek; supposing her a Vessel lately come in, and Expecting some News; but on sending her Boat on Board Us, found her to be the Hudson of Whitehaven, Capt. Joseph Rudderick, ready to sail for that Place, the Sailors, for their trouble got a Bottle of Rum, and by them, sent some white Biscake as a present to the Captain, and wishing them a Good Voyage, they put off for their Ship. at 1 of ye Clock P. M., we had Dinner, when with Good Roast Veal, and Stuff'd Gamon, or with Chickens, we satisfy'd a very keen Appetite, which seemed to be not a little height'ned by the little time we had breath'd in Another Element. About the Close of Day, and a little below St. Mary's, had a very hard Gale from S. S. W.

¹ Built by Thomas Lee, situated on the bluffs of the Potomac River, supposed to have been named from Stratford, Middlesex, England.

² Dorchester.

which obliged Us to take in our Fore-Sail, and Settle our Main-Sail and Jib; it blow'd fresh for half an hour, in which time, most the Fresh-water Men retired, and betook themselves to their Cabbins, some of them, not without apprehensions of Fear, which was to be seen Pictur'd in their Pale Countenances; but tho' there was no Danger, having a very sober and Careful Person for our Skipper, that had everything Prepar'd in Case of a Sudden Squall, yet such concern was very Excusable in those that had never been any further on the Water than crossing a ferry, and very far from the least Imputation of Cowardice. I am not so good a Naturalist as to discover by what Secret Springs Fear has its motion in us, but the Physicians say, there is no One Passion that sooner Disthrones our Judgment, and even in those of the best Settled Tempers: Soldiers (a sort of Men over whom, of all others, it ought to have the least Power) how often has it Converted Flocks of Sheep into Armed Squadrons, Reeds and Bull Rushes into Pikes and Lances, and even Friends into Enemies. I know some who would be very much Discompos'd at a little ruffling on the Water when in a Boat, and yet that Person (I am sure) would cut a Glove, or Resent an Affront with his Sword, without Showing any Cowardly Fear. This Gust being over, we had moderate Weather, but dark and Cloudy, the Wind hawling to the Southw'rd, but not so much as to hinder us lying our Course, about 12 at night Doubled Point Look-out, standing up the Bay with young Flood, a Small but fair Breeze, and a fine Serene Night.

ON BOARD THE MARGARET, *Friday*, May the 18th.

With the Light of the Day I got up to the upper apartment of our Wooden Convenience, leaving all below under the Leaden Scepter of the drowsy God, when I found ourselves abreast Patuxant River, with a fine leading Gale at S.W., 45 Min. after 6, came up with Devils Island, it now blow'd a fresh Topsail Gale, in one hour after, was off Poplar Island, and 35 Min. after 8, was up with the Lower end Kent Island, when we was obliged to Slacken Sail for the Bardge

our Yacht had in Tow. I forgot to say that off the Mouth Patuxant, at the Desire of the Commissioners, I saluted — Rousbie, Esq, Collector of that River and Naval Officer of the Bay, with a Discharge of our Blunderbush. Was opposite West River at a Quarter past 9, the Wind still fresh'ning, the Seas run high, and now, some of the Levee, whose Faces, for some time before, look'd a little white Wash'd, and seem'd as if their Blood lay Freezing at their Hearts, their Brains turning Dizzy like a Hogg troubled with the migrams, at last began to give but very displeasing accounts of what they eat for Breakfast. At 11 O'clock A. M., Came to Anchor before the City of Annapolis, on our coming into the Harbour, the Sailors belonging to some Vessels then lying there, seeing us with Ensign, Jack, and Pennon flying, and so many hands on Deck, Concluded we were some Man of Warrs Tendar, come in order to Press, and Immediately got to securing themselves the best way they could, some Conveying themselves on Shoar, others hiding them in the Hold and other parts of their Vessels, the best way the little time and so sudden surprize could allow them. After some time Spent in Shifting our Cloaths, &c., the Commissioners, &c., went on Shoar, and was very Kindly Received at the Landing Place, by several Gentlemen of Distinction of that Province, and Conducted to the first Tavern in Town, where they welcomed the Commissioners, and the Gentlemen of their Levee to Annapolis, with a Bowl of Punch and a Glass of Wine, and afterwards waited on us to the House of the Honorable Edward Jennings, Esq, Secretary of the Province, where we Din'd very Sumptuously. After Dinner, the Commissioner wrote to the Governor of Virginia the following Letter:—

To The Hon. William Gooch, Esq., Governor of Virga.

May it Please your Honour.

We Embark'd at Stratford yesterday in the forenoon, and arriv'd here this day. The Commissioners for this Province do not Design to move untill they have an Express to tell them when the Indians will be at the Place of Treaty. They have had some advice from their Agent at Philadelphia,

that the Indians are not yet Determined as to the time of their being there; we did not think this Sufficient to stop us, as we had your Honour's Commands to be there by the last of this month. But as some notice of this came by an Express from Mr. Jennings to us, before we left Virginia, a Letter was wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania, to Intreat him to cause Notice to be left for us at the Principio¹ Works, when the Indians were to be at the place, to the end, that if we had time, we would receive his Commands at Philadelphia before we met the Indians.

The Assembly are Sitting here, all we hear yet of them is, that they are like to break up without doing anything to the purpose, upon a difference like to arise, about the manner of giving 3d. a hhd. for furnishing the Country with Arms, and the Commissioners tell Us they will not give anything towards the Expence of Treating with the Indians.²

We are with all possible Respect and Duly,
Sir Your Honour's
Most Obed., and Most Hble. Serv'ts.

THOMAS LEE,
W. BEVERLEY.

We have the opportunity Accidentally, by a Boat from York that goes Directly.

¹ Principio Iron Works, Cecil Co., Md.

² The tribes of the Six Nations were the most powerful confederacy of Indians on the continent, and, to prevent any further difficulty with them, it was determined to extinguish their claims to territory in Maryland, by purchase. The governor recommended this subject for the consideration of the Assembly, at the session of 1742. They concurred in his views, but a contest immediately arose as to the power of appointing commissioners to effect the proposed arrangement. The Assembly asserted their right to select a portion, and named Dr. Robert King and Charles Carroll, to act in conjunction with those appointed by the governor, and laid down certain instructions for the guidance of their conduct. Governor Bladen considered this as a usurpation of his powers, and refused to confirm their proceedings. The House remained firm, and the negotiation was suspended. Having failed to bring his opponents to subjection, Governor Bladen, at length, in 1744, appointed commissioners on his own responsibility, without reference to the action of the Assembly, and a treaty was concluded by them with the Six Nations, in conjunction with the representatives of Virginia and Pennsylvania, at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania; whereby, in consideration of the payment of three hundred pounds current money, they agreed to relinquish all claim to any territory within the boundaries of Maryland.—*McSherry's Hist. of Md.*, p. 110.

In the Afternoon, the Commissioners, attended by the Gentlemen of their Levees, waited on his Excellency, Governor Bladen,¹ by whom they were received very Graciously, and after about an hour's Conversation, which passed chiefly on the Embassy, they retired to Esq. Jennings's, where they Lodged that Night, the other Gentlemen had Lodgings provided them at other private Houses in the Town, where we all Retir'd about 11 at night.

ANNAPOLIS, *Saturday*, May 19th.

After Breakfast, the Gentlemen of the Levee Join'd the Commissioners at Esq. Jennings's, in order to Accompany them to the Governor's where they were to Dine, having received an Invitation the Afternoon before; We were Received by his Excellency and his Lady in the Hall, where we were an hour Entertain'd by them, with some Glasses of Punch in the intervals of the Discourse; then the Scene was chang'd to a Dining Room, where you saw a plain proof of the Great Plenty of the Country, a Table in the most Splendent manner set out with Great Variety of Dishes, all serv'd up in the most Elegant way, after which came a Dessert no less Curious; Among the Rarities of which it was Compos'd, was some fine Ice Cream which, with the Strawberries and Milk, eat most Deliciously. After this Repast was over, (which, notwithstanding the great Variety,) show'd a face of Plenty and Neatness, more than Luxury or Profuseness, We withdrew to the Room in which we was first Received, where the Glass was push'd briskly round, sparkling with the Choicest Wines, of which the Table was Replenished with Variety of Sorts; His Excellency, the Donour of the Entertainment, is in his Person inclining to the larger Size of Men, Straight and well-proportioned, a Manly Face and Sanguine Complexion, seem'd Complaisant and free, of a Good Deal of Humour in Conversation, he had not a little Wit, and is allow'd to have a considerable Claim to Good Sense, and every other Qualification Requir'd to

¹ Thomas Bladen, Governor 1742-7.

Compleat a Gentleman; his Stature and Deportment is much becoming, and adds not a little to the Dignity of his Office. His Lady is of middle Size, Straight made, Black hair, and of a black Complexion much pitted with the smallpox, but very agreeable, and seems to have a great Stock of Good Nature, as well as Wit; she is a passionate Admirer of the Game Whist, which she is reckon'd to play admirably well; she is, by Birth, a French Woman, tho' not addicted to the Foppery of that Nation in appearance. About 4 in the afternoon, the Company broke up, and from thence went to the Stadt-house, where the Assembly of that Province was then Sitting, and in a Debate on a Division of a County; but Order and Decorum, which Justly Regulated is always a great Addition to the Augustness, as well as Honour and Credit, of any Public Body, was not to be Observed in this House; Nothing but a Confus'd Multitude, and the Greater part of the meaner Sort, Such as make Patriotism their Plea, but Preferment their Design, and that not for the Honour but the Profit; nor is it to be so much Surprizing, as it ought to be Regreted of (to see a Country managed, and the Legislature in the Power of a party, the greater part of which having no more Regard to Law or Justice, but so far as it is productive of Good to themselves, most of them preferring a Private Advantage to a public Good) when the Method is Considered, which many of the Members of Assemblies take to make themselves popular, which puts it in the Power of Every Pretender that Enjoys Estate Enough to Enable him to make a few Entertainments or Barbecues, to be sent a Representative for his Country, without any other Motive on his Side, than what he can make it turn to his own Advantage, a little Self Interest and a Great deal of Ambition; while the true Patriot, a Lover of his Country, and a Real Honest man, is Rejected, such is the Effects of Party Prejudice. It is Surprising what minute and Contemptable Causes Create Discontents, Disorders, Violence, and Revolutions amongst Men, what a small Spring can Actuate a Mighty and many-headed Multitude, and what mighty Numbers one Man is Capable of Drawing into his

Disgusts and Designs. It is the Weakness of the many, when they have taken a fancy to a Man, or the Name of a Man, they take a Fancy even to his failings, Adopt his Interest, Right or wrong, and Resent every Mark of Disfavor shown him, however Just and Necessary it be; If a Man makes them Drunk twice or thrice a Year, this Injury is a Kindness which they never forget, and he is sure of their hearts and their hands, for having so Generously Rob'd them of their time, their Innocence, and their Senses. From this the Commissioners return'd to Mr. Jennings, while the Rest, with Myself, went to visit the Situation of the Town; it consists of a great many Good Buildings, but very Irregular, they cover a good deal of Ground, which is Perinsulated, the River running almost round it, Excepting a little Isthmus joining it to the Continent; the principal Buildings is the Stadt-Houses, the Council-house, and the Free School, three very good Houses standing in the Middle of the Town, on the top of a high Hill overlooking the Town; the Foundation of a very fine House Designed for the Governor was laying on a Beautiful Spot of Ground On the East side of the Town. towards the close of the day, We Returned to Mr. Jennings', where his Excellency, the Governor, was pleas'd to wait on the Commissioners, and pass'd the forepart of the Night; the Company parted half an hour past 11, when I went home to my Lodgings; this day Cloudy, with Wind at W.

ANNAPOLIS, *Sunday* the 20th.

This Morning about 7 O'clock, I got from my Bed, and taking a turn to the Water side, had Intelligence of a Schooner Just Arriv'd from York, that had brought a Gentleman belonging to Barbadoes to Annop' and was Return Next Tide, which I Went and Communicated to the Commissioners, on which they wrote the following Letter to his Honour, Governor Gooch, which I carried to the Skipper of the Schooner:—

To The Hon'ble William Gooch, Esq., Governor of Virga.
May it Please your Honour.

ANNAP', May 20th, 1744.

The 18th, we had the Honour to Acquaint you of our Arrival here by a York Boat, and that these Commissioners

are not dispos'd to move untill they are Sure the Indians are on their way; some doubt they will not come at all; 'tis said there has been some White Men Murdered off Pennsylvania, and that the Indians are enquiring for the Murderers.¹ The Intelligence we have here, comes from the Secretary² of Governor Thomas,³ as we are told; they have here great Suspicions of Mr. Weiser,⁴ and believe that they will not Solely Rely on him: . . . We Submit it to your Honour, whether it will not be proper for Us to have your Command to have another, if we find it necessary, this we think we are not at Liberty to do by our Instructions, which are Possitive as to Weiser; but if your Honour thinks proper to write us by the Post to Philadelphia, a Liberty to take another, we shall either do it or not as we see Occasion.

We are very Kindly us'd by the Governor here, we wish

¹ "In 1744, Conrad Weiser was sent to Shamokin to inquire into the murder of John Armstrong, an Indian trader, and his two servants, Woodworth Arnold and James Smith, alleged to have been committed by some of the Shamokin band of Delawares. He delivered his message 'to the Delaware chief, Allumapis, and the rest of the Delaware Indians, in the presence of Shikellamy and a few more of the Six Nations.'"—*Tah-gah-jute; or, Logan and Cresap*, by Brantz Mayer, note at the foot of page 43.

"In 1744, Mussmullin, an Indian chief, murdered John Armstrong and his two men, on Juniata, and was apprehended by Captain Jack's party, but released after a confinement of several months in Lancaster prison."—*Watson's Annals of Phila.*, vol. ii. 109, ed. 1857.

² Richard Peters.

³ Subsequently Sir George Thomas, Governor of the Leeward West India Islands. Died in London in 1775. Blake's Biog. Dic., Philadelphia, 1856. He arrived in Pennsylvania in 1738. Watson, 1-274. Governor from 1738 to 1747.

⁴ Conrad Weiser was an early and respectable interpreter, in which capacity he officiated in nearly every treaty effected with the Indians in his day. He with his father were among the first settlers of Schoharie, New York; who emigrated thither from Germany in 1712, under a proclamation of Queen Anne of 1709, allowing settlers to take up land free, and to be exempted from taxes. When N. Bayard, the Queen's agent, came afterwards to enroll their names and to record their metes and bounds, they became alarmed and offered resistance. Strife ensued, when, upon the invitation of Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, thirty-three families emigrated to that State, and settled at Muilback or Millbrook. Conrad Weiser was commissioned Colonel in 1756. He lived and died at Womelsdorf, a town situated between Reading and Harrisburg.—*Watson's Annals of Penn.*, ed. 1857, vol. ii. pp. 207, 258.

indeed, we have had the favour of your Letter to him. We are with the Greatest Respect,

Your Honour's Most Dutiful & Obed't Ser'ts,

THOMAS LEE.

W. BEVERLEY.

The Commissioners and their Levee Kept their Rooms the Forenoon, as Divine Service was not to be performed in Town this Sunday, betwixt the hours of 12 and 1. We Join'd the Commrs. at their Lodgings, and waited on them to the House of the Honourable Tasker,¹ Esqr., where we Din'd in Company with his Excellency the Governor, his Lady, and some more Gentlemen of the City, and spent most part the Afternoon, after which Return'd to Mr. Jennings's in the Evening. Mr. Dulancy and two or three more Join'd Us, where two or three hours was agreeably Spent, and the Company Retir'd to their Respective Lodgings about 10; this day clear, Wind at S. W.

ANNAPOLIS, *Monday*, the 21st.

Rose half an hour after 6, took several turns in the Garden, and at 9 O'Clock eat Breakfast at my Landlords, and there Join'd the Company at the Billiard Table where the forenoon was past over, after 12 waited on the Commissioners, at Mr. Jennings, and with them went to the House of Ross, Esqr., Clerk of the Council, where we were Invited the Day before to Dinner, after a very Decent Entertainment in Company with the Young Gentlemen (leaving the Commissioners Engag'd with other Company) I went to the House of Delegates, and heard a Petition in Chancery Argued by Council, it being before thrown out by the Judge of the Court, and brought before the Assembly to Confirm the Right of Lands, for which consideration money was paid, and no sufficient Conveyance made, although a Power of Attorney was to any practising Attorney to acknowledge the same fully. At Night his Excellency the Governor and some other Gentlemen, for the Entertainment of the Commissioners and the Gentlemen of the Levee, gave a Ball in the Council Room, where most

¹ Benjamin Tasker, President of the Colony 1751-3.

of the Ladies of any Note in the Town was present, and made a very Splendent Appearance, in a Room back from that where they Danc'd, was Several sorts of Wines, Punch, and Sweet Meats, in this Room, those that was not Engag'd in any Dancing Match, might either Employ themselves at Cards, Dice, Back-Gamon, or with a cheerful Glass: the Commissioners amus'd themselves till about 10 O'clock, and then went home to their Lodgings.

The Ladies was so very Agreeable, and seem'd so Intent on Dancing that one might have Imagin'd they had some Design on the Virginians, either Designing to make Tryal of their Strength and Vigour, or to Convince them of their Activity and Sprightliness. After Several smart Engagements, in which no Advantage on either side was Observable, with a Mutual Consent, about 1 of the clock in the Morning, it was agreed to break up, every Gentleman waiting on his Partner home.

Wind at N., and so very cold, that at the close of the Evening it was observ'd to Snow.

ANNAPOLIS, *Tuesday, 22d.*

This Morning about 7 I got up and with Mr. Bulling my Landlord I took a Walk about two miles out of Town, return'd about 9 and after Breakfast, went to Mr. Jennings's, where I spent the forenoon; a little before 1 O'clock came three more of our Company, and Join'd the Commissioners, then we went to Dine with Charles Carroll,¹ Esqr., One of the Council of the Province, where we staid till near 5 at which time the Commissioners went according to a former promise to Sup with his Excellency the Governor at his House, but the Young Gentlemen having Engag'd themselves the day before, to wait on some Young Ladies who was to meet at Mr. Ross's House in the Evening, they went to the Governor's and after making their Excuse, for So short a Visit, then Return'd to the Fair Assembly, where the Night was very

¹ Son of Daniel Carroll of King's County, Ireland, Charles Carroll came to Maryland in 1686, and settled at Carrollton. He was the grandfather of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence. — *Biog. of Signers*, by L. Carroll Judson, Phila., 1839, p. 132.

agreeably spent with Dancing, Singing, &c., about 11 O'clock the Ball clos'd, and every man with his partner went to conduct her home; but one of the Ladies it seems had ply'd the Artillery of her Eyes so Dextrously, that she had no less than a pair of Gallants to wait upon her Home, but whether the Lovers had been making their Case Known to the Fair, beseeching her to have Compassion on them, and heal the Wounds, which if she was not entirely unacquainted with her own Charms (which very few Women are), she must be very Sensible of what they suffer'd, or if betwixt themselves they were Disputing one Another's Title, my not being present renders me uncapable of Judging, but it is a Strong Proof that one or other was the Truth, since the Lady was obliged to show them that she did not stand in need of a Convoy, and with the help of her heels gave both the Slip, leaving them to grope their way to where they Lodg'd; another of our Gentlemen, after having seen his Miss safe, Steer'd a Course as he thought for his own Port, but either by the Darkness of the Night or with the help of Willis-over-the-Wisp, I can't say which, but betwixt both, he made a Shift to get into a Swamp, when he made several turns, doubles, and windings, before he got clear, and at last, had like to have been Shipwreck'd among a parcel of Tann-pitts, stumbling into one of them that happily had but very little Water in it, after he got himself disengag'd of these leather pots, he had the luck to Stumble into the Right path home: he and I Lodging in the same Room, I happen'd to get there a few minutes before him, when I was Surpris'd to see A person come puffing and blowing, like a Grampus before a Storm, and Shaking his Tails, like a Dog coming out of a place where there was as much Mud as Water, it was now after 12, as soon as he entered the Room, while he was uncasing himself from his wet Garments, he gave me the History of his Travelling Adventures, after which we got to bed, where under the Dominion of the Drowsy God, and his leaden Sceptre, we Remain'd Insensible till morning.

(To be continued.)

OCCUPATION OF NEW YORK CITY BY THE BRITISH,
1776.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE MORAVIAN CONGREGATION.

[This record, printed in the "Moravian" during the year 1876, is of sufficient interest to warrant its reproduction in a more permanent form, and we feel assured that it will be read with interest by those who have not had the good fortune to meet with it. The notes and annotations are in most cases those furnished by the present pastor of the New York congregation, the Rev. A. A. Reinke, who prepared them for the columns of the "Moravian;" those furnished by the editor are so designated.—ED.]

These extracts are from the diary of the New York Congregation, for 1776. The principal excerpts have reference to the passage of the Enemy's fleet up and down the Hudson River, the skirmishing on Long Island and Harlem Plains, and the great fire in September. The original diary is in the handwriting of Bro. Shewkirk, the pastor of the congregation.

As is well known, the City of New York—which in 1776 extended, on the North, but a little beyond the present Post-office—was alternately in possession of the British and Americans. The "Rebel" portion of Bro. Shewkirk's flock underwent peculiarly lively experiences. Their names are easily recognizable in the frequent flittings of certain members from the city. The "Royalists"—good and true men none the less for their failure to "discern both time and judgment"—included the pastor and other brethren, mostly of foreign birth and sympathies. The national proclivity of the writer of the diary is apparent in his occasional strictures, &c., on the Rebel army, and on certain members of his congregation. The extracts submitted contain the entire "War" record of the diary of the year; they are given in the style current at the time.

JANUARY, 1776.

Thursday 18th.—Last night and to-day Troops came in from the Jerseys; the troubles begin again.

Monday 29th.—The troubles in the town increased. Tenbroeks' moved to Second River on Wednesday. They would have gone on Tuesday, but the weather was too bad.

¹ Published at Bethlehem, Pa.

FEBRUARY.

Sunday 4th.—This afternoon Mr. Lee,¹ a General of the New English² troops came to town; as also the “Mercury,” a man of war, with General Clinton. The men of war *here* took a merchant ship coming in, &c.; all which made many commotion in the town.³

Monday 5th.—Soldiers came to town both from Connecticut and the Jerseys, and the whole aspect of things grew frightful, and increased so from day to day. The inhabitants began now to move away in a surprising manner. The weather was very cold, and the rivers full of ice, which proved a great obstruction to the People’s moving. However, in the middle of the week it thawed fast, which seemed also to answer the prevention of designs against the men of war, the execution of which might have proved very fatal to the city. One could not pass the streets without feeling a great deal; and at last we were obliged to encourage it that our sisters and young People might retreat. At the end of the week about 40 of our People were Moved. Hilah Waldron, Sister Reed, Sister Bouquet, and Sister Shewkirk, to Second River; and likewise Sister Runcey, with Peter and his wife. Mamie and Esther Pell, and Venema to Middle Town Point; Sister Doeling, with her daughter, to Brunswick; Sister Francis to Topan;⁴ Jane Groves and her son,

¹ Gen. Chas. Lee.

² England.

³ Accounts of these troubles and of the excitement of the times will be found in Irving’s *Washington*, vol. 2d, p. 167. The arrival of Sir Henry Clinton and Gen. Lee on the same day “threw the whole city,” wrote an eye witness, “into such a convulsion as it never knew before. Many of the inhabitants hastened to move their effects into the country, expecting an immediate conflict. All that day and all night, were there carts going and boats loading, and women and children crying, and distressed voices heard in the roads in the dead of the night.” Clinton professed to have come only on a short visit to his friend Gov. Tryon. “If it is really so,” wrote Lee, “it is the most whimsical piece of civility I ever heard of.”

It is reported that Lee said “he would send word on board the men of war, that if they set a house on fire, in consequence of his coming, he would chain a hundred of their friends by the neck and make the house their funeral pile.—ED.

⁴ Tappan.

with the Sherbrook's family; John and Samuel Van Vlecks' families to Kipsy¹ bay, Sister VROUTJE Van Vleck, with her daughters, to a place near Hella Gate on Long Island; John Cargyll's wife and children, Sister Everitt, Sister Ross and her sister, to places on Long Island.

Wednesday 7th.—The discourse in the congregational meeting was on the watch-word of to-day. All the watch-words of next week, which is expected to be a week of troubles in the city, were read; as they are particularly suitable to our present circumstances. A deep emotion prevailed, and we parted not without tears, not knowing how long we may be separated; but His Peace comforted us.

Sunday 11th.—This was a gloomy day. The carts went all the day with the goods of the people that are moving; moreover, in the forenoon the Soldiers began to take away all the guns from the Battery and the Fort, and continued till late. This caused an hourly expectation, especially in the afternoon, that the men of war would fire; however they did not.² It did not at all look like a Sunday. In some churches they had no service; in others hardly any People. In the forenoon we had a discourse from behind the table, from the yesterday's watch-word; "I the Lord do keep it; I will water it every moment, lest any hurt it," &c. In the afternoon was preaching on Lamentations III. 39-41: "Wherefore doth a living man complain, &c. Let us search and try our ways," &c. Both times we had more hearers than we expected.

Monday 12th.—His Majesty's ship, the "Mercury," with Genl. Clinton, and the "Transport" with the soldiers left the harbour yesterday, to proceed on their voyage southward. The moving out of the town continues.

Saturday 17th.—The whole week those of our people who are yet in town were visited. This morning the "Phœnix" went out of the harbor, down to the watering place and the hook. In the afternoon the "Asia," the ship with the Governor³ and the two Princes, moved also out of the east river, and when she was opposite the White Hall she was

¹ Kip's. ² See Irving, vol. ii. pp. 170-171. ³ Governor Tryon.—ED.

fast upon a rock. All was in agitation in town; and it seemed there was a thought of attacking her, &c.; but they dropt it; and with the high water the "Asia" got afloat and lies now in the bay below the Island.¹

Wednesday 21st.—In the afternoon Sister Esther Pell came to town from Middle Town Point. The boat she came in, laden with wood, was stopped by the men of war, and was sent back; but the passengers were allowed to come to town.

Sunday 25th.—In the forenoon only a discourse was kept on the watch-word of to-morrow. In the afternoon a sermon was preached on the day's gospel. Several of the New England people were present. In the town the work at the entrenchments continued, and some branches of trade were likewise working. At night Sister Shewkirk came back from Second River.

Tuesday 27th.—Sister Vrutje Van Vleck came back from Long Island.

MARCH.

Wednesday 13th.—A packet from England arrived once again, and brought an uncommon number of letters; but they came not on shore. The postmaster would not take them, for fear that they might be seized without the postage being paid. The people were not suffered to go on board to fetch them; unless they took an oath to tell nothing that is done in the city. A packet for Bethlehem, directed to Bro. Shewkirk, had been sent from England along with the government despatches post-free, and was brought by Mr. Ross in the King's Service, who had been on board privately.

Saturday 23d.—Bro. Henry Van Vleck finding no danger of being stopt here, came also to town, with Bro. Shewkirk (who had gone to Second River to visit his scattered flock). He did what business he could in a couple of days, and wherein he was successful.

Tuesday 26th.—In the afternoon Bro. Henry Van Vleck set out again on his return, tho' he has yet business to do in different places.

¹ Governor's.

APRIL.

Sunday 7th.—Easter. To-day and last night the commotions in the city begin to be greater; attacks have been made on the little islands, and at the watering place.

Monday 8th.—Sister Kilburn who had got the officers, &c., out of her house, got it cleaned and in order again. Tho' these lodgers had been better than common soldiers, yet she found her house and premises much injured.¹ Sister Hilah Waldron on the following days got likewise the soldiers out of one of her houses, but she has suffered a great deal more. Indeed it is beyond description, how these uncivilized, rude, and wild People, abuse the finest houses in the city.

Wednesday 10th.—Sister Kilburn, and Ten Broeks, and also Sister Runcey returned to Second River, and Bro. Doeling to Brunswig.

Sunday 14th.—In the evening our Conrads had a sad affair in their house. They, with their Sister, daughter, and Bro. Durand, who was in town on a visit from Staten Island, were together; when some soldiers came in, asking to buy things they don't sell. They went away again, but one of them went up stairs unknown to them; and when their daughter who was apprehensive of such a thing went out to bolt the back door, he came down blew out her candle, and the old people coming to it, he gave a hard blow into the face of the mother, tore her pocket off in a forcible manner, and took a new cap from her father's head, and went away; and when the father went after him out of the front door, there was another fellow. They beat Bro. Conrad, and then made off.

Thursday 23rd.—John and Saml. Van Vlecks' families went to Stone Arabia above Albany.²

Tuesday 30th.—Sisters Kilburn and Hilah Waldron, and Sister Boelens have got the soldiers out of their houses.

¹ "Oh, the houses of New York, if you could but see the insides of them! Occupied by the dirtiest people on the continent. . . . If the owners ever get possession again, I am sure they must be years in cleaning them, unless they get new floors and new plaster the walls."—*Almon's Remembrancer*, vol. iii. p. 86.

² On the east side of the Hudson, opposite the mouth of the Mohawk.

MAY.

Wednesday 1st.—Sister McMenemy returned to Fishkill, with tears,—to stay there awhile longer; not finding how to get bread here for the present.

Friday 17th.—This day had been appointed a day of fasting and prayer throughout the country; therefore we had preaching in the fore and afternoon. The Text, a. m., was from Joel ii. 12, 13, 14. “Therefore also now, saith the Lord, turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting and with weeping, and with mourning; and rend your hearts and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God; for He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of the evil. Who knoweth if He will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind Him?” The text, p. m., was from Hosea xiv. 1–3: “O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity,” &c. Our Saviour gave grace, in this critical juncture of affairs, to keep in the speaking to the subject of the text, and to avoid in the application what might be exceptionable. We had a pretty numerous auditory in the afternoon; also some of the officers. All behaved with attention. To-day the news came that the Provincials have raised the Siege of Quebec, with the loss of their artillery, baggage, and some hundreds of sick.

Thursday 23rd.—Abr. Van Vleck, and Eliza Van Deursen came from Second River; Sister Ross from her place; and old Christiana from Brunswig; from the latter place Sister Bowie too came back. This week we were also visited by Sister Cornwall, who came to town for a couple of days.

JUNE.

Thursday 13th.—Here in town very unhappy and shocking scenes were exhibited. On Munday night some men called Tories were carried and hauled about through the streets, with candles forced to be held by them, or pushed in their faces, and their heads burned; but on Wednesday, in the open day, the scene was by far worse; several, and among

them gentleman, were carried on rails; some stripped naked and dreadfully abused. Some of the generals, and especially Putnam and their forces, had enough to do to quell the riot, and make the mob disperse.¹

Friday 14th.—A printed letter from the Continental Congress was distributed, which gave intelligence that for certain, within ten days, the fleet from Halifax would be here,² and it was strongly recommended to make all possible defence. In consequence of this, many more troops came to town, and all was in alarm.

Sunday July 14th.—It was a wettish day, and it looked as if all was dead in the town. The English [Church of England] churches were shut up, and there was services in none, or few of the others; we had not many hearer either.

Tuesday 16th.—Bro. Wilson who came to town last Friday, —for he could be in peace no more at Second River, as the country people will have the Yorkers to be in town,—asked for a pass to go over on business; but they would give him none. This week they have begun to let no man go out of the city. Last Sunday, a flag of truce brought a letter to Washington; but having not the title which they give him here, it was not received. Yesterday a message was sent down from here; to-day an answer came, but was again returned on account of the direction.³

Thursday 18th, was the day appointed when Independence was to be declared in the City Hall⁴ here; which was done about noon; and the Coat of Arms of the King was burnt. An unpleasant and heavy feeling prevailed.⁵

¹ The city of New York, under Putnam's rule was, according to a letter quoted in Irving, vol. ii. p. 205, the reverse of the picture here given, everything being quiet and orderly.—ED.

² It did not arrive until the 29th. Gen. Howe arrived on the 25th.—ED.

³ The letter was addressed to George Washington, Esquire; an account of its return and of the interview with Col. Patterson, the British Adjutant-general, will be found in the *Life of Pres. Reed*, vol. i. p. 204.—ED.

⁴ Then at the head of Broad Street.

⁵ There is no mention in the diary of the reading of the Declaration of Independence to the troops by order of Washington, eight days previously at the spot where the new post-office now stands; nor of the pulling down

Saturday 20th.—About noon, a General Adjutant from Lord Howe came, and had a short conversation with General Washington, in Kennedy's house.¹ When he went away he said, it is reported, to Washington and the others with him: "Sir and gentlemen, let it be remembered that the King has made the first overture for peace; if it be rejected, you must stand by the consequences;" and thus—which seems to have been the main errand—he departed. Much politeness passed on both sides.

Monday 22nd.—Our Bro. Wilson looking at the ferry, whither his negro was come with some goods from Second River, was put under arrest by one Johnson, and treated very basely by him, on account of a charge laid against him by one Gordon, at the Falls,² about 12 miles from Second River; that he and his son had spoken against the American cause; were dangerous persons; and had done much mischief to their neighborhood, &c. Bro. Wilson appeared before the Committee;³ the chairman knew nothing of the charge. Wilmot, one of the Committee, did, but they could prove nothing; and Wilson could easily clear himself. The result was,—if he resided at Second River, they thought he should stay there. Many persons were ordered to-day to quit the town, because they were suspected.

Tuesday 23d.—Bro. Wilson got a pass, and went to Second River to-day.

Monday 29th.—Bro. Wilson came from Second River; he had got a certificate of the Committee there, which cleared him sufficiently of the late charge; and the Committee here gave him a pass to go to Pennsylvania. He brought letters from Bethlehem, where he intends to go this week; and returned to Second River this afternoon. He also brought word that our people have got their goods that were taken with the boat.

in the evening of that day, of the equestrian statue of King George the Third, on the Bowling Green.—See *Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii. page 595.

¹ The present Washington Hotel, at the foot of Broadway.

² Passaic, now Patterson, N. J.

³ Sons of Liberty?

Tuesday 30th.—John Cargyll came to town, as also Sister Campbell; the latter to stay with her son John, whose family is left at Fishkill.

Wednesday 31st.—In the meeting of the communicants, we called to mind the watchword on the first day of this month;—there was a discourse on to-day's text;—and then in a prayer we thanked our dear Lord for having helped us thro' this month; told Him the desires of our hearts for ourselves, and our fellow members scattered here and there, and commended ourselves to His faithful love and care. We felt well.

AUGUST.

Wednesday 2nd.—In the afternoon Bro. Shewkirk coming from a walk beyond the Rope Walk, between the Bowery and the East River, not far from the camp which is there, he was accosted by an officer, and desired to see a sick man, who was distressed in his mind, and who, as he thought, was frantic. Bro. Shewkirk walked in with him. The sick, who was an Ensign of the Connecticut troops, told him of his sickness; that he had got a relapse: and as he did not know whether he should get over it, he was frighten'd because of his sins: having been a wild young man; and that he had had sometimes thoughts of making away with himself; &c. Bro. Shewkirk spoke to him of our Saviour, that he need not be unduly alarmed, but should rather acknowledge the goodness of the Lord, who by His Spirit shew'd him his state, with an intention to save him, &c.; and then, upon the request of the sick, he prayed by him with much freedom. A couple of officers, and some soldiers were present.

Saturday 3rd.—Towards evening Bro. Shewkirk went to see the sick Ensign; who soon desired him again to pray with him. The Captain who yesterday desired Bro. Shewkirk to see the sick was there; and by and by another officer, with one of their Chaplains came in. The conversation of the latter with the officers turned upon war matters; the sick repeated his desire to have a prayer made; the Chaplain

was a raw sort of a man, and the little he spoke to the sick was in a rough manner; he at last put it to Bro. Shewkirk to pray, who did it; spoke yet a little to the sick; and then left him.

Monday 5th.—In the afternoon Bro. Shewkirk, coming thro' Stone Street, was desired by the woman of the house, to step in to see a sick man, who seemed to be near his end; they had wanted a minister, and could get none. The sick was also an Ensign of the Connecticut forces, one Mr. Evans. He could not speak, but was tolerably sensible. Bro. Shewkirk, with freedom and emotion of heart, recommended him to the grace and mercy of the Saviour of the world.

Tuesday 6th.—In the morning, Bro. Shewkirk went to see the afore-mentioned Mr. Evans. He seemed to be somewhat better, could talk, and said that he had heard and understood the prayer last night. After some little conversation with him, Bro. Shewkirk prayed, and called upon the name of the Lord in his behalf. It does not appear that he has that awakened sense of himself, which the other young man has. Several came in while Bro. Shewkirk was there, and also his Colonel, an elderly, clever man. In the afternoon Bro. Shewkirk went to see the other sick man, Mr. Goodman; he read to him the 53rd and 55th chapters of Isaiah, to his satisfaction, and then prayed with him.

Wednesday 7th.—In the forenoon Bro. Shewkirk visited Mr. Goodman, who seems to be on the recovery; he read to him the 14th and 15th chapters of St. John; had some pleasant conversation with him; and then, in a prayer, recommended him to our Saviour's grace and care. In the afternoon, Bro. Shewkirk went to see Mr. Evans, whom he found near his end. He prayed over him with great freedom, beseeching the Lord over life and death, for the sake of His meritorious agonies and death sufferings to receive this soul in mercy. An awful feeling prevailed. The people of the house, and a couple of soldiers were present. It appeared from some signs and sounds the sick gave, as if he heard the prayer. In the next room there was another sick young soldier, who desired Bro. Shewkirk to come to him; he went

to him, and spoke to him heartily, advising him what use to make of his present illness.

Thursday 8th.—In the afternoon at 4 o'clock, Bro. Shewkirk, having been invited to the funeral of the Ensign, Mr. Evans, went there in expectation of another minister's officiating; but there was no other minister present, and the directing officer desired Bro. Shewkirk to make a prayer at the house before they went away, and to speak a little in the church yard. Accordingly, after the soldiers were together, and the corpse was put in the street, Bro. Shewkirk, standing on the stoop, made a short prayer; upon which the corpse was put on a bier, covered with a black cloth and the Regimental pall, which was borne by four officers; and then in the usual military way, they proceeded to the old Presbyterian meeting house and its graveyard; there Bro. Shewkirk made a short address to the people, and after the corpse was interred, he concluded with—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. The whole was conducted with much order and solemnity.

Monday 12th.—Sister Shewkirk and Hilah Waldron returned back to Second River. Sister Sabina Allen, with her little boy Stephen, went to Long Island.

Tuesday 13th.—In the evening was the interment of the remains of Sister Jane Boelen. It was difficult to find six brethren to be the carriers; for which reason the servants made part of them; and Bro. Reed officiated for them on the way. Many people cannot be expected to attend funerals in these times. Those of our sisters that were yet in town mostly attended, and the rest were of Sister Boelen's neighbors. However, everything went orderly and to satisfaction. In the chapel, a discourse was kept on Isaiah, 46 4:—"Even to your old age I am He," &c. Bro. Shewkirk visited Mr. Goodman, but found him in a distressing situation, that all his limbs trembled at times; he thought it was determined by God that he should die an awful death, and that shortly. Upon speaking to him, he grew more composed; and kept Bro. Shewkirk with him as long as he could. Some

days after, he was brought home to his Father, in Connecticut.

Wednesday 14th.—There was much alarm in the town, as it was expected that the next morning an attack would be made on the city by the King's troops; which, however, did not prove so.

Saturday 17th.—Towards night a proclamation was published, in which all women, children, and infirm people were advised to leave the city, with all possible speed; as a bombardment was expected; those that were indigent, should be assisted and provided for. This caused a new fright. Some of the sisters yet in town came to Br. Shewkirk to advise with him about it.¹

Sunday 18th.—Early in the morning the two men of war and their tender, that had been up the North River, came back; which caused again a sharp cannonading till they were passed. Yesterday, a fortnight ago, they had been attacked by the Row-gallies and a Privateer, which were obliged to desist from their attempt; having been greatly worsted by the men-of-war, and lost several of their men. Last week they attacked them with fire-ships, but could not obtain their end, and lost one of their captains; they then sunk vessels, and thought to be sure of having stopped their passage; however, they came back. It was a rainy morning, with a north east wind. The fright seemed to be not as great as it was when they went up; and yet the balls hurt more houses; some men were likewise hurt.²

¹ On this day, Washington was informed by a deserter, that a great many of the enemy's troop had gone on board the transports; that three days' provisions had been cooked, and other steps taken, indicating an intention of leaving Staten Island. To the New York Convention he wrote: "When I consider that the city of New York will, in all human probability, very soon be the scene of a bloody conflict, I cannot but view the great numbers of women, children, and infirm persons remaining in it, with the most melancholy concern. When the men-of-war passed up the river, the shrieks and cries of these poor creatures running every way with their children, were truly distressing, and I fear will have an unhappy effect on the ears and minds of our young and inexperienced soldiery."—*Spark's*, vol. iv. p. 49. ED.

² *The Rose and the Phoenix.*—See *Irving's Washington*, vol. ii. p. 306. ED.

Phil. Syphers' experienced a kind preservation. A nine pounder came through the old German church in the Broad Way, into the house they lived in, opposite the Lutheran church, and into the room where they slept; but they were up and out of the room. The ball come through the window, which it mashed to pieces, with part of the framework; went through the opposite wall near the head of the bedstead; crossed the staircase to another room; but meeting with a beam in the wall, came back, and went a part through the side wall, and then dropt down on the stairs. A thirty-two pounder, supposed coming from the Powlis Hook battery, fell into Sister Banwards' garden, just before her door. If there was service kept, it was but in one church. Our preaching in the forenoon was on Jer. 45: 19; "I said not unto the seed of Jacob, seek ye me in vain," &c., and in the evening from Matt. 6, 19, 20: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," &c.

August 19th.—Sister Bowie and her daughters with some of their goods went to Newark. Sister Vroutje Van Vleck and daughters went to an house up the Bowery. Sister Lepper, upon application, was to be helped to Flushing by the Committee; which Bro. Shewkirk did not approve of when he heard of it; and as it happened, it did not come to pass. Polly Sypher, with her child, went to Mr. Watt's house.

Tuesday 20th.—We got letters from Bethlehem. Towards evening Bro. Wilson came from Second River.¹

Wednesday 21st.—In the evening, as but one Bro. and one Sister came, the meeting (preparatory) for the communicants fell out. Soon after a very heavy thunder storm came on. It lasted for several hours, till after 10 o'clock; an uncommon lightning; one hard clap after the other; heavy rain mixed at times with a storm like a hurricane. The inhabitants can hardly remember such a tempest, even when it struck into Trinity church twenty years ago; they say it was but one very hard clap, and together did not last so long by far. Upon the whole it was an awful scene. Three officers, viz.,

¹ Supposed to be the creek near Newark, at present bearing that name.

one Captain, and two Lieuts., were killed in one of the Camps; they were all Yorkers; and one soldier of the New English People was likewise killed in a house in the square; several others were hurt, and the mast of one of the row gallies mash'd to pieces.

Thursday 22d and Friday 23d.—The king's troops landed on Long Island. The troops from here went over, one Battalion after the other, and many kept on coming in; yet, upon the whole their number certainly was not so great as it commonly was made. In the evening we had the congregational meeting with the little company that was present. We resolved to drop the Wednesday meeting for the present, and to begin that on Tuesday and Friday at 6 o'clock.

Saturday 24th.—In the afternoon, Bro. Shewkirk coming through the Bowry,¹ was called into a house next to Romains,² and desired to baptize a child, which the people thought would not live till the next day; they told that the mother was a stranger here from Rawwell³ in the Jerseys. Considering the present time, when all things are in confusion, and scarcely ministers in the town, he granted their request; called upon the name of the Lord in behalf of the infant, and baptized it by the name of William.

Monday 26th.—A good deal of firing was heard on Long Island, and several skirmishes happened between the scouting parties, wherein the Provincials sustained loss.

Tuesday 27th.—was a Fast and Prayer day in this Province; which had been appointed by the Convention; but here in the city it was not and could not be observed. On the one hand, there are but few inhabitants in the town, and the soldiers were all busily employed; on the other hand there was much alarm in the city. Soon, in the morning, an alarm gun was fired in expectation that the ships were coming up; which however proved not so; but on Long Island there

¹ This street began at Park Place, and included Chatham Street, reaching, in its inhabited part, about as far as Chatham Square.

² Romeyn.

³ Rahway.

was a smart engagement, in which the Americans suffered greatly. Two generals, Sullivan and Sterling, and many other officers and soldiers were taken prisoners. All the troops now went over; those from King's Bridge came likewise, and went over the next morning.¹ As very few of our people came, we kept only a little meeting in the forenoon, in which a short discourse was kept on Jer. 48, 17 and 18; and concluded with a moving prayer, kneeling. This [the result of the battle] was an agreable disappointment for all honest men; for what could such a fast signify, when men want to pursue measures against the Word and Will of God, &c.

Wednesday 28th.—The different parties on Long Island kept on to be engaged with one another; the firing was plainly heard. Bro. Shewkirk met with a young man, who waited on Ensign Goodman, and who was come back from Long Island. He told him that he, and a small number of his regiment—Huntington's—had escaped with their lives. It had been a sight he should never forget; such as he never wished to see again. This young man is of a serious turn, and religious more than common, and promises to be the Lord's. In the afternoon we had extraordinary heavy rains and thunder. From one of the Forts of the Continental army on Long Island, two alarm guns were fired in the midst of the heavy rain; supposing that the regulars would attack their line somewhere between Flatbush and Brookland; all the men were ordered out though it rained prodigiously; it was found, after some time, that it was a false alarm. The sound of these alarm guns had just ceased, when, immediately after, a flash of lightning came, followed by a clap of thunder. It was awful. The very heavy rain, with intermixed thunder continued for some hours till towards evening. In the night the battling on Long Island continued, and likewise

Thursday 29th; and in the afternoon such heavy rain fell again as can hardly be remembered; nevertheless the opera-

¹ See *Graydon's Memoirs* (Phila. edition, 1846), page 163.—Ed.

tions upon Long Island went on more or less; and behold, in the night, the Americans thought it advisable to retreat, and leave Long Island to the King's troops. They found that they could not stand their ground, and feared to be surrounded, and their retreat cut off. The great loss they had sustained, the want of provision and shelter, in the extraordinary Wet; the unfitness of many of their troops for war, &c.; undoubtedly contributed to this resolution.¹

Friday 30th.—In the morning, unexpectedly and to the surprise of the city, it was found that all that could come back was come back; and that they had abandoned Long Island; when many had thought to surround the king's troops, and make them prisoners with little trouble. The language was now otherwise; it was a surprising change, the merry tones on drums and fifes had ceased, and they were hardly heard for a couple of days. It seemed a general damp had spread; and the sight of the scattered people up and down the streets was indeed moving. Many looked sickly, emaciated, cast down, &c.; the wet clothes, tents—as many as they had brought away—and other things, were lying about before the houses and in the streets to dry; in general everything seemed to be in confusion. Many, as it is reported for certain, went away to their respective homes.² The loss in killed, wounded, and taken has certainly been great, and more so than it ever will be known. Several were drowned and lost their lives in passing a creek to save themselves. The Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland people lost the most; the New England people, &c., it seems are but poor soldiers, they soon took to their heels. At night, the few that came or would come, had a meeting on the texts; and the next day we ended this troublesome month with the watch-word, “He that believeth shall not make haste.” “Grant me to lean unshaken, &c.”

¹ See *The Battle of Long Island*, by Thomas W. Field, Brooklyn, 1869.

² Washington wrote to Congress regarding the militia: “Great numbers of them have gone off, in some instances almost by whole regiments.”

(To be continued.)

THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE.

CHRISTINA, QUEEN OF THE SWEDES, THE GOTHIS,
AND THE VENDS.

A PRESENTATION OF HER PORTRAIT TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, APRIL 16, 1877.

At a full meeting of the Society upon this interesting occasion, there were present four young ladies of Swedish birth, distinguished vocalists, Misses Inga Ekstrom, Bertha Erixon, Amanda Carlson, and Ingeborg Löfgren.

The President said: Our meeting this evening is peculiar; I will not say that it has reference to the pre-historic time of our State, but if I may be allowed to coin a word, I will say that it relates to the pre-Pennian epoch. Many persons out of Pennsylvania suppose that when William Penn came to Philadelphia, the region was in as exclusive possession of the Indians as on the day when Columbus landed on St. Salvador. This is a great mistake. When Penn came here, the Swedes had been in possession of the soil for near half a century. They had here forts, laws, churches, and many institutions of society. They came here under the reign of Queen Christina of Sweden. I understand that the Historical Society is to be presented this evening, by the Trustees of the Publication Fund, who have done much lately to bring to view the otherwise fast fading Swedish annals of our province, with a portrait of that sovereign, and I feel sure from the number of our Swedish members whom I see in the assemblage, and especially from the presence of the four young Swedish ladies whom you see on my right, and whose delightful gift has charmed so many people over the whole face of the land, that the present is a most acceptable one.

The ladies here gracefully acknowledged the President's remarks, by coming forward and singing, with fine effect, "*Songfoglärne*" (Singing Birds)—Lindbland.

Mr. Vice President Jones addressed the chair as follows:—

Mr. President: Our venerable fellow member, Mr. Richard S. Smith, has been requested to make the presentation—but, sir, I must so far interrupt the order of proceedings as to say a word about Mr. Smith himself.

All present know him as a long honored citizen of Philadelphia; few, however, present are old enough to know that before the war with England, he was the most useful representative of this nation in a foreign land; that land, the country over which Christina once was queen. This fact comes to most here, only traditionally.

The time when Mr. Smith was consul in Sweden was the era of the great Napoleonic wars. The whole continent shook with the tread of armies, and the very waves of the ocean seemed chained, for the famous decrees of Berlin and Milan and the British Orders in Council closed to neutral vessels, all the ports of Europe, save only those of the Baltic. The United States, not as yet drawn into the contest, had a vast commerce with those northern ports, and Mr. Smith, with rare judgment, detected in the mysterious appearance of a cargoless American vessel which was to be hurried further on to some Russian port, enough to satisfy him that war had been declared by the United States against Great Britain. In a private record by Mr. Smith, which I have seen, he writes:—

“In the month of July, it was the law in Sweden that every vessel arriving from America should come to anchor in the quarantine harbor fourteen miles from the city, and being boarded by the master of quarantine, the necessary manifest of cargo, clearance, etc., were exhibited, and a memorandum thereof made and immediately despatched by a boat to the proper health officer at the city. Being anxious to be promptly advised of every arrival, I made arrangements with the man who navigated the boat between the station and the

city, that he should exhibit all the papers to me of all American vessels, before he took them to the Health Office. (There was no breach of trust in this.) It so happened that, on the morning of the 23d of July, 1812, between five and six o'clock, the quarantine boy brought me the papers of the pilot boat schooner Champlain, cleared by Minturn and Champlin, in ballast from New York to Eastport, Maine. It was so clear to my mind that this vessel was despatched with most important intelligence affecting the interest of this principal New York firm, that I did not hesitate a moment, but procured a boat, and in less than an hour, with my consular commission in my pocket, I was on my way to the quarantine ground. Arriving there, I called on an old officer in charge, and was allowed to go out to the vessel; I was not allowed to go on board, and the old officer therefore passed my commission up to the captain of the schooner, who, having read it, said he recognized me as consul, but was a good deal annoyed at being detained even a day, before he could visit the city and forward important letters to various correspondents of his owners. I told him I would facilitate his intentions by all the means in my power, and added, that as there could be no doubt the information to be thus conveyed was of a character highly important to all Americans in charge of vessels and property in neighboring ports, I thought he should communicate freely with me, whose duty it was to protect the interests of his countrymen within my reach. He said that, being entrusted with a commission affecting the private interests of the house who had despatched the vessel, he was not at liberty to say more. Apprehending that he might not be willing to say more or speak out in the presence of another, I asked the old Swede if he would land me on the rocks in sight of the schooner, and allow me the use of the skiff, that I might have a confidential talk with the captain; consenting to this, I rowed out alone in the boat, and told the captain of the schooner that I feared war had been declared against England, and if so, I ought to be informed, as there were millions of dollars at stake which I could protect and secure if I were clearly advised of the fact. He repeated his former

assertion that he had a commission to perform for his owners, and he would not go beyond that. I directed his attention to a fleet of several hundred vessels lying in Wingo Roads, distant a mile from the quarantine ground. I told him I knew of over forty vessels (American) in that fleet waiting English convoy, and of course, under the guns of British cruisers. I told him he must be aware that the English had great facilities in receiving and forwarding all important information affecting their interests, and that, doubtless, the English Admiral would have the information within a day or two, and it would be a lasting sorrow to him, to know that one word in confidence to me, might have saved millions to his countrymen, which otherwise, by his silence, would be captured by an enemy. At this, he was much agitated, and said he could not in that view of the case remain silent. He said war was declared by an Act of Congress on the 17th day of June, and that on the next day, Com. Rodgers had sailed to look for British cruisers off Halifax, and no doubt hostilities had commenced.

“Having obtained this important information, with a strong fair wind, I hurried back to the city, and hastily assembling the Americans in my office, I astonished and startled them by the news I had obtained; some of them were captains of vessels lying down in the roads under convoy, and were crazy to get to their ships. The wind which had been so fair to bring me up to the city was now almost a gale against a passage down. It was then suggested that we should all set to work writing a circular, which I prepared, and that a horse and carriage should be procured with which two or three of the number should proceed to Marstrand, a seaport a few miles to windward, from which, by boat, the fleet could easily be reached, and the circulars delivered to the American vessels, and warning them unless they weighed their anchors and ran up the river above the Swedish batteries, they were liable at any moment to British capture. All parties were cautioned to keep strict silence in the city until these vessels were secured. Happily, the expedition to Marstrand and thence to the fleet was a success, and before the next morning,

the vessels, over forty in number, were safe under the protection of the Swedish batteries, to the great surprise of the British officers, who wondered what had got into the Yankees that they had all gone up the river."

In this way, and by his sagacity, address, and energetic promptness, Mr. Smith saved from capture, by the British vessels of war which were lying near them for convoy, the whole of that American fleet. Great, indeed, was his service to our country by this act. Mr. Smith now posted off to Stockholm, night and day, a distance of three hundred miles, in order to give information there, and save other American vessels.

Another incident related by Mr. Smith in his narrative, though not immediately illustrative of his consular service, is so striking, that I think I may be pardoned for reading it. He says: "In connection with the march of the French army, I must relate a curious history of a regiment of Spanish cavalry attached thereto. It will be remembered, when Napoleon invaded Spain, he placed his brother Joseph on the throne. He then raised a considerable number of Spanish regiments, which he embodied in the French army. When he finally withdrew his army from Spain, to march to the invasion of Russia, he drew out with him these Spanish troops, which were so incorporated in his army, they could not help but submit to the discipline.

"When the division of the *French* army to which one of these cavalry regiments was attached halted for the night at a place in Schleswig, this regiment in the night suddenly deserted, and rapidly marched towards the strait called Little Belt, very soon after daylight, pursued by French cavalry. Arriving at the shore, they found numerous transports waiting their arrival, and they were transported with all speed to the British ships of war; but no means of transport being provided for the horses, they were abandoned. These animals, left to themselves, rushed wildly over the beach, until finally they formed themselves into two divisions or battalions as they had been accustomed, and after wheeling and manœuvring, charged each other furiously, then wheeling and re-

turning, charged again, killing and wounding many of their number before their French pursuers arrived."

Mr. President, I will say no more, and beg pardon for having arrested Mr. Smith in what he was about to say ; but the fact that this gentleman, now eighty-eight years of age, was, sixty-seven years ago, the American Consul in Sweden, and rendered, before the birth of most present, such eminent service to our country, seemed to me to warrant the liberty I have taken.

Mr. Richard S. Smith next arose and said :—

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen: The agreeable duty has been imposed upon me by the Trustees of the Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to present, on their behalf, to the Society, a portrait of much interest to the people of our State, for it is of a person most intimately associated with the earliest days of the settlement on the banks of the Delaware.

Until our Historical Societies were established, very little was popularly known of this early Swedish colony. In my boyhood, from 1803 to 1806, I was accustomed to frequent the neighborhood of the *Gloria Dei* Church, for where the late Navy Yard was afterwards established, was the only gravel bank of the river where the boys could venture to learn to swim. We were told that this church was the oldest one in Philadelphia, and that it had been built for the accommodation of Swedes who had come to America. We knew there were German churches also in Philadelphia, but we were not told, nor were we aware that long before the Germans came, the Swedes had already a colony and a government.

In 1810, I went to Sweden with a ship and cargo, and remained there over two years, and during that time I never heard any mention made beyond the fact that a mission had early visited America and had built churches, and preached the gospel here. On my return home in 1813, I was attracted to the Swedes Church to hear old Dr. Nicholas Collin preach in his native tongue, which he did once a month, to a small

congregation who still continued to understand that language. In familiar intercourse with that venerable gentleman, I first learned that the Swedish colony had possession before the arrival of William Penn.

The Annals of the Swedes by the Rev. Dr. Clay, in 1834, drawn from the publications of this Society and from the records of the Swedish church, brought the facts of the Swedish settlement into notice, and the names of many of the early settlers thus being given to the public, some families in Pennsylvania have learned that their origin was from the Swedes. Among others, I learned it, for there I found that my mother's family, named Shute, originated from Johan Schute, one of the original settlers named by Dr. Clay.

During the Centennial Exhibition, the Commissioners from Sweden, and others of that nation, visited our beautiful Hall, and they also attended the worship at the old Church "*Gloria Dei*," at Wicaco. They, as well as the officers of this Society, attended a most striking anniversary celebration that was held there, and they were exceedingly gratified and proud of these testimonials of the early and active labors of their ancestors on our shores.

Before I formally present the portrait, permit a few words from the Secretary, as to the person of whom it is a representation.

The Secretary here spoke as follows:—

Mr. President: The portrait presented is of Christina, Queen of the Swedes, the Goths, and the Vends, Grand-duchess of Finland, Duchess of Esthonia, Carelia, Brehmen, Vehrden, Stedtin, Pomerania, Cassuben, and Vaenden, Princess of Rügen, Lady of Ingria and Vissmar, etc. It was copied by Miss Elise Arnberg, of Stockholm, from the original by David Beek, a pupil of Vandyke, in the National Museum at Stockholm.

This monarch was born at Stockholm on the 8th of December, 1626, and died at Rome on the 19th of April, 1689. At the age of six years she inherited an illustrious crown, for it was that worn by the great Gustavus Adolphus who had

triumphantly led the Protestant Powers of Europe in their long and desperate struggle. The wars that continued under the young Queen were, however, out of all proportion to the resources of her kingdom; yet she seemed for a time a not unworthy successor to her father, the foremost man of his age.

Guided by the famous Chancellor Oxenstiern, upon whom devolved the care of the kingdom on the death of Gustavus, the region on the Delaware River, which we ourselves inhabit, that now known as the State of Delaware, and also Southern New Jersey, were colonized from her dominions in 1638, under the name of New Sweden. Queen Christina thus became the first Christian monarch of this part of America. The Swedish power continued until 1655, when it fell under that of the Dutch who had for some time possessed the New Netherlands, by which name the country round about New York was then known. The Dutch held these fair regions of the Hudson and the Delaware, or, as they then were called, the North and the South Rivers, until 1664, when they passed by conquest to the English.

Christina abdicated her crown in 1654, and became a convert to the church of Rome. She lived the greater part of the remainder of her life an exile from Sweden. She possessed considerable native power, and was highly cultivated. As may be supposed from its being the seat of the power, almost dominant, the court of Gustavus and of his fair daughter was sought by the learned of that day from every quarter of Europe. Grotius and Descartes shone there among a host of other intellectual luminaries.

It is eminently appropriate that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania should have secured this portrait. Sweden and its monarch first waked to our life the forests that till then had known only the Indians. These have passed away, but they and the Swedes have left, in the names of places, monuments more enduring than those of brass, for Allegheny and Juniata and Christina are not forgotten, but prove what Palgrave says, that "Mountains and rivers still murmur the voices of nations long denationalized or extirpated."

Mr. Smith, here resuming his observations, concluded by saying:—

And now, Mr. President, and fellow members of the Society, I beg your acceptance of this valuable historical gift.

The President, on behalf of the Society, received, with appropriate remarks, the portrait of Queen Christina; upon which the ladies sang in Swedish, "Northland," by Nylén, which may thus be rendered in English:—

I know a land where round the arch of heaven,
The Northern Lights their awful splendors throw;
Where helmeted in clouds the hills, storm-riven,
Keep watch around the vales that sleep below.

There many a torrent from the mountains pouring,
Sends echoing thunders to the distant vale;
The Necken's wild harp, fitful, drowns their roaring,
And on the waters sleeps the moonlight pale.

The President, continuing, said: The name of Stillé is found among those of our early Swedish settlers, and is one of the not very many names of them which come down to us, and come down in form unchanged. For, some have, by a very slight modification of a vowel or consonant, passed, I think, into forms not distinguishable from those of our British colonists; and some, through female lines, or failure of issue, have, in the course of near three centuries, disappeared altogether. That of Stillé, as I say, remains, and in this day has received new honor in the person of the accomplished Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

No man among us is at all so capable to speak about these ancient colonists who came here under Queen Christina, as the Provost Stillé; and, if he will allow me, I will ask him to say something to us on this interesting occasion, where, with hereditary right, he is so naturally present.

Mr. Provost Stillé then addressed the meeting.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I think that the Historical Society is to be congratulated upon the acquisition of a portrait of Queen Christina. It will serve not merely

to recall an important epoch in our own local history, but also, to emphatically mark the period when the principles of European colonization on this continent, then quite novel, were established. It is true that the Swedish colony settled here in 1638, under the Queen Christina, was not the one projected on so magnificent a scale by her father, Gustavus Adolphus. The colony remained a dependency of the Swedish Crown for only seventeen years, its members were merely a few Swedish peasants, not exceeding, even sixty years after its settlement, a thousand in number; it held within its bosom the germ of some of our characteristic American ideas, but it had little to do with their growth; its inhabitants were a God-fearing, simple-hearted, law-abiding race, who, while they had, like all adventurers, dreams of a brighter home beyond the seas (for they named the first land they saw on Delaware Bay, Paradise Point), yet knew well that an earthly paradise can only be found by dint of hard work and self-denying virtue.

Yet, in the general history of American colonization, the simple annals of these people are not without interest. It is not uninteresting, for instance, to find them at that early day, in opposition to the notions of public law then current in Europe, firmly holding that a true title to lands here should be based upon a purchase from the natives, followed up at once by the occupancy of Europeans; it is pleasant to think of them, patient, contented, prosperous, never suffering from that restlessness of spirit which has in this country violated so many rights of neighborhood; above all, they are to be honored for their persistent devotion to their religion and their church, that church which they and their children were able to preserve, in its complete organization, for more than one hundred and twenty years after the Crown of Sweden had lost all power here, and which decayed only when the language of her ministrations became a strange tongue to her children.

The early Swedes, unlike the early settlers from other countries, did not dwell in towns. They were simple farmers, living on the shores of the Delaware, and of its many affluents

on both sides of the river. Their labors soon made the wilderness to blossom as the rose, and, although they found not, as they had been promised, whales in Delaware Bay, nor a climate suited for the cultivation of the vine, or the production of silk,¹ yet they gathered the abundant fruits of their toil in thankfulness, living in peace and quietness, serving God after the manner of their fathers, and, while jealous of the honor and dignity of the Royal Crown of Sweden, full of kindness and forbearance towards those who denied their claim to the lands upon which they dwelt. There is, indeed, a pastoral simplicity in the lives of these rugged children of the North when transplanted to the shores of the Delaware, which, to say the least, is not a common feature in our American colonization. Their ideal of life seems to have been a sort of modern Arcadia where,

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
Along the cool, sequestered vale of life,
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way."

It is, I think, to be regretted that while we possess the portrait of Queen Christina, we have not those of her great father, Gustavus Adolphus, and of their illustrious Chancellor, Oxenstiern. I firmly believe that these two men, in their scheme for colonizing the shores of the Delaware, are entitled to the credit of the first attempt in modern times to govern colonies for some higher purpose than that of enriching the commercial and manufacturing classes of the mother country.

The gloomiest chapter in modern history, it has always seemed to me, is that which shows the result of the policy adopted by nearly all the European nations towards those of

¹ Of course whale fishing as a pursuit is meant. At that time whales were not uncommon, and even now an occasional one is seen. A Right Whale, of the largest size, was not long ago caught in Delaware Bay, and its fine skeleton is among the rich collections of the Academy of Natural Sciences. The vine can be cultivated, and silk produced, but whether with profit is yet to be determined.

their subjects who emigrated to this continent. It was based upon a desire to gratify the insatiable cupidity of the commercial spirit which had been evoked by the discovery of America. It was carried out persistently, with an utter disregard of the rights of the inhabitants or subjects, or their interests as colonists.

Far different was the policy which led to the Swedish colonization of the shores of the Delaware. The colony was projected by a king, with all the resources of a powerful State at his disposal, and his wish was to establish here an empire upon a new basis, and not merely to provide another home beyond the seas for a few hundred Swedish peasants. It must be remembered that the Swedish emigrants were not fugitives from the persecution and oppression of their rulers at home, but that they were, on the contrary, favored subjects of their sovereign proposed to be sent out under his express protection as the vanguard of an army to found a free State, where they, and those who might join them, from whatever nation they might come, might be secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, and especially of their rights of conscience. No doubt the expectation of extending Swedish commerce was one of the motives which led to the founding of the colony, but it seems always to have been a subordinate one. If we wish to understand the real significance of the scheme, its paramount and controlling impulse, we must look upon the colony as the outgrowth of the thirty years' war, and its establishment as a remedy for some of the manifold evils of that war which had suggested itself to the capacious and statesmanlike minds of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern. It seems true that it was designed not so much as a place of settlement for Swedish freemen, as a refuge where Germans and Danes, who had been persecuted for conscience sake, might live in peace under the protection of the Champion of Protestantism and Swedish law.

It is true that this grand conception of the king and Oxenstiern was never fully carried out. This was due to causes which neither of them could have foreseen or controlled, and

it in no wise lessens the claim which the memory of both these great men has upon the gratitude of posterity.

A glance at contemporaneous history will serve to show how novel and comprehensive were the views of colonization held by the great Gustavus. We are told that in 1626, Usse-
linx obtained from the king a charter for a commercial company with the privilege of founding colonies. The charter provided that the capital might be subscribed for by persons from any country, and colonists were invited to join the expedition from every part of Europe. In this invitation the proposed colony was described as a benefit to the persecuted, a security to the honor of the wives and daughters of those whom war and bigotry had made fugitives, a blessing to the "common man," and to the whole Protestant world.

What then was the condition of the Protestant world in 1626, that it needed such a refuge beyond the seas? I need only remind you of the gathering of the storm in England which, three years later, drove the Puritans across the ocean to found the colony of Massachusetts Bay. The Protestants in Germany and Denmark were at that time in the midst of that storm, exposed to all its pitiless fury. The thirty years war—a war unexampled in history for the cruel sufferings which it inflicted upon non-combatants—was at its height. The Protestants were yielding everywhere, nothing could resist the military power of Wallenstein, who, supporting his army upon the pillage of the miserable inhabitants of the country, pressed forward to the shores of the Baltic, with the avowed intention of making that sea an Austrian lake. The great Protestant leaders, Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, the King of Denmark, were dead, and their followers and their families were a mass of dispersed fugitives fleeing towards the north, and imploring succor. Gustavus had not then embarked in the German War, but his heart was full of sympathy for the cause in which these poor people were suffering as martyrs, and I think it cannot be doubted that this scheme of colonization occurred to him as a practical method of reducing the horrors which he was forced to witness.

The faith of the king in the wisdom of this scheme seems

never to have wavered. In the hour of his complete triumph over their enemies, he begged the German Princes, whom he had rescued from ruin, to permit their subjects to come here and live under the protection of his powerful arm. He spoke to them just before the battle of Lützen, of the proposed colony as "the jewel of his crown," and after he had fallen a martyr to the cause of Protestantism on that field, his chancellor, acting, as he says, at the express desire of the late king, renewed the patent for the colony, extended its benefits more fully to Germany, and secured the official confirmation of its provisions by the Diet, at Frankfort.

The colony which came to these shores in 1638 was not the colony planned by the great Gustavus. The commanding genius which could forecast the permanent settlement of a free State here, based upon the principle of religious toleration—the same principle in the defence of which Swedish blood was poured out like water upon the plains of Germany—had been removed from this world. With him had gone, not perhaps the zeal for his grand and noble design, but the power of carrying it out. It has been said that the principle of religious toleration which was agreed to at the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, which closed the thirty years' war, and soon after became part of the public law of Europe, is the corner-stone of our modern civilization, and that it has been worth more to the world than all the blood that was shed to establish it. With this conflict and this victory, the fame of Gustavus Adolphus is inseparately associated; but we ought not to forget that when during the long struggle he sometimes feared that liberty of conscience could never be established upon an enduring basis in Europe, his thoughts turned to the shores of the Delaware as the spot where his cherished ideal of human society, so far in advance of the civilization of the age in which he lived, might become a glorious reality.

The Swedish ladies next sang *The Swedish Folksongs*, *A Serenade*, by Bishop, and closed with "*Skynda po*" (*Haste along*) of Wahlin.

NOTES ON THE IROQUOIS AND DELAWARE INDIANS.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM CONRAD WEISER TO CHRISTOPHER SAUR, WHICH
APPEARED IN THE YEARS 1746-1749 IN HIS NEWSPAPER PRINTED AT
GERMANTOWN, ENTITLED "THE HIGH GERMAN PENNSYLVANIA
HISTORICAL WRITER, OR A COLLECTION OF IMPORTANT
EVENTS FROM THE KINGDOM OF NATURE AND THE
CHURCH" AND FROM HIS (SAUR'S) ALMANACS.

COMPILED BY ABRAHAM H. CASSELL.
TRANSLATED BY MISS HELEN BELL.

TULPEHOCKEN, December, 1746.

FRIEND CHRISTOPHER SAUR:

According to your desire, I will give you herewith a short but true account of the Indians, their belief, confidence or trust in the great Being, as I have myself, from my own experience, learned during frequent intercourse with them from my youth up, namely from 1714 until this date.

If the word religion means a formal belief in certain written Articles of Faith, such as, prayer, singing, churchgoing, baptism, the Lord's Supper, or other well-known Christian ordinances, or even heathen worship, then we can truly say: the Indians, or so-called Iroquois, and their neighbors have no religion, for of such a one we see and hear nothing among them. But, if by the word religion we understand the knitting of the soul to God, and the intimate relation to, and hunger after the highest Being arising therefrom, then we must certainly allow this apparently barbarous people a religion, for we find traces among them that they have a united trust in God, and sometimes (although quite seldom) united appeals to Him. It would be unnecessary to give detailed proofs of this. I will give but one or two instances, which I have from my own experience, and I have seen and heard myself from them.

1. When in the year 1737, I was sent for the first time to Onondago, at the request of the Government of Virginia, I left home at the end of February quite inconsiderately to under-

take a journey of 500 English miles through a wilderness, where there were neither highways nor paths, neither men nor, at that period of the year, even animals to be found to stay our hunger. I had a German and three Indians with me: when we had travelled about one hundred and fifty miles, we came into a narrow valley, on both sides of which lay terrible mountains covered about three feet deep with snow; in the valley itself the snow was about eighteen inches deep; now this valley was not above half a mile wide, but over thirty miles long; in the middle of the valley throughout its length ran a rather large stream, very swift, and so crooked that it ran continually from one side to the other and passed away by the lofty rocks on which the mountains seemed to be founded. Now, in order not to wade this stream too often at that time of the year, as besides it was three feet deep more or less, we tried to pass along the slope of the mountains; now the snow, as I have said before, was about three feet deep on the mountain and frozen hard, so that we could walk over it on level ground; but here we were obliged to cut holes in the crust of snow with the small hatchets which we carried with us, so that our feet could hold, and we clung to the bushes with our hands, and thus we climbed on; but the old Indian's foot slipped and he fell, and what he was holding on to with his hand (namely, a part of the root of a fallen fir-tree) broke off, and he slid down, as if from the roof of a house; but, as he carried a little pack on his back held by a band across his breast, according to their custom, it so happened that after he had gone about ten paces, he was caught in a little tree as thick as an arm, for his pack happened to hang on one side and he on the other, held together by the carrying band; the two other Indians could not render any assistance; but my German companion Stoffel Stump went to his help, although not without evident peril of his life. I too could not stir a foot until I received help, and, therefore, we seized the first opportunity to descend again from the mountain into the valley, which was not until after another half hour of hard work with hands and feet. We bent a tree downwards where the Indian had fallen; when we came again into the valley, we went some-

what back, although not above one hundred paces, for we saw that if the Indian had slipped but four or five steps further, he would have fallen over a precipice one hundred feet high, down upon pointed rocks; the Indian stood with astonishment, and grew pale as he saw the rocks, and broke out in these words in his language: "I thank the great Lord and Ruler of the world, that he had mercy on me and was willing that I shall live longer." This he said with outstretched arms, very earnestly and emphatically, which words I then put down in my Journal thus; this happened on the 25th of March, 1737, as I have said.

2. The following 8th of April we were still on the journey, and I was utterly worn out by cold and hunger and so long a journey, not to mention other hardships; a fresh snow had fallen about twenty inches deep; I found myself still nearly three days' journey from Onondago in a terrible forest. My strength was so exhausted that my whole body trembled and shook to such a degree that I thought I should fall down and die; I went to one side and sat down under a tree, intending to give up the ghost there, to attain which end I hoped the cold of the night then approaching would assist me. My companions soon missed me, and the Indians came back and found me sitting there. I would not go any farther, but said to them in one word: "Here I will die." They were silent awhile; at last the old man began: "My dear companion, take courage, thou hast until now encouraged us, wilt thou now give up entirely? just think that the bad days are better than the good ones, for when we suffer much we do not sin, and sin is driven out of us by suffering. But the good days cause men to sin, and God cannot be merciful; but, on the other hand, when it goes very badly with us, God takes pity on us." I was therefore ashamed, and stood up and journeyed on as well as I could.

3. As I was journeying the previous year to Onondago and Joseph Spangenberg¹ and two others travelled with me, it so

¹ Properly Bishop Augustus G. Spangenberg, of Bethlehem. In his religious enthusiasm he adopted the name of Joseph, and his wife, Eva, assumed the name of Mary.

happened that about twenty-five miles above Schomockin one evening an Indian came to us who had neither shoes, nor stockings, nor shirt, nor gun, nor knife, nor hatchet, and in short had nothing at all but an old torn carpet, together with his rag. To the question whither he was going? he answered, he wanted to reach Onondago. He was known to me, and I asked him why he travelled so naked? also why he was so thoughtless as to undertake a journey of three hundred miles without the before-mentioned articles; he had indeed no provisions with him, and could kill nothing on which to live. He answered he came from the enemy, they had been obliged to flee after a fight and had lost everything (that was certainly true, but he had squandered a part of his property drinking with the Irish). To the question how he expected to get through, he replied quite cheerfully: "That God nourished everything that was to live, even the rattlesnakes, although they are wicked animals, so also will he take care of him and provide that he should reach Onondago alive. He knew to a certainty that he would get through, God was evidently with the Indians in the wilderness, because they alone relied upon his timely care; while the Europeans, on the contrary, always took bread with them." He was a born Onondager, and his name was Anontagkeka. The next day he travelled in company with us; and the day after I had seen him with a hatchet, knife, and tinder-box, as well as with shoes and stockings. I sent him on before to the Indian Council at Onondago to give notice of my coming, which he faithfully performed to my great advantage. We were three nights longer on the way than he was.

4. Two years ago I was sent by the Governor to Schomockin, on account of the unfortunate occurrence of John Armstrong, the Indian trader, and Mizham Mihilon,¹ the Indian who was hung in Philadelphia. After my business was settled, a great feast was prepared to honor me as the envoy

¹ It is impossible to say how this Indian's name should be spelt, Mussimeelin appears to be the form most frequently used. For such variation, and also for the account of the murder of John Armstrong, see *Col. Records*, vol. iv.; *Pa. Archives*, vol. i.

of the Governor. There were over one hundred persons present, who ate a large fat bear in great silence. After the feast the oldest man made a fine speech to the people, in which he proclaimed that notwithstanding the great misfortune that three of their brothers, namely their white (brothers), had been murdered by the Indians, yet on that account the sun would not set (no war break out), but only a little cloud go across it, but which has been already removed; and whoever had done wrong must be punished, and the country remain at peace; and he exhorted his people to thankfulness to God; and thereupon he began to lead a tune like a hymn; the others all imitated him. There were no intelligible words but only a tune, yet it was very fervent. But after the end of this the old man said very earnestly: "Thanks, thanks be to thee, thou great Ruler of the World, that thou allowest the sun to shine again, and hast driven away the dark cloud. The Indians are thine."

The remainder, concerning their superstitions, fancies, offerings, etc., I will write to thee another time.

I am

Your devoted

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S.—We see from the above that the Indians invoke God, trust in God, thank and honor God; but those who are spoiled by the nominal Christians can drink and lie just as well as other so-called Christians. And so they certainly have a religion (worship of God), but they need the true conversion thereto, like much worse Christians and their very ministers, who consider themselves converted and want to convert others, or consider their conversion unnecessary, for all their drinking and lying. The rest about religion, conversion, the difference between a sermon and the word of God, etc., will follow in future as it is transmitted.

CHRISTOPHER SAUR.

AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY
OF THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA FOR THE RELIEF
OF THE BOSTON SUFFERERS IN THE WINTER OF 1775-76.

In "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," for July, 1876, Mr. Albert H. Hoyt contributed a list of the "donations to the people of Boston suffering under the Port-bill," which forms an interesting supplement to the correspondence of the committee appointed to receive such donations, published in the 4th volume, 4th series, of the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and admirably edited by Mr. Richard Frothingham. Both the correspondence of the committee and the list furnished by Mr. Hoyt close about the time of the battle of Lexington, when the privations in the neighborhood of Boston may be said to have been caused more directly by the siege of that town than by the action of the British Parliament; in neither of these chronicles do we find reference to the relief sent by the Society of Friends of Philadelphia, in the winter of 1775-76, to be given to the sufferers in and around Boston, without regard to their political or religious views.

The sum contributed by the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings was £2540, mostly in gold. It was taken to Providence, R. I., by David Evans and John Parrish, and there given to a committee of the Society of that place, appointed for the purpose of visiting Boston to see to its proper distribution. Three thousand and thirty families, consisting of six thousand nine hundred and twenty-three persons, received aid from this fund. Of the families more than eight hundred were those of widows. One of the committee was the benevolent and excellent Moses Brown, and, although his letter giving an account of his visit has once appeared in print,¹ as we do not notice any mention of the incident of which it treats in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, we have no hesitation in producing it again, printing from the original now before us.

PROVIDENCE, 1st Mo. 2d, 1776.

BELOVED FRIEND WILLIAM WILSON:

Having this opportunity by water, I thought of Informing thee that we are generally in health, and to give thee a short History, of a Journey I made with four others, a Committee from our Meeting, to Distribute your Donations; the Com-

¹ In "*The Friend*," Philadelphia, ninth month 15, 1849.

mittee appointed when our Friends David Evans and John Parish were here, not going by reason of Sickness and other hinderances. Our Meeting for Sufferances renewed it and we set off for the Eastward the 13th Ultimo. reached Cambridge the 14th and presented our Address to General Washington,¹ (a copy of which David Evans took with him) he received us kindly but declined permitting us to go into Boston, saying he had made it a rule not to let any go in, unless it was a Woman separated from her Husband or the like; but however, Showed a readiness, to further the designed distribution by proposing to send for some of our Friends to come out upon the lines, and gave us orders for a Flag, for a Conferance

¹ The following address was the one prepared for the first committee appointed; it is doubtless the same as that used by Moses Brown and his associates.—See *The Friend*, 9th mo. 8, 1849.

“From our Meeting for Sufferings of the people called Quakers, held at Providence, 21st of 11th month, 1775.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON :

“As visiting the fatherless and the widows, and relieving the distressed, by feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, is the subject of this address; we cannot doubt of thy attention to our representation, and request in their behalf.

“The principle of benevolence and humanity exciting our brethren in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to contribute and send to our care a considerable sum of money, to be distributed among such sufferers as are by the present unhappy difficulties reduced to necessitous circumstances, without distinction of sects or parties, provided they are not active in carrying on or promoting military measures (so that our religious testimony against wars and fightings may be preserved pure); and we being sensible there are many such within as well as without the town of Boston—and being desirous of finding those that are most needy there as well as without, desire thy favorable assistance in getting into the town—that they may be visited and relieved in such manner as the bearers thereof, Moses Farnum, Isaac Lawton, David Buffum, Theophilus Shove, Jr., and Jeremiah Hacker, whom we have appointed a committee for that service may think proper; and when their Christian services are accomplished, to be allowed to return to their families in safety.

“Sorrowfully affected with the present calamities, and feeling an engagement on our minds so to demean ourselves, as becomes those who profess to walk humbly and peaceably with all men. We are,

THY FRIENDS.”

with them ; as the Small Pox was in Town by inoculation generally, and only two of us had had it, our not being allowed to go in seemed but a small or no disappointment.¹ We sent General Howe a similar Address to that delivered to General Washington with a Letter Informing him of our not going in for the reason above Mentioned, and desiring his permission, to let our Friends James Pramor² and Ebenezer Pope meet us Upon the Lines, to whome we wrote under cover to the General ; to which he answered by his Aide Camp, that our request could not be granted but that he would direct the Sheriff to meet and Confer with us, at any hour we should appoint: this at first seem'd rather close upon us, but supposing he had his reasons for his Conduct as well as General Washington we were easy and embraced his proposals, and sending in my Name to an officer with whome I had some acquaintance (Major Small³ a kind and humane man at least) he, with the Sheriff meet us in the morning of the 15th ; but the Evening before concluding the proper distribution uncertain and being unacquainted with the Sheriff, wrote our Friends of our disapointment in not Seeing them &c. ; And instead of the Money sent in a Draft for £100 Only. after a Conference opening the intention of the Donation, and benevolent intention of Friends therein, without regard to the promotion of Parties, as had been Misapprehended, and finding

¹ "The small-pox broke out and spread alarm through the troops who were generally inoculated. The British commanders considered this disease alone as a sufficient protection against an assault from their antagonists." Washington wrote regarding it (Dec. 14, 1875), "The small-pox raged all over the town. Such of the military as had it not before are now under inoculation. This I apprehend is a weapon of defence they are using against us."

² Obscure in the *MS.*—possibly Rainor.—See *The Friend*, 9mo. 15th, 1849.

³ John Small, the officer who is pictured in Trumbull's painting of the battle of Bunker Hill in the act of endeavoring to save the life of the unfortunate Warren. He saw considerable service in America previous to the Revolution, and subsequent to it was a general in the British army. While stationed in Philadelphia before the war he was a boarder in the old slate roof house on 2d Street, when occupied by Mrs. Graydon, the mother of Capt. Alexander Graydon.

a disposition in the Sheriff, to favor the Intention, we proposed if they thought a further sum could be usefully applied, agreeable to our purpose we would send it in, as we had it with us, but they declining giving us any Opinion of the state of the poor (only saying it was not so distressing as was represented without) we refered the matter till we had accounts out from our Friends,¹ which thy kindly offered their Assistance to procure, after they had Distributed the sum sent in and forward us out when done, which I now daily expect, having on our return wrote them in and Spoke to the officer Quartered at the advance works to forward by the first opportunity. All around the Encampment is one Scene of Desolation, fruit, Range and other trees, fences &c. Some Buildings taken Smooth away, the Town of Cambridge so crowded no Lodgings to be had, that we were Oblieged to lay by the fire, Uncovered but with our own Clothes, partly on the floor and partly on an underbed of Straw. this trial, (new to me), Seemd Necessary to fit us for our Journey, by giving a Sympathy with those we had to Visit who had not the comforts of life. We got to Lynn on 7th day evening, being the 16th stay'd to Meeting next day and went to salem. friends of both places generally well: 18th, Visited Marblehead, Assembled the Select men and letting them into our Business of Visiting the poor, &c.; devided into three Companies, a Select Man attending Each, we went to House to House of the poor, seeing and Enquiring their Circumstances and where need required and they were within the Intention of the Donation we relieved, avoiding those families that did not come within, as well as the Guides could Inform us. We found great poverty to abound, Numbers of widdows and fatherless, wood and provisions greatly wanting among them, Some poor women had to back the former two Miles. An Instance of this was a widow

¹ "The distress of the troops and inhabitants, in Boston, is great beyond all possible description, neither vegetables, flour, nor pulse for the inhabitants and the king's stores so very short none can be spared for them; no fuel, and the winter set in remarkably severe. Even salt provision is fifteen pence, sterling per pound."—*Letter quoted in Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, page 280.

woman with five Children and as shee told us and Indeed appeared, daily looked to lie in with another had been out in a Cold day more than that distance for what she could bring, and had no bread in the House. She was one who we gladly relieved, but thou will not conclude all were Objects of Such Commiseration. She appeared a tender hearted woman Indeed. She was Contrited into Tears at our Visit, in which humble State we left the truly pittiable Object for whom I at that Instant as at this time feele much, and when I have reflected upon the divers Necessitous States, since have been so affected as to Conclude, had I not been favored with an unusual fortitude and guard upon the affections, the Service we went through would have been too hard to be born, but through favor we were preserved through the whole in a good Degree of Satisfaction, having Sometimes a word of Consolation, Counsel and admonition occasinonally arrising. we Visited this day and helped, between 60 and 70 families Mostly widows and Children among whom the Donation hath hitherto Principally fallen, not finishing there, we left it to be done by Jeremiah Hacker and Samuel Collins. the next day being the 19th divided into four Companies a Select man with Each, Visited Salem and in the after Noon feeling a draught further Eastward to Cape ann, four of us Vizt. Benjamin Arnold, David Buffum Thomas Lapham Junr. and my Self (leaving Thomas Steer to finish at Salem) Set off leaving on the way some relief, we got there next day being the 20th, at 10 o'Clock. Assembling the Selectmen and Overseers and giving them an account of our Errand we divided as before one of them Accompanying, the town being Scattering and Seven or Eight Miles amongst the Extremities we rode. the weather Very cold and windy, however the calls of the poor were so Strong that we bore it with patience, here it took us part of three days with attention. the general State of the poor here Exceeded Marblehead about half the most welthy Inhabitants having removed back in the Country Leaving the poor Unemployed, they were very necessitous having before been poor when the fishery was carried on, which being now wholly

stopted, we here, nor with you, have very little Idea of their Poverty, yet their Children seemed helthy, Crawling even into the ashes to keep them warm. the wood, Usually coming by water and now wholly stopt, they could keep but little fires for want of wood. poverty and the want of teams in the place Oblieged many to fetch it here as at Marblehead, two Miles by Land, Bread, Corn, very Scarce. 4S for Indian corn, no rye the last upward of 5S per bushel from Salem Eastward. Some families no other bread but patatoes for sometime, which with Checkerberry tea was seen the only food for a woman with a Sucking Child at her Breast. I hope not many so, though I may Say it hath been a Sort of a School to us, for we never Saw poverty to compare with about 100 families in this town who we Visited and relieved besides many poor not within the Limits of our Donation.

By this time thou wilt conclude your Charities were in an Acceptable time, many were indeed of that mind and Expressed, and Some feelingly, a Sense of Gratitude.

The name Quaker though little known in these parts, will be remembered, and perhaps some may no more think it reproach.

I have thought of John Woolman's remark in his Sickness, of Affluence relieving in time of Sickness. this indeed was the case of some, for the Lame, the Aged and the Infirm was partakers of your Liberality. an aged woman 96 or 97, Husband upwards of 80, with a Maiden daughter the Support of her aged Parents in times when Business could be had, received with a Sense of gratitude which the Silent Tear bespok, of the Contrition, Upon the whole I think you may be Satisfied and United that so far is well. May a Sense of favors be upon us that we have had it in our power and been possessed of a Heart to administer to the distressed. I mean the donars among you with our Selves here. I was at Point Shirly about 4 miles from Boston where there hath been three Loads of People Landed from Boston, they were mostly dispersed but found between 30 and forty families, who were relieved. another friend, not having had the Small Pox attended at

another place in Chelsea,¹ where was about 50 persons that had been Cleaned by Smoking, most of which he made distribution to. My love to friends, with a Communication of any part of this letter that may be necessary and will be Expected.

MOSES BROWN.

¹ "Watertown, Nov. 27. On Friday last, General Howe sent three hundred men, women, and children, poor of the town of Boston, over to Chelsea, without anything to subsist on, at this inclement season of the year, having, it is reported, only six cattle left in the town for Shubael Herves, butcher-master-general, to kill."—See *Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, note, page 282.

THE OATH TAKEN BY THE OFFICERS AT VALLEY FORGE.

I *James Glentworth, Lieut. of 6th Pennya. Reg.* do acknowledge the UNITED STATES of AMERICA to be Free, Independent and Sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great-Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do *Swear* that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States against the said King George the Third, his heirs and successors, and his or their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of *Lieutenant* which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding.

JAMES GLENTWORTH.

*Sworn at the Valley Forge Camp }
this 11th day of May, 1778, before me }
STIRLING, M. G.*

DEATH OF MAJOR ANTHONY MORRIS, JR.,

DESCRIBED IN A LETTER WRITTEN ON THE BATTLE-FIELD, NEAR PRINCETON,
BY JONATHAN POTTS, M.D.

ANNOTATED BY THE REV. EDWARD D. NEILL, PRESIDENT OF MACALESTER COLLEGE, MINN.

The letter of Jonathan Potts, a copy of which is here presented, is in the possession of Howard Edwards, of Philadelphia, whose great-grandmother was a sister of Anthony Morris, whose death is therein related. As the writer of the letter was a descendant of one of the first settlers of Philadelphia County, and it relates to an important skirmish in the war of the American Revolution, it will not appear out of place in a publication of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Jonathan Potts was the grandson of Thomas Potts, who, at the age of nineteen, in A.D. 1699, was married at Germantown by Friends' usage, to Martha Kewrlis.¹ John Potts, the Doctor's father, was born in Germantown A.D. 1710, and was married April 11, 1734, by Friends' usage, to Ruth Savage, of Coventry. He died in 1768, and in an obituary in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, is described as "a gentleman of unblemished honor and integrity, known, beloved, and lamented." His mansion, built at Pottsgrove, is still seen. Dr. Jonathan Potts was his seventh child, born April 1, 1745, and educated at Ephrata and Philadelphia. In 1766 he and his friend Benjamin Rush went to Edinburgh, for medical study. In May, 1767, he was married to Grace Richardson, and in the summer of 1768 graduated at the College of Philadelphia, as Bachelor of Physic, at the first granting of medical degrees in America. In 1771 he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine, at the same time that Benjamin Duffield, who afterwards married his sister Rebecca, obtained the Degree of Master of Arts, and delivered a poem on Science. Dr. Potts commenced the practice of his profession at Reading. With the deepest interest he watched the

¹ Now Corlies.

discussions in Parliament relative to the American Colonies. His family was divided in sentiment. His brother John clung to the Crown of England; Isaac, a Quaker preacher, was a neutral until he became acquainted with Washington at Valley Forge; but his brothers Samuel, James, Thomas, and Joseph identified themselves with the struggle for independence.¹ In 1775 he was Secretary and member of the

¹ *Children of John Potts and Ruth Savage.*

THOMAS, born May 29, 1735. Was one of the original members of the American Philosophical Society. Member of the Pennsylvania Assembly of 1775. In 1776 was Colonel of a Battalion. Died in 1785, while a member of the Legislature, in Philadelphia.

SAMUEL, born Nov. 13, 1736. Member of Assembly 1767-1769. Was an Associate Judge, and died July 3, 1793. Dunlap's "Advertiser" said: "Not a tear will be shed on his grave but will be from the bottom of the heart."

JOHN, born Oct. 15, 1738. Studied law at the Temple, London. Became a Judge in Philadelphia; sympathized with the Mother Country; went to Halifax; returned after the war.

MARTHA, born March 31, 1739-40; became the wife of Thomas Rutter, and died Oct. 11, 1804.

DAVID, born April 4, 1741. A successful merchant in Philadelphia. His country-house at Valley Forge was the head-quarters of General Washington. Died in 1798 at Valley Forge.

JOSEPH, born March 12, 1742. Merchant in Philadelphia. Died at his residence near Frankford, Feb. 4, 1804.

JONATHAN, born 1745. See sketch. Died Oct. 1781, at Reading, and buried at Pottstown.

ANNA, born July 1, 1747, was the wife of David Rutter, and died in 1782.

ISAAC, born May 20, 1750. Weems and Lossing state that he was the person who discovered Washington at prayer in the woods of Valley Forge. He died in 1803 at Germantown. A Philadelphia paper, speaking of his death, said: "Who, indeed, that has heard of the death of Isaac Potts, knoweth not that a great man hath fallen in Israel?"

JAMES, born 1752. Was a lawyer. In March, 1776, became Major of John Cadwalader's Battalion. Died Nov. 1788, aged 36 years, and was buried at Pottsgrove.

REBECCA, born Nov. 3, 1753, married Dr. Benjamin Duffield, and she was the grandmother of the writer of this sketch. Died Feb. 8, 1797. Judge Iredell, of U. S. Supreme Court, in one of his published letters to his wife, writes: "Some very melancholy scenes have taken place among our friends on Front Street. Our excellent friend Mrs. Duffield died the very morning of my arrival."

JESSE, born 1757, married Sarah Lewis.

RUTH, born 1758, married Peter Lohra.

Berks County Committee of Safety. On June 9th, 1776, he was appointed Surgeon for Canada and Lake George. He returned with Gates to Pennsylvania, and in the General Orders of General Putnam, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1776, all officers who were in charge of any sick soldiers were "directed to make returns to Dr. Jonathan Potts, at Mr. John Biddle's, in Market Street."

In less than a month after this order, he wrote the following letter:—

LETTER OF DR. POTTS TO OWEN BIDDLE.

MY D'R FRIEND:—¹

Tho' the Acc't I send is a melancholy one (in one respect), yet I have sent an Express, to give you the best Information I can collect. Our Mutual friend Anthony Morris² died here in three hours after he received his wounds on Friday morning.³ They were three in Number, one on his chin, one on the kneec, & the third and fatal one, on the right temple, by a grape shot. Brave Man! he fought and died nobly, deserving

¹ Owen Biddle was a descendant of one of the proprietors of West Jersey. He was a brother of Col. Clement Biddle, who was present at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. On July 23, 1776, he was chosen a member of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, and lived on Market near Third Street. The next year he was President of the Pennsylvania Board of War.

² Anthony Morris was the great-grandson of an early settler, also named Anthony.

1. Anthony Morris, born August 19, 1654. Mayor of Philadelphia, 1704. Died Aug. 23, 1721.

2. Anthony Morris, born March 15, 1681–82, was his grandfather. He was Mayor of Philadelphia in 1739, and died Sept. 23, 1762.

3. Anthony Morris, his father, was born Nov. 14, 1705, and died October 2, 1780.

4. Anthony Morris, born Aug. 8, 1738; killed in battle near Princeton, Friday, January 3, 1777.

³ The skirmish took place early on Friday morning, the 3d of January, and did not last a half hour. Gen. Washington ordered the Pennsylvania Militia to support Mercer, and led in person two pieces of artillery under Capt. Thomas Moulder, to a position near Thomas Clark's house, about one-fourth of a mile from the spot where Mercer engaged the enemy. With this force was the First Philadelphia Troop of Cavalry, about twenty in number, commanded by Captain Samuel Morris, a brother of Anthony.

a much better fate.¹ General Mercer is dangerously ill indeed, I have scarce any hopes of him, the Villains have stab'd him in five different Places. The dead on our side at this Place amount to sixteen, that of the Enemy to 23.² They have retreated to Brunswick with the greatest Precipitation, and from Accounts just come, the Hero Washington is not far from them: they never have been so shamefully Drub'd and outgeneral'd in every Respect. I hourly expect to hear of their whole Army being cut to pieces, or made Prisoners.

It pains me to inform you that on the morning of the

¹ John Morris, Jr., in a letter written at Bristol, two days after the battle, to Thomas Wharton, President of Pennsylvania Council of Safety, says: "Please to inform my father that my brother S. C. Morris received no hurt in the battle, but that Antho' Morris received a wound with a bayonet in the neck and a bullet in his leg."

He was first buried in the graveyard of the Stone Quaker Meeting-House, near the battle-field, but his remains were subsequently brought to Philadelphia, and buried, at the request of his family, without military honors, in Friends' burying-ground.

The following military order was, however, issued on January the 24th, 1777:—

"One Capt., 2 Sub's, 2 Corp's, 2 Drum'rs & 50 men from the garrison in the Barracks, to parade at the City Tavern, at two o'clock this afternoon, to escort the funerals of the late Coll. Haslett & Capt. Morris. The rest of the garrison off Duty, to attend with side arms only. Coll. Penrose, Coll. Irvine, Coll. McKey, to attend as bearers."

² The loss of American officers in proportion to the number of men engaged was very great. General Mercer of Virginia, Colonel Hazlet of Delaware, Capt. Neal of the Artillery, Capt. Fleming of Virginia, Capt. Morris of Philadelphia, Capt. Wm. Shippin of Philadelphia, a merchant of German descent who kept a store near Market St. wharf, and Lt. Yeates of Virginia, were among the slain.

The Pennsylvania Journal of Feb. 14, 1777, states that Yeates was only twenty-one years of age, possessed of wealth, that he received fourteen stabs and was knocked on the head with a musket after he fell, and that his dying affidavit was forwarded by Washington to General Howe. A friend, in a poetical tribute which appeared in the same paper, wrote—

"But oh! again my mangled Yeates appears,
Excites new vengeance and provokes fresh tears;
Behold my wounds! he says, or seems to say,
Remember Princeton on some future day;
View well this body, pierced in every part,
And sure 'twill fire the most unfeeling heart."

Action, I was obliged to fly before the Rascals, or fall into their hands, and leave behind me my wounded Brethren:¹ would you believe that the inhuman Monsters rob'd the General as he lay unable to resist on the Bed, even to the taking of his Cravat from his Neck, insulting him all the Time.

The number of Prisoners we have taken, I cannot yet find out, but they are numerous.

Should be glad to hear from you, by the bearer; is the Reinforcement march'd?

I am, in haste, your most obedient
humble Serv't,

JON'N POTTS.

Dated at the Field of Action, near Princeton,
Sunday Evening, Jan'y 5th.

Dr. Potts, on the 3d of April, arrived at Albany as Director General of the Northern Department. Among his letters in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is the following from Dr. John Bartlett, written from Moses Creek, Head Quarters, July 26, 1777, at 10 o'clock of the night, relative to the death of Miss McCrea:—

¹ Barber's *Historical Collections of New Jersey* has the following: "Mr. Joseph Clark states that General Mercer was knocked down about fifty yards from his barn, and after the battle was assisted by his two aids into the house of Thomas Clark, a new house about one and a quarter miles from the College." Miss Sarah Clark and a colored servant nursed him. On the 12th of January he expired in the arms of one of Washington's aids, Major Lewis.

The Pennsylvania Evening Post has this notice: "Last Sunday evening, died near Princeton, of the wounds he received in the engagement at that place on the 3d inst., Hugh Mercer, Esquire, Brigadier-General in the Continental Army. On Wednesday his body was brought to this City, and on Thursday buried on the South side of Christ Church yard, attended by the Council of Safety, Members of Assembly, Gentlemen of the Army, and a number of the most respectable inhabitants of the City."

For years a plain marble slab, with the inscription "In memory of General Hugh Mercer, who fell at Princeton, January 3, 1777," marked the grave. In 1840 the remains were removed to the Laurel Hill Cemetery, and a monument placed over them.

“I have this moment returned from Fort Edward, where a party of hell-hounds, in conjunction with their brethren, the British troop, fell upon our advanced guard, inhumanly butchered, scalped, and stripped four of them, wounded two more, each in the thigh, and four more were missing.

“Poor Miss Jenny McCray,¹ and the woman with whom she lived, were taken by the savages, led up the hill to where there was a body of British troops, and then the poor girl was shot to death in cold blood, and left on the ground, and the other woman not yet found.

“The alarm came to camp at two P. M. I was at dinner. I immediately sent off to collect all the regular surgeons, in order to take some one or two of them along with me to assist, but the devil of a bit of one was there to be found, except three mates, one of whom had the squirts; the other two I took with me. There is neither amputating instrument, crooked needle, or tourniquet in all the camp. I have a handful of lint and two or three bandages, and that is all,” etc.

On the 16th of November, 1777, Dr. Potts left Albany on a furlough to visit his family, and while at Reading, Pa., was appointed by Congress, Director General of the Hospitals of the Middle Department. In 1780 he was Surgeon of First City Troop of Philadelphia; but did not live to see the independence of his country achieved.

At the age of thirty, he died in October, 1781, at Reading, and was buried at Pottsgrove, leaving a wife and family. His executors were his brother Samuel and his old friend General Thomas Mifflin.

¹ Jane McCrea.

GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD.

BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

(Centennial Collection.)

Governor Thomas Hutchinson, in the 3d volume of his *History of Massachusetts Bay* (p. 194), after describing his own defeat in the choice of Councillors, in May, 1768, on the ground that being already Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice he was considered a pensioner of the Crown, says: "This turned some who had voted for the Lieutenant-Governor, and gave a majority of votes to *Mr. Ward.*" Hutchinson then appends the following foot-note to the name of Mr. Ward: "He was afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the newly-raised forces in Massachusetts Bay, &c., and was succeeded by *Mr. Washington.*" If nothing else were added to this record, it would be enough to secure the name of General Ward from being forgotten. The chosen successor of Hutchinson as a Councillor of Massachusetts; the predecessor of Washington in the command of the first army of the Revolution!

Artemas Ward was the son of Colonel Naham Ward, one of the early settlers of Shrewsbury, Mass., where he was himself born on the 27th of November, 1727. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1748. Having chosen the law for his profession, he was one of the Justices of the Common Pleas for the county of Worcester, in 1762, and became Chief Justice in 1776. But he was by no means absorbed in professional or judicial labors. He was a Major in the Provincial Militia as early as 1755, and in 1758 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of Colonel Williams's Regiment for the invasion of Canada, and was in the expedition against Ticonderoga, under General Abercrombie, in which Lord Howe, to whom Massachusetts erected a monument in Westminster Abbey, was killed. In 1759 he was made Colonel. But in 1766 his com-

mission was revoked, on account of the opposition to arbitrary power which he had openly manifested. On the same account, too, his election as Councillor was negatived by the Royal Governor.

On the 19th of May, 1775, he was commissioned as Commander-in-Chief of the Provincial Army of Massachusetts, and took command the next day. He was, of course, in command of the army around Boston at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, and probably gave the order for Prescott's Regiment to throw up the redoubt. That, however, was a secret expedition, and no record of the order was preserved, if any was made. Ward himself undoubtedly misconstrued the British movements on the 17th of June, 1775, and considered them only a feint to draw off the remaining troops from Headquarters, and to give opportunity for destroying the stores and cutting off the communications of the Provincials. But it was not owing to any imagined inertness on that day that he soon afterwards ceased to be chiefly responsible for the military proceedings in Massachusetts. The Continental Congress at Philadelphia had already decided to have an army of their own, and had appointed Washington to command it two days before the battle of Bunker Hill took place. They also appointed Ward to be First Major-General of the Continental Army.

It would have been unnatural if he had exhibited no susceptibility on thus being superseded on his own soil. But he at once accepted the appointment, and took post on the right of the Continental Army at Roxbury. When Washington had succeeded in driving the British forces out of Boston on the 17th of March, 1776, and had himself proceeded to New York, General Ward was left by him in command of the Eastern Department. He had been suffering, however, from serious infirmities of health, and he tendered his resignation in April; but, at the request of Washington, and of Congress, he continued in service to the close of the year.

The services of General Ward to his commonwealth and his country were by no means confined to military life. He was for sixteen years a Representative of his native town in

the Legislature of Massachusetts, and in 1786 he was Speaker of the House of Representatives of that State.

In 1779 he was appointed a member of the Continental Congress, and was repeatedly elected a member of the Federal Congress after the establishment of independence.

He died on the 27th of October, 1800, aged 73.

A monument at Shrewsbury, after giving the dates and details of his career, has the following tribute to his memory and character:—

“Firmness of mind and integrity of purpose were characteristic of his whole life, so that he was never swayed by the applause or censure of man, but ever acted under a deep sense of duty to his Country, and accountability to his God. Long will his memory be precious among the friends of Liberty and Religion.”

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG.

**BY WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON.
OF PITTSBURGH, PA.**

(Centennial Collection.)

JOHN ARMSTRONG was born in the north of Ireland in the year 1720. He emigrated to Pennsylvania some time between the years 1745 and 1748, and settled in the Kittatinny Valley, west of the Susquehannah River, then the frontier of the province. He was well educated, and by profession a surveyor. In 1750, when Cumberland County was formed, Messrs. Armstrong and Lyon by direction of the Proprietaries laid out the town of Carlisle. It was resurveyed by Mr. Armstrong according to its present plan in 1762. In 1763 his office in Carlisle with all his books and papers therein was destroyed by fire; a great public loss severely felt for many years afterwards in the adjustment of boundaries of tracts of land in the large district in which he was the public surveyor. In 1754 he was sent by Governor Morris on a mission to the colony

of Connecticut in relation to the illegal purchase of lands within the Province of Pennsylvania from the Indians by an association of persons, in the former colony, known afterwards as the Susquehannah Company or Wyoming Settlers. In 1755, at the request of General Braddock, the authorities of Pennsylvania agreed to open roads from Carlisle to the Three Forks of the Youghioghny River, or "Turkey Foot" (near the present town of Confluence on the Pittsburg and Baltimore Railway), and also to Wills' Creek (now Cumberland), for the purpose of more expeditiously furnishing supplies from the inhabited parts of the province to the army of Braddock marching against Fort Du Quesne. Mr. Armstrong was the surveyor and one of the commissioners selected for this dangerous duty, which he satisfactorily performed.

In consequence of the defeat of Braddock, the greater part of the Indians in the English interest went over to the French. The frontier settlements were destroyed or deserted, many of the settlers killed or carried into captivity. Companies were organized throughout the province for defence, and in that of Cumberland County, commanded by Joseph Armstrong, John Armstrong enrolled himself as a private. In January, 1756, he was commissioned captain of a company in the second battalion of Provincial troops, and on the 11th of May was made its Lieutenant-Colonel. Colonel Armstrong urged as a defensive measure, which was afterwards adopted, the erection of a chain of block-houses, extending through the Cumberland Valley from the Susquehannah to the Maryland line. Forty miles above Fort Du Quesne, on the east side of the Allegheny River, the Indian villages of Kittanning, with their cornfields, occupied a fertile plain extending from the river to the base of a range of lofty and densely wooded hills. From the time of the migration of the Delawares westward from the Susquehannah, in the years 1727 to 1729, Kittanning was their chief town, and a great resort of the white traders from the east, until the descent of the French from Canada, under Celoron de Bienville in 1749. After the defeat of Braddock, bands of warriors continually issued from this hive, and taking the path leading southeastward

across the lofty mountain ridges and deep valleys (in the present counties of Armstrong, Westmoreland, Cambria, Blair, Huntingdon, Mifflin, and Fulton), fell with relentless fury on the settlements in the Juniata and Cumberland Valleys. In the summer of 1756, Colonel Armstrong and Governor Morris concerted a secret expedition against Kittanning. In the latter part of August, troops to the number of three hundred and seven men, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, under Captains Hugh Mercer, Ward, Hamilton, Potter, and Steel, and commanded by Colonel Armstrong, assembled at Fort Shirley, the extreme frontier post (now Shirleysburg, in Huntingdon County), from whence they marched on the 30th inst., taking the Kittanning Path. At daybreak on the 3d of September, they surprised and attacked the Indian town, which after a sharp conflict was burned, and the chief warrior, Captain Jacobs, and about forty other Indians killed. A number of white persons were released. The loss of the whites amounted to seventeen killed, nineteen missing, and thirteen wounded; among the most severe of the latter were Colonel Armstrong and Captain Mercer (afterwards the distinguished General Mercer of the Revolution). For the success of this expedition, Colonel Armstrong was awarded the highest praise. The corporation of Philadelphia presented him with their thanks, a piece of plate, and a silver medal, and to each of the officers, a medal and a sum of money. During the year 1757, he was actively employed in directing the defences of the frontier. In 1758, he was prominently engaged in the memorable and successful campaign of the army under General Forbes, which resulted in the conquest of Fort Du Quesne, where Pittsburgh now stands. The Pennsylvania troops numbered near three thousand men, the greater part forming the advance division under the command of Colonel Armstrong.¹

In 1763, the Indian War, usually called Pontiac's War, broke out. During its progress Colonel Armstrong collected a force of three hundred volunteers from the valleys of Bedford and Cumberland, and marched from Fort Shirley on the 30th of September against the Indian towns on the west branch of

¹ Commissioned Colonel May 27, 1758.

the Susquehannah. The savages escaped, but their towns at Great Island and Myanaquie,¹ with great quantities of provisions, were destroyed.

On the 12th of July, 1774, a meeting of the citizens of the county of Cumberland was held at Carlisle, at which spirited resolutions were passed, expressing sympathy with the oppressed people of Boston, and appointing a county committee of correspondence; of this committee, Colonel Armstrong was a prominent member. His name also appears at the head of a committee in a letter addressed to Benjamin Franklin, President of the Committee of Safety, sitting at Philadelphia, expressing the desire and ability, if authorized, to raise a complete battalion in Cumberland County. On February 29, 1776, of the six brigadier generals elected by Congress, Colonel Armstrong was the first. He was at the same time directed to repair to South Carolina and take command of the forces in that colony. He arrived at Charleston, in April, and assumed command of the troops there assembled, to defend that city from the threatened attack by the British fleet under Sir Peter Parker, which appeared off the Carolina coast on May 31. On June 4, Major-General Charles Lee, commander of the Southern Department, arrived and took the command. He retained General Armstrong, with eighteen hundred men, at Haddrell's Point, about a mile from the Fort on Sullivan's Island. Its commander, Colonel Moultrie, was placed by General Lee under the immediate orders of General Armstrong. The British fleet bombarded the fort for ten hours on the 28th of June, and were completely defeated. They attacked no other point. Thenceforward the fort was called Fort Moultrie, in honor of its gallant commander.

On the 4th of April, 1777, General Armstrong resigned his commission in the Continental service, and on the day following, he was appointed first Brigadier-General of the State of Pennsylvania. On June 5th, the Supreme Executive Council of the State appointed and commissioned him Major-General and Commander of the State troops. General Washington

¹ At the junction of Kettle Creek with the west branch of the Susquehannah.

wrote to General Armstrong on the 4th of July expressing "his pleasure at this honorable mark of distinction conferred upon him by the State."

During the summer of this year, he was actively engaged directing and erecting and maintaining defensive works at Billingsport and other points on the Delaware River, and in frequent conferences with the State Council, at Philadelphia.

On September 11th, at the Battle of Brandywine, the State troops under his command were posted at the Ford, two miles below Chad's, but had no opportunity of directly engaging in that memorable conflict. After the retreat of the American army, his division was employed along the Schuylkill River throwing up redoubts. At the Battle of Germantown, on October 4th, General Armstrong was ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to attack with his forces the Hessian troops covering the left flank of the enemy—as a diversion; a service gallantly and successfully executed.

On the 19th of the same month, he was ordered to Philadelphia, to take command of the militia in case of an invasion.

On the 20th of November, 1778, he was elected by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, a member of Congress for the years 1779 and 1780. He was again elected for the same office for the years 1787 and 1788; with this last service his public career closed.

In the summer of 1779, a stockade fort was erected at Kittanning by a detachment of troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard, who named it "Fort Armstrong," by order of Colonel Brodhead commanding at Fort Pitt, and in the year 1800 a new county was there formed, and also named Armstrong in honor of the general. The present handsome and flourishing town of Kittanning is the county seat. His youngest son, who bore his name, was secretary of war under Madison.

General Armstrong was a member of the Presbyterian denomination, and was most prominent in establishing the first church built in Carlisle in 1757. His death occurred in that town, on March 9, 1795, and there in the old burying-ground his remains repose.

COLONEL JOHN NIXON.

BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

(Centennial Collection.)

When I accepted the invitation, I had the honor of receiving in October, 1875, from the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, to prepare a memoir of the life of John Nixon to be presented at the meeting of American *literati*, requested to assemble in Independence Chamber on July 2, 1876, the centennial anniversary of the adoption of the "Resolutions respecting Independency," I was doubtful if I should be able to fulfil my engagement, so little was known of his public services. That he was a merchant highly esteemed; the second president of the Bank of North America, and had read and proclaimed publicly to the people for the first time the Declaration of Independence, were the only prominent facts known even to his descendants. It seemed as if the limited "two pages of fool's cap" could not be supplied. But careful and laborious investigation among published and unpublished archives, revealed incident after incident throwing light upon his important career, until at last when the rough material was sifted and shaped into its present form, the improbable two pages had been duplicated a dozen times. It is presented in its extended size, so that those who come after us may be made fully acquainted with the life and services of one of the country's early and pure patriots.

John Nixon, who read and proclaimed publicly to the people for the first time the Declaration of Independence, was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1733. The exact date of his birth is uncertain, but on April 17, 1734-35 (O. S.), when two years old, he was baptized at Christ Church by the rector. His father, Richard Nixon, is believed to have been a native of Wexford, County Wexford, Ireland, but if so, when he came to this country is unknown. That he was a born

Irishman has been sought to be established from the fact that his son, the subject of this memoir, was, as will be seen later, a member of "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," a social society formed in 1771, whose prerequisite to membership was being descended from an Irish *parent* in the first degree, or to have been a native of Ireland, or a descendant of a former member; but, as a mother is a *parent* as well as a father, she might have been the one of Celtic birth and not he. This view is strengthened by the fact that there is an heirloom in the family, in the shape of an old and very large sea chest with these initials on the top in brass nails, **G. N. S.** a not uncommon method with the early emigrants **1686.** to this country for denoting and memorizing the period of their departure from their homes, and the arrangement of the letters would show that the initial of the surname was "N," while "G" and "S" represented respectively the Christian names of the emigrant husband and wife.

The earliest mention we have of Richard Nixon is the record of his marriage to Sarah Bowles at Christ Church, by the Rev. Archibald Cummings, on January 7, 1727-28 (O. S.). He was a prominent merchant and shipper, and in 1738 purchased the property on Front Street, below Pine, extending into the Delaware River, afterwards known for nearly a century as Nixon's Wharf. In 1742, he was chosen a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia, which position he continued to hold until his death. Pending the French and Spanish War, which was ended by the Peace of Aix La Chapelle, concluded on the 7th of October, 1748, Franklin urged upon the citizens to associate together for the purposes of defence, and two regiments of "Associators" were accordingly formed, one for the city and the other for the county, which were divided into companies, one for each ward and township, and of the Dock Ward Company, in the City Regiment, Richard Nixon was chosen captain. The Dock Ward at this time was, and continued up to the present century, the most important and influential ward in the city. He was a prominent member of Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, and one of the vestrymen during the years 1745, 1746, and 1747. He

had four children, all of whom were baptized there, and three of them who died in infancy were buried in its ground, where he himself found a resting place also on the 6th of December, 1749 (O. S.). His personal property after his decease was appraised at £20,000, a no inconsiderable sum in those days. His wife survived him many years, dying July 25, 1785, at the advanced age of eighty years, and was buried at Christ Church, where reposed the remains of her husband.

John Nixon, the only child who survived his father, and the subject of this notice, early took a leading interest in public affairs. In March, 1756, at the age of twenty-three, during the excitement of the French War, he was chosen by a majority of votes of the freemen of Dock Ward, Lieutenant of the Dock Ward Company, "in the stead of Mr. Thomas Willing, the late lieutenant of said company, who was pleased to resign his commission." This company was a sort of home guard, and doubtless the same as the one formed in 1747, of which his father was the first captain. He succeeded to the business of his father, at the old place on Front Street, with Nixon's wharf in the rear, adjoining the warehouses of Willing & Morris, the most considerable merchants in the province or indeed in the colonies. His first transaction of which we have any knowledge is one which, with the light of modern ideas, is not calculated to be looked upon with favor. We find him in March, 1761, with Willing, Morris, & Co., and other prominent merchants of the city, signing and presenting to the Assembly of Pennsylvania, a remonstrance to a petition that had been presented the previous month by citizens of Philadelphia against the importation of slaves, and in consequence of which a bill had been prepared laying a duty of £10 per head on each negro brought from abroad. The importers, in their remonstrance to the bill, represented that the province was suffering great inconvenience for want of servants, and "an advantage may be gained by the introduction of slaves, which will likewise be a means of reducing the exorbitant price of labor and in all probabilities bring our commodities to their usual prices." They represent that they have "embarked in the trade" of importing negroes through

the motives they have mentioned, and that they will labor under great hardships by the law taking immediate effect without giving them time to countermand their orders. This protest, however, had no effect upon the Quaker House, for the law to lay a duty on negroes was passed within two weeks.

The next important mercantile transaction, however, with which we find him connected, was one of a far different character, as it joined him with the destinies of his native land in its conflict with the mother country. After much agitation in the Colonies over their proposed taxation by Great Britain, the fatal Stamp Act was finally passed in March, 1765, with the provision that it should not go into effect until the first of the following November. Meetings were held in every town and village in the land, protesting against this outrage upon the rights and liberties of the Colonists as British freemen, and petitions were promptly prepared and forwarded by trusty agents to the home government urging its repeal. But it was left for the merchants of the land to make the hated act nugatory in its purpose, and the first step towards this end was taken by the merchants of Philadelphia, who, in public meeting, pledged to each other their honors not to receive, sell, or import any goods or merchandise from Great Britain until the iniquitous Stamp Act should be repealed. This "NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT," bearing date October 25, 1765,¹ was subscribed by three hundred and seventy-five importers and shop-keepers, and prominent among the signatures appears the large bold one of JOHN NIXON.

The story of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the subsequent imposition of a tax on tea, etc.; followed by the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, and the Boston Port Bill,

¹ Since the preceding was written, investigations have shown this date to be an error. The agreement itself bears no date, except that placed on it in lead pencil by Mr. Thomas Bradford at the age of ninety, and seventy years after the event took place. Lately discovered contemporary evidence points clearly to November 7, 1765, as the day on which the meeting of merchants was held, and these non-importation resolutions agreed to.—*Vide* Mag. Amer. Hist., N. Y., June, 1877.

are too familiar to permit of repetition here, but they kept the Colonies in a state of constant ferment, and in no place was this more the case than in Philadelphia, where in all the measures of these trying times John Nixon took an active part. The inhabitants of Boston, being anxious to know how far they would be sustained by other portions of the Colonies in their effort to withstand the tyranny of the British Crown, sent Paul Revere to Philadelphia with a circular letter, dated May 13, 1774, requesting the advice of the citizens of Philadelphia upon the bill closing the Port of Boston. Immediately upon its receipt on May 20th, a town meeting was called, and held at the City Tavern, and resolutions were passed appointing a committee of correspondence, with directions to answer the letter from Boston, and assure the people of that town "that we truly feel for their unhappy situation, and that we consider them as suffering in the general cause." Of this committee Mr. Nixon was a member, and on the following day met a portion of the committee, who prepared, signed, and sent "The letter from the Committee of the City of Philadelphia to the Committee of the City of Boston," which contained the key-note of the Revolution in these words: "It is not the value of the tax, but *the indefeasible right of giving and granting our own money* (A RIGHT FROM WHICH WE CAN NEVER RECEDE), that is the question."

On the 18th of June a meeting of citizens was held in the State House Yard, at which Thomas Willing and John Dickinson presided, when it was resolved that the Act closing the Port of Boston was unconstitutional, and that it was expedient to convene a Continental Congress. A committee of correspondence was appointed, directed to ascertain the sense of the people of the province with regard to the appointment of deputies to a general Congress, and to institute a subscription for the relief of the sufferers in Boston. Mr. Nixon was made the third member of this committee, the first and chairman being John Dickinson. The authority of the committee being doubtful, they recommended that at the next general election a new permanent committee should be regularly chosen, which was accordingly done, and he was again duly returned. He

was a deputy to the General Conference of the Province, which met at Carpenters' Hall, July 15, 1774, and remained in session until the 22d, with Thomas Willing in the chair and Charles Thomson for its clerk. The important action of this body was the adoption of resolutions condemning in strong terms the recent acts of Parliament, and recommending the calling of a congress of delegates from the different colonies. Mr. Nixon was also a delegate to the Convention for the Province of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia from the 23d to the 28th of January, 1775, which, among other things, unanimously endorsed and approved the conduct and proceedings of the late Continental Congress—the famous first Congress of September 5, 1774.

The open strife between the mother country and her colonies had now fairly begun, and on the 19th of April, 1775, the first conflict of the Revolution took place at Lexington and Concord. It was not until the night of April 24th that the intelligence of these fights reached Philadelphia, and the sensation caused by the news was intense. A meeting was held in the State House Yard, at which it was computed that eight thousand people were present. One brief resolution was passed, in effect that the persons present would "associate together to defend with ARMS" their property, liberty, and lives against all attempts to deprive them of their enjoyment. The committee of correspondence elected the previous autumn became in this emergency an authority not contemplated at its formation. The members entered at once upon the task, and desired that all persons having arms should give notice, so that they might be disposed of to those wishing them. The "Associators" immediately began to enroll themselves into companies, and drills were held daily, and sometimes twice in the day. The companies were formed into three battalions; and the "Third Battalion of Associators," consisting of about five hundred men, and known as the "Silk Stockings," was officered by John Cadwalader, Colonel; JOHN NIXON, Lieutenant-Colonel; Thomas Mifflin and Samuel Meredith, Majors. The first known appearance of these "Associators" in public was early in May, when the officers met the southern dele-

gates to the Continental Congress about two miles from town, and escorted them into the city. A few days later a similar compliment was paid to the delegates from the Eastern States. Samuel Curwen, the loyalist, who was in Philadelphia at the time, has preserved an account of this reception in his diary. He writes: "The cavalcade appeared first, two or three hundred gentlemen on horseback, preceded by the newly chosen city military officers, two and two, with drawn swords, followed by John Hancock and Samuel Adams in a phaeton and pair." The Congress duly met on Tuesday, May 10th, and on the 15th of June, upon the motion of Thomas Johnson, Jr., of Maryland, George Washington was chosen unanimously Commander-in-Chief of the Army raised and to be raised, and his first appearance in public in his military capacity was made five days later, when upon the commons near Centre Square he reviewed the City Associators, numbering about two thousand men. On the following day he set out for Cambridge, escorted for some distance by the City Troops.

√ A "Committee of Safety for the Province of Pennsylvania" having been appointed by the Assembly in June, 1775, John Nixon was made a member on its reorganization, October 20, 1775, and continued an active and prominent member of the body until its dissolution, July 22, 1776, on the formation of the Council of Safety with David Rittenhouse at its head, and out of the two hundred and fifty-eight meetings which were held between October 20, 1775, and July 22, 1776, he is recorded as being present at one hundred and ninety-seven.

√ Of this Committee of Safety, Franklin was President and Robert Morris Vice-President, but, owing to their being absent so often from the meetings by reason of other public duties, application was made to the Assembly for authority to choose a chairman *pro tem.* at any time when there was a *quorum*, and the president and vice-president absent, which was granted, and under this authority Mr. Nixon was chosen the first chairman, November 20, and at all subsequent meetings, when he was present and the president and vice-president absent, he was selected to fill the chair. He was Chairman

of the Committee on Accounts, and all orders for the payment of money for public purposes were drawn upon him. In May, 1776, upon information being received that the enemy's vessels were coming up the Delaware, he was requested by the committee to go down to Fort Island and take charge of the defences there, and in July, he was placed in command of the guard ordered to be kept in the city, which was composed of four companies, one from each battalion. It was in the month of July also that he performed that act which entitles him peculiarly to a commemorative notice in this centennial year.

The resolution for Independence, which had been offered in Congress on the 7th of June by Richard Henry Lee, was finally adopted on the 2d of July, one hundred years ago, and on the following 4th the reasons for that Independence as set forth in Jefferson's immortal Declaration were agreed to. On the 5th, which was Friday, Congress passed the following resolution:—

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several Assemblies, Conventions and Councils of Safety, and to the several commanding officers of the Continental Troops, that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the Head of the Army."

✓ A copy of this resolution was sent the next day by the President of Congress to the Committee of Safety } whereupon it was

Ordered, That the Sheriff of Philad'a read or cause to be read and proclaimed at the State House, in the City of Philadelphia, on Monday the Eighth day of July instant at 12 O'clock at noon of the same day the Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies of America, and that he cause all his officers and the Constables of the said city to attend the reading thereof.

Resolved, That every member of this Committee in or near the city be ordered to meet at 12 O'clock on Monday to proceed to the State House where the Declaration of Independence is to be proclaimed."

The chronicler, Christopher Marshall, records a "warm sun-

shine morning" for Monday, July the Eighth. ✓The Committee of Inspection met at eleven o'clock in the Hall of the Philosophical Society on Second Street, and went in a body to the Lodge, where they joined the Committee of Safety. ✓The two committees then went in procession to the State House, where, standing on the platform of the observatory which had been erected by the American Philosophical Society to observe the transit of Venus, June 3, 1769, JOHN NIXON READ AND PROCLAIMED, to a great concourse of people, in a voice clear and distinct enough to be heard in the garden of Mr. Norris's house on the east side of Fifth Street, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE PUBLICLY FOR THE FIRST TIME. It is recorded that it was received with heart-felt satisfaction, and that the company declared their approval by their repeated huzzas. Thomas Dewees was at this time Sheriff of Philadelphia, and as he had the alternative of reading it himself or causing it to be read, Mr. Nixon was selected, doubtless from his prominence as a citizen and as a member of the Committee of Safety. There is now deposited in Independence Hall a broadside copy of the Declaration, printed at the time, which was found among some papers of John Nixon, and is possibly the very one from which he read and proclaimed it on the eighth of July, 1776.

Towards the close of July, the Philadelphia Associators were called into active service. New Jersey was threatened, and the several battalions marched to Amboy in its defence. Their service lasted about six weeks, when they returned to the city, and remained until December, when they were called for again, this time to serve immediately under the commander-in-chief. At Washington's suggestion all the Associators of the City and Liberties were formed into one brigade under the command of Colonel Cadwalader, whereupon Lieutenant-Colonel Nixon succeeded to the command of the third battalion, and on the 10th, the city troops, twelve hundred strong, were in full march for Trenton. Washington, in writing to the President of Congress from Trenton Falls, under date of December 13, 1776, says: "Cadwalader with the Philadelphia militia occupies the ground above and below

the mouth of Neshaminy River as far down as Dunks' Ferry, at which place Colonel Nixon is posted with the Third Battalion of Philadelphia." Here Washington directed redoubts to be thrown up, and, if the enemy attempted to cross, a stand was ordered to be made against them, and on the 22d, he issued an order to Cadwalader specifying "Colonel Nixon's regiment to continue where it is at Dunks' Ferry." This ferry was the important post to guard on the Delaware, as it was fordable, and it was the point assigned for the crossing of one body of the troops on Christmas night to attack Donop and the Hessians near Mount Holly, while Washington crossed higher up the river. How, owing to the floating ice at this point, only a few officers got across, and how Washington took the enemy by surprise and gained a signal victory over them without the aid of these troops, are well known to all, for with this event is connected one of the much controverted points in our history—the disaffection of Joseph Reed.

It becomes necessary to advert to this subject in this place for the reason that in the controversy which ensued between Reed and Cadwalader, and which called forth the celebrated pamphlets bearing their names, Colonel Nixon was an actor. On page 24 of General Cadwalader's "Reply to General Joseph Reed's Remarks," appears this certificate:—

"I do hereby certify that in December, 1776, while the militia lay at Bristol, General Reed, to the best of my recollection and belief, upon my enquiring the news, and what he tho't of our affairs in general, said that appearances were very gloomy and unfavorable;—that he was fearful *or* apprehensive the business was nearly settled, *or* the game almost up, or words to that effect. That these sentiments appeared to me very extraordinary and dangerous, as I conceived, they would, *at that time*, have a very bad tendency, if publicly known to be the sentiments of General Reed, who then held an appointment in the army of the first consequence.

JOHN NIXON.

Philadelphia, March 12, 1783."

That Joseph Reed at this time contemplated transferring his allegiance from the Continental Congress to the British King the light of historical research leaves no room for doubt. On the 1st of January, 1777, the time limited to accept the privileges of Howe's proclamation would expire, and if the Battle of Trenton had proved a defeat to Washington instead of a brilliant victory, Joseph Reed would have accepted its provisions and committed openly the treason he meditated in his heart. It was Washington's success and not Reed's unswerving patriotism that saved him. These conclusions at least are reached after a careful and diligent examination of the subject from all available standpoints.

The Philadelphia Associators remained with Washington until late in January, and took a gallant part in the Battle of Princeton on the second. In a letter written by Reed to Thomas Bradford from head-quarters at Morristown, dated January 24, 1777, he says: "General Cadwalader has conducted his command with great honour to himself and the Province, all the field officers supported their characters, their example was followed by the inferior officers and men, so that they have returned with the thanks and praises of every general officer in the army. * * * It might appear invidious to mention names where all have behaved so well,—but Colonel Morgan, Colonel Nixon, Colonel Cox, your old gentleman [William Bradford], and Majors Knox and Cowperthwaite, certainly ought not to pass unnoticed for their behaviour at Princeton." This campaign is the only active service in which we know the Philadelphia Associators to have been engaged, except wintering at Valley Forge in 1778.

All means of supplying the army having failed, a new plan was established in the spring of 1780 by the formation of an institution called "the Bank of Pennsylvania for the purpose of supplying the army of the United States with provisions for two months." The plan was that each subscriber should give his bond to the directors of the bank for such sum as he thought proper, binding himself to the payment thereof in specie in case such payment should become necessary to fulfil the engagements and discharge the notes or contracts of the

bank. The securities thus given by ninety-three persons amounted to £315,000, Pennsylvania money, Robert Morris and Blair McClanachan being the largest contributors at £10,000 each, while John Nixon and many others subscribed each £5000. The bank was opened July 17, 1780, in Front Street, two doors above Walnut, and was governed by two directors and five inspectors; the first director being John Nixon and the second George Clymer. The entire amount secured was called for, and the last instalment was paid in November. In May of the following year Robert Morris, then Superintendent of Finance, submitted to Congress "A Plan for establishing a National Bank for the United States of North America," and on the 31st of December, "The President, Directors, and Corporation of the Bank of North America" were incorporated. This was the first incorporated bank in the United States; and it is of interest in this connection and may not be generally known, that for this reason, when the National Banking Act of February 25, 1863, went into operation, which provided that all organized banks accepting its provisions should adopt the word "National" in their title, the Bank of North America was permitted specially to accept the provisions of the Act without changing its original title, so that, although a national bank, its title is simply "The Bank of North America." Thomas Willing was the first president of this bank; and upon his appointment to the presidency of the Bank of the United States on its formation, Mr. Nixon, who had served as a director from January, 1784, was elected in January, 1792, to succeed him, and continued in the office until his death, on the 31st of December, 1808, at the age of seventy-six years.

Mr. Nixon held many positions of public and *quasi* public importance. In January, 1766, upon the Assembly of the Province passing a bill for the "Regulation of Pilots plying on the River Delaware," he was selected with Abel James, Robert Morris, and three others to officiate as Wardens of the Port of Philadelphia; and the next year was appointed one of the signers of the Pennsylvania Paper Money, emitted by authority of the Act of May 20, 1767. In November,

1776, Francis Hopkinson, John Nixon, and John Wharton were constituted by Congress the Continental Navy Board; and in December, 1778, the Supreme Executive Council of the State confirmed John Nixon, John Maxwell Nesbitt, and Benjamin Fuller as a Committee to settle and adjust the accounts of the late Committee and Council of Safety; while in August of the following year he was appointed by Congress one of the Auditors of Public Accounts, whose chief business was to settle and adjust the depreciation of the Continental Currency.

He was treasurer of the "Society for the Encouragement of American Manufactures and the Useful Arts," established in 1787, and one of the founders of the "Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture," formed in February, 1785. In 1789, upon the reorganization of the College, now the University of Pennsylvania, he was elected one of the Board of Trustees; and in the same year, under the Act of March 11, 1789, incorporating "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia," he was elected one of the fifteen aldermen, to serve for seven years. It must be remembered that the position of alderman at that period was very different from the office of the same name at the present day. Then it was one of honor and not of reproach, and the duties, similar to those of the present select council, with certain judicial functions attached. In the grand Federal procession on the 4th of July, 1788, celebrating the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Nixon represented INDEPENDENCE "on horseback, bearing the staff and cap of Liberty; under the cap a white silk flag, with these words, 'Fourth of July, 1776,' in large gold letters."

Mr. Nixon was a man fond of social enjoyment, and as early as 1760 was a member of the celebrated Fish House,—“The Colony in Schuylkill,” and in 1763, we find him one of the Mount Regale Fishing Company, which met at Robinson’s Tavern, Falls of Schuylkill, every other Thursday from June to October, and was composed wholly of men of wealth and fashion—the leaders of Society in that day—as may be seen from the names of Shippen, Chew, Hamilton, Francis,

McCall, Lawrence, Swift, Tilghman, Allen, Hopkinson, Willing, Morris, and Nixon. He was also an original member of "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" composed of persons having Irish blood, and was present at the famous dinner given to Washington on New Year's day, 1782. To the Pennsylvania Hospital he was an early and repeated contributor, and served as one of the managers from 1768 to 1772.

After the reorganization of the land office in 1792, Mr. Nixon purchased largely of lands in the outlying counties of the State which, like most of such adventures, proved unsuccessful. At the time of his death, he was the senior member of the firm of Nixon, Walker, & Co., shipping merchants, composed of himself, his only son Henry Nixon, and Mr. David Walker. His residence was on Pine Street below Third Street, adjoining that of the Rev. Robert Blackwell, Rector of St. Peter's Church, while Fairfield on the Ridge Road, immediately north of Peel Hall the site of the present Girard College, was his country seat. Mr. Nixon was married, October, 1765, in New York, to Elizabeth, eldest child of George and Jane [Currie] Davis, and had five children, four daughters and one son; Mary, wife of Francis West; Elizabeth, wife of Erick Bollman; Sarah, wife of William Cramond; Jane, wife of Thomas Mayne Willing; and Henry, who married Maria, youngest daughter of the Honorable Robert Morris. Mrs. Nixon died August 31, 1795, at the age of fifty-eight, and was buried in St. Peter's Church-yard, at the corner of Third and Pine Streets, Philadelphia, where she reposes in the same grave with her husband.

In appearance, Mr. Nixon was a fine, portly man, with a noticeably handsome, open countenance, as may be seen from his portrait by Gilbert Stuart, painted late in life, in possession of his grandson, Mr. Henry Cramond.¹ His manners were dignified and rather reserved, while he was noted for kindness of heart, high sense of honor, sterling integrity, and firmness

¹ A miniature painted by Peale in 1772 is in possession of his granddaughter Miss West.

of decision. In the early days of the revolutionary struggle, Mr. Nixon shared the conservative views of his fellow townsmen and copatriots Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, and John Dickinson, but after the edict of separation had been announced, none were more eager or earnest in the cause. He was a strenuous opponent of the old constitution of the State, and a firm adherent of the party formed to effect its change. The closing item of his will shows the sentiment of the man better than any other words can portray them. "Having now, my children, disposed of my estate in a manner that I hope will be agreeable to you all, I request and earnestly recommend to you to live together in terms of the purest love and most perfect friendship, being fully persuaded that your happiness and that of your respective families will, in a great measure, depend on this. These are my last words to you, and I trust that you will have them in particular and long remembrance."

CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM ALLEN.

BY EDWARD F. DE LANCEY.

(Centennial Collection.)

No Pennsylvanian of his day stood higher in public esteem than William Allen, and no name is more intimately connected with the "Old State House," or Independence Hall, both in its origin, and in its history, and with Philadelphia itself, than his.

Born in 1703, the son of William Allen, a successful Philadelphia merchant, wealthy, well educated, and of commanding intellect, he accepted judicial office at the earnest request of the most eminent men of the colony.

His father died in 1725, while his son was in Europe, leaving him a large fortune, which he so well managed that when he resigned the chief justiceship in 1774, he was probably

the richest man in Philadelphia.¹ The salary of his office he refused to appropriate to his own use, and always gave it away in charities.

He it was, who, on the 15th day of October, 1730, made the first purchase of the ground on which Independence Hall now stands for a "State House" for Pennsylvania. He paid for it with his own money, and took the deeds in his own name, at the request of Andrew Hamilton, chairman of the committee to procure a site, and subsequently the architect of the edifice erected thereon. When all the difficulties of the enterprise were removed a few years afterwards, he conveyed the property to the appointed authorities, and was re-imbursed by the Province.

In 1735, William Allen was made the mayor of the city, and in the next year, 1736, when the "State House" was nearly completed, he inaugurated its "banqueting hall" by giving therein a great feast to the citizens and all strangers in the city,—a feast described in a contemporary account, as "the most grand, the most elegant entertainment that has been made in these parts of America."

Bred a merchant, and the son of a merchant, he was largely engaged in commercial and manufacturing enterprises in Pennsylvania, especially in iron furnaces, in several of which he had a large interest. And, like all the men of wealth in that day, he acquired and held large tracts of land. His estate lay chiefly in what is now the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, and from him the thriving city of *Allentown* derives its name. He also possessed extensive lands in New Jersey.

Governor Thomas, writing to the Bishop of Exeter, on the 23d of April, 1748, relative to some funds the Bishop had raised to aid the German Palatines, says, "if I might be permitted to advise, the money raised for this purpose should be lodged in a safe hand in London subject to the draft of Mr.

¹ His father's will, dated 30 May, 1725, proved September 30, 1775, is recorded in the Register's office of Philadelphia. The Penn proprietary estate was of course larger, but at the date mentioned, the chief justice could probably command more ready money than the Penn family, one of whom, the last governor, was one of his sons-in-law.

William Allen, a considerable merchant, and a very worthy honest Gentleman in Philadelphia, that he might see it regularly apply'd to the uses intended."¹

For many years Mr. Allen sat as a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. In 1737, he was appointed justice of a special court organized for the trial of some cases of atrocious arson. In 1741 he was made recorder of Philadelphia, then an office of great responsibility.

During his entire career, he ever upheld by personal exertions, and with the most liberal pecuniary aid, whatever the interests, or the needs, of Pennsylvania, or America, required. Notably was this the case in the old French War of 1755-1762, a time when aid rendered was aid indeed.

In 1751, William Allen was appointed chief justice of Pennsylvania, and held the office till 1774, the long period of twenty-three years. The Supreme Court of the Province was held in the west room of Independence Hall, directly opposite that in which Independence was voted, and the Continental Congress sat.

In that chamber presided Chief Justice Allen, with a dignity, learning, impartiality, and intellectual force, equalled by few, and exceeded by none, of those great jurists who have ever adorned the ermine of Pennsylvania, and made immortal the renown of her supreme judiciary. There, too, is now preserved with care, the very bench upon which he sat, when before him pleaded the gifted fathers of that illustrious bar, which, a little later, gave a national fame to "Philadelphia lawyers," which is still, after the lapse of a century, most brilliantly maintained.

No law reports were published at that day, and none of his decisions are now accessible, except the few that Dallas collected after the revolution from lawyers' notes and prefixed to the first volume of his reports, the first ever issued in Pennsylvania.

Appreciating the pleasures of literature, and the need of learning to the well-being of a state, he joined heartily in

¹ Historical Collections, American Colonial Church, vol. ii. Pennsylvania, p. 257.

educational measures with Franklin, and gave him effectual aid, in founding that "College at Philadelphia," which is now so well known, as "The University of Pennsylvania."

He was prominent among those gentlemen of Philadelphia who were the first Americans to originate an expedition to the Arctic regions to discover the Northwest Passage—a field in which a New York merchant,¹ a century later, acquired great credit. To Pennsylvania, and to William Allen and his friends, is due the high honor of first projecting and endeavoring, by American enterprise, to effect the solution, in the middle of the eighteenth century, of that great geographical problem, which still defies the science of the world.

The following extract from a letter of Chief Justice Allen to Governor Penn, on this subject, shows at once the breadth of mind of the man, and his great appreciation, in a public point of view, of what he well terms "the noble design."

PHILA., Nov. 18, 1752.

SIR: As I am quite assured that every thing that regards the interest and reputation of the province of Pennsylvania will ever be regarded by you, I therefore beg leave to solicit your favor in behalf of myself and many others of the merchants of this place. Notwithstanding the repeated attempts of gentlemen in England to discover the Northwest Passage without success, yet there has appeared among us a spirit to undertake that noble design, which, if effected, will redound to the honor of your province, and the advantage of us, the undertakers.

By the inclosed paper, over which if you will be pleased to cast an eye, you will perceive that last year we had intended to put our design into execution, but by the extremity of the winter and other accidents, it was postponed till next spring, at which time, as we have bought a vessel and all other materials, and engaged navigators and mariners, we shall proceed in the affair, and dispatch the vessel from here the latter end of March; and are in great hopes by avoiding the mistakes of former attempts, and pursuing, as we think, more proper measures, to be able to effect the discovery of the passage, or, at least, put it out of doubt whether there is one or no.²

A lover of the arts he was an early friend and patron of

¹ Henry Grinnell.

² MS. letter in Library of Penna. Hist. Society.

Benjamin West. And he lived to see his judgment verified by the great success of his young friend in England. This produced an intimacy between West and the Allen family, which lasted till the death of the former while President of the Royal Academy. There is still preserved, among the Chief Justice's descendants in England, a splendid picture by West, of a family fête in the grounds of Governor John Penn's magnificent seat of "Lansdowne," upon the Schuylkill—those exquisite grounds now embraced in the magnificent Park, occupied by the grand Centennial Exposition of 1876—which contains portraits of the Governor and his wife, Ann, the eldest daughter of Chief Justice Allen, whom he married on the 31st of May, 1766, of all the Allen family, and of West himself. The latter was present on the occasion, and the beautiful, joyous, scene so impressed him, that he painted the picture to preserve its remembrance, and presented it to the Governor, saying, as he did so, "that he had never executed a better painting." These facts were told the writer by Mr. John Penn Allen, the governor's nephew, one of the twin sons of Andrew Allen, when showing him the picture at his house in London in 1867.

In his family relations Chief Justice Allen was very happy. His wife, whom he married on the 16th of February, 1733, old style, was Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Andrew Hamilton, and sister of James Hamilton, both of whom were so highly distinguished in the annals of Pennsylvania. By her he had four sons, John, Andrew, William, and James, and two daughters, Ann, the wife of Governor John Penn, the last Proprietary Governor of Pennsylvania, as above stated, and Margaret, the younger, married on the 19th of August, 1771, to James deLancey of New York, the eldest son of James deLancey, the Chief Justice, and then the Governor of New York, and himself, from his father's death on July 30, 1760, to the Revolution the head of that family, and the political party in New York known by its name.

John Allen, the eldest of the sons of Chief Justice Allen, and James Allen, the youngest, both died before their father, the other two sons and the two daughters survived him.

Advancing age and the persuasions of his family,¹ being then in his seventy-first year, and perhaps the political state of the country, caused Chief Justice Allen to resign his high office in 1774, and Benjamin Chew was appointed chief justice in his place. Opposed to the encroachments of British power, and feeling acutely the grievances of the colonies like all the men of standing in America at that time, he believed in redressing those grievances by continued constitutional means, and not by rebellion against the sovereign to whom he had sworn allegiance. He was even ready to resort to arms to force the Ministry to abandon their oppressive and unconstitutional course, but not to fight against his King. In the very next year, in October, 1775, he gave his "half of a quantity of cannon shot belonging to him and to Turner"—the latter a joint owner with him in an iron furnace—"for the use of the Board of the Council of Safety," which body "returned thanks for his generous donation."² In these sentiments all his sons coincided; John, the eldest, was, in 1776, elected a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, but finding himself in the minority, soon left it and never returned. He died in Philadelphia in February, 1778. He married, April 6th, 1775, Mary, daughter of David Johnston, of New York, of the old and well-known New York and New Jersey family of that name, by whom he left two sons, William and John, his only children. William Allen, the third son of the Chief Justice, was one of the first Pennsylvania officers commissioned by Congress, and with his regiment served under Montgomery in the Canadian Campaign of 1775. He applied to Congress for leave to resign when the Declaration of Independence passed, which was granted on the 24th of July, 1776.³ Andrew was a member from Pennsylvania of the Continental Congress, was a leading Whig, and served also in the Council of Safety. James served in the Pennsylvania Assembly of 1776, as member from Northampton, with ability and courage. Returning to his country seat in that county,

¹ MS. Diary of James Allen.

² Pennsylvania Colonial Records.

³ Journals of Congress, 1776, p. 283.

after it adjourned, he lived in retirement a non-combatant. In November, 1776, shortly before the fall of Mount Washington, he visited the American camp on Harlaem Heights, and was received and lodged at his headquarters by General Washington with great politeness.¹ He was subsequently summoned before the Committee of Safety for "disaffection," but was finally permitted to remain at his country house in Northampton County, where he died in 1778. The following extract from his MS. Diary expresses not only his own views, but those of the majority of the people of the Colonies at the time it was written. "March 6th, 1776. The plot thickens, peace is scarcely thought of. Independency predominates. Thinking people uneasy, irresolute, and inactive. The Mobility triumphant. Every article of life doubled. Twenty-six thousand troops coming over. The Congress in equilibrio on the question of Independence, or no. Wrapt in the contemplation of these things I cry out, 'O! Rus quando ego te aspiciam, &c.' I love the cause of Liberty, but cannot heartily join in the prosecution of measures totally foreign to the original plan of resistance."

Chief Justice Allen went to England on a visit not long before his death. He had lost his wife several years previously, and decided to remain in England until matters were more quiet in America. He resided in London, and died there in September, 1780, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Andrew Allen, his second son, born in June, 1740, was a man of very great ability, and was Attorney-General of Pennsylvania for many years, while his father was its Chief Justice. He was elected a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress, and took an active part in the proceedings of that body, until he resigned his seat towards the close of 1776. In December, 1776, when Howe's Army was expected in Philadelphia, a persecution of all opposed to independence began. "Houses were broken open, people imprisoned without any color of authority by private persons, and, as

¹ MS. Diary of James Allen.

was said, a list of 200 disaffected persons made out, who were to be seized, imprisoned, and sent off to North Carolina; in which list, it was said, our whole family was put down. My brothers, under this dreadful apprehension, fled from Philadelphia to Union, where I went over to them. Soon after, against my judgment, they all went to Trenton, and claimed protection from General Howe's Army. From whence they went to New York, and there they now are, unhappily separated from their families, and like to be so for some time. I was informed of this at Bethlehem by General Gates."¹

From this time the Allens supported the Crown. William became the Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment raised in his own province, called the "Pennsylvania Loyalists," and commanded it throughout the war. He was very witty, affable, and of remarkably fine manners, and as much a favorite with his officers and men as he was in society. He never married, and after the war lived in England. He died in London, July 2d, 1838, at the great age of eighty-seven years. It was of him, and *not* of his father, the Chief Justice, after whom he was named, of whom it was said, when he resigned his command under Congress to that body, as above stated, that he did so "not because he was totally unfit for it, but because the Continental Congress presumed to declare the American States free and independent, without first asking the consent and obtaining the approbation of himself and wise family."

Andrew Allen, after he resigned from the Continental Congress and joined Howe at Trenton, in December, 1776, took no active part in the contest. He returned to Philadelphia with Howe's Army in the autumn of 1777. With all his family he was included in the Pennsylvania Act of Attainder of March 6, 1778, and his estate confiscated. In 1792 he was pardoned, and re-visited Pennsylvania. Under Jay's treaty of 1794, he attempted to recover from the State moneys paid to it by some of his former debtors on land contracts made before the war, but failed. Later he went again to England, and resided there. He died in London in March, 1825, in his

¹ MS. Diary of James Allen.

eighty-sixth year. He married "the beautiful Sally Coxe," as she was called in Philadelphia, on the 21st of April, 1768. She was a daughter of William Coxe, of New Jersey, by his wife Mary Francis, of Philadelphia. Mrs. Allen died in 1801, in her seventieth year. Their children were: 1. Andrew, an accomplished man, from 1805 to 1812 British Consul at Boston, and subsequently a resident of Burlington, New Jersey, for a number of years. He was much in Philadelphia in 1826, where the writer's father, William Heathcote de Lancey, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 1828-33, and subsequently Bishop of Western New York, 1839-65, knew him very well. A letter of the Bishop to his own father,¹ in 1826, says that Mr. Andrew Allen was the author of certain articles in the *Church Register* of that time, which attracted much notice, signed A—N. He returned to England subsequently, and died at Clifton, near Bristol, December 3d, 1850, without issue. 2 and 3. John Penn Allen and Thomas Dawson Allen, twins, born 25th October, 1785; both of whom were living in 1868, in good health, at the age of eighty-three; the former a gentleman in London, where the writer knew and visited him, and the latter a clergyman of the Church of England, residing in Gloucestershire. Both are now dead without issue. 4, Ann, 5, Elizabeth, 6, Maria, all of whom

¹ John Peter de Lancey, of Mamaroneck, Westchester County, N. Y., the youngest brother of the James de Lancey who married Margaret Allen, as stated in the text; born 15 July, 1753, educated at Harrow School, in England, and the Military School at Greenwich; entered the regular British army in 1771, was a captain in the 18th, or Royal Irish, Regiment of foot, and served with it, till William Allen, the brother-in-law of his brother James, raised the Provincial Corps, the "Pennsylvania Loyalists," when he was offered and accepted the commission of its Major. He served with it until the corps was disbanded, when he rejoined his regiment, and continued therein till 1786, when he returned to America, and resided till his death on the 30th January, 1828, at his grandfather Heathcote's old seat at Mamaroneck, of which he was the proprietor. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Richard Floyd, of Mastic, Suffolk Co., N. Y., the head of that old Long Island family; to a younger branch of which, belonged the William Floyd who signed the Declaration of Independence, and was the first U. S. Senator from New York, who was one of Richard Floyd's first cousins.

died unmarried; and 7, Margaret, who married in Philadelphia, June 20th, 1793, George Hammond, the first British Minister to the United States after the peace of 1783. She died December 8, 1838; and her son is the Edmund Hammond whom Mr. Gladstone on his retirement from office in 1870, created a peer by the title of "Baron Hammond," for nearly fifty years of consecutive service in the British Foreign Office, in which he was a "clerk" from 1824 to 1854, and "paid Under Secretary" from 1854 to his elevation. He is still living.

James Allen, the Chief Justice's youngest son, married, 10 March, 1768, Elizabeth, daughter of John Lawrence and Elizabeth Francis, a cousin of the mother of his brother Andrew's wife, above mentioned, and had one son, James, who died without issue, and three daughters: 1. Ann Penn, born 11 May, 1769, married James Greenleaf, 26th April, 1800, and died in September, 1851, aged eighty-two; 2. Margaret Elizabeth, who married the distinguished Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, William Tilghman, July 1st, 1794, and died four years afterwards, on the 9th of September, 1798; and 3. Mary, who married, November 27th, 1796, Henry Walter Livingston, of Livingston's Manor, New York, and died there December 11th, 1855, upwards of eighty. She was the lady who was so famous for her graceful and profuse hospitality, and was so long known in New York society as "Lady Mary."

None of the descendants of Chief Justice Allen are now residents of Philadelphia; and the name, for more than a century the synonym in that city for high ability, political power, great wealth, and the first social position, is there no longer known. The man to whom, and to whose connections by his marriage, she owes her famed "State House"—America's Hall of Independence—sleeps in a foreign land; and the names of Allen and of Hamilton and of Penn, with which it so long resounded, are no longer heard within its historic portals.

DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN, THE ELDER.**BY THE LATE THOMAS BALOH.**

(Centennial Collection.)

Amongst those who emigrated from the Mother Country for the purpose of bettering their fortunes, and not to escape religious persecution, was Edward Shippen (b. 1639), a son of William Shippen of Yorkshire, gentleman. The family occupied a position of importance, for we find the Rev. Dr. Robert Shippen (a nephew of Edward Shippen) principal of Brazen Nose College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Another nephew was William Shippen, the famous leader of the Jacobites, the "downright Shippen" of Pope, of whom Sir Robert Walpole repeatedly said, that he was not to be approached by corruption, and whose courage and integrity in parliament procured him (Dec. 4, 1717) the glory of a warrant of the House of Commons committing him to the Tower for "reflecting on His Majesty's person and Government."¹

Edward Shippen emigrated to Boston 1668, where he as a merchant amassed a handsome fortune. He brought with him his notions as a member of the Established Church, for he at once joined the Artillery Company, but in 1671 he married Elizabeth Lybrand, a Quakeress, and became a member of that sect.

The most cruel, the most unsparing persecutions and deeds of blood known in the history of the human race are those which have been done in the name of Christ. The Fathers of New England were not behind their brethren of other sects, and accordingly Edward Shippen shared in the "jailings, whippings, and banishments, the fines and imprisonments" inflicted on the inoffensive Quakers. In 1693 a meteor appeared, and therefore "a fresh persecution of the Baptists and Quakers" was "promoted," and reached such a pitch that

¹ Debates in Parliament, 1717-21, p. 20.

Mr. Shippen was either banished or driven to take refuge in Philadelphia.¹ It seems to have taken about a year to dispose of his estate in Boston, and transfer the proceeds to his new house (1693-94). He did not quit Boston without erecting a memorial on "a green" near to "a pair of gallows, where several of our friends had suffered death for the truth and were thrown into a hole." He asked leave of the magistrates "to erect some more lasting monument there, but they were not willing."

His wealth, his fine personal appearance, his mansion styled "a princely place," his talents and high character at once obtained for him position and influence. Very soon after his arrival in Philadelphia (July 9, 1695), he was elected Speaker of the Assembly. Penn, who always gave the most anxious consideration to his selection of officers for the province, named him in the Charter, Oct. 25, 1701, the first Mayor of the City of Philadelphia. In 1702-4 he was President of the Governor's Council. In this last year he withdrew from the Society of Friends, and also from public life, although he continued to advise concerning public affairs until his death, Oct. 2, 1712.

His son, Joseph Shippen, born at Boston Feb. 28, 1678-9, died at Germantown 1741; removed to Philadelphia 1704 with his father. In 1727 he joined Dr. Franklin in founding the Junto "for mutual information and the public good." It was the forerunner of our now numerous scientific institutions. One of the subjects to which special attention was given was practical anatomy. By his wife, Abigail Gross, of Huguenot descent (Le Gros), he left three children surviving him. The daughter, Anne, married Charles Willing.

Edward, the elder, born July 9, 1703, generally known as of Lancaster, where he resided during the latter period of his life, was much esteemed and respected throughout the province. Amongst other claims to consideration may be mentioned that he "laid out" Shippensburg, and was one of the founders (1746-8) of the College of New Jersey, at Newark

¹ It is quite possible that "he was invited by Penn" (Address, etc., by Dr. W. E. Hornor, Hazard's Reg., x. p. 66).

in that State, removed 1753 to Princeton, of which he was Trustee for twenty years. He was active in church affairs. Of his two sons, Edward,¹ the elder, became Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; and the younger, Joseph, a graduate of Princeton, 1753, rose to the rank of Colonel in the Provincial Army. As such he commanded the advance in General Forbes's expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne. He was also a poet of considerable merit. After the troops were disbanded he made a visit to Europe, and on his return was made Secretary of the Province.

The sixth child and younger surviving son was William Shippen, generally known as Dr. William Shippen, *the Elder*, more especially the subject of this paper, because he was a member of the Continental Congress. He was born at Philadelphia, Oct. 1, 1712, where he died, Nov. 4, 1801. We are told that he applied himself early in life to the study of medicine, for "which he had a remarkable genius, possessing that kind of instinctive knowledge of diseases which cannot be acquired from books." He seems to have inherited his father's eager desire to explore the domains of physical science, and no doubt that the Junto had its influence in shaping his course in life. An eminent physician of this city says: "It is most probable that he acquired those ideas of the importance of the study (practical anatomy), which induced him to impress upon his son the propriety of making himself master of the science, in order to aid the establishment of those lectures he afterwards so ably delivered."² There is no record,

¹ There seems to have been as much confusion in regard to these Edwards and Josephs as in regard to the Doctors William Shippen. Mr. Griswold (*Republican Court*, p. 15) has fallen into a mistake. In the Memoir of Chief Justice Shippen, *portfolio*, 1810, by Dr. Charles Caldwell, Edward, the emigrant, is confounded with his grandson, Edward of Lancaster. Hazard's Reg., iv. p. 241, repeats the same error. In Princeton College, by Rev. S. D. Alexander, Secretary Joseph Shippen is represented to be the son of Dr. William Shippen, the elder, instead of nephew, and brother to Dr. William Shippen, the younger, instead of cousin.

² Contributions to the Medical History of Penna., by Dr. Caspar Morris, Memoirs of Hist. Society of Pa., 2d ed. of vol. i. p. 360. American Medical Biography, by James Thacher, M.D., Boston, 1828, vol. ii. s. v. William Shippen.

so far as I know, as to when and where he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine, but he speedily obtained a large and lucrative practice, which he maintained through a long and respected life. He was especially liberal towards the poor, and it is said, not only gave his professional aid and medicines without charge, but oftentimes assisted them by donations from his purse. He was very successful in his practice, but was so far from thinking that medicine was much advanced towards perfection, that it is said, when he was congratulated by some one on the number of cures he effected and the few patients he lost, his reply was: "My friend! Nature does a great deal, and the grave covers up our mistakes." Conscious of the deficiencies for medical education in America, and animated by a patriotic desire to remedy them, Dr. Shippen trained his son for that profession, sent him to Europe, where he had every possible opportunity for obtaining a knowledge of the various branches, and on his return (May, 1768) encouraged him to commence a series of lectures on anatomy in one of the large rooms of this building (the State House), and thus to inaugurate the first medical school in America.

It has been stated that Dr. Shippen was one of the founders and for many years a Trustee of Princeton College (Thacher), but that honor is due to his brother Edward, as already mentioned. Dr. Shippen's son, however, was a graduate of the Class of 1754, and for many years a Trustee of the College, as well as his uncle.

Dr. Shippen was by no means given to politics, but the outlook for the Americans at the close of the year 1778 was very dark and dreary. It was at this moment that he was called upon to take part in the councils of the nation. On the 20th Nov. 1778, he was elected to the Continental Congress by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Daniel Roberdeau was one of his colleagues. The vote cast for Dr. William Shippen, the Elder, was 27. At the end of the year, Nov. 13, 1779, he was re-elected. His advanced years and his professional duties would have furnished ample excuse to any less patriotic citizen for declining the thankless position, but an examination of

the Journals of Congress¹ shows that Dr. Shippen was always steadily at his post, and that his votes and conduct were those of an honest, intelligent, high-minded, patriotic gentleman, who thought only of his country's welfare.

The Junto, in which Dr. Shippen took an earnest part, was, as already mentioned, more or less the origin of the American Philosophical Society. Of this latter institution he was for many years Vice-President. For twenty-five years he was first physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was one of the founders of the Second Presbyterian Church, and a member of it for nearly sixty years. He was so very abstemious, that he never tasted wine or any spirituous liquor until during his last illness. He possessed the powerful frame and vigorous health for which his race was noted. He rode on horseback from Germantown to Philadelphia in the coldest weather, without an overcoat; and but a short time before his death walked from Germantown to his son's house in Philadelphia, a distance of about six miles.²

His mode of living was simple and unostentatious. His temper was so serene and forbearing that tradition says it was never ruffled. His benevolence was without stint. He lived beloved, and "at the great age of ninety years he bowed his reverend head to the will of his merciful Creator, regretted and lamented, and was buried in the graveyard of the church to which he had been so useful."

¹ By some strange perversity which seems to attend the various members of the Shippen family, Dr. William Shippen, *the Younger* (the son), has been of late years substituted for Dr. William Shippen, *the Elder* (the father), as a member of the Continental Congress. The error, as far as I can trace it, appears to have originated in Lanman's Dictionary of Congress, and to have been imported into the Catalogues of Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania, Alexander's History of Princeton College, and other works. But besides the Journals of Congress and of the Assembly, already quoted, other authorities are Thacher citing the Medical Repository, Dr. Wistar's Eulogium on the younger Shippen, 1809, Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences, vol. v., Dr. Joseph Carson's Hist. Medical Dept. Univ. Penna., Dr. Wood's Address on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital, etc. etc.

² MSS. of R. Buchanan, Esq.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY.

BY WM. H. EGLE, M.D.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jos. Montgomery". The signature is written in dark ink and has a decorative flourish at the end.

Among the names which adorned the Continental Congress one seems to have been lost to view. We refer to the Rev. JOSEPH MONTGOMERY, A.M., elected to Congress by the Assembly of Pennsylvania in Nov. 1780, and again the year following. It seems strange that not only that excellent historian Jared Sparks in preparing a list of those illustrious men of yore should omit the name of him to whom we refer, but that Mr. Lanman in his valuable Dictionary of Congress should also fail to make any reference to the services of Joseph Montgomery. We can only account for this omission, from the fact that his successor in that famous body was *John* Montgomery, and unfortunately both generally signed their names J. Montgomery. With this introductory note we shall give very briefly the main facts in his life.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY, the son of Robert and Sarah Montgomery, was born in the county of Armagh, Ireland, in the year 1732. His parents removed to America and settled in what is now Dauphin County, about 1737 or 1738. Joseph received a classical education, and graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1755. In 1760 both the colleges of Philadelphia and Yale conferred on him the degree of A.M. Mr. Montgomery was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia between the meetings of Synod in 1759 and 1760. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Lewes between the meetings of Synod in 1761 and 1762, and became pastor of the congregation of Georgetown, Delaware. This relation was continued until 1769, when we find him in charge of the congregations of New Castle and Christiana Bridge. How long he remained the pastor here is not known, but towards

the close of 1779 we find him at Paxtang without a charge, owing to ill state of health. In the spring of the following year he was on the frontiers of Northumberland County assisting in alleviating the miseries of the distressed inhabitants, which generous services, President Reed acknowledged with grateful thanks. In November, 1780, the Assembly of Pennsylvania elected Mr. Montgomery to the Confederated or Continental Congress, and again in November, 1781—serving from December, 1780, to December, 1782. Owing to continued bad health he declined a further election. In 1783 he was appointed by the Assembly one of the commissioners to settle the Wyoming controversy, of which body he was chairman. In this capacity he served until May 31, 1787, when he resigned.

Upon the formation of the new county of Dauphin, Mr. Montgomery was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council its first register and recorder. The same year (1785), the Presbytery of New Castle reported to the Synod, "that, in consequence of Mr. Joseph Montgomery's having informed them, that through bodily indisposition he was incapable of officiating in the ministry, and having also accepted an office under the civil authority, they have left his name out of their records." He died, much lamented, at Harrisburg in the early part of the month of October, 1794, and was buried at Paxtang Church graveyard. Mr. Montgomery married, previous to the Revolution, Miss Rachel Pettit, of Philadelphia. His widow and three children survived him—John, Sarah Pettit, and Elizabeth. Sarah married Thomas Forster, and Elizabeth Samuel Laird, both distinguished lawyers and representative men in the interior of the State at the beginning of the present century. Mrs. Rachel Montgomery survived her husband a few years, dying July 28, 1798.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

Oct. 8, 1710.	Abbett,	Thomas, son of Jos. and Mary.
Jan. 27, 1712.	"	John, son of Joseph and Mary.
June 15, 1718.	"	Hannah, dau. of John and
Aug. 23, 1739.	Abbot,	Robert. Poor. [Hannah.
Nov. 29, 1756.	Abercrombie,	dau. of James.
Dec. 20, 1759.	Abford,	Mary.
Dec. 29, 1759.	Abingdon,	Sarah, wife of George.
Jan. 23, 1737.	Actis,	John, son of Tarver. Beg'd.
Mar. 5, 1737.	Actis,	John, son of Tarver. Poor.
Dec. 17, 1744.	Acworth,	John.
April 26, 1735.	Adams,	Job.
April 12, 1739.	"	child of Margaret.
Jan. 13, 1745.	"	John, son of Robert.
July 2, 1745.	"	Robert.
Feb. 14, 1748.	"	Anne, wife of William.
Oct. 27, 1750.	"	Elizabeth.
Aug. 12, 1753.	"	Hannah, dau. of George.
Aug. 16, 1755.	"	—— son of Robert.
July 27, 1757.	"	George, son of George.
Sept. 1, 1757.	"	—— dau. of George.
Oct. 14, 1757.	"	—— wife of William.
Mar. 18, 1759.	"	William.
April 5, 1759.	"	Ann, dau. of Giles.
July 29, 1759.	"	Rachel, dau. of William.
Sept. 23, 1759.	"	Charles, son of William.
Sept. 23, 1759.	"	Charles, son of Alexander.
Oct. 17, 1759.	"	Salome, dau. of John.
Oct. 24, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of Alexander.
Jan. 6, 1751.	Adamson,	Anthony, son of Capt.
Mar. 5, 1731.	Afflack,	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Nov. 23, 1745.	Afflick,	Anne, wife of William.
Nov. 20, 1739.	Agard,	George.
June 15, 1747.	Ames,	Samuel.
April 24, 1746.	Aldridge,	Richard, son of John.
Nov. 10, 1757.	"	John.
Oct. 31, 1726.	Alexander,	Mr. William. Comptroller.
Jan. 18, 1745.	"	William.

JANUARY AND MARCH MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of January 8th, 1877, the President, Mr. John William Wallace, in the chair.

The minutes of the last stated meeting were read and approved.

The Secretary announced the death of Joseph Carson, M.D., a member of the Society since the year 1847, and long one of its council. The remarks of the Secretary, recognizing the valuable services Dr. Carson had rendered the Society, his excellence as a citizen, and his eminence in his profession, were ordered to be placed on the minutes of the Society.

Dr. Edward Shippen, U. S. N., read an historical sketch of the ground on the banks of the Schuylkill on which the Naval Asylum stands, and of the Asylum itself.

On motion of Mr. Chas. Roberts, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Dr. Shippen for his entertaining address.

The report of the Council was read, showing the additions to the library during the year 1876 comprised 1017 volumes, 640 pamphlets, 32 maps, 47 manuscripts, and 203 miscellaneous articles, among the latter a gift from the artist, Mr. Williams, a beautifully executed oil painting of Stenton, the country mansion of James Logan, built in 1727.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of March 12, 1877, Vice-President Mr. George de B. Keim in the chair.

The order of business being suspended, Mr. Charles A. Esling read a paper on the Headquarters of Washington at Brandywine.

The number of additions to the collections of the Society since the previous meeting was 551 bound volumes, 582 pamphlets, 16 manuscripts, 105 miscellaneous.

The following candidates were nominated for office, to be voted for at the annual meeting in May:—

<i>President.</i>	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>	<i>Council.</i>
John William Wallace.	Samuel L. Smedley.	Joseph J. Mickley, John A. McAllister, John B. Fell.
<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>	<i>Treasurer.</i>	
Horatio Gates Jones, George de B. Keim.	J. Edward Carpenter.	

A called meeting of the Society was held on the evening of April 16, 1877. The proceedings which took place at that time will be found on page 149.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE FINE ARTS IN PHILADELPHIA.—Mr. Titian R. Peale has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania some papers once in the possession of his father, Charles Wilson Peale, which, with transcriptions from the unpublished memoirs of the elder Peale, throw light on an attempt made in the winter of 1794–95 to establish in Philadelphia an association for the encouragement of the fine arts.

The first paper in the series is dated December 29, 1794; it states the objects of the movement, and bears the names of a number of well-known citizens, together with those of the following artists: Charles Wilson Peale, Guiseppe Ceracchi, William Birch, James Peale, William Rush, and John Eckstein.

The Rev. Burgiss Allison, of Bordentown, New Jersey, presided, and Major Richard Claiborne, of Virginia, acted as secretary. The society thus formed was christened the Columbianum, and gave promise of success, but its life was a short one. The proposal that the students of the academy should be allowed to draw from living models, shocked the sense of propriety of some of the members, and they resigned from the society, which in a little over a year from the time of its organization ceased to exist.

We cannot allow ourselves to trespass to any extent on this interesting collection, forming as a whole a valuable contribution to the history of one of the most creditable institutions in our city, and as such it shall appear in an early number of this Magazine. One letter, however, from Benjamin West to Charles Wilson Peale, which has no connection with the subject to which the other papers of the collection refer, can be used with propriety, and will be read with interest, not only as a pleasant memorial of the writer, but on account of the reference to his painting of the Death of General Wolfe before Quebec, which, through the courtesy of the Queen of England, thousands of our citizens had the pleasure of seeing in the art department of the Centennial Exhibition.

DEAR MR. PEELE:—

LONDON, June 21, 1771.

I received your kind letter wrote on your first arrival in Maryland, it gave me great pleasure to find you safe on the other side the water, and that there was so fair a prospect to you in painting. I hope your health will last as your merit must always continue to procure you employment. Mr. Jenning called yesterday to acquaint me of this opportunity of writing you which I could not let pass without dropping you these few lines. I have had much sickness since you left this place so as to deprive my making use of the pencil for six months and more, but at present I enjoy good health and am at work on the second picture for His Majesty. The approbation the Picture of Regulus met with from him procured a commission for two more of the same size. The one I am painting on at present is the subject of Heamilkar swearing his son Hannabel when only nine years old. I have painted a picture of the death of Gen'l Wolfe that has procured me great Honour. The Hannibal and the Wolfe are the two pictures of the most consequence I have painted since you left here—the others not worth mentioning to you. I hope it will not be long before I shall have the pleasure of seeing some of your paintings over here, Everything here in the painting way goes on with great rapidity, the last Exhibition at the Royal Academy was the superior one that has ever been in London, every Artist here endeavouring to out do his Compe-

titor. I hope you wanting one in Maryland will not let you loose that great desire for improvement you carried from here.

All your old friends are every day enquiring after you, when I heard from you, how your health was last, and how painting goes on with you. I shall be much pleased you will now and then give me a line or two that I may satisfy their inquiries.

My little boy that was when you were here is now become a man he is in breeches and goes to school.

Mrs. West is in good health and desires to be kindly remembered to you.

I am, dear Mr. Peele,

With truth and affection,

Your obedient and Humble servant,

MR. CHARLES W. PEELE.

B. WEST.

PHILADELPHIA IN 1782.—In the second part of "The Narrative of the Prince de Broglie," translated by Miss E. W. Balch, of this city, and published in the April number of the Magazine of American History, we have interesting glimpses of Philadelphia in 1782. Christ Church is spoken of in it, as being the handsomest building in the city, but to the eye of the writer of the narrative, accustomed to the elaborate interiors of the Cathedrals of France, it seemed strange that it was not "decorated either with pictures or gildings, but only with some pillars, an organ, and a great velvet curtain which covered the altar." The State-house is described as "a building literally crushed by a huge massive tower, square and not very solid." The account of the Continental Congress is fresh and interesting; the room in which it held its sessions is spoken of as large "without any other ornament than a bad engraving of Montgomery, one of Washington, and a copy of the Declaration of Independence. It is furnished with thirteen tables, each covered with a green cloth. One of the principal representatives of each of the thirteen States sits during the session at one of these tables. The President of the Congress has his place in the middle of the hall upon a sort of throne. The clerk is seated just below him."

The Chevalier de la Luzerne conducted the Prince de Broglie to the house of Robert Morris to take tea, and a delightful picture of social life in our city is found in the record of the visit, which is as follows: "The house is simple but well furnished and very neat. The doors and tables are of superb mahogany and polished. The locks and hinges in brass curiously bright. The porcelain cups were arranged with great precision. The mistress of the house had an agreeable expression and was dressed altogether in white; in fact, everything appeared charming to me. I partook of most excellent tea, and I should be even now still drinking it, I believe, if the Ambassador had not charitably notified me at the twelfth cup that I must put my spoon across it when I wished to finish with this sort of warm water. He said to me: it is almost as ill-bred to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you, as it would be indiscreet for the mistress of the house to propose a fresh one, when the ceremony of the spoon has notified her that we no longer wish to partake of it."

In different parts of this narrative interesting mention is found of Washington, Robert and Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston and others of revolutionary fame, while the whole is a pleasing picture of the social and political period of which it treats.

BARON STIEGEL'S HOUSE AT MANHEIM, PA.—When Gen. Howe, in the winter of 1776-77, advanced his army so far across Jersey as to render Philadelphia too exposed a place for the Congress to hold its sessions, that body retired to Baltimore, and a number of families, the heads of which

were active leaders in the revolution, left the city for points of greater safety. The surprise and defeat of the British at Trenton and Princeton removed all immediate danger of the capture of Philadelphia, and Congress and citizens returned to it. The relief thus furnished, it was evident to many, would be but a temporary one, as Philadelphia was, without doubt, the objective point of the British commander, the capture of which he looked forward to as the final stroke to be given to the American cause, and they at once set about securing places of refuge where, in event of another offensive movement on the part of Sir William against the city, they could remove their families. Robert Morris was one of this number, and the letter of his wife to her mother, Mrs. White, informing her of the purchase of the residence of Baron Stiegel at Manheim by Mr. Morris, in which his family resided when the British took possession of Philadelphia in the fall of 1777, is an interesting addendum to the paper of Dr. Dubbs printed in the last number of the Magazine:—

“April 14, 1777. We are preparing for another flight in packing up our furniture and removing them to a new purchase Mr. Morris has made 10 miles from Lancaster; no other than the famous house that belonged to Stedman and Stiegel at the Iron Works, where you know I spent 6 weeks, so am perfectly well acquainted with the goodness of the house and situation. The reason Mr. Morris made this purchase, he looks upon the other not secure if they come by water. I think myself very lucky in having this Asylum, it being but 8 miles, fine road, from Lancaster, where I expect Mr. Morris will be if he quits this, besides many of my friends and acquaintances. So I now solicit the pleasure of your company at this once famous place instead of Mennet, where perhaps we may yet trace some vestiges of the late owners folly and may prove a useful lesson to us his successors.” C. H. H.

HISTORICAL MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA.—In this very excellent map, published in 1875, I do not find laid down or mentioned a considerable stream in Columbia County, now known as Roaring Creek. It rises in the Township of Roaring Creek, runs thence through Locust into Catawissa, thence back into Locust, thence through Franklin, striking the line between Franklin in Columbia County, and Mayberry in Montour County, and becoming the boundary line to where it empties into the Susquehanna, about three miles below the mouth of the Catawissa. The south branch of Roaring Creek rises in Conyngham Township, and runs its entire length, and at its confines striking Northumberland County, becomes the boundary line between Locust Township in Columbia County and Northumberland County, and thence turning north into Franklin Township, empties into Roaring Creek proper, about six miles above its mouth. Neither the name nor the stream is mentioned by Heckewelder. The original name was undoubtedly “Popemetang,” and the authority is contained in the following extract from the “Minutes of the Board of Property,” which is given in full, spelling and all as it appears.

At a meeting of the Agents (the Governor being absent at Northampton) on Tuesday the 1st day of May 1770 Present The Sec'y Mr. Tilghman The Auditor Mr. Hockley The Receiver Gen'l Mr. Physick The Surveyor Gen'l Mr. Lukens.

NICHOLAS SHÆFFER <i>agt</i> JOHN DUFFIELD	}	John Duffield not appearing tho' duly served with notice the Board proceed to enquire into the merits of the dispute upon the representation of Shøffer And it appears that Duffield has the prior application but it is located upon the mouth of Roring creek or run about 7 miles from Fort Augusta and Nicholas Sheffers Application is located upon the mouth of Popemetang creek which is about 17 miles from Fort Augusta
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That both these creeks have obtained the name of Roaring creek and the Board are of opinion that Duffield's location must be confined to the mouth of that creek called Roaring creek which is nearest to Fort Augusta and most agreeable to the distance from Fort Augusta mentioned in the location And that the land at the mouth of Popemetang be surveyed for Sheffer unless there be some other location than Duffields prior to Sheffers on that place.

Minutes of Board of Property page 217 certified 11th Feby 1785 David Kennedy Sy. ld. off.

Yours, JOHN G. FREEZE, Bloomsburg, Pa.

Queries.

ALTERATION IN THE PRAYER BOOK IN 1776.—In the proceedings of the Virginia Convention, among resolves regarding Independence and measures for the defence of the Colony, I find on July 5, 1776, a resolution "that the following sentences in the Morning and Evening Service shall be omitted, 'O Lord! save the King, and mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.'" Other changes in the old Prayer Book of similar purport were directed, and a form of prayer was prescribed in place of that for the King; the new form asking for divine guidance for the Magistrates of the Commonwealth. As no edition of the Book of Common Prayer was issued until 1785 (when the "Proposed Book" was made), the alterations ordered must have been made, if made at all, in the copies of the English Prayer Book in use in 1776. Was any change similar to this ordered in the other Colonies, and if so, by whom?
R. R.

IN WILKINSON'S MEMOIRS, vol. 1, p. 61, I find the following incident mentioned that I have not noticed elsewhere. While a portion of the army were stationed at the Isle aux Noix, "without apprehension of danger, the officers were in the practice of visiting a Canadian hut on the western shore of the river to drink spruce beer. The scouts of the enemy had observed this intercourse, and formed an ambuscade of Indians, who suddenly attacked an unarmed party within eighty yards of the camp and in sight of the army, killed and scalped Captain Adams, Ensign Culbertson, and two privates, and made prisoners Captain M'Lane and Lieutenants M'Farran, M'Allister, and Hogg, with two privates; Captain Rippy and Lieutenant Rush made their escape in a canoe. I think the party was from the Pennsylvania line." Can any one give additional information?
J. S. W.

JAMES MORTON.—Can any one furnish information regarding James Morton, of Aberdeen, Scotland, whose descendants emigrated to America? One of his sons, Samuel Morton, was the father of Robert Morton, whose diary was printed in the first number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE; another son was John Morton. The records of the Society of Friends record that Samuel Morton was of "Aberdeen, G. B."
S.

ROBERT STRETTLETT JONES married Ann, daughter of Joseph Shippen. I am preparing a genealogy of the Shippen Family, and would like to receive any information in regard to his descendants. CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

THOMAS LEIPER, a prominent citizen of Philadelphia in Revolutionary times, came to America in 1764. He was the son of Thomas Leiper, of Strathavon, Scotland, and Helen Hamilton. She (*i. e.* H. H.) is said to have

belonged to the family of Hamilton, of Kipe (connected with that of Stone House). Can any one give any information as to where a record of the family is to be found?
R. P. R.

JOHN NIXON.—Any facts bearing upon the life of Colonel John Nixon, of Philadelphia, or upon his ancestry and family, or those of his mother Sarah Bowles, are solicited by
CHARLES HENRY HART.

GARDNER.—Can any reader of the Magazine give information in reference to Coos Gardner, Commander of Privateer "Stark" about the year 1780?
GARDNER.

FIFTH STREET GRAVE-YARD.—I have frequently noticed in newspapers accounts of the old grave-yard on the east side of Fifth Street north of Chestnut, directly in front of the Fifth Street Market House. I am unable to find any such accounts at present. Will not some one acquainted with the history of this spot send a memorandum of it to the Magazine, that it may be preserved in an accessible form?
L.

TRANSLATOR OF CHASTELLUX'S TRAVELS.—Has any satisfactory information ever been elicited on this frequently asked question? If so, it certainly has never had the general circulation that its interest warrants.

TRIMBLE.—Can any one give the maiden name of Elenor, wife of Alexander Trimble? They were married previous to 1755. Her second husband was Nicholas Young.
T.

TARHEE, CRANE OF THE WYANDOTTES.—Information regarding him, not in print. Instrument of writing with his signature attached. Portrait, woodcut, engraving, oil or pencil sketch. Date of death. Information of any description tending to elucidate a history of his life which has been under way for over a year. Correspondence solicited by
S. W.

FRANCIS SHALLUS.—I have been told that Francis Shallus, the compiler of the Chronological Tables, had Indian blood in his veins. Can any one give information?
M. G.

THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG.—At the reception of General Lafayette by the Legislature of Pennsylvania on Tuesday, February 1, 1825, at the State Capitol, Harrisburg, the Speaker of the Senate, Hon. William Marks, in welcoming the distinguished visitor, made this allusion: "General: You will, no doubt, be gratified to behold adorning this temple of liberty, a relic of the Revolutionary times, the first American flag that ever was unfurled in the British Channel, and which was made under the direction of that distinguished philanthropist, Dr. Benjamin Franklin." In whose possession was this flag, and what has become of it?
W. H. E.

Replies.

THE CRISIS (page 115).—An inquiry regarding this publication appeared in the London N. and Q. some time ago (5 S. iii. 487), and although it failed to elicit any information regarding the writers of the articles it contained, extracts from the correspondence which ensued, and from the work, may possibly interest some of the readers of the Magazine.

"The first number of this very remarkable publication, which succeeded the *North Briton*, *Bingley's Journal*, and *The Whisperer*, appeared January 21, 1775, and it certainly existed till July 27, 1776, when the eightieth number was brought out."

The numbers bear various signatures, such as "Casca," "Brutus," and "Junius," and are addressed "To the King," "To the People," "To the Right Honourable Lord North," "To a Bloody Court, a Bloody Ministry, and a Bloody Parliament." No. 14 is entitled "The present Necessary DEFENSIVE WAR on the Part of America, justified by the Laws of God, Nature, Reason, State, and Nations; and, therefore, no Treason or Rebellion." Another number contains "The Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the City of London" against the measures of the government relating to America; with the King's Answer, which it says "would do Honour to any Bucher, Monster, or Tyrant on Earth." Number twelve contains a Poem called "The Prophecy of Ruin," of which the following, after describing a tyrannical monarch, is a specimen:—

"Should such a King succeed to England's throne
(Tho' born a Briton, they must blush to own);
Should he in meanness bred, laugh at all law,
The senate keep by bribes, and fraud in awe;
That parliament to loyal mandates true,
With England's ruin, shall fix Boston's too;
Her charters shall destroy, her rights invade,
Her commerce ruin, and the town blockade;
Shall fill that place, with men by slaughter fed,
To rob the starving people of their bread;
And fix by force, some curst oppressive laws,
Made through Scots villany (without a cause);
* * * * *
Should I then live, I'd rather league with Hell,
Or rise in arms, and gainst that King rebel
Than be his slave, and by all that's just and good,
I'd rather see my children roll in blood."

No. 72 is inscribed "To the most infamous Minister that ever disgraced this country, Lord North," and No. 46 is headed—

"Go on, vile Prince, by lawless strides, and try
How soon your Crown will fade, your empire die.
By your base arts America shall rise;
The name of Slave and George alike despise.
Great Britain's sons will fight in freedom's cause,
And gladly bleed to save their rights and laws."

As a specimen of the prose the following passage will be sufficient to give an idea:—

"Ye conspirators against the liberties of mankind at St. James's, in St. Stephen's Chapel, in the House of Lords, or amongst the bench of Satanical bishops, you must surely think there is no God to judge, or hell to receive you; or you could never be so far abandoned as to stain your hands, and consent to dye the plains of America with the innocent blood of her inhabitants."

It has been thought by some that Tom Paine was in some way connected with this publication, but such ideas have no doubt arisen by confusing these papers with the ones written by him in America under a similar title. Paine was in this country so early in 1774 that he could have had nothing to do with the matter. That "No. 3" was actually burned by the Sheriff of London, as stated in the extract from Marshall, there can be no doubt. A letter from London to a gentleman in Philadelphia (see Force, 4th S. vol. i. p. 118) has the following passage: "You have herewith inclosed the late English papers, and a peculiar fiery piece called the Crisis wrote professedly in favour of Liberty and America and which from its freedom, has suffered martyrdom at Westminster and the Exchange by order of a prostituted Parliament."

Some numbers of the "Crisis" will be found in Force's Archives, but only a few. The question of their authorship is well worthy of investigation.

F. D. STONE.

JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE, son of Matthew and Maudlin, of the parish of Kirkbride, county of Cumberland, England, was born 7 m. 29, 1662. He arrived in Pennsylvania in 1681, and settled in Falls Township, Bucks County, where he, at first, followed the trade of a carpenter. On the 13th of 1st mo., 1688, he was married to Phebe Blackshaw, daughter of Randall and Alice, at Middletown Meeting. Phebe died 7 m. 29, 1701, having given birth to six children.

Joseph married, second, Sarah Stacy, daughter of Mahlon and Rebecca, of Burlington, N. J., 10 m. 17, 1702, at Falls Meeting. In his marriage certificate he is called a *yeoman*. Sarah died 9 mo. 29, 1703, leaving one child.

On the 17th of 11 mo. 1704, he married his third wife, Mary Yardley, of Makefield Township, widow of Enoch Yardley, and daughter of Robert and _____ Fletcher, at Falls Meeting. By her he had seven children, making fourteen in all.

Joseph died 1 m. 1, 1737, in the 75th year of his age.

His descendants are entirely too numerous to mention.

His daughter Sarah married Israel Pemberton, a grandson of Phineas and Phebe, and his daughter Jane married Samuel Smith, the historian of New Jersey. S. B.

JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE (page 116).—In answer to the Query of "H." in the last number of the Magazine, I state that some information of the family can be found in the History of Bucks County, and that numerous descendants are still living in the lower end of the county in Falls, Lower Makefield, and other townships. W. W. H. D.

DAGWORTHY (page 116).—Capt. Dagworthy, afterwards *General D.*, formerly (about 1775 to 1783) resided in Sussex County, Delaware. There he had a large landed estate obtained from William Penn or Lord Baltimore. It consisted of some 25,000 or 50,000 acres, principally cedar swamp, then valuable for the timber. He built a fine house and lived in handsome style, married and left one daughter, who married the Hon. William Hill Wells, M. C. from Delaware. By this marriage there was issue one son, who was named after his mother, Dagworthy. This son was a member of the Philadelphia bar, and married a daughter of Dr. Lehman, of Philadelphia, and left issue one son, William Lehman Wells, M.D., who can possibly furnish some further information in regard to his great-grandfather.

Roxborough, Phila., May 27, 1877.

D. RODNEY KING.

From the Writings of Washington, by Sparks, it appears that Dagworthy had been an officer in the Canada expedition during the old French war, and had received a King's commission; he had, however, commuted his half-pay for a specific sum, which rendered his commission obsolete. In 1755-56, while stationed at Fort Cumberland, he held but a captain's commission from the Governor of Maryland, and commanded only thirty men from that Province. Col. Washington did not acknowledge his claim to supreme rank, and he, Dagworthy, cannot be said to have successfully contested precedence with the officers of the Virginia Regiment on account of the royal commission he had once been honored with. It is true Washington allowed Capt. Dagworthy to command at Fort Cumberland, but accepted no orders from him. On the 5th of December he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Alexandria, "I can never submit to the command of Col. Dagworthy since you have honored me with the command of the Virginia Regiment." The question regarding precedence in this case was referred by Governor Dinwiddie to General Shirley the Commander-in-chief, and as he delayed, Washington visited Boston and obtained from him a decision in his favor, and an order

that, in case it should happen that Col. Washington and Capt. Dagworthy should join at Fort Cumberland, Col. Washington should take command. (See Sparks, vol. ii. p. 133.)

In 1755, a Captain Dagworth commanded the Maryland Rangers, 50 men, under Braddock. Sargent, in his history of the Braddock expedition (note to page 328), calls him Ely Dagworth, and states that "he obtained one of the lieutenantcies in the 44th made vacant by the action of the 9th of July. His commission dated from 15th July. In 1765 he had risen no higher." Mr. Sargent speaks of this officer as the one who claimed superior rank to Washington in 1756; if such was the case, there is some mistake regarding his name, as Sparks designates him as John Dagworthy. (See Index.) In 1758 a Col. Dagworthy, of Maryland, was with General Forbes. F. D. S.

LADY CHRISTIANA GRIFFIN (page 116).—The Honorable Cyrus Griffin, of Virginia, President of the Continental Congress, married a Scotch lady of rank, *Christina*, eldest daughter of John Stuart, sixth Earl of Traquair, Baron Stuart of Traquair, Baron Linton and Cabarston, by his wife, Christiana, daughter of Sir Philip Anstruther, of Anstrutherfield, County Fife, Scotland. A grandson of hers, Dr. James L. Griffin, is, I believe, still living in Gloucester County, Virginia, and is said to be the present representative of the Stuarts of Traquair. DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Boston*.

GOV. JOHN PENN (page 115).—The attention of DAUPHIN is called to the article on William Allen in this number of the Magazine, from which it appears that there is a portrait of Gov. John Penn. M. M.

EDWARD WHALLEY THE REGICIDE (page 55).—Will you allow me to make a few suggestions in regard to the Whalley pedigree printed in your first number? I am inclined to consider it as unsatisfactory, for the reason of its inherent improbability, leaving the question of the death of the Regicide untouched. That is, I am willing to allow that we are so far from knowing with certainty when and where Whalley died, that I think any theory is entitled to careful examination.

But in the present case, Edward Whalley is said to be born in or about 1615 (he was a Colonel in 1645), and to die in 1718. That is, it is claimed that he was one of the extremely rare class of centenarians. Yet his will makes no allusion to this fact, but calls him only "sick and weak in body."

Again, being aged one hundred years or thereabouts, in his will he speaks only of three sons and three daughters, without allusion to remoter issue. Then he speaks of his brother Ratliffe as of one living, and certainly of his wife Elizabeth as surviving him.

Mark Noble, in his *Memoirs of the House of Cromwell*, gives quite an account of the Whalleys. He says that the Regicide married the sister of Sir George Middleton, and that she died either in, or just before, 1662. He adds, that there were several children, of whose career nothing is known, except of Mrs. Goffe, and of John, the oldest son.

This John Whalley, he says, was a member of Parliament, for the town of Nottingham in 1659, and the borough of Shoreham. He married the daughter of Sir Herbert Springate, and had a son Herbert. This Herbert Whalley was in 1672 in possession of some of the family estates, and we may infer that John was dead.

If this Maryland story be accepted, we must find that Whalley took a second wife in the New World, which, indeed, a centenarian might well do. But this idea is opposed by the statement that Whalley was met in 1681 by two of his wife's brothers with this family. Indeed, the Robins account of 1769 does not seem to imagine any second wife. It may be noted here that Sir George Middleton, the known brother of Mrs. Whalley, was a violent royalist.

I would, therefore, suggest to Mr. Robert P. Robins the following points: That search be made to see if lands were granted to Edward Middleton, and secondly, to Edward Whalley. Next to find out when the sons died, and their ages, if possible. Lastly to trace the dates in regard to the Rotins family.

As to a coincidence of family names with those of the Whalleys and Cromwells, trifling as such evidence is, I fail to find it. The Regicide's brothers were Thomas and Henry; his father was Richard; his uncles Walter, John, and Thomas. On the Cromwell side his uncles were Oliver, Robert, Henry, Richard, Philip, and Ralph.

The Maryland settler had sons John, Nathaniel, and Elias, surely not family names with the foregoing.

I desire, however, to make one suggestion. We know nothing of the Regicide's younger children. May not a son of the same name, an Edward Whalley, Jr., be the person sought, who died in 1718, an old man, but not a centenarian? He might have passed by his mother's name (Middleton) first, and for many reasons might have been shy of acknowledging his relation to the Regicide.

Family tradition might well have confounded his travels with those of his father, and, leaving the bones of the Regicide to rest undisturbed in New England, we may concede that his son may have died in Maryland.

In brief, is it not much more probable that two of the same name have been combined, than to fancy that Edward Whalley's stormy and harassed life was an example of such extreme vigor as is implied in the word centenarian?

I think Mr. Robins' communication is worth study, but it certainly demands much additional examination of the Colonial records, and of the wills, deeds, and family records of all the parties mentioned.

Boston, June, 1877.

W. H. WHITMORE.

THE WHALLEY FAMILY.—The interesting paper of Robert Patterson Robins in the late publication of the Society gives some importance to the following, copied from the "Visitation of Nottinghamshire" published by the Harleian Society.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

E. D. N.

Richard Whalley, of Kirton, married Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell.

CHILDREN.

<i>Thomas</i>	married	Mary, daughter of Thomas Peniston.
<i>Elizabeth</i>	"	Wm. Tiffin, mercer in London.
<i>Edward</i>	"	1st, Judith, daughter of John Duffel, of Rochester, Kent.
		2d, Mary Middleton.
<i>Henry</i>	"	Rebecca Duffel, sister of Edward's first wife. He was Advocate General.
<i>Robert,</i> <i>June.</i>		Lieutenant under Cromwell, died unmarried.

CHILDREN OF MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD WHALLEY.

By first wife, Judith Duffel.

JOHN, born A. D. 1633.

FRANCES, wife of Colonel Goffe.

MARY.

JUDITH.

By second wife, Mary Middleton.

HENRY.

EDWARD.

BOOK NOTICES.

Chester (and its vicinity), Delaware County, in Pennsylvania, with Genealogical Sketches of some old Families. By JOHN HILL MARTIN, Esq. 8vo. pp. 330. For the Author, 217 S. 3d St. Philadelphia, 1877.

The lover of local history will find in this volume a store of curious information presented in a readable and pleasant form. The number of authorities quoted, the references to unpublished manuscripts, and the traditions collected are evidences of the years through which the work of its production has extended. It has indeed been a labor of love, and every page testifies to the truth of the words used by the writer in closing his volume, that "thus ends one of the most agreeable occupations of his life." In preparing his history Mr. Martin has spared no toil: newspaper files have been examined, documents and records inspected, muster-rolls copied, and inscriptions from tombstones transcribed; the histories of upwards of one hundred families are given, and the volume is rich with reminiscences of the past; and after reading it one almost feels that he has seen the old Swedish settlement of Upland grow into the present flourishing town of Chester. One of the most pleasing passages in Mr. Martin's book is the description of the old inn long known by the name of "Thurlow's." It was our intention to give an extended extract from this chapter, but as our space is limited we shall be obliged to postpone doing so until the next number.

Mr. Martin's volume is well printed, and must prove a valuable addition to the historical literature of the State.

A History of the United States of America, including some important facts omitted in the smaller histories, designed for general reading and for Academies. By JOSIAH W. LEEDS. 12mo. pp. 468. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1877.

This volume, written by a Friend, contains a concise and excellent account of the settlement, growth, and government of the United States.

Impressed with the undue prominence given in the text-books of our schools to the wars in which the country has been engaged, and to a corresponding neglect in them "of matters relative to the Indians (save that they were barbarous savages), the slaves, and other items of interest bearing upon our country's welfare," it has been the aim of the author of this book to supply the missing links, and to point out the "moral loss occasioned by a state of warfare, together with its exceeding expensiveness * * * * and to promote a knowledge of those things in the past and present history of our country which tend to its peace, prosperity, and true renown."

Mr. Leeds, in the title of his book, modestly claims to furnish some information "omitted in the smaller histories," but on a number of obscure points it will be found superior to many works of greater pretension.

This book is a valuable epitome of the history of our country, and will be found a useful handbook in any library.

The Washington-Crawford Letters, being the correspondence between George Washington and William Crawford, from 1767 to 1781, concerning western lands. With an appendix, etc. etc. By C. W. BUTTERFIELD. 8vo. pp. 107. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1877.

This correspondence, covering a period of nearly fourteen years, is a contribution to the history of the settlement of the southwestern portion of our State, and to that of Lord Dunmore's war.

From it we can also gather facts regarding the business character of Washington, and learn the importance he attached to investments in western lands. The volume also contains a biographical sketch of Colonel William Crawford, whose awful death by torture in 1782 near Sandusky Washington deeply felt, sadly closing, as it did, an intercourse in which each party concerned had learned to know the other's worth.

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No. 3.

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM BLACK,

1744.

SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR GOOCH, OF
VIRGINIA, TO UNITE WITH THOSE FROM THE COLONIES OF PENNSYLVANIA
AND MARYLAND, TO TREAT WITH THE IROQUOIS OR SIX NATIONS
OF INDIANS, IN REFERENCE TO THE LANDS WEST OF THE
ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS.

Edited by R. Alonzo Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society.

(Continued from page 122.)

ANNAPOLIS, *Wednesday*, 23d.

This morning the Wind being at S. W. and Inclining more to the Southward, I went and acquainted the Commissioners, on which they Determined to Sail, accordingly I went and acquainted the Captain of our Yacht with their Resolution, who Immediately weigh'd and got under Sail, in order to turn it out to the mouth of the Harbour, leaving the Barges and four hands to bring off the Commissioners &c. after Breakfast, I went to warn the rest of our Company to repair to Esqr. Jennings's, that the Commissioners Design'd to Embark about 11 O'Clock; about 10 they went to his Excellencies, and Returned him their thanks for the Great Civilities shown them while in Annapolis, and after their Compliments to his

Lady, took leave and Return'd to Mr. Jennings from whence to his landing, where we were waited on by Philip Thomas Esqr. Loyd¹ Esqr. Mr. Thomas Lee and several other Gentlemen of Distinction, where we took Barge to go on board the Margaret, then lying of the mouth of the River, and by 12 O'Clock we came up with her, and in an hour after, was out of Sight of Annapolis Wind at S. W. 15 min: past 4, had Chester River on our Starboard and Patapsco on our Larboard Side, at which time we were at Dinner, but properly speaking, some of us made but one Meal a day, and that lasting from morning till night. The Biscake Barrell standing open upon deck by the Pump, every other minute one hand or another, would be Diving in it, so that you might hear our Grinders, like so many Hogs under a Peach tree in a very high Wind: the Wind blowing very weak, we made little or no way, having a strong Tide of Ebb against Us towards the Going down of the Sun, seeing a Boat and Canoe a Fishing Inshoar, we hail'd them, with, have you got any Fish, which they returned with, have you got any Rum, we Answered, yes, will you come on Board and Taste it, then they unty'd and made Directly for Us, but was very much Surpris'd with the manner of Reception they met with, which was as follows: We had the Blunderbush ready loaded, and Stil'd on the side they were to board Us, Littlepage who was to Act the part of a Man of Wars Lieutenant, was Accoutred with four Load Pistols, and the like number of Swords, which with his lac'd hatt and Romantick Countenance, made an app'nce much like another Black-beard, several more of our Company was Arm'd with a Drawn Sword & Cockt Pistole, several pistoles, three fowling Pieces Loaded, and some Drawn Swords lying in view on a Table on the Main-deck, in this manner was we Equip'd and Stationed ready to receive the poor Fishermen, when they came near enough to observe our Postures &c, they immediately lay on their Oars & paddles with no small concern to know what we was, but on a little time the Ebb Tide drawing them along side (which they did not observe being so

¹ Edward Lloyd, President of the Colony, 1704-14.

surpriz'd) Littlepage ask'd them in a Sailor like manner, If they would come on board and Serve his Majesty, to which they made no Reply, but kept gazing at us like so many Thunder-struck persons, at last with a Discharge of our Great Gun and small Arms, Flourish'g our Swords round our heads, we desir'd them to come on board Directly, else we woud Sink them, on hearing of which, as if Recover'd from a Trance, they call'd out to one another, with marks of the Greatest fear Imaginable, in their Countenances, pull about! pull about! for Gods Sake! with all the Eagerness possible they Sett to pulling and padling as if pursued by a Spanish privateer, on which calling to hawl up the Bardge, an Man her, it being done, Littlepage & my Self, got in with each a pair of Pistols and a Sword, and made directly after them, on which, they did mend (if possible) their Strokes, pulling for life directly to the Shoar, now & then, now and then one or other of them would look behind, & then cry out, pull away, pull away, or we are all taken, at last they gain'd the Shoar, and so soon their Vessels Struck the Ground, they got their Jackets on their Shoulders, & without the least care of them, made directly for the Woods: to have seen Us pursueing, hollowing, and brandishing our Swords, & them flying with their whole might, one time looking behind them to see how near we were, then before them to see how far they were from the Shoar, was a Scene Sufficient, to Create pleasure and a Laugh in Gentlemen less Blyth and Gayly dispos'd, than the Honourable Commissioners or any other of their levee; on their gaining the Land, we turn'd and lay on our Oars (it being all we wanted to Surprise them a little,) which as soon as the fear and terrible concern they were in, allowed them time to look behind and observe, they Rallied, Seeing this, and being now on Terra firma, in some measure freed from that dreadful Apprehension of serving his Majesty, they opened on us all at once, like so many Hounds on a warm Scent, calling us a parcell of — — —, if we would only come ashoar Man for Man, they would teach us what it was to Fire Guns at People, and fright them in so unaccountable a manner; after Exchanging a little Billingsgate with them, we returned on

Board, where we found the rest of our Company very much pleased with the Adventure. It was now quite calm, about Daylight Shutting in, we had a small Breeze from the S. S. W. which in a little time shifted to S. E. the forepart of the Night appeared Cloudy, looking very Squally, when I betook my Self to my Cabbin, when in a very little time I got into the Drowsy Gods' Dominions, where let me rest, till you turn over the leaf.

ON BOARD THE MARGARET, *Thursday* the 24th.

At five O'Clock this Morning I made my Appearance on Deck, at which time we came to Anchor Off Sacifrace¹ River and Opposite to Spitsuisy² Island, not having Wind enough to Stem the Ebb Tide, which runs very strong so high up the Bay, Several of the Levee and my Self went ashoar on the Western side of the Bay and call'd at the House of one Mr. Phrisby³ in Baltimore County, where we made but a short stay, till we put off for our Yacht again, and by the time we got on Board, she was under Sail, with a fine Breeze at E. and be N. it was now 9 O'Clock, at which time went to Breakfast: at 11 O'Clock and off Turkey point (having but little Wind) the Commiss'rs &c. went on Shoar at the Point, where they tarried about an hour, and then return'd on Board: Here the Prospect was exceedingly Agreeable, the Land in several places Jutting out in Promontories in the Bay, you see at one time a Considerable way up Elk, North East, and Susquehannah Rivers, which runs a good way in the Country, especially the later several hundred miles it appear'd but narrow all the way we could observe, from its mouth, which is on the Codd of a Spacious rounding Bay, the Land from the Shoar rises to a considerable heigth so gradually, which together with the so uncommon Verdure of the Trees, yielded a prospect Superior to any I ever saw of a Country so overgrown with Woods, it was now 3 O'Clock when we were off the Mouth of Susquehannah, at which time we went to Dinner: about the Setting of the Sun, came to Anchor before the North East Town, Compos'd of two Ordinaries, a Ghrist Mill, Baker-

¹ Sassafras.

² Spesutia.

³ Frisby.

house and two or three Dwelling Houses, in Cecil County & province of Maryland: I went directly on Shoar in order to Dispatch some letters (which the Commissioners had received in Annapolis) to Gentlemen that were to provide us with Horses &c to convey us to Philadelphia; I received a Letter in one of the Public houses for the Commissioners, from the Governor of Pennsylvania, which was Lodg'd there in order to Advise them, that the Indians were not yet arriv'd at the place of Treaty, nor were they Expected in any short time, the letter was as follows:

To the Honourable Thomas Lee Esqr.

PHILA. May 20th 1744.

Sir: I was not favour'd with your Letter of the 11th Inst't before yesterday Evening: I am in some doubt, whether you may not have reached the place mentioned for your Landing, even before it comes to my hands. I expect hourly to hear of the Indians being on their Journey to the place of Treaty; but as from their Custom of Travelling with their Families, and hunting upon the Road for their Subsistence, they may possibly Exceed the time: I wish for your Ease and better Accommodation, you would proceed to Philad'a Where I shall be exceedingly well pleased to kiss yours and Colonel Bunley's hands. I am with a very great Regard.

Sir.

Your Most Oblig'd humble Ser't

GEO. THOMAS.

Notwithstanding, we were lying before a Town, the Commiss'n and all the rest of the Company chose to by on board, as the place, by its appearance did not promise the best of Entertainment, about 9 at Night we all went to bed.

ON BOARD THE MARGARET, *Friday* the 25th.

This Morning the Baggage was sent up to the Public House, where the Commissioners and their Levee in a little time follow'd; here we Din'd, and Drunk the best Cask Cyder for the Season that ever I did in America: the Commissioners being Inform'd the Post from Philadelphia, was to pass through this place at Night, they wrote to the Governor the following Letter.

To the Honourable William Gooch Esq. Governor of Virginia.
May it Please your Honour.

We Arrived here last Night and Received a Letter from the Governor of Pennsylvania, dated the 21st that he dayly expected to know, that the Indians were on their way, but as they Travel slow, he Recommends it to us, to come to Philadelphia, and we shall take that way and leave this to-morrow.

Before we left Annapolis, there was an Express from Conrad Weiser, with an Artfull Letter relating to the Indian Affair, which they say is Logan, tho Weiser Signs it; a Good deal of Expense is propos'd in favour of the Indians, and they are persuaded that there will arise some difficulty, by our having no other Interpreter but Weiser.

The Commissioners from Maryland are not settled, Weiser tells them plainly, that the Indians aroused in matters of such moment, only to talk with Governors: Dulany is changed for Jennings; but as the lower house, permitted the Governor to take money out of their Treasury for the Indian Treaty, they have named two of their Body to be Commissioners, and have drawn Instructions for them, Independent of the Governor; this was taken warmly by the Upper House, and we left them in a warm Dispute which will possibly end in Rejecting the Commissioners from the lower House, and it may be found Necessary for the Governor to be at the Treaty.

The Post is to pass thro' this place Immediately, so that we hope you will Excuse the hurry we are in and believe us to be with the Greatest Respect.

Sir.

Your Honours

Most Obedient &

Dutifull Servants.

THOMAS LEE.

W. BEVERLY.

We wrote twice from Annapolis to which We beg to be Refer'd.

The Commissioners, and two or three more lodg'd at the public House, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Lewis and my self went on board the Margaret. I must not forget, that in the forenoon, the Com'rs and their Company went to the Principio Iron Works, in order to view the Curiosities of that place, they are under the management of Mr. Baxter, a Virginian, And was at Work forming Barr-Iron when we came

there ; for my part I was no Judge of the Workmanship, but I thought everything appeared to be in very good Order, and they are allowed to be as Compleat Works as any on the Continent by those who are Judges.

MARYLAND NORTH EAST, *Saturday* the 25th.

This Morning by the time Aurora had banished the twinkling Starrs, I got from my Bed, and after rowzing the rest of my Fellow Lodgers from sleep's lethargy, we steer'd our Course for the Public house where we found the rest fast lockt in the Arms of Deaths younger Brother ; the Morning was Chiefly taken up in packing in Baggage and sending of the Waggon, and 40 Min. past 9, the Commissioners and their Train set out on our Way for Philadelphia: At the Line Dividing Maryland and Pennsylvania, and about 9 miles from North East, we were met by the High Sheriff, Coroner, and under Sheriff of New Castle County with their White Wands, who came at the Desire of the Governor to Conduct us thro' their County ; at 12 O'Clock arriv'd at Ogle Town 19 Miles from North East, where we Stop'd and Refresh'd our selves with Bread & Cheese, Punch and Cyder, Our Horses with good Planter's Oats, after which proceeded on to Wilmington, a Town 12 Miles further, in one way passing thro' New Port a little Village on the Road and Eight Miles from Ogle Town: Arriv'd at Wilmington 10 Min. past 3 P. M. where we Din'd ; This Town stands on Christine Creek, about three quarter of Mile above where it runs in to Delaware River, the Houses are Brick, most of them large and well Built, and tho' an Infant place, of about two years standing, there are now upwards of one hundred and fifty Families in the Town chiefly Merchants and Mechanicks, there was several Ships and other small Vessels on the Stocks a Building, and several other Branches of Workmanship and Commerce seem'd to go on Briskly : after Dinner, we set out about 4 in the Afternoon, crossing a pretty large Creek call'd by the Dutch, Brandywine, Nine Miles from Wilmington, and at the Line Dividing New Castle and Chester County's were waiting the High Sheriff, Coroner and under Shff. of Chester

County, who Conducted us to Chester Town Six Miles farther, where we arriv'd a few minutes before 9 at night, and put at Mr. James Matthew, the most Considerable House in the Town; most of the Company being very much fatigued with the Day's Ride being very warm, they Inclined for Beds soon after they alighted, and tho' for my own part I was not very much tir'd, yet I agreed to hug the Pillow with the rest.

CHESTER IN PENNSYLVANIA, *Sunday* the 26th.

This Morning, by the time the Sun return'd to Enlighten My Bed Chamber, I got up with a Design to take a view of the Town. It is not so large as Wilmington neither are the Buildings so large in General, the Town stands on a Mouth of a Creek of the same name, running out the Delaware and has a very large wooden Bridge over it, in the middle of the Town, the Delaware is reckon'd three miles over at this place, and is a very good Road for Shipping; the Court House and Prison is two tolerably large Buildings of Stone, there are in the Town, a Church dedicated to St. Paul, the Congregation are after the manner of the Church of England; A Quaker Meeting, and a Sweed's Church; about 10 of the Clock forenoon, the Comm'rs and us of their Levee went to St. Pauls, where we heard a Sermon Preach'd by the Reverend Mr. Backhouse on the 16th Chap. of St. Luke 30 & 31st Verses, from this some of us paid A Visit to the Friends who were then in Meeting, but as it happened to be a Silent One, after we had sat about 15 Min. they Shook hands and we parted, from this Return'd to our Inn, where we had a very good Dinner, and about 4 in the Evening set out for Philadelphia, Accompanied by the Shffs, Coroner, and several Gentlemen of the Town, past thro' Derby a Town 7 miles from Chester Standing on a Creek of the same name and at a Stone Bridge about half a mile further,¹ was met by the Sheriff, Coroner, and Sub-Sheriff of Philadelphia County, Here the Company from Chester took their leave of Us and return'd from this passed on three miles further to the River Schuylkill, where

¹ At the Blue Bell, over Cobb's Creek.

we found waiting for Us Richard Peters Esqr. Secretary of the Province, Robert Strettell,¹ Andrew Hamilton,² And

¹ Robert Strettell, a wealthy Irish Quaker, removed with his family to Philada. in 1736. He was probably a son of Amos Strettell, of Dublin, who in 1703 purchased 5000 acres of land in Penna. Robert Strettell was successively Member of Common Council, 1741, Alderman, 1748, and in 1751 Mayor of Phila. In Dec. 1741, he was appointed one of Provincial Council, and in Jan. 1756, during the absence of Gov. Morris, he presided over that body. He died in Phila., and in his will, which was admitted to probate June 24, 1761, he devises "All my Proprietary Rights in West Jersey" and "all my Greek, Latin, and French authors." He was bu. in Friends' Ground June 12th, 1761. His widow, Philotesia, dau. of John Owen, of London, d. in Philada. June, 1782, and was bu. in Friends' Ground on the 28th of that month.

² Andrew Hamilton, the father of him mentioned in the text, was the most eminent and the ablest of the lawyers of the Colony in his day. He was a native of Scotland, and was born in the year 1676. Nothing is known of his early history. The family tradition is that he fled from his native country in consequence of having killed a person of note in a duel. It is more likely that he may have been involved in some of the political difficulties during the reign of King William. For some time after his arrival in America, he concealed his name under that of Trent. Whatever the cause may have been, all danger to himself had passed in the reign of Queen Anne, as he was on the 27th January, 1712, admitted to Gray's Inn and called to the English Bar; a step taken to secure reputation and to promote his advancement in the Colony, which forbids the presumption of felony or crime. He resided first in the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and afterwards in Kent County, Md. He married a lady of fortune and family, Mrs. Anne (Brown) widow of Joseph Preeson. He enjoyed a handsome practice in Chestertown, and a great reputation for ability in 1712. He was soon after appointed a Member of the Provincial Council; and in 1717, Attorney General of Pennsylvania, which position he resigned in 1726 to make a second visit to England; after his return in 1727 he received from Governor Gordon the appointment of Prothonotary, in consideration, not only of his legal qualifications, but also of "the considerable service he had done to the Proprietors in this Province and Country." In 1727, he was elected a Member of the Assembly from Bucks County, and was returned to the same seat for twelve successive years. He took a leading part in public affairs—was Chairman of the most important Committees, the author of most of the Addresses to the Governor and to the Proprietors and to the English Government, and the draughtsman of the Act of the Assembly.

He was Recorder of the City of Philadelphia in 1728. And in November 1737, he was appointed Judge of Vice Admiralty. In 1739, he was elected

several other Gentlemen of Philadelphia, who Receiv'd us very kindly, and Welcom'd us into their Province with a Bowl of fine Lemon Punch big enough to have Swimm'd half a dozen of young Geese; after pouring four or five Glasses of this down our throats we cross'd the River about two hundred yards over, and riding three short miles on the other side brought us into sight of the famous City Philadelphia, but it being some minutes after the time of the Sun taking

Speaker of the Assembly; and with the exception of the year 1733, he filled the chair uninterruptedly till his final retirement, because of age and infirmities, in 1739, when he declined all further public service. On one occasion he was unanimously appointed by the House a Trustee of the Loan Office, and entrusted with the building and disbursements for the State House, sacred to all Americans as the Cradle of Liberty—the Hall of Independence—the designs of which were furnished and entirely carried out by Mr. Hamilton. Andrew Hamilton's defence of the Printer John Peter Zenger indicted for Libel before Chief Justice De Lancey and the Supreme Court of New York in 1736, is one of the earliest and boldest assertions of the Liberty of Speech and Writing. It occasioned wide-spread comment at the time. Mr. Hamilton acquired a noble estate in Lancaster County. The Town of Lancaster was laid out on his property in 1728. He died at Bush Hill—which now forms a part of the City of Philadelphia—in 1741, and was there buried.

His son James Hamilton was Deputy Governor in 1748–54, Governor 1759–63, and President of the Council in 1771. He was the only native Governor of the Colony before the Revolution. He was a liberal patron of the Arts and Sciences, and encouraged and fostered public enterprises. He was President of the American Philosophical Society before its union with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, under the auspices of Dr. Franklin. He died in 1782.

The only daughter of Andrew Hamilton, the elder, married William Allen, Provincial Chief Justice, a man of great wealth, one of the daughters of whom married John Penn, son of Richard Penn, the last proprietary Governor.

Andrew Hamilton, the younger, married a daughter of William Fell; their son William was one of the earliest patrons of art and collectors of pictures in this country. He cultivated the art of ornamental gardening. His residence was the beautiful seat called the Woodlands, the mansion house of which is still standing in the grounds, which are now used as a cemetery. The names of Allen and Hamilton are now both extinct.—Article in *Historical Magazine*, Aug. 1868, by J. F. Fisher. For other account of the ancestry of Andrew Hamilton, the elder, see *History of Independence Hall*, by F. M. Etting, Boston, 1876.

his Departure from that to another Country and the Starrs beginning to twinkle, we cou'd only observe it was the Town: The Governor's House being the first on that Side of the Town which we enter'd, the Secretary Introduced the Commissioners and next their Levee to his Honour, who came to his Gate where he received Us with Great Civility and bid us all heartily welcome to Philadelphia, after this Ceremony was over, he led the way to the Hall, where we was presented with a Glass of Wine, and after some talk on the Stay of the Indians, and his Recommending us to the Care of Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Robert Strettell, who had provided Lodgings for us before, we took leave of the Governor for that night, after having Received an Invitation to Dine with his Honour the Tuesday following, and was Conduct'd to the House of Mr Strettell where we all Sup'd and where the Commissioners & Mr. Lee had a pressing Invitation to stay while in Town, which after some Excuses on the one side, an Intreating on the other, they agreed to, Colonel Taylor and Mr. Lewis had a Lodging provided for them at Mrs. Arthur's in Wallnutt Street, Colonel Thornton and Mr. Littlepage was Lodged at Widow Meredith's in Front Street, Mr. Brookes and my self, went along with the Secretary to his House where we were to put up, by the time we got there it was past 11 O'Clock; he appear'd Exceeding Complaisant and very agreeable to Us, and as I understood he kept Bachellor's house, I was the more pleas'd; after offering Us a Glass of Wine, which we desir'd to be Excus'd from at that time, we were lighted to a very well furnished Room, where my Fellow Lodger and I, after undressing from our Riding Garments, went to Bed in order to pass that part of the twenty four Hours which was between us and Morning, in a State Resembling that of the Departed, where those that are so Dispos'd may follow me, and they who are Inclin'd otherways may pass their hours with a Bottle and their Friend or with something else a ———.

PHILADELPHIA, *Monday* the 28th.

The Fatigue of our Journey Sitting somewhat uneasy on Us, made us keep Bed longer than our Inclinations approv'd,

being prone to View the City, the Character of which had so much excited our Desire; about 7 O'Clock we were call'd by the Waggoneer to take our Baggage, which we accordingly had brought up to our Room, at 9 we eat Breakfast with our new Landlord, after which, he was so good as to go with us to view the City; the Shipping was what first Engag'd Us, in going to which we were Accidentally Join'd by the rest of our Company, the Commissioners excepted; we went on Board the Tartar privateer, a fine Ship near 300 Tons newly Launch'd, which they were Rigging with the greatest Expedition for a Cruising Voyage, from this we went to several more Wharfs where there lay any Vessels, and every where cou'd observe a very Considerable Traffick, in Shipping and unshipping of Goods, mostly American Produce;¹ after our Curiosity in this Respect was satisfy'd, we was Introduced by our Guide to Mr. Andrew Hamilton's, where was Mr. George McCaul² and several other Towns Gentlemen, who kindly welcom'd us to Philadelphia, and after a few Glasses of Wine, we Departed for another Ramble I stumbled from the rest to the Commissioners' Lodgings, who had been waiting on his Honour the Governor, where they had a Conference on the Indian Treaty, on their return, the following Letter was Dispatched to his honour Governor Gooch by an Express to Annapolis.

To the Honourable William Gooch, Esq., Governor of Virg^a.
May it Please your Honour.

We arriv'd here in the Evening of yesterday, this day we were an hour with the Governor, who uses us with great kindness, and we have advised with him about the Indian Treaty; he tells us the Indians or their Speaker mistook one Moon, and they have no Advice of the Indians being on their March, so that we are like to wait some time, which

¹ In 1723, Michael Royal advertises for sale a new sloop on the stocks at the drawbridge. The activity of ship building was very great. There were shipyards at Vine and Race Streets, and near the Old Ferry. Many vessels were sold as fast as they were built, for English and Irish houses abroad. — *Watson's Annals*, ed. 1857, vol. i. p. 228.

² McCall.

will Increase the Expense. The Governor is possitive, that at least £200 value of Goods shoud be brought here, to be given the Indians, as a part of the Consideration at the Treaty; no Promisses of a Reward to come will do with them, without something in hand, and Since we are to be Advis'd by this Governor, and it seems reasonable to Us, we shall have the Goods bought, and we hope your honour will approve of it. This £200, the £100 to Wieser, and the charge of maintaining the Indians, which will be above £200 more, will leave us little to Support our Expensive Journey; so that we hope your Honour will Permitt us a further credit by the Post, or rather Bills from the Receiver General, else we shall be under Difficulties. The Assembly here upon the Warr with France have ordered a Present of £300 to the Indians, and they have given the Governor an unlimited Vote of Credit for his Expenses when he makes the Present, which is to be when we meet them. Maryland will make a Present then, and if we appear empty handed, we shall appear Contemptible in the eyes of the Indians.

This goes by Maryland Express to Annapolis, and from thence we desire Mr. Jennings to send one to your Honour, and we hope the necessity will warrant the Expense.

Our last was by the Post to North East, in the Government of Maryland.

We are with great Respect,

Sir, Your Honour's

Most Obedient and Faithful Humble Servants,

THOMAS LEE.

WILLIAM BEVERLEY.

I Din'd with the Commissioners at Mr. Strettell's, the rest of the Company with Mr. Secretary Peters; in the Afternoon his Honour, the Governor, waited on the Commissioners, and spent some time with them at their Lodgings, and afterwards went to the Coffee House, from thence to the Governor's Clubb, which is a Select Number of Gentlemen that meet every Night at a certain Tavern, where they pass away a few Hours in the Pleasures of Conversation and a Cheerful Glass; about 9 Of the Clock, we had a very Genteel Supper, and afterwards several sorts of Wine and fine Lemon Punch set out the Table, of which every one might take of what he best lik'd, and what Quantity he Pleas'd, between the hours of 10

and 11, the Commissioners withdrew, and with them the rest of their Company, I went directly to my Lodgings, and before 11 struck I was in bed.

PHILADELPHIA, *Tuesday* the 29th.

This morning I got up almost with the Sun, and having several Journal Entries to make, set about them till Breakfast, which I Eat at my Lodgings, afterwards took a turn in the Garden, where I had a very pleasing Prospect of the Fields and Inclosures, and found I was Lodged in a very Airy and Agreeable part of the Town, a little after 12 O'Clock in Company with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Brookes, I went to the Commissioner's Lodgings, where we found them Join'd by the rest of the Levee, and in a few min: after we all set out for his Honour's the Governor, in order to Dine with him according to the Invitation received the Sunday Night before. The Entertainment was very Grand, and consisted of many Dishes Substantial as well as Curious, with a very fine Collation; after Dinner, the Table was immediately furnished with as great plenty of the Choicest Wines as it was before with the best of Victuals; the Glass went briskly round, sometimes with sparkling Champaign, and sometimes Rich Madeira, Claret, or whatever the Drinker pleas'd. Between the hours of 3 & 4 the Governor, Commissioners, and the rest of the Company went to hear a Philosophical Lecture on the Eye, &c., by A: Spencer, M:D:, in which he endeavoured to account for the Faculties, the Nature and Diseases of that Instrument of Sight; next he proceeded to show that Fire is Diffus'd through all space, and may be produced from all Bodies, Sparks of Fire Emitted from the Face and Hands of a Boy Suspended Horizontally, by only rubbing a Glass Tube at his feet. After this, we return'd to the Governor's, where we Drank Tea, and in the evening took leave, and waited on the Commissioners to their Lodgings, where I spent the forepart of the night, and with the rest of the Levee departed for our respective Lodgings, about 10 at night I got home, and in a little time after into Bed.

PHILADELPHIA, *Wednesday* the 30th.

Rose at 7 O'Clock, and wrote till 9, after which went to Breakfast, and after I was Dress'd, I went in order to view some more of the Town, and wherever I went, I found every-thing come up to, or rather exceed the Character I had often heard of Philadelphia, about 12 O'Clock I came to Mr. Stret-tell's, where I found the Commissioners and their Company ready to set out for Mr. William Allen's, a very Considerable Merchant, and Recorder of the City, and a Member of the Council, they were Invited to Dine with them to-day, when we were at the Governor's the day before. About 1 O'Clock we Din'd in Company with his Honour the Governor and several other Gentlemen of Distinction in the City; after Dinner the Commrs., accompanied by the Governor, &c., went in order to view the Privateers fitting out, there were then three getting ready with the utmost Expedition: The Wil-mington, a fine Ship, Burthen 300 Tons, Jno. Sibbald Com-mander, to carry 24 Carriage and 24 Swivel Guns, with 150 men; The Tartar, John Mackey Commander, a fine new Ship about the Burthen of the Wilmington, mounting 18 Car-riage, 20 Swivel Guns, with 130 Men; The George Schooner, William Dowell Commander, to carry 14 Carriage and 18 Swivel Guns, with 120 Men; there are 4 more a Building with all possible Dispatch, besides a fine Bermudas Sloop bought the other day for 800 pounds Sterling, and is called the de Trembleur, to carry 14 Carriage and 20 Swivel Guns and 100 Men;¹ from these Warr Castles and Flying Engines

¹ This goes far towards substantiating the assertion made in the pamphlet *Common Sense*—the subject of the following controversy: republished in the *Historical Magazine* of May, 1869, p. 335.

"Rural Ship-building in New England.

Extract of a letter from Jamaica, dated June 29, 1776.

"A pamphlet has been circulated here, under the title of *Common Sense* (the celebrated brochure of Thomas Paine), which was sent hither from America. It is written with great virulence against the English Adminis-tration, and its Design is to stir up the Colonists to assert their independency on the Mother Country. There are many false assertions in it, One of which,

of Destruction, we return'd with Solemn Gate to the Coffee House, where I parted with the Company, the Governor and

Admiral Gaylon has thought proper to contradict, in the *Jamaica Gazette*, in the following words:—

“I have seen a pamphlet, published in Philadelphia, under the title of *Common Sense*, wherein the Author says that, 40 years ago, there were 70 and 80-gun ships built in New England; in answer to which, I do declare that, at that period of time, I was in New England, a Midshipman on board his Majesty's ship, with the late Sir Peter Warren, and then, there had never been a Man-of-War built of any kind.

“In 1747 (after the reduction of Lewisburgh), there was a ship of 44 guns ordered to be built at Piscataqua, by one Mr. Messervey; she was called the *America*, and sailed for England the following year; when she came home she was found so bad that she never was commissioned again. There was, afterwards, another ship of 20 guns built at Boston, by Mr. Benjamin Hallowell, which was called the *Boston*; she run but a short time before she was condemned; and *those were the only two ships of war ever built in America*—therefore I thought it my duty to publish this, to undeceive the Public in general—to show that what the Author has set forth is an utter falsity.

CLARK GAYLON.”

To the Printer:—

As Admiral *Gaylon* has taken upon him publickly to declare in Opposition to the Author of *Common Sense*, and from his *own* knowledge, that when he was here, forty Years since, “there never had been a Man of War of any kind built in New England,” it is but just that the public should be informed that, in the year 1690, a Fourth Rate Ship of War was launched at New Castle in Piscataqua River; and in the year 1696, another, whose Force is not remembered. The former was the *Falkland*, and the latter *Bedford Galley*.

It is not probable that Admiral Gaylon had any Knowledge of these Ships being built here, so that he cannot be charged with Falsehood; but it is hoped if he should publish any Thing further relating to this Country, he will express himself not quite so positively, especially if he undertakes to prove a negative.

The Evidence of the above Facts depends on an original Manuscript Letter from Mr. Emerson, formerly Minister of New Castle, to the late Mr. Prince; and it is to be found among the Collection of Manuscripts relating to the History of New England, made by 50 years' Industry of that worthy Gentleman, unless it has been pilfered or destroyed by the *Saracen-like* Barbarity of the late Occupiers of the Old South Meeting House in Boston, in an Apartment of which those valuable Manuscripts were deposited.—*Freeman's Journal or N. H. Gazette*, January 14, 1777.

One hundred and thirty-eight ships were entered at the custom house of London in 1694.—*Houghton's Husbandry*, vol. i. p. 440.

the Commissioners¹ with their Levee to the Clubb, and I went to spend the Evening with a Merchant and Townsman of mine; I had not seen him for some years before till that Forenoon, when he Invited me to his House. I found him at Home according to Promise, & there I spent the forepart of the Night very Agreeably. He kept Batchellor House, and Consequently more Freedom, than when a Wife and Children is to be Conform'd to. I staid till after 11, and parted, he making me Promises to be no Stranger while I staid in Town, of which there was no great fear, as he kept a Glass of Good Wine, and was as free of it as an Apple-tree of its Fruit on a Windy Day in the month of July: I grop'd my way to where I Lodged, after having Butted against some Posts on the Sides of the Pavement, who kept me in my Road; about the mid hour I got to Bed, where I incline to let myself rest till morning.

¹ The Governor of Pennsylvania mentioned in this journal was George Thomas. His office was, more properly speaking, that of Deputy Governor, and he held that position from August, 1738, to 1747. Previous to his appointment he had been a planter on the Island of Antigua, W. I. He was detained in London after having received his commission for some time, defending the Proprietary rights against the claim of Lord Baltimore to jurisdiction over the Lower Counties, and did not meet the Assembly of the province he was to govern until August, 1738. Gordon, in his *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 252, says "Governor Thomas was active, industrious, and capable; attached to the province, but more devoted to the proprietaries and the king. In his zeal for His Majesty he overlooked the principles and character of the people he was called to govern. He believed himself sufficiently strong in polemical controversy to shake the opinions for which their ancestors had broken the tender characters of kindred and country, and which they themselves cherished with enthusiasm. Failing in this, he endeavored to intimidate men who, though declining to exhibit military courage, were no respectors of persons, and had never displayed political cowardice. When experience had taught him properly to appreciate the Quaker character, and to determine how far and in what manner their loyalty could be shown, unchecked by their consciences, he drew from them without difficulty whatever he could in propriety demand. His moderation and considerate forbearance towards the Quakers during the latter years of his administration, were rewarded by the esteem of the people and the confidence of the legislature." Drake, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, states that he was from 1752 to 1766 Governor of the Leeward and Caribbee Islands; created a baronet, 1766; died, London, January 11, 1775.

OCCUPATION OF NEW YORK CITY BY THE BRITISH,

1776.

* EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE MORAVIAN CONGREGATION.

(Concluded from page 148.)

SEPTEMBER.

Sunday 1st.—We had our preaching in the forenoon and in the ev'ning as usual; and in the afternoon the Congregation meeting. At the preachings we had goodly companies of strangers.

Tuesday 3d.—The ev'ning meeting was on the Watchword and Text. The rebel army begun to re-collect themselves; and the greatest part marched towards Harlem and along the East river, some miles from here; the king's army advanced eastward on Long Island, opposite the Hell Gate, and thereabouts.

Monday 9th.—Whereas the troubles of War were now near Watts' House, Phil. Sypher fetched his wife, child, and goods back from thence to town, as also the things out of the Chapel-House that had been there; and it was just high time, else they might have been lost; for this house soon after was plundered by the king's troops. Several other people came back from those parts. By the measures and proceedings of the Rebel army, it appeared evident, that they intended to leave the city; for as they had begun last week, so all this week, they removed their sick, their stores, and ammunition, and gradually the soldiers marched away. They likewise took the bells out of all the Churches and conveyed them away.

Wednesday 11th and Thursday 12th.—Night and day they were busy to bring their things away; and it appeared plain, that there would be a change soon; the reports were various. Almost daily there was firing from Long Island to Horn's Hook, and the ship yards here.

Friday 13th.—In the afternoon, some Men of War went up the East river; the few cannons left, fired on the ships, which caused that they fired back from Long Island and Governor's Island and very smartly. Isaac Van Vleck, who is too much bewildered in the matter, made haste to get out of town.

Saturday 14th.—In the afternoon more ships went up the East river, which being fired on again, brought on another smart cannonading; some Houses were damaged, and it was very unsafe to walk in the streets. The remainder of the Rebel army hasted away, and so did the members of the Committee, and others of the deluded people.

Sunday 15th.—Soon in the morning when the tide served, more ships passed up both the North and East river; and though what was yet in town of the Rebel troops got away as fast as they could, yet they fired again on the ships, as they did likewise from Powles Hook; which caused a cannonading which made the houses shake, and the sound of it was terrible. One large ball, supposed to come from Powles Hook flew against the North Church, just opposite the chapel,¹ broke, and a part of it went back into a neighboring cellar kitchen where a negro woman was, who came running over to the kitchen of the chapel-house; where also Sypher's family was, who had been there all night, as they lived near the fort, where the houses were most exposed to the firing. After some time the firing ceased, and at the usual time we had the forenoon's preaching, in all stillness; the only service kept in the city. About this time the king's troops had landed on York Island, about three miles from the city; there was some slaughter, and the rebels were made to retreat towards Harlem. In the afternoon at three was the congregation meeting; but the evening preaching we thought proper to drop. There was a good deal of commotion in the town; the Continental stores were broken open, and people carried off the provisions; the boats crossed to Powles' Hook backward and forward yet till toward evening; some people going away and others coming in; but then the ferry boats

¹ Moravian, in Fair, now Fulton Street, opposite the North Dutch Church.

withdrew, and the passage was stopped. Some of the king's officers from the ships came on shore, and were joyfully received by some of the inhabitants. The king's flag was put up again in the fort, and the Rebels' taken down. And thus the city was now delivered from those Usurpers who had oppressed it so long.

Monday, Sept. 16th.—In the forenoon the first of the English troops came to town. They were drawn up in two lines in the Broad Way; Governor Tryon and others of the officers were present, and a great concourse of people. Joy and gladness seemed to appear in all countenances, and persons who had been strangers one to the other formerly, were now very sociable together, and friendly. Bro. Shewkirk, who accidentally came to it, met with several instances of that kind. The first that was done was, that all the houses of those who have had a part and a share in the Rebellion were marked as forfeited. Many indeed were marked by persons who had no order to do so, and did it perhaps to one or the other from some personal resentment. Bro. Shewkirk, walking through the streets, saw to his grief, that several houses belonging to our people were likewise marked; as Sister Kilburn's, Hilah Waldron's, and Sister Bouquet's, King's, Isaac Van Vleck's, &c. He wrote afterwards to Governor Tryon, congratulating him on the late happy event, and at the same time interceded in behalf of the 2 Ww's¹ houses. The word of this day was remarkable: "Israel shall be saved in the Lord, with an everlasting salvation; ye shall not be confounded world without end." The following day everything was pretty quiet, though almost daily they brought in prisoners, who were lodged in the Dutch and Presbyterian churches. The fear one had of the city's being destroyed by fire subsided, and the inhabitants thought themselves now pretty secure; little thinking that destruction was so near.

Friday 20th.—Bro. Jacobson came from Staten Island, and it was a true mutual joy to see one another; as, for a couple of months we could have no communication with Staten

¹ Widows.

Island. By him we heard that our people there were all well.

Saturday 21st.—In the first hour of the day, soon after midnight, the whole city was alarmed by a dreadful fire. Bro. Shewkirk, who was alone in the chapel-house, was not a little struck, when he saw the whole air red, and thought it to be very near; but going into the street, he found that it was in the low west end of the town; and went thither. When he came down the Broad Way, he met with Sister Sykes and her children. She was almost spent carrying the child, and a large bundle besides. He took the bundle, and went back with them, and let them in to our house; when he left them, and returned with their prentice to the fire, taking some buckets along. The fire was then in the lower part of Broad street, Stone street, &c. It spread so violently that all what was done was but of little effect; if one was in one street and looked about, it broke out already again in another street above; and thus it raged all the night, and till about noon. The wind was pretty high from southeast, and drove the flames to the northwest. It broke out about White Hall; destroyed a part of Broad street, Stone street, Beaver street, the Broadway, and then the streets going to the North River, and all along the North river as far as the King's College. Great pain was taken to save Trinity church, the oldest and largest of the English churches, but in vain; it was destroyed, as also the old Lutheran church; and St. Paul's, at the upper end of the Broadway, escaped very narrowly. Some of our families brought of their goods to our house. Bro. Shewkirk had the pleasure to be a comfort to our neighbors, who were much frightened the fire might come this way; and indeed, if the wind had shifted to the west as it had the appearance a couple of times, the whole city might have been destroyed. The corner house of our street, going to the Broadway, caught already; Bro. Shewkirk ordered our long ladder, and the others to be fetched out of our burying ground; which were of service in carrying the water up to the roof of said house in buckets; and by the industry of all the people the fire was put out. Several of our people have sustained con-

siderable loss: Sister Kilburn has lost two houses; Pell's three houses; Jacobson one, and Widow Zoeller her's; and others have lost a part of their goods; as Lepper, Eastman, &c.

There are great reasons to suspect that some wicked incendiaries had a hand in this dreadful fire, which has consumed the fourth part of the city; several persons have been apprehended; moreover there were few hands of the inhabitants to assist; the bells being carried off, no timely alarm was given; the engines were out of order; the fire company broke; and also no proper order and directions, &c.; all which contributed to the spreading of the flames.

Sunday 22d.—The forenoon's preaching was on Lam. 3: 22, 23. "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed; because His compassions fail not. They are new every morning; great is Thy faithfulness;"—and attended with that sensation which the present time and circumstances naturally afforded; we thanked the Lord with melted hearts for His undeserved mercies, and could practically attest that they are new every morning. In the afternoon's Congregation Meeting the to-day's suitable Watch-word was spoken upon. "The Lord God will help me; therefore I shall not be confounded." In the ev'ning was the usual preaching.

Monday 23d.—The fire has thrown a great damp on the former joyful sensation; numbers of people were carried to Jail, on suspicion to have had a hand in the fire, and to have been on the Rebel's side; it is said about 200; however, on examination, the most men were as fast discharged.¹

¹ "Mr. David Grim, a merchant of New York, who saw the conflagration,"—says Mr. Lossing, in his *Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii. page 613—"has left a record of the event. He says the fire broke out in a low groggery and brothel, a wooden building, on the wharf near Whitehall slip. It was discovered between one and two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first of September. The wind was from the southwest. There were but few inhabitants in the city; and the flames, for a while unchecked, spread rapidly. All the houses between Whitehall and Broad Streets, up to Beaver Street, were consumed, when the wind veered to the southeast, and drove the fire toward Broadway. It consumed all on each side of Beaver Street to the Bowling Green; a little above which it crossed Broadway, and swept all the buildings on both sides, as far as Exchange Street. On the west

Bro. Conrad, also, was taken to Jail, but after a couple of days he came out again. Daniel Van Vleck expected the same, which made his wife and family much distressed; for he had often talked too inconsiderate, and in a wrong spirit; however it blew over. After all, it is observable, that those of our people who had kept themselves free from the Infatuation, were acknowledged as such, and met with nothing disagreeable of that kind.

NOVEMBER.

In November new troubles began on account of the quartering of the soldiers, of whom more and more come in; as also many of their women and children. Many of the public buildings were already filled with Prisoners, or sick, &c.; especially all the Dutch and Presbyterian churches, as also the French church, the Baptists, and new Quaker meeting; and we were not without apprehension, that something of that nature might come upon us; and this the more, as the Chapel-House has the appearance of a spacious building; and just opposite the same they were fitting up the fine north church¹ of the English Dutch for Barracks.

Sunday 10th.—The communicants had a meeting, as many as are in town, in which Bro. Shewkirk kept a discourse in

side it consumed almost every building from Morris Street to Partition (Fulton) Street, devouring Trinity Church in its way, and destroyed all the buildings toward the North River. For a long time the new (St. Paul's) church was in peril, for the fire crept in its rear to Mortkile (Barclay) Street, and extended west of King's (Columbia) College to Murray Street. The exact number of buildings consumed was four hundred and ninety-three. The city then contained about four thousand houses." "The ruins," says Dunlap, "on the southeast side of the town were converted into dwelling places, by using the chimneys and parts of walls which were firm, and adding pieces of spars with old canvas from the ships, forming hovels—part hut and part tent. This was called Canvas Town, and there the vilest of the army and Tory refugees congregated. The Tories of the day attempted to fix the crime of incendiarism upon the Rebels, but could not. It was well known that the fire had an accidental origin; yet the libel continued to be reproduced."

¹ The North Dutch Church, in which the service was in English.

reference to the ensuing festival, and especially declared his mind on the subject of meddling with State affairs; sharing in the party spirit; and partaking of the well-known Infatuation, &c.; as has been the case with too many of us; though entirely repugnant to the mind of Christ, and our Congregation principles, which are Bible principles. He put the Brn. and Sisters in mind of the repeated advice he had given them at the beginning of these troubles, and the requests he had made to remain still, and not to mire themselves with that spirit; he showed at the same time from whence it comes to be so carried away; namely from a shallowness of heart, and an Itching for carnal Liberty, &c.

Saturday 16th.—From early in the morning till towards noon, a heavy cannonading was heard, tho' at a considerable distance; one heard afterwards that the king's troops had attacked the lines and the famous Fort Washington, and carried it;¹ several thousands of the rebels were taken prisoners &c. The king's army has been about 2 months thereabouts; and there have been, from time to time, sharp engagements, at the White Plains, &c.;² till at last they have driven them away from the York Island; and it was a matter of moment, as now one may hope that the communication with the Jerseys will be open'd, as also with the places up the East River; so that the Inhabitants may come to the city, and provisions be brought in; especially wood, which is not to be had, and is extremely dear; a cord of oak wood, bought formerly for 20s. now 4£s. Fort Constitution, or Lee, opposite Fort Washington, now Fort Kniphausen, on the Jersey side surrender'd, or was left by the rebels; and the king's troops got soon master of this part of the Jerseys, and advanced swiftly towards Philadelphia.

Monday 18th.—In the forenoon, about 11 o'clock, 2 officers, with 2 other gentlemen came to see the chapel and house; Bro. Shewkirk showed them about; one of the officers asked

¹ See Address of Edward F. DeLancey, before the New York Historical Society, December 7, 1876, printed in the Magazine of American History, New York, February, 1877.

² The battle of White Plains took place on Oct. 28.

whether service was kept in the chapel; and hearing it was, said, it would be a pity to take it; the other ran about very swiftly, and saw every part of the premises. Bro. Shewkirk, who easily could guess what the meaning was, as soon as they were gone, made application to the present commanding General Robertson, and to Governor Tryon. The former was not at home; the latter received him kindly, but said he could do nothing in the matter, as now all the power was lodged with the army; yet he would recommend the matter to the General; and this he did in a few lines he wrote under the petition, referring it to the favorable consideration of the General. Bro. Shewkirk carried it to him, but he was not come home yet, and so he left it there. He did not know that the 2000 and more prisoners taken in Fort Washington, had come already to town.¹ In the afternoon about 4 o'clock he saw at once the street before the window full of people. The serjeant of the guard came to the door, and asked whether this was the Moravian meeting? He was order'd to bring these 400 prisoners here by command of the Generals Smith and Robertson. If the latter had order'd it, it may be it was done before he came home to his quarters. Bro. Shewkirk, who was alone in the house, did not know what to do; he could not go away. By and by the Major who had command of the prisoners and another man came in; they looked at the Chapel, and said it was too small; the latter said he had told that before, he had been in the place before now, and knew it. He spoke to Bro. Shewkirk, and condoled with him that the place should be taken; they began to doubt of the certainty, and thought there was a mistake in the matter; another young man of the city who knows Bro. Shewkirk, and has now the care of the provisions for the rebel prisoners, was likewise inclined in our favour. These 3 persons went back-

¹ Capt. Graydon, who was one of the prisoners taken at the capture of Fort Washington, says: that on the 17th ult. they were marched into the city, but previous to entering it "were drawn up for about an hour on the high ground near the East river. Here the officers being separated from the men, we were conducted into a church, where, if I mistake not, we signed a parole."—See *Memoirs*, Phila., 1846, p. 222.

ward and forward to make another inquiry; at last one of them came back and told he had met with the Deputy Barrack Master, a Jew; who had told him they must be here. Well—the gate on the men's side was open'd.

The serjeant of the guard, quite a civil man, advised to take all loose things out of the chapel before the prisoners came in. This was done accordingly. Phil. Sykes, who was come before this time, and extremely welcome, while Bro. Shewkirk was alone in the house, assisted herein; as also young Wiley; and it took up some time, during which the Major came again, and order'd the serjeant to wait awhile longer; he would go to Genl. Robertson. After some time he came back, and addressed Bro. Shewkirk in a friendly manner; saying, he had believed they would have been a disagreeable company; and took the prisoners to the North Church.¹ Bro. Shewkirk thanked the Major for his kindness; may the Lord reward him as also the other two men. The prisoners, with the guard, stood above half an hour in the street before our door, and many spectators, of whom none, so far as one could see, showed a wish for their coming in, but several signified the reverse, and were glad when it did not take place. An old gentleman, several weeks after, accosted Bro. Shewkirk in the street, and told him how sorry he had been when he saw these people standing before our door; he had heard Bro. Rice, &c. After this affair was over, Bro. Shewkirk retreated to his room, and thanked our Saviour, with tears, for his visible help; He has the hearts of all men in His hands. If these prisoners had come in, how much would our place have been ruined, as one may see by the North Church; not to mention the painful thought of seeing a place dedicated to our Savior's praise, made a habitation of darkness and uncleanness. Praise be to Him and the Father!

As the winter quarters of the soldiers in this city were not settled yet, the apprehension was not over, that some would be put to us; and so one of our neighbors thought, who in

¹ Corner of William and Fulton Streets.

time of peace was one of the Common Council men ; but at the same time he assured Bro. Shewkirk that as far as he knew, none of the creditable and sensible men of the town wished it out of spite, &c. Bro. Shewkirk's character was well known, but the house was large, and there was want of room.

Saturday 30th.—About noon Bro. Wilson came to town from Second River, the passage being now open ; we were glad to see him. He brought us the news, which was rather not welcome, that Abraham Van Vleck's, Waldron's, Ten Broeck's families, and also Sister Shewkirk were gone from Second River to North Branch.¹ We now gave it almost up to see the latter here this winter, and it seemed most probable that she would go to Bethlehem. If they had tarried, as Wilson's did, all of them might now already be in, or shortly come to town.

DECEMBER.

Sunday 1st.—This being the first Sunday in Advent, the weighty subject of our Lord's coming in the flesh was preached upon, both in the forenoon, and in the ev'ning. In the afternoon about two o'clock, a company of officers came into the House, looking for some quarter for themselves. It was assured by some that they would not disturb our church and service ; some talked but of some rooms ; others said they must have the whole house, and the chapel too. One, a Cornet of the Light Horse, marked one room for himself ; desired to clear it this afternoon, and let him have a table and a couple of chairs, and he would willingly pay for it. After they were gone, Bro. Shewkirk, and Wilson who was just with him, went to Genl. Robertson. The Genl. was kind ; he said he had given them no orders ; he intended to have no place disturbed where service was kept. He took down Bro. Shewkirk's name and the matter ; which chiefly was, not to disturb our chapel, nor to desire the whole house ; Bro. Shewkirk offer'd a couple of rooms if necessary ; and at

¹ Of Raritan River.

last said he would go to Alderman Waddel. He was along with the officers in the street, before they came in, but told Wilson he had nothing to do with it; he only upon their desire had gone along with them, and hear what he knew of the matter, and they should come along with him. When they were on the way, they met one of those officers (the Genl's clerk), and indeed him who spoke the most imperiously, and that he would have the chapel; upon which the Genl. and they returned to the Genl's house. The officer spoke here quite in another tone, and said he had already told the other to look for another place, etc. The Genl. said he would see about the matter, and give an answer the next morning. The brethren went home, and Bro. Shewkirk held the congregation meeting for which the brethren and sisters were gathered together. Upon this occasion we found again that our neighbors were not against us. One said, it cannot be that they would take your place, the only place where public service was held when there was none in the whole city. In the evening the room which the Cornet had marked was cleared, in case he should come; but none of them came again. Some time after, Dr. Edmunds belonging to the hospital came one day, and with much civility and modesty inquired after a room. Bro. Shewkirk, thinking perhaps it might be a means to be free from a further endeavor of somebody's being quartered here, and moreover wishing to have a man in the house in these days, offered him the room the Cornet had marked; and after some weeks he came, and proves a very civil and quiet gentleman, who causes little or no troubles.

Monday 2d.—The commissioners' extraordinary gracious proclamation in the name of the King, was published in the public papers; by virtue of which all rebels within 60 days may return without suffering any forfeiture or punishment; and it has had a great effect; numbers are come in, have signed the prescribed declaration, availed themselves of the benefit of the proclamation, and returned to the peaceable enjoyment of their property; though afterwards some of them have shown their insincerity and bad principles, going back

again to the rebels. The officers yesterday doubtless thought in a hurry to secure lodgings to themselves before the proclamation was published, as now they can't take houses as they please. This was also the answer Genl. Robertson gave to Bro. Wilson this morning, when he carried in his name, and mentioned again our house and chapel. The Genl. said the proclamation would settle these matters.

Tuesday 17th.—Sister Shewkirk returned at last, safe and well, to the joy of her husband, and of the brethren and sisters. She brought all their and the congregation things safe back. Bro. Wilson's whole family came at the same time to town; and though they met with many difficulties in their removal, yet it was doubtless the best they could do; for, in the time ensuing, the rebel parties came again into those places, and distressed those much who had joined the King; nay carried some of the men away prisoners.

Tuesday 31st.—Whereas it is at present very unsafe in the ev'nings to be out, on account of several late robberies, and persons having been knocked down besides, we were obliged to submit to the times and circumstances; and therefore the congregation members met at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and had a love feast; to praise together our dear and gracious Lord for all his goodness bestowed on us during this year full of troubles. At the same time we read the weekly accounts of the Unity's Elders' Conference, to the end of the year 1775, having had no convenient time to read them before.

As to our memorabilia, they are mostly fresh in our remembrance. The entrance into the year, and first day was particularly blessed; and we took it then as a strengthening for what was to come afterwards, and the event has shown it so. In February the troubles began, and several of our people moved into the country, some of whom never returned since then; others came back and moved afterwards the second time.

However we kept the Easter season and Whitsuntide with blessing; and upon the whole, the first half year we could go on in our usual order. Afterwards we became, on account of the troubles of this unnatural war, a scattered congregation

as we are in part yet; and we are thankful that we could keep the ordinary meetings with the remnant that stayed; with them we had the holy communion on the 11th of August. As far as we know it of them that are come back after this city was again in the hands of its lawful Sovereign, our people, in the country and in the town, have experienced a gracious protection and preservation of their souls, bodies, and properties, especially if compared to what others have sustained; for generally speaking, all have had a share in the general calamity; what by being out of business, travelling expenses, the fire, and other casualties. By the dreadful fire, indeed, several of our people have sustained great losses. That in the present time of dearness our working brethren and sisters have had, and have work to earn a necessary livelihood, is a matter of thanks, especially at the total change of the former currency. We owe also thanks to the preserver of our lives that in the various infectious disorders of which incredible numbers of the rebel army have died, we have enjoyed health for the most part. And above all, we are very thankful that our chapel and house have been preserved to us from those destructions which have befallen the most of the other places of worship. A couple of times the danger was near; but HE helped.

We are sensible we have not deserved it, but rather the reverse; for but too many of us were not, and conducted themselves not as we ought to have done, and as our Lord might justly have expected it from us; yea, we are sensible that the inward loss which one or the other has sustained is not repaired yet; and here we must appeal to our compassionate High Priest to haste and to heal our numberless infirmities. Indeed these times have been a time of shaking, and what had no root is dropped off.

MEETING OF THE DESCENDANTS OF COL. THOMAS
WHITE, AT ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, SPESUTLÆ,
AND SOPHIA'S DAIRY,

NEAR PERRYMANSVILLE, HARFORD COUNTY, MARYLAND, ON THE
OCCASION OF THE REINTERMENT OF THE REMAINS OF
COL. WHITE AND THOSE OF HIS WIFE,
JUNE 7, 1877.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM WHITE BRONSON.

A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

During the month of November, 1876, the Rev. Edmund Christian, of Perrymansville, Harford County, Md., addressed a letter to the Rev. William White Bronson, of Philadelphia, stating that the farm, known as "Cranberry Hall," on which Colonel Thomas White, the father of Bishop White, was buried, had passed out of the hands of the family, and that, for greater security, it was very desirable his ashes should be removed to the churchyard of old St. George's, Spesutiæ, of which parish Col. White had been an active and interested vestryman. In fact, a formal vote for the disinterment and removal had been adopted by the authorities of the parish, on the condition that the families interested should give their consent.

Communication, in person or by letter, was at once opened with those who had any claim to be consulted, and the 7th day of June, 1877, was fixed upon for the recommittal.

The Rev. Mr. Bronson, accompanied by his nephew, Mr. Henry Reed, repaired to Perrymansville on Wednesday, the 6th, to be present at the disinterment. Having been met at the station by the rector and three of his vestrymen, as also by Messrs. William White Ramsay Hall and Henry C. Hall, lineal descendants of Col. White, we repaired to the burial plot. Col. Thomas White had been buried 98 years, and his wife Sophia 128 years. Still, the fragments of two skeletons,

wonderfully preserved, were unearthed. The space occupied by a coffin could be distinctly traced, and even large portions of the wood, in a spongy condition, were recovered. Everything pertaining to the original interment, which could be collected, was placed in a new walnut case, and left in the church, before the chancel, until the following day.

On Thursday morning the representatives of three families, to wit, the Halls, Whites, and Morrisses, all lineal descendants of Col. White, and numbering fifty-seven, assembled in St. George's Church, for the completion of our pious work.

Of the family of Mr. Aquila Hall, there were present Mr. and Mrs. J. Plaskitt, and the Misses Alverda W. and Elizabeth Hall; Mr. Thomas White Hall, and Dr. and Mrs. Richard Emory, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Aquila Howard Hall, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Mayo, Mr. William George Hall and Miss Isabella Berthia Hall; Mr. and Mrs. William P. C. Whitaker and Miss Ellen Ramsay Whitaker; the Rev. and Mrs. William F. Brand; Mrs. General Barnard and Miss Jeannie Brand Barnard; Mr. Henry Carvil Hall; Mr. and Mrs. William White Ramsay Hall; Mrs. Dr. John Hanson Briscoe, and Miss Maria Reeder Key.

Of the family of Bishop White: Miss Elizabeth White Wiltbank; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. White Wiltbank, and Misses Esther Macpherson and Gertrude Wiltbank, and Master William Macpherson Wiltbank; Mrs. Reed, and Miss Mary Bronson Reed, and Mr. Henry Reed; Rev. and Mrs. Wm. White Bronson, and Mr. Wm. White Bronson, junior; Mr. Thomas Harrison Montgomery, and Miss Rebecca Morton Montgomery, and Masters James Alan and Samuel George Morton Montgomery; Mr. J. Brinton White, and Misses Lydia Biddle and Sarah Frederica White, and Master William White; the Misses Maria Heath, Catharine Ann, and Charlotte White; Mr. Thomas Harrison White; Mr. Wharton White.

Of the family of Mr. Robert Morris: Mr. and Mrs. Charles Henry Hart; Mrs. Baird Snyder, and Miss Mary White Morris, Miss Charlotte Eliza Morris; Mrs. James Darrach, and Miss Edith Morris Darrach.

There were also present the following friends of the family and others: The Rev. Mr. Christian, rector of St. George's Church, Spesutiæ, and Miss Christian, with the vestry of the church; the Rev. George A. Leakin and the Rev. Charles W. Rankin, of Baltimore; the Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D.D., and John William Wallace, LL.D., of Philadelphia; Edward F. De Lancey, Esquire, of New York, etc. etc.

A service for the occasion, prepared by the Rev. Mr. Bronson, was used, in which the rector of St. George's, the Rev. Dr. Davies, of Philadelphia, the Rev. Mr. Brand, and the Rev. Mr. Bronson took part. The service, thus used, will be found printed on a subsequent page, together with the brief addresses of the Rev. Mr. Bronson, of the Rector, and of the Rev. G. A. Leakin.

At the conclusion of this service we repaired to the farm and house where Col. White died, and known as "Sophia's Dairy." This most appropriate spot had been fixed upon for the family reunion, and for hearing certain historical papers. Mr. Thomas H. Montgomery, having been called upon to preside, prefaced the reading of the first paper with certain appropriate remarks, in which we were reminded of one great object of our assembling, to wit, that we should be taught "a fuller realization of the duties and responsibilities which are imposed upon us by a respected and honored ancestry;" that we should each strive, "in our several ways and paths, to uphold, with honor and dignity, the heritage we find left to us by an upright and God-fearing ancestry; for this is the lesson which the history of earnest men should teach those who carry their blood." Mr. Montgomery then announced the papers in their order, as follows:—

A paper on Col. Thomas White, by Mr. William White Wiltbank.

A paper on Bishop White and his descendants, by Mr. J. Brinton White.

A paper on the descendants of Mrs. Robert Morris, by Mr. Charles Henry Hart.

A paper on the Ancestry of Col. Thomas White, by Mr. Henry Reed.

It had been intended that immediately after the reading of the paper by Mr. Wiltbank, a paper on the descendants of Mrs. Aquila Hall should be presented, but in lieu thereof some appropriate extemporaneous remarks were made by the Rev. Mr. Brand, a connection of that branch by marriage.

The following is a list of the articles relating to Colonel White, which were exhibited at the meeting:—

Sundry letters to Col. White from his sisters in England, Elizabeth White, Mrs. Sarah Midwinter, Mrs. Charlotte Weeks, ranging from April 7, 1747, to October 16, 1776; different ones being in the possession of Mrs. Reed, Miss Nixon, Miss Morris, and Mr. T. H. Montgomery.

Business letter book of Col. White, in his own writing, from May 4, 1751, to December 16, 1775, in the possession of Mr. T. H. Montgomery.

Three account books, journal, day-book, ledger, from April, 1742, to 1767, in the possession of Mr. T. H. Montgomery, being purchased by him, the existence and whereabouts of the same having been kindly communicated by Mr. John W. Wallace.

Desk of Col. White, with drawers, brass mounted, secret drawers, surmounted by chest of drawers; in possession of Mr. T. H. Montgomery.

Watch of Col. White, afterwards in use by Bishop White, and given by the latter's son to Mr. T. H. Montgomery, in 1857.

Will of Col. White, April 15, 1773, at Constant Friendship, Harford County, and duplicate, *both* in writing of Col. White.

Mourning ring, one of those directed in will of Col. White; in possession of Mr. T. H. Montgomery. (The only one known.)

Prayer book, London, 1713, of Mrs. Sarah Midwinter, "Nov. 1748," given by her to her nephew, Bishop White, who wrote in it his own family record.

Miniature of Col. Thomas White, set in pearls, owned by Mrs. C. H. Hart.

Miniature of Col. Thomas White, owned by Mr. George Macpherson.

The Bishop of Gloucester's Exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England, London, 1686; given to Elizabeth Leigh, the mother of Col. White, by her uncle, the Rt. Rev. Henry Downes, D.D., matriculated at Oxford New College, 30 Aug. 1686, aged 19. Rector of Brington, Co. Northampton, 1699. Bishop of Killala, Ireland, 1717, of Elphin 1720, of Meath 1724, of Derry 1727. Died January 14, 1734-5. Buried at St. Mary's, Dublin. This volume contains the autographs of Elizabeth Leigh, Col. Thomas White, and Bishop White; the latter signed to an autograph memorandum on the fly-leaf.

Coat of arms of Elizabeth White (mother of Col. Thomas White), owned by Mrs. George W. White.

Miniature of Mrs. Charlotte Ramsay, eldest daughter of Aquila and Sophia Hall, now owned by Miss Jeannie Brand Barnard.

A volume entitled "The Devout Christian instructed How to Pray and Give thanks to God," &c., by Symon Patrick, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Ely, London, 1718. On the title-page is written, "Thomas White, 1719, his Book, given him by His Cozen, George White." The above is in the possession of the Rev. Wm. White Bronson.

It may be noted, as a coincidence, that the same office, which was participated in by a large share of those present on the above occasion, was discharged in honor of Bishop White, on the 23d of Dec. 1870, when, at the request of the rector and vestry, his ashes were re-interred beneath the chancel of Christ Church, Phila.

The following is the order of service:—

IN THE CHURCH.

The Lord's Prayer, by the Rev. T. F. Davies, D.D., Rector of St. Peter's, Phila.

The Lesson: Ecclesiasticus xliv., 1 to 15 v.

1. Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us, etc. etc. etc.¹

¹ The Lesson and Psalm were read by the Rev. W. F. Brand, of St. Mary's, Harford County, Md.

The Psalm: Psalm cxlvi. *Lauda anima mea.*

Praise the Lord, O my soul: while I live, will I praise the Lord; yea, as long as I have any being, I will sing praises unto my God, etc. etc.

Hymn 202 of Prayer Book.

Collects offered by the Rev. W. White Bronson, Chaplain of Christ Church Hospital, Phila.

O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of thy Son Christ our Lord; Grant us grace so to follow thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys, which thou hast prepared for those who unfeignedly love thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O God, whose days are without end, and whose mercies cannot be numbered, etc. etc. etc.

AT THE GRAVE.

The sentence of re-committal was read by the Rev. E. Christian, Rector of St. George's, Spesutiæ, and was as follows:—

Forasmuch as it pleased Almighty God, in His wise Providence, to take out of this world the souls of the deceased, we therefore re-commit their bodies to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, etc.

The closing prayers were offered by Mr. Bronson, as follows:—

Grant, O Lord, that as we are baptized into the death of thy blessed Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, so, etc. etc.

Almighty God, we give Thee hearty thanks for Thy servants, long since delivered from the miseries of this sinful world, and, as we trust, admitted to sure consolation and rest. Grant, we beseech Thee, that at the day of judgment, their souls, and all the souls of Thy elect, departed out of this life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive Thy promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious resurrection of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord. *Amen.*

The grace of our Lord, etc.

At this point the Rev. Mr. Bronson addressed the rector, wardens, and vestrymen of St. George's, Spesutiæ, thus:—

My reverend brother, the rector, and you, gentlemen, the wardens and vestrymen of St. George's, Spesutiæ, brethren beloved: by a vote of your corporate body it was resolved, the descendants of Colonel White consenting and co-operat-

ing, that for greater security the ashes of Col. White should be removed to the churchyard of St. George's, Spesutiæ.

To your thoughtfulness and regard for the proper care of one of the departed in Christ, we are indebted for the opportunity now afforded us of paying due and becoming respect to an ancestor who may be numbered with those of whom the son of Sirach speaks, "Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth forevermore."

As the lineal descendants, on two sides, of the families of our venerated ancestor, we beg leave to tender you our very grateful acknowledgments for the high respect thus paid to the memory of the departed.

We have discharged our portion of this interesting, sacred work. All that could be recovered, after the lapse of so many years, of the ashes of Col. White and of his wife, Sophia, now lies before you. To you, and to your official custody, we entrust the remains, assured that they will be sacredly guarded until re-animated by him who has said—

"I am the resurrection and the life."

The Rev. Mr. Christian, on behalf of the parish, accepted the trust in the following words:—

Reverend Sir: In the name and on behalf of the wardens and vestry of this parish, I accept the sacred deposit that you have in such appropriate terms confided to our care. We will cherish these honored remains with pious veneration. We will regard them as a treasure of inestimable value, and while we repudiate all superstitious notions concerning them, we will regard the tomb that contains them as a hallowed shrine, to which we can often repair for fresh inspirations. It is with feelings of pride that we will recall the fact that the distinguished individual whose remains are before us was long a vestryman of this parish; that he was the father of the most illustrious of our bishops, whose name is venerable, and whose memory is dear to every member of the American church. A man who was the contemporary and the personal friend of the immortal Washington; and whose serene wisdom had a greater agency in organizing and moulding the

church in this country to suit the genius of our political institution than any other person, and who lived many years to preside over its councils and shape its legislation. While the possession of these hallowed remains confers great honor upon us, the position that you and those you represent occupy imposes vast responsibilities upon you and them. Col. White and his illustrious son have bequeathed a noble and splendid legacy to their descendants. The responsibilities are measured by the value of that inheritance. The world will hold you and them to a rigid accountability for the use you make of this rich depository of fame. You will be required to transmit it unimpaired and undimmed to those who are to come after you. You will be expected to transmit, if not the same splendid talents that were so conspicuous in them, the same shining virtues that adorned their character, and the same lofty sentiments that inspired their bosoms. Those whose ancestors were distinguished enjoy superior advantages over their fellow-men, and, unless they move on a higher plane than others, will be thought to have forfeited all claim to the glorious heritage that has been handed down to them. Permit me to tell you that you have a higher and a stronger motive to impel you in the path of honor and distinction than others. The thought of preserving untarnished the proud title you bear, ought to be a powerful incentive to grand and lofty deeds. Let it not be thought that we are performing an idle and useless ceremony. We are performing a duty inspired by the best instincts of our nature. We are following the example of that most enlightened people that adorn the page of history. The ancient Greeks regarded it as a sacred duty to snatch from oblivion the illustrious deeds of their ancestors; they employed the painter, the poet, the sculptor, the orator, and the historian to record their virtues and transmit them to posterity. They were not only impelled by a sense of gratitude to their ancestors, but by a desire to hold them up as examples to excite the emulation of future generations. Nor was this custom confined to the cultivated Greek, but the church in primitive times adopted the same usage. Some of the finest specimens of sacred eloquence that

have come down to us are orations delivered on such occasions as this, by such men as St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and others. Every monument of the dead, from mighty pyramids of Egypt to the humblest headstone, is a proof that this feeling to commemorate the dead is natural and universal. Shallow thinkers may see no use in it, but the more thoughtful mind will see a deep philosophy lying at its basis. In the presence of this assembly, and in the firm belief of the resurrection of the dead, we deposit these holy relics in the bosom of the earth, there to repose until "The great Archangel's trump shall sound."

The Reverend George A. Leakin then said:—

I have been requested to speak on some local associations which surround this interesting occasion. The residents in cities can appreciate a secure resting place for the dead, undisturbed by the encroachments of streets and houses. The graves of Macpelah are after the lapse of ages preserved in remembrance, and in all human probability this "Acre of God" shall experience no interruption until that day when earth and sea shall surrender their trust.

In these times of rapid change, no historic dwelling is safe from the spoiler's hand. In vain do hallowed memories appeal; each year lessens the attachment, until the very church where our forefathers worshipped, at whose chancel the most sacred memories entwine, must yield its materials for some neighboring construction. The only relic of the original St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, is the spring whose waters yet rise to refresh the traveller, but this church of Spesutiæ (the surviving sister) is an exception. It is substantially the same as when Col. Thomas White worshipped here. Its Bible of 1717 remains unimpaired. The lesson read this morning was from the same pages which taught our forefathers, and as you heard the 44th Chapter of Ecclesiasticus, you must have applied these words to the present occasion.

"But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. With their seed shall continually remain

a good inheritance and their children are within the covenant. Their seed standeth fast and their children for their sakes; their seed shall remain and their glory shall not be blotted out; their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore; the people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth their praise."

Besides its spring, this Church has a far greater treasure in uninterrupted services which quench the immortal thirst, invigorate life's weary traveller, and fully realize the Psalmist's experience, "All my fresh springs are in thee."

The examples of the dead reposing in the shadow of these walls furnish an irreversible legacy to children's children.

This ground is hallowed by historic associations, civil, social, and ecclesiastical. Within a few miles was the College of Rev. Dr. Coke, connected with a remarkable religious movement, who applied to Bishop White for consecration in a letter marked by interesting facts and important propositions.

Contemporaneous with Col. Thomas White were James Osborne (1743) and Benjamin Osborne (1753). These two vestrymen were descended from William, who built the first house in the present Harford County, the founder of the first Baltimore town on Bush River, some eight miles distant, and the owner of a ferry which for years was the only route between the north and south.

The Susquehannock Indians living on the opposite shore of the bay attacked the early settlers of this region, and stole Osborne's oldest son. He and his retainers pursued them across the Chesapeake, but failed to recover him. This boy, whom he never again saw, was kindly treated by his captors, and an old chief told the father that his lost boy was living, and had become a chief among the red men, signing the treaty with William Penn in 1682.

These materials woven by some skilful hand may at some future day invest this locality with universal interest.

In the year 1744, the vestry of this church appointed Capt. James Philips, Col. Thomas White, Capt. Peregrine Frisbie, and Richard Ruff to acquaint the Governor of the death of Rev. Mr. Wilkinson and ask him to induct another clergyman.

Capt. Philips had previously presented to Spesutiæ Church the two acres of land comprised in this tract. His father, Philip Philips, accompanied Osborne in the early settlement of "Old Baltimore," and attended the ferry which he afterwards purchased. His grandson James Philips married Martha, daughter of John and sister of William Paca, signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of Maryland. In the eastern part of a field, the site of Old Baltimore, there is a burial ground in a grove of large walnut trees. The surrounding fence has been removed, but in the midst of the grove is a fine marble slab covered with moss, which when removed disclosed the following epitaph :—

"Beneath this stone is reposed the body of James Philips, and also in compliance with his dying request the body of his wife, Martha Philips, daughter of John and Elizabeth Paca, born Feb. 3, 1744, married Jan. 25, 1776. Died March 6, 1829, having survived her husband 26 years."

"May brightest seraphs from the world on high
Spread their light pinions o'er the sleeping tomb,
And guard the dust within. Till from the sky
The Savior comes to bid the dead rebloom.
Then may they rise! Together meet their change.
Together hear the plaudit 'Rest, well done!'
Through spheres of light and spheres of glory range
And sit with Jesus on his dazzling throne."

On another farm, a few miles distant, is the private burial place of the Ruff family, one of whom, Richard, was with Col. White to consult the Governor.

A notable man of this locality was Augustine Herman, a contemporary of Col. Utie, whose name is perpetuated in "Spes-Utic." Herman represented the Dutch Government, was subsequently appointed commissioner by Lord Baltimore to settle the boundary of Maryland and Virginia, of which States he made an excellent map, he was a man of science, and was rewarded by a large gift of land in Cecil County, known as "Bohemia Manor." His descendants were Vander-Heydens, Bordleys, Frisbics, Chews, Neales, Miffins, Shippens, Jennings, Hynsons, and Randolphs.

It is probable that the Frisby above mentioned was related to the one on Col. White's committee.

Those immediately connected with Col. White will give you an account of his official and private character. We know that he held a high position in the province of Maryland, and all accounts delineate his worth. But there is one evidence quite conclusive. The character of the father is reflected in the son, for, as the river is determined by its hidden mountain springs, so was the influence of Bishop White formed by the daily training of home. A progressive growth from infancy, a solidity like the mansion built by his father, unimpaired by time, surviving the temporary structures of the present day. This permanency from early training Bishop White illustrated by his life and enforced by his teaching.

In a review of "Pompeii" the writer observes: "It is the characteristic of the noblest natures and the finest imaginations to love to explore the vestiges of antiquity and dwell in times that are no more. The past is the domain of the imaginative affections alone. We carry none of our baser passions with us thither." I cordially endorse this sentiment, over the portal of the past is written "Procul profani!" The recollections of history are wise, her very fragments are valuable. Those who have no past are likely to have no future, and you, who *have* such a past, transmit this legacy unimpaired to your descendants! Let your lives embalm this scene! Let your own characters illustrate this day's transaction!

"Such graves as these are Pilgrims' shrines,
Shrines to no creed nor clime confined;
The Delphian Vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind."

WASHINGTON'S ENCAMPMENT ON THE NESHAMINY.

BY WILLIAM J. BUCK.

On the Old York Road in Warwick Township, Bucks County, about twenty miles nearly north of Philadelphia, stands a substantial stone dwelling, to the history of which the attention of the writer was attracted some years ago. In it Washington made his head-quarters from the tenth to the twenty-third of August, 1777, and the local traditions and papers relating to the events of those thirteen days are not devoid of interest. The house stands beside the road about one hundred and twenty yards from the northeast end of the present bridge over the Little Neshaminy Creek, at the foot of a long and rather steep elevation known as Carr's Hill; and about half a mile above the village of Hartsville, formerly known as the Cross Roads. I have not ascertained who owned the property when the army encamped near it, but shortly after it was in the possession of Elijah Stinson, then of Reuben P. Ely, and afterwards of Wm. Bothwell, in whose family its title yet remains. In dimensions it is about twenty-five feet by twenty-seven, is two stories high, fronts south, and is elevated eight or nine feet above the present bed of the road. At the time of the Revolution it was one of the best finished houses in the neighborhood. Within its walls many important dispatches were written, and Generals Greene, Lincoln, Stirling, and Lafayette, as well as Pulaski and others, gathered under its roof. The main body of the army was encamped around this house and on the top of the high hill to the north, on ground then owned by two brothers by the name of Wallace.

On the opposite side of the road all orders to the army were posted, and a whipping post was erected for the punishment of offenders.

A short distance east of Hartsville on the Bristol Road,

another considerable body of the army was encamped, on the farm now owned by Major George Jamison. Lord Stirling's division of the army was stationed there, and a tradition survives in the neighborhood, that here General Washington remonstrated with him on account of his convivial habits, which seems to be corroborated by the writings of Lafayette. Opposite this, on the farm now owned by John Ramsey, in Warminster Township, General Conway had his brigade of Pennsylvania troops encamped; and here also cattle were kept for the army. The Neshaminy Presbyterian Church is situated about half a mile further up the stream, in the graveyard of which a number of soldiers were buried who died during the encampment. Only common stones were used to denote their resting places, none of which have inscriptions of any kind. The old church was used as a hospital.

It was on the banks of the Neshaminy that Lafayette first entered the army, and from his memoirs and correspondence we are enabled to obtain some additional information: He says that on the day of his arrival there was a review by Washington, and the men numbered about 11,000, who were ill armed and still worse clothed. The best clad wore hunting shirts made of gray linen. As to their military tactics they were always ranged in two lines, the smallest men in front. In spite of their disadvantages, the soldiers were a fine body of men, and the officers zealous in the cause. "Virtue," he says, "stood in place of science, and each day added both to experience and discipline." He mentions Lord Stirling as more courageous than judicious, General Greene as a man of talents, and General Knox as having created the artillery. He further says, that after the English fleet had disappeared from near the Delaware, the soldiers amused themselves by making jokes at its expense. These, however, ceased when they heard of it being in the Chesapeake.

Count Pulaski also, first entered the army at this place, respecting whom Washington says, "I enclose you a copy of Dr. Franklin's letter, and also of Mr. Deane's, couched in terms equally favorable to the character and military abilities of this gentleman. How he can be provided for, you will be best able

to determine. He takes this from me as an introductory letter at his own request."

Court martials were held on the 12th and 16th, at which Colonel Sheldon presided, and respecting which the following orders were promulgated on the 19th: Edward Wilcox, quartermaster to Captain Dorsey's Troop, for deserting and taking a horse and accoutrements belonging to Colonel Moylan's Regiment, is sentenced to be led round the regiment on horseback with his face towards the horse's tail, and his coat turned wrong side outwards, and then to be discharged from the army. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be put into execution immediately.

George Kilpatrick and Charles Martin, sergeants, Lawrence Burne and Enoch Wells, corporals, Daniel McCarty, Patrick Leland, Philip Franklin, Jacob Baker, Thomas Orles, Adam Rex, Frederick Gaines, Daniel Kainking, Christian Longspit, Henry Winer, and Nicholas Walner, privates in Colonel Moylan's Regiment of Light Dragoons, charged with mutiny and desertion, and adjudged worthy of death—the court esteeming the prisoners, except Sergeant Kilpatrick, objects of compassion, and as such recommend them to the Commander-in-Chief, who is pleased to grant them his pardon and also to Sergeant Kilpatrick. At the same time, the prisoners are to consider their crimes of a very atrocious nature, and have by the articles of war subjected themselves to the penalty of death. The remission of their punishment is a signal act of mercy in the Commander-in-Chief, and demands a very great and full return of fidelity, submission, and obedience, in any future military service which he shall assign them. The prisoners are to quit the horse, and enter into the foot service in such corps to which they shall be assigned.

Thomas Farshiers and George House, of Colonel Moylan's Regiment, tried by the same court are found guilty of the charge of mutiny and desertion, but some favorable circumstances appearing in their behalf, they are sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes on their naked backs. The Commander-in-Chief remits the penalty of whipping, and they are to be disposed of in the foot service.

Amongst the officers at the Neshaminy encampment may also be mentioned Generals Stephen, Lincoln, and Muhlenberg, Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Colonels Bland, Baylor, Sheldon, and Moylan, who commanded four regiments of horse. The latter officer had in charge the Fourth Regiment of Pennsylvania Light Dragoons, a corps that saw considerable service during the war.

It appears by Washington's correspondence with Congress that as early as July 25th he had ascertained that the British fleet in the harbor of New York was on the eve of sailing with a powerful force for some destination unknown. He was then sixteen miles from Morristown, New Jersey, and believing that the enemy were bound for the southward, and very probably Philadelphia, set the army in motion for the river Delaware. On the 28th he arrived at Coryell's Ferry, now Lambertsville, with General Greene's division, where he halted for further news. On the 31st his entire command had crossed the Delaware, and on that evening and the following day had arrived near Germantown, where they awaited further tidings.

Under date of "head-quarters, camp near Germantown, August 9, 1777," Washington writes: "The disappearance of the enemy's fleet for so many days rendering it rather improbable that they will again return, I have thought it advisable to remove the army back to Coryell's, where it will be near enough to succor Philadelphia, should the enemy, contrary to appearances, still make that the object of their next operation; and will be so much the more conveniently situated to proceed to the northward, should the event of the present ambiguous and perplexing situation of things call them that way. I was the more inclined to this step, as the nearness of the army to the city—besides other disadvantages—afforded a temptation, both to officers and men, to indulge themselves in licenses inconsistent with discipline and order, and consequently of an injurious tendency."

On "Sunday evening, August 10th, at 9 o'clock," he writes to the President of Congress: "I this minute received your favor of this afternoon, transmitting intelligence that a fleet

was seen off Sinapuxent on the 7th instant. I was about three miles eastward of the Billet tavern, on the road leading to Coryell's Ferry, when the express arrived. The troops are encamped near the road, where they will remain till I have further accounts respecting the fleet, which you will be pleased to forward to me by the earliest conveyance after they come to hand." The Sinapuxent Inlet spoken of is nearly fifty miles south of the capes of Delaware Bay.

Respecting this movement, General Greene writes to his brother from the "Camp at the Cross Roads," as he calls the encampment, as follows: "We have been in and about the city of Philadelphia for near a fortnight past, ignorant of General Howe's destination. I hope it will not be against New England, but I have my fears. We were marching towards Coryell's Ferry from the city, expecting the fleet was gone eastwardly, when, by an express from the President of Congress, last night, we learned that the fleet are bound westwardly. I wish it were true." On the 14th he expresses himself further on the matter to General Varnum: "I am totally ignorant yet. This manoeuvre of General Howe is so strange and unaccountable that it exceeds all conjecture. Our position in the Jerseys was calculated to cover the North River and Philadelphia, and afford protection to the State of New Jersey, but the cry was so great for the salvation of Philadelphia that the General was prevailed upon to leave Coryell's Ferry, contrary to his judgment, and march down to the city, and I expect to have our labors for our pains. We are now within about twenty miles of the city, waiting to get better information."

From a letter of the 15th, sent by General Conway to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, we learn that his four regiments were very weak, one numbering two hundred men, and the other three averaging one hundred and sixty men each. In a letter to the same on the 17th, he writes: "I have heard that you had resolved to send seven hundred and fifty men to the Northern Army. I must own to you that this resolve seems to me to be nothing else than wasting men in a most wanton manner, and at a time when men are so

hard to be gott. It seems clear to every man in the continent this day, that Philadelphia is the enemy's chief object, he certainly means to visit that place, and will attempt it before this campaign is over. I find that your troops make up the strong half of this army, and although your regiments are not where they should or might be, yet, they seem to me beyond the others. I am sure you could make up an army able to stop Mr. Howe's progress; this must be your chief care; reinforce your regiments, and do not deprive yourselves of men which you certainly will want before it is long." Here is certainly a high compliment paid to Pennsylvania; though asking for more soldiers, he makes the confession that those already here from that State "make up the strong half of this army."

On the 17th, General Greene wrote to General Varnum, that "Our situation is not a little awkward—buried in the country, out of hearing of the enemy. His excellency is exceedingly impatient; but it is said, if Philadelphia is lost, all, all is ruined. It is a great object to be sure, but not of that great magnitude that it claims in the measure of the American police. Rest assured we shall not remain idle long."

Washington the same day despatched Lafayette from Neshaminy with a letter to Congress, in which he says that "Contrary to my wishes, but from the necessity of the case, I ordered Colonel Morgan to march immediately with his corps as an additional support. I hope they will be of material service, particularly in opposing the savage part of General Burgoyne's force." To General Putnam the day previous he wrote: "I have determined to send up Colonel Morgan's corps of riflemen, who will fight them in their own way. They will march from Trenton to-morrow morning, and reach Peekskill with all expedition. You will please to have sloops ready to transport them, and provisions laid in, and that they may not wait a moment. The corps consists of five hundred men." "From an apprehension of the Indian mode of fighting," Washington wrote to Gates on the 20th, "I have despatched Colonel Morgan with his corps of riflemen to your assistance, and presume they will be with you in

eight days from this date. This corps I have great dependence on, and have no doubt but they will be exceedingly useful as a check given to the savages, and keeping them within proper bounds, will prevent General Burgoyne from getting intelligence as formerly, and animate your other troops from a sense of their being more on an equality with the enemy."

The 21st must have been a day of doubt and anxiety in the American camp. "From the time that has elapsed," writes Washington to Congress, "since General Howe departed from the Capes of Delaware, there is the strongest reason to conclude that he is going far either to the eastward or southward, and with a design to execute some determined plan." Reasoning thus, he called a council of his general officers, at which Lafayette first took his place as Major-General. After a careful consideration of the subject, it was unanimously concluded: "First, that the enemy had most probably sailed for Charleston; second, that it was not expedient for the army to march southward, as it could not possibly arrive in time to afford succour; thirdly, that the army should move immediately towards the North River." The decision of the board of officers was forwarded to Congress for their approval by the Commander-in-chief, who, in his letter to that body, said: "That I may not appear inconsistent, to advise and to act before I obtain an opinion, I beg leave to mention that I shall move the army to the Delaware to-morrow morning, to change their ground at any rate, as their present encampment begins to be disagreeable, and would injure their health in a short time. Our forage also begins to grow scarce here." Col. Hamilton was sent to carry these resolves to Congress and bring back their opinion. "By three o'clock the active young aid-de-camp" entered the hall of Congress with Washington's dispatches; after reading these Congress adjourned for two hours.

On the morning of the 21st word had been received in Philadelphia that the British fleet of upwards of one hundred sail had been seen on the night of the 14th inst., standing in between the Capes of Chesapeake Bay. This intelligence had been forwarded to Washington by the President

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On the morning of the 21st word had been received in Philadelphia that the British fleet of upwards of one hundred sail had been seen on the night of the 14th inst., standing in between the Capes of Chesapeake Bay. This intelligence had been forwarded to Washington by the President

of Congress, but the bearer of it doubtless passed Hamilton on the way.

As no further news of the fleet had been received during the day, Congress, upon assembling after its temporary adjournment, "*Resolved*, That Congress approve the plan of marching the army towards Hudson River, and that General Washington act as circumstances require." The news of the fleet which President Hancock had sent to Washington, had awakened in his mind that caution which so strongly marked his character, and without awaiting the return of Hamilton he wrote at once to Congress: "I am this moment honored with yours of this morning, containing several pieces of intelligence of the fleet's having been seen off the Capes of Virginia on the 15th inst. I shall, in consequence, halt upon my present ground till I hear something further."

This season of suspense ended on the morning of the 22d, when information arrived at Philadelphia that the enemy's fleet had entered Chesapeake Bay. As soon as this news reached camp on the Neshaminy the greatest activity prevailed. Gen. Nash was ordered to embark his brigade and Colonel Proctor's corps of artillery, if vessels could be procured for the purpose, and proceed to Chester; or, if vessels could not be provided, to hasten towards that place by land with all possible speed. Gen. Sullivan, with his division which was stationed at Hanover, N. J., was directed to join the main army, and all the troops were ordered to be in readiness to march at an early hour on the morning of the 23d. In the midst of the excitement which must have existed on the 22d, news was received of the victory gained by Gen. Stark at Bennington. The following extracts are taken from an order announcing the event to the army, which was posted at the roadside:—

"The Commander-in-chief has the happiness to inform the army of the signal victory obtained to the northward. A part of General Burgoyne's army, about 1500 in number, were detached towards New Hampshire, and advanced with a design to possess themselves of Bennington. Brigadier-Gen. Stark, of the State of New Hampshire, with 2000 men,

mostly militia, attacked them. Our troops behaved in a very brave and heroic manner. They pushed the enemy from one work to another, thrown up on advantageous ground, and from different posts, with spirit and fortitude, until they gained a complete victory over them."

On the morning of the 23d the army moved down the Old York Road, Greene's division in the advance, followed by that of Stephen. After a march of about sixteen miles, it arrived at Germantown, at the lower end of which, at Stenton, the former residence of James Logan, Washington made his head-quarters. On the day the army left its encampment on the Neshaminy, Washington wrote to Congress that he would march the army through Philadelphia, as his officers were of the opinion that it might "have some influence on the minds of the disaffected there." From Stenton the orders respecting the march through Philadelphia were issued. They are minute in every particular, as the following extracts will show: "The army is to march in one column through the city of Philadelphia, going in at and marching down Front Street to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the common."

The order of the divisions, the positions of the horse and artillery, and the spaces between them were all prescribed.

"It is expected that every officer, without exception, will keep his post in passing through the city, and under no pretence whatever leave it; and if any soldier shall dare to leave his place he shall receive thirty-nine lashes at the first halting-place afterwards." The officers were instructed "to prevent the people from pressing on the troops."

"That the line of march through the city may be as little encumbered as possible, only one ammunition wagon is to attend the field-piece of each brigade and every artillery park. All the rest of the baggage-wagons and spare horses are to file off to the right, to avoid the city entirely, and move on to the bridge at the middle ferry, and there halt, but not so far as to impede the march of the troops by preventing their passing them."

“Not a woman belonging to the army is to be seen with the troops on their march through the city.”

“The soldiers will go to rest early this evening, as the general expects the whole line to be on the march at the hour appointed” (4 A. M.).

“The drums and fifes of each brigade are to be collected in the centre of it, and a tune for the quick-step played, but with such moderation that the men may step to it with ease, and without *dancing* along or totally disregarding the music, as has been too often the case.”

“The men are to be excused from carrying their camp kettles to-morrow.”

Crowds of citizens watched the march of the troops through Philadelphia on Sunday morning, August the 24th, 1777. Washington, with Lafayette at his side, rode at the head of the column. It had rained early in the day, and an eye-witness feared “that it would spoil the show and wet the army.” To give some uniformity to their appearance, the men wore sprigs of green in their hats. One who saw them wrote: “Our soldiers have not yet quite the air of soldiers. They don't step exactly in time. They don't hold up their heads quite erect, nor turn out their toes so exactly as they ought. They don't all of them cock their hats, and such as do, don't all wear them the same way;” but in the eyes of the writer¹ the spectacle was fine, and inspired confidence. On the evening of the 25th the army had arrived at Wilmington, and on the 11th of September they engaged the enemy at Brandywine.

¹ John Adams.

BRITISH CAMP AT TRUDRUFFRIN

from the 18th to the 21st of September 1777.

with the **ATTACK**

made by **MAJOR GENERAL GREY**

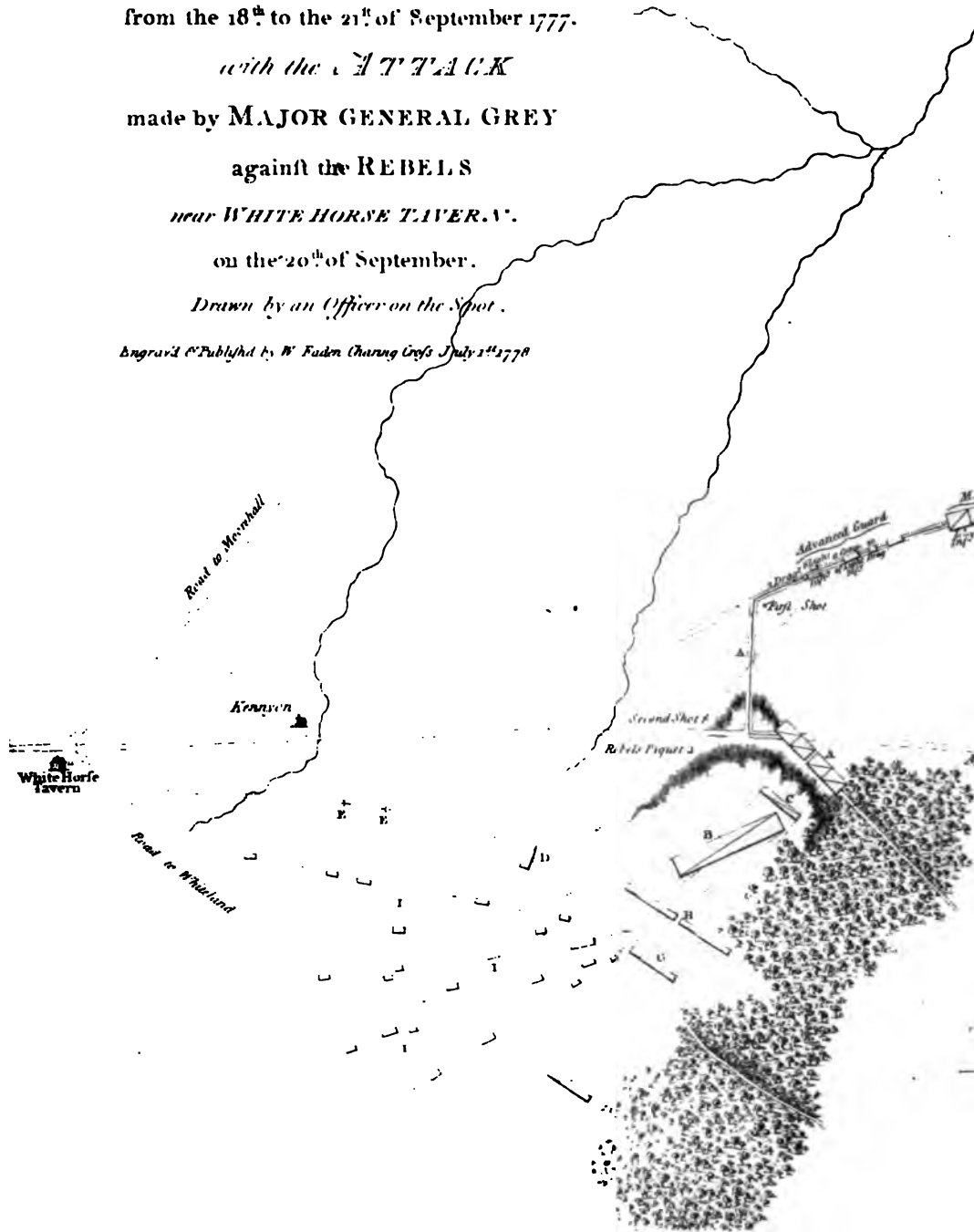
against the **REBELS**

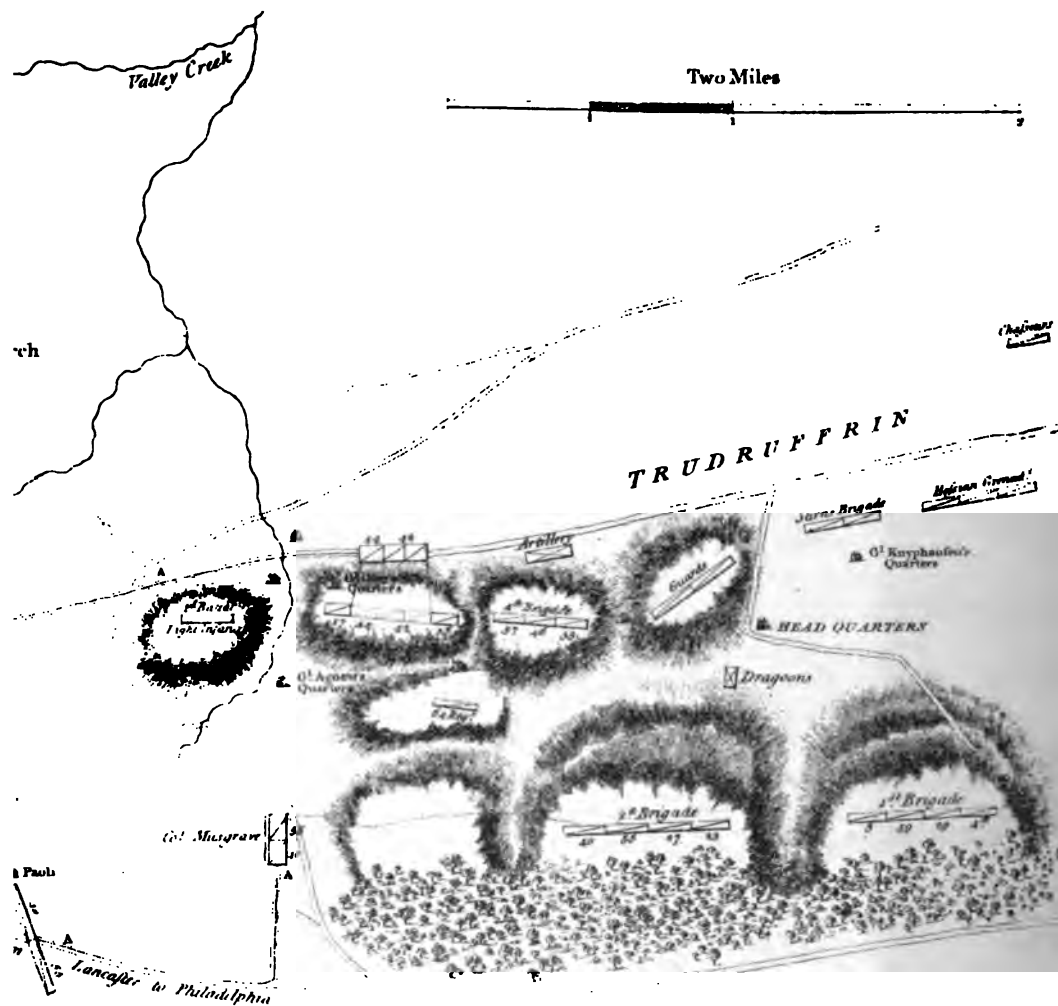
near **WHITE HORSE TAVERN.**

on the 20th of September.

Drawn by an Officer on the Spot.

Engraved & Published by W. Faden, Charing Cross, July 1st 1778





REFERENCES.

- AAAA. March of O'Greene's Detachment in two Columns to Attack the Rebels B
- C. Light Infantry attacking the Rebel Brigade in Flank.
- D. A Party of Light Infantry in pursuit of the Rebels' cannons BB, which were carried off on the first Alarm
- F. Light Infantry after having routed the Rebels.
- G. The 44th Regiment supporting the Light Infantry.
- H. The 32^d Regiment in Reserve, following without breaking their Ranks.
- III. The Rebels flying in Disorder.
- BB. The Two Regiments under Col. Mulgrave were not engaged.



THE MASSACRE OF PAOLI.

**HISTORICAL ADDRESS OF J. SMITH FUTHEY,
OF WEST CHESTER, PA.**

DELIVERED ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THAT EVENT AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO FELL ON THE NIGHT OF SEPT. 20TH, 1777.

For three-quarters of a century after the establishment by William Penn of his peaceful province of Pennsylvania, that portion of his colony known as the county of Chester enjoyed a singular immunity from strife and bloodshed. The time arrived, however, when the soil of our goodly county was to be pressed by the foot of the invader, and our citizens, therefore exempt from the calamities of war, were to see their fields crossed by hostile armies and made the theatre of military operations, while many of them, throwing aside the implements of husbandry, and forgetting for a time the arts and employments of peace, were to mingle in the general strife.

Early in the Revolutionary contest, Chester County became the scene of military operations. Our people deeply participated in the indignation excited throughout the colonies by the oppressive and arbitrary measures of the British Government, and when the call to arms was made, they responded with alacrity, and contributed a full proportion of men for the service, and evinced a spirit scarcely to be expected among a people so generally opposed in principle to the practice of war. But a high enthusiasm at that time prevailed for the cause of the insulted and endangered liberties of our country, animating all ranks and classes, and inciting them to resist by arms the progress of usurpation, so that few, not absolutely restrained by scruples of conscience, felt disposed to disregard the call when their aid was required.

It is to be remembered also, that while the members of the

Society of Friends—who in principle were opposed to war—largely preponderated in the eastern and central portions of the county, the southern, western, and northwestern portions thereof were principally inhabited by that sturdy and independent race known as the Scotch-Irish. Many of these people had emigrated to America, in consequence of the oppression of the large landed proprietors, shortly before the breaking out of the Revolutionary war; and, leaving the Old World in such a temper, they became a powerful contribution to the cause of liberty, and to the separation of the colonies from the mother country. To show the extent to which they engaged in the service, it may be stated that in the campaign of 1777, every able-bodied man in the large Presbyterian congregation of Brandywine Manor, in Chester County, was in the army, and the gathering of the harvest and putting in of the fall crops were performed by the old men, women, and children. It was perhaps the only race of all that settled in the western world that never produced one tory. The nearest approach to one was a man who was brought before a church session, and tried upon the charge that he was “suspected of not being sincere in his professions of his attachment to the cause of the revolution.” The Scotch-Irish were a race who emphatically feared not the face of man, and who put their trust in God *and their rifles*.

The descendants of the Welsh and the Swedes were also numerous in this county—especially in the eastern and some of the northern townships—and contributed to swell the number of those who were ready at the bugle’s call, to buckle on their armor with alacrity, and fight for liberty.

To John Morton, a citizen of Chester, now Delaware County, a member of the Continental Congress, belongs the high honor of having voted for the Declaration of Independence, and thus, with Franklin and Wilson, who also voted in its favor, secured the voice of Pennsylvania.

The first military force raised in Chester County was a regiment of volunteers, of which the gallant Anthony Wayne, then a farmer, residing about two miles from this spot, was appointed Colonel, and Richard Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel.

Col. Wayne soon afterwards joined the regular army, and the command devolved upon Col. Thomas. This regiment was raised as early as September, 1775. A second regiment was raised soon after the first had been formed, and officered principally by inhabitants of Chester County. Subsequently to this and throughout the war, this county contributed its full quota to fill up the armies of the republic.

It was a leading object of the British, early in the war, to occupy Philadelphia, and the campaign of 1777 was devoted by Sir William Howe and the forces under his command to that purpose. The importance of this place in a military point of view has been questioned on both sides, and Washington and Howe have both been censured for their pertinacity. Philadelphia was at that time the largest city in the revolted provinces; it was the seat of the Continental Congress, and the centre of the colonies. Although commanding easy access to the sea, it was capable of being readily protected from the approach of a hostile fleet, and it lay in the heart of an open, extended country, rich, comparatively populous, and, so far, but little disturbed by the war. It was, in a sense, regarded as the capital of the new-born nation, and the moral influence resulting from its occupation by Congress was great, and it was deemed that an important point would be gained by its conquest. While the seat of Congress was secure, men were led to mock at the army which could not penetrate to the head-quarters of the infant nation. Another reason was the fact that the region around Philadelphia was, owing to its position, and the peaceful disposition of much of its population, less affected by the yoke of Britain, and less influenced by the enthusiasm of the other colonies, after the first excitement had subsided. In the possession of the British, this disaffection to the cause of the revolution, it was thought by them, would tend to strengthen their hold upon the country.

With this end in view, the British fleet under Lord Howe, bearing a land force eighteen thousand strong, left New York in July, 1777, with the intention of approaching Philadelphia by way of the Delaware River. When about to enter it, however, the British commander was informed that the

Americans had placed obstructions in the channel, and he therefore proceeded to the Chesapeake, up which he sailed, and on the 25th of August landed his forces at what was known as Turkey Point, near the head of the bay, with the view of proceeding eastward towards Philadelphia.¹

The departure of the British fleet from New York was the signal for the march of the American troops to the southward. Washington was in some perplexity, being uncertain as to its objects, but directed the concentration of the army in Bucks County, Pennsylvania,² so as to meet the enemy should he attempt to approach Philadelphia, or to proceed northward should the New England States prove to be Howe's destination. As soon, however, as Washington was informed that the fleet was off the Capes of the Chesapeake, he turned his attention in that direction. On the 25th of August, the day the British landed at the Head of Elk, the Americans marched to Wilmington, and encamped on Red Clay Creek, a few miles below that place. Their whole effective force fit for duty was about eleven thousand men.

Washington made immediate preparations to oppose the march of the enemy. From the first movements in advance from the Head of Elk, active skirmishing, sometimes of considerable bodies, took place, in which the Americans made a number of prisoners. On the 3d of September a severe though brief encounter occurred at Iron Hill, Pencader Hundred, Delaware, between a division of the British under Cornwallis and Knyphausen, and a body of Americans under the com-

¹ Howe, in his "narrative," says that, upon finding it would be "extremely hazardous" to attempt to proceed up the Delaware, he "agreed with the Admiral to go up Chesapeake Bay, a plan which had been preconcerted in the event of a landing in the Delaware proving, upon our arrival there, ineligious," which movement is said to have been the treasonable suggestion of Charles Lee. See *Treason of Charles Lee*, by Geo. H. Moore, N. Y., 1860.

² The movements of Washington from the time he entered Pennsylvania until he passed through Philadelphia, on his way to Brandywine, will be found in the article entitled "Washington's Encampment on the Nesha-miny," by W. J. Buck, p. 275.

mand of Gen. Maxwell.¹ On the 8th the American army took its position behind Red Clay Creek, the left resting upon Newport, and the right extending a considerable distance up the creek to Hockesson. Here a battle was anticipated. Washington, however, from the movements of the enemy, saw that their object was to turn his right, cross the Brandywine, and cut off his communication with Philadelphia, which, if successfully carried out in the position which he then occupied, would have hemmed him in between the British army and their fleet, where he must have been overpowered, or compelled to fight his way out under every disadvantage. He accordingly, after reconnoitering the enemy, withdrew to Chads' Ford, on the Brandywine, where he arrived on the 9th of September, and took up his position on the east side of the stream, and entrenched himself on the high ground immediately north of the present Chads' Ford Hotel. Maxwell's light infantry occupied the advanced posts, and during the night of the 10th threw up defences on the west side, at the approaches to the ford. At this spot, in the beautiful valley of Chester County's classic stream, Washington re-

¹ Gen. R. Fitzpatrick, an officer under Howe, wrote to the Countess of Ossory, from the Head of Elk (Sept. 1, 1777): "We have had a most tedious voyage from New York to this part of the Continent, where we have found no enemy to trouble us hitherto, as our antagonists have very wisely adopted a system of avoiding fighting. . . . A soldier of ours was yesterday taken by the enemy beyond our lines, who had chopped off an unfortunate woman's fingers in order to plunder her of her rings. I really think the return of this army to England is to be dreaded by the peaceable inhabitants, and will occasion a prodigious increase of business for Sir J. Fielding and Jack Ketch. I am sure the office of the latter can never find more deserving objects for its exercise. . . . The maps give us very inaccurate accounts of the country, and our spies (if we have any) give us very little intelligence of our enemy; we heard different stories every moment, but none to be depended upon. General Washington dined here with a great attendance of officers two days before our arrival, and is now supposed to be between this and Philadelphia, which is about sixty miles from this place. The inhabitants are almost all fled from their houses, and have driven their cattle with them; so we do not live luxuriously, though in a country that has every appearance of plenty, and is more beautiful than can be conceived, wherever the woods are at all cleared."

solved to take his stand, and do battle in defence of the City of Brotherly Love.¹

On the evening of the 9th of September the British army entered Chester County in two divisions, one of which, under Gen. Knyphausen, encamped at New Garden and Kennet Square, and the other, under Cornwallis, a short distance below Hockesson Meeting House. Early next day they united at Kennet Square, whence in the evening the forces under Knyphausen advanced towards Welsh's tavern, now known as the Anvil, probably for the convenience of water, and

¹ The charms of the scenery of Chester County have found frequent expression in poetry as well as in prose; but nowhere more suitably, or with more spirit, than in the language of her own son, the late T. Buchanan Read. The reproduction of the following lines, from his "Wagoner of the Alleghanies," is particularly appropriate at this time.

The hour was loud, but louder still
 Anon the rage of battle roared
 Its wild and murderous will;
 From Jefferis down to Wistar's ford,
 From Jones to Chads, the cannon poured,
 While thundered Osborne Hill.
 Oh, ne'er before fled holy calm
 From out its sainted house of prayer
 So frightened through the trembling air
 As from that shrine of Birmingham!

Oft through the opening cloud we scanned
 The shouting leaders, sword in hand,
 Directing the tumultuous scene;
 There galloped Maxwell, gallant Bland,
 The poet-warrior, while between,
 Ringing o'er all his loud command,
 Dashed the intrepid Greene.

Here Sullivan in fury trooped,
 There Weedon like an eagle swooped,
 With Muhlenberg—where they were grouped
 The invader dearly earned his gains—
 And (where the mad should only be,
 The fiercest champion of the free)
 The loudest trumpet-call was Wayne's;
 While in a gale of battle-gee,
 With rapid sword and pistol dealing
 The blows which set the foemen reeling,
 Sped "Light-horse Harry Lee."

those under Cornwallis remained encamped on the hills north and west of Kennet Square.

On the morning of the 11th the army divided into two columns—one division, under Knyphausen, marching directly through Kennet and Pennsbury Townships to Chads' Ford, by the Philadelphia road; and the other, under Cornwallis, and accompanied by Sir William Howe, taking a circuitous route, traversing portions of the townships of Kennet, East Marlborough, Newlin, West Bradford, East Bradford, and Birmingham, crossing the west branch of the Brandywine at Trimble's Ford, a short distance south of Marshalton, and the east branch mainly at Jefferis' Ford, and approaching Birmingham Meeting House from the north: the object of these movements being to hem the Americans in between the two forces, and thus make them an easy prey.

The column under Cornwallis set out about daybreak, and that under Knyphausen about nine o'clock. A very dense and heavy fog continued until a late hour. The column under Knyphausen skirmished with the advanced parties of the American army sent forward to harass the march of the British troops. Maxwell's corps, which occupied the hills west of the Brandywine, was driven across the stream after a severe engagement, and joined the main body of the American army, which was ranged in order of battle, awaiting the attack of the enemy. Several detachments of the Americans subsequently recrossed the creek and assailed the British, who were laboring to throw up entrenchments and plant batteries. A footing having been secured on the western bank, Gen. Maxwell returned in force, and a warm conflict ensued; the Americans driving the enemy from the ground. The sharpness of the skirmish soon drew upon them overwhelming numbers, and the Americans were again repulsed. Knyphausen paraded on the heights, reconnoitering the American army, and by various movements appeared to be making dispositions to force a passage of the stream, and every moment the attempt was expected to be made.

Gen. Cornwallis, with the larger division of the British army, under the cover of the hills and forests, and aided by

the fog, proceeded in the circuitous route a considerable distance unobserved, and must have reached the hills south of Trimble's Ford about the time that Knyphausen moved from his position east of Kennet Square. Some cannons were discharged at this point (and cannon-balls have been found in the vicinity) for which it is difficult to account, unless they were designed to notify Knyphausen that they had gained a midway position, or to direct him to march to the Ford.

Gen. Sullivan, who commanded the right wing of the American army, had received instructions to guard the fords as high up as Buffington's—now Little's—just above the forks of the Brandywine, and scouting parties were sent out in various directions to watch the movements of the enemy. About one o'clock intelligence was brought that the enemy's left wing was about crossing the Brandywine above its forks, and Col. Bland sent word to Washington that a large force was seen advancing up the road towards Trimble's Ford, and this was confirmed by a note from Col. Ross who was in their rear, and who estimated the force that he had seen at not less than five thousand. Washington, on receiving this intelligence of a large division being so far separated from the army at Chads' Ford, formed the design of detaching Sullivan and Lord Stirling to engage the column conducted by Cornwallis, should he attempt to cross the stream, while he in person should cross over with the residue of the troops and attack the forces under Knyphausen.

In pursuance of this determination, Sterling was despatched with a considerable force to occupy the high ground in the vicinity of Birmingham Meeting House, while other necessary dispositions were made upon the left. At the critical moment when the plan was about to be executed, counter-intelligence was received, inducing the opinion that the movement of Cornwallis was merely a feint, and that after making demonstrations of crossing the Brandywine above its forks, he must actually have marched down the right bank of the stream, and was about to re-unite his column with that of Knyphausen. This opinion was confirmed by the report of a number of light horse that had been sent to reconnoitre.

While Washington was in a state of painful uncertainty, produced by these conflicting accounts, 'Squire Thomas Cheney—a citizen of Thornbury township—rode up to the forces under Sullivan with intelligence that the main body of the British army had crossed the Brandywine, and was already at hand, approaching from the north; and, being uncourteously received by that General, demanded to be led to the Commander-in-Chief. This was done, and, although Washington was at first disposed to doubt the correctness of the information, he was at length convinced of its truth, and immediately disposed of his troops to meet the emergency. It is said that some of the General's staff spoke rather sneeringly and incredulously of the rustic 'Squire's information, which roused his temper. "If you doubt my word," said he to the Commander-in-Chief, "put me under guard until you can ask ANTHONY WAYNE or PERSIE FRAZER if I am a man to be believed;" and then turning to the General's Attendants, he indignantly exclaimed—"I would have you to know that I have this day's work as much at heart as e'er a *Blood* of you!"

I will not detain you on this occasion with the details of the battle which ensued—the far-famed battle of Brandywine. Suffice it to say, that, after a severe contest, which was participated in by the gallant Lafayette, the Americans were defeated with a loss of three hundred killed and six hundred wounded, while the loss of the British was reported at one hundred killed and four hundred wounded. Three or four hundred were taken prisoners, chiefly of the wounded.¹

¹ The following account of the engagement at Brandywine is from an unsigned letter of a British officer, who took part in the battle, and has not, we believe, ever appeared in connection with a history of that event:—

"I should have written the O Imperial! consider the pain of the contusion. What excessive fatigue—a rapid march from four o'clock in the morning till four in the eve, when we engaged till dark. We fought. Describe the battle. 'Twas not like those of Covent Garden or Drury Lane. Thou hast seen Le Brun's paintings and the tapestry at Blenheim are these natural resemblances. Pshaw! quoth the *captain en un mot*. There was a most infernal fire of cannon and musketry; smoke; incessant shouting. 'Incline to the right! Incline to the left! Halt! Charge!' etc. The balls ploughing up the ground; the trees cracking over one's head, the branches riven

A considerable part of the British army remained from the 11th to the morning of the 16th of September in the neighborhood of the field of battle, the chief portion lying encamped about Dilworthtown and south of it, on the properties then of Charles Dilworth and George Brinton. Gen. Howe had his head-quarters at a house near by, still standing, and now owned by Elias Baker. During this time they had a cattle-pen near Chads' Ford, where they collected and slaughtered large numbers of cattle and other animals and preserved them for the use of the army. Nearly all the live stock in the country for a considerable distance around was taken from the inhabitants. In some instances payment was made in British gold, but generally no compensation whatever was given. The day after the battle, a detachment of the army, under Major-General Grant, marched to Concord Meeting House, where it was joined on the 13th by Lord Cornwallis with some light infantry and British grenadiers. From this point they moved to Village Green, a short distance from Chester, and there encamped, leaving a detachment at Concord to guard the wounded left in the meeting house, and sending another to Wilmington, where there were some wounded.

The Americans, after the battle, retreated towards Chester, where they arrived by different roads and at different times in the night. On the arrival of Washington at this place about midnight, he addressed a letter to Congress, giving them an account of the disaster. On the next day the army marched by way of Darby to Philadelphia, where it was

by the artillery; the leaves falling as in autumn by the grape-shot. The affair was general.

The masters on both sides showed conduct. The action was brilliant. Mr. Washington retreated (*i. e.*, run away), and Mr. Howe remained master of the field. We took ten pieces of cannon and a howitzer; eight were brass, the other two of iron of a new construction. I took a night-cap lined with fur, which I find very comfortable in the now 'not summer evenings in my tent.' A ball glanced about my ankle and contused it; for some days I was lifted off and on horseback in men's arms."—See *Materials for History*, by Frank Moore, New York, 1862.

joined by straggling parties. The main body was encamped near Germantown, where they were allowed two or three days to rest.

The question has been frequently mooted whether the fact that the British had divided their forces at the Battle of Brandywine should not have been discovered sooner than it was, and the disastrous defeat which took place have been prevented. I entertain the opinion, from a personal knowledge of the entire section of country near where the battle was fought, that there was somewhere the most inexcusable negligence in not having earlier definitely ascertained the movements of the British army. The fords of the Brandywine where they were at all likely to cross, were all comparatively near to the Americans, and were easily accessible; the country, though rolling, was comparatively open; the roads were substantially the same as now, and their movements could have been easily discovered in time to have enabled Gen. Washington to have disposed of his troops to the best advantage. The distance from Chads' Ford to Jefferis' Ford is but six miles, and to Trimble's Ford about seven and a half miles. It is now known that small bodies of the British light troops crossed at Wistar's (now Sager's) Ford, and at Buffington's (now Little's) Ford—the latter on the east branch, just above the forks, and both between Chads' Ford and Jefferis' Ford—some time before the main body of the army crossed at Jefferis' Ford, and yet no information of these movements appears to have been communicated to the Commander-in-chief. Tradition says that the great American chieftain was so conscious of the oversight in not having sooner discovered the movements of Howe, that he ever manifested a dislike and unwillingness to converse on the strategy of that day.

It has been usual to attribute the loss of the Battle of Brandywine to this want of timely intelligence of the movements of the enemy; but it is problematical whether the Americans could have been successful under any circumstances. The British army was well appointed and well disciplined; a large part of the American army was, at the time, compara-

tively untrained, and this superiority of the British over the Americans would probably have enabled them to gain the day, even if Gen. Washington had received timely notice of all their movements.

While, however, there was certainly negligence in not having sooner discovered the disposition of the British forces, yet we must be gentle with the memories of those who served their country in the war of the revolution. It was a period far too trying to judge men as on ordinary occasions. The Americans were fighting not for fame or power, but for justice and liberty. They had left their homes and occupations to fight the finest troops of the most powerful nation of the world. When we consider the circumstances by which the patriots were surrounded, pitted against a foreign foe, and with a relentless and treacherous enemy at home, calling themselves loyalists, but better known by the designation of tories, our only wonder is, that success could attend their efforts; and, looking at all the surroundings and the difficulties encountered and overcome, the disasters which befell the American arms became victories from the first gun which was fired in the struggle until the British laid down their arms at Yorktown.

The British steadily pursued their purpose to seize Philadelphia, and occupy it as their quarters during the ensuing winter.

As it was deemed important to save that city from falling into their hands, Washington resolved to risk another engagement; for, although the Battle of Brandywine had resulted unfavorably to the American army, it was considered that the British had there gained little more than the battlefield, and the ardor of the troops was unabated.

At that time one of the principal crossing-places of the Schuylkill was at Swedes' Ford, near the present southern limits of Bridgeport and Norristown, and as the British could not well cross lower down on account of the depth of the water, it was expected they would make the attempt to force a passage at that point, or higher up the stream.

On the 15th of September, Washington left his camp at

Germantown, and with the main body of his army crossed the Schuylkill and marched up the Lancaster Road, with the intention of meeting the enemy and again giving battle. He proceeded to a point near the junction of the Lancaster and Swedes' Ford Road, in East Whiteland Township, northwest of the Admiral Warren Tavern, and encamped his forces between that point and the White Horse Tavern, having his head-quarters at the residence of Joseph Malin, now belonging to Joseph A. Malin.

The British commander, having received intelligence that Washington was advancing upon the Lancaster Road, resolved to attack him. The portion of his army which had been encamped in the neighborhood of Village Green—then known as the "Seven Stars"—left that point, under the command of Cornwallis, on the 16th of September, and proceeded northward towards the Great Valley, by what is known as the Chester Road, by way of the present villages of Glen Riddle, Lima, and Howellville, and by Rocky Hill and Goshen Friends' Meeting House.

The forces which had remained encamped near the field of battle at Birmingham and Chads' Ford, at the same time proceeded by way of the Turk's Head, now West Chester, and the Boot Tavern, towards the same point, with the view of joining the forces under Cornwallis.

On the morning of the 16th, Washington received information that the enemy were approaching by the way of Goshen Meeting House, and were already in the neighborhood of that place.

The two armies moved to positions between the White Horse and Goshen Meeting House, on the high ground south of the valley, and both commanders commenced making preparations for action. Some detachments were made by the Americans to reinforce the advanced guard, and keep the enemy in check until the army should be properly arrayed. To Gen. Wayne was assigned the duty of leading the advance and opening the battle. Skirmishing began between the advanced parties, and a sanguinary battle would probably have been fought, but a rain-storm of great violence stopped its

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progress. A consultation was had as to whether the British should be received on the ground then occupied by our troops, or whether they should retire beyond the Great Valley, which was in their rear, and in which the ground was said to be wet, and where, in case of a defeat, the artillery would certainly be lost. Washington accordingly, after consultation, gave the order to move, and the American forces retired and formed on the high ground in the Great Valley, east of the White Horse and north of the old Lancaster Road, and there remained until about four o'clock in the afternoon awaiting the advance of the British army.

The point where the skirmishing took place was on the high ground about one mile and a half north of Goshen Meeting House, and half a mile or more a little west of south of the old "Three Tons Tavern," on the property now belonging to the heirs of John Parry, deceased, in the northeastern part of East Goshen Township. A few soldiers were killed in the conflict and buried there. A few were also wounded, and some prisoners were taken by the British.

The Americans retired to the Yellow Springs, where, discovering that their ammunition had been greatly damaged by the rain, and that they were not in a condition to engage in a conflict, the march was continued to Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek, in the present township of Warwick, where a fresh supply of arms and ammunition was obtained.¹

The storm lasted some time, the British army during its continuance being encamped in the neighborhood of the Boot Tavern, on the farm lately owned and occupied by Samuel R.

¹ When Howe made the storm on this occasion the excuse for not forcing an engagement with Washington, Joseph Galloway remarked: "Some men thought that the rain was in favor of disciplined troops, who would take more care of their ammunition from knowledge and experience than undisciplined, and that others were so weak as to imagine that no weather ought to prevent a superior force from attacking a shy enemy when an opportunity offered;" but such a remark fell without meaning on the ears of a general who, although personally brave, was so careful of his men that he gave as his candid opinion that during July and August "troops should be exposed as little as possible in the field in America."

Kirk, in West Whiteland Township, near Kirkland Station on the old West Chester Railroad, which was then owned and occupied by Samuel Jefferis, and between that point and the Three Tons Tavern, along the south valley hill. They burned nearly all the rails on the property of Mr. Jefferis, about ten thousand in number, and the farm lay unfenced for many years thereafter. The head-quarters of Gen. Howe were at the Boot Tavern, and of Lord Cornwallis at the house of Daniel Durborow, a short distance west of the Three Tons. Both houses are still standing.

On the evening of the 17th Cornwallis with his division advanced to the Lancaster Road in the Great Valley, and took post about two miles distant from Knyphausen, and on the 18th the entire army joined at the White Horse, and moved down the Lancaster and Swedes Ford Road into Tredyffrin Township, and encamped on the south side of the Swedes Ford Road, a short distance east of the present village of Howellville, and between that and the village of Centreville. Lord Cornwallis had his head-quarters on the property of Enoch Jones, now belonging to Franklin Latch, near Centreville.

From French Creek Gen. Wayne on the 17th was detached with his division, amounting to about fifteen hundred men and four field pieces, to join Gen. Smallwood, who had command of the Maryland militia, and was then in the rear of the British army. Wayne was ordered to harass and annoy the enemy, and to seize every occasion which might offer to engage him with advantage, and to endeavor to cut off the baggage-train, and by this means to arrest his march towards the Schuylkill, until the Americans could cross the river higher up, and pass down on the east side and intercept the passage of the river by the British.

Gen. Wayne proceeded to the duty assigned him, and on the 18th of September encamped about three hundred yards a little north of east of this point on land now of H. G. Griffith, and which was about four miles in the rear of the enemy, distant from any leading road, and securely concealed, as he believed, from the knowledge of Howe. He established his

head-quarters at the house of a man named King, now of Robert Hutchinson, on the east side of what is now called the Sugartown Road, and a short distance south of the gate by which these grounds are entered from that road.¹

On the 19th of September, Gen. Wayne watched the movements of the enemy as far as was practicable with the view of attacking them, should they attempt to move. On the morning of that day, on the enemy's beating the reveille, he ordered his troops under arms, and took up the line of march for their left flank, and proceeded to within half a mile of their encampment, but found they had not stirred, and lay too compact to admit of an attack with prudence. In a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, written at Paoli after 10 o'clock A. M., he stated that the enemy would probably attempt to move towards evening.² They did not move, however, but on

¹ Wayne was no doubt chosen for this service, as his home was in the neighborhood, and he was acquainted with the locality.

² From the Life of Wayne, published in the "Casket," it appears that a number of letters passed between Washington and Wayne on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of Sept. The following, however, are all we have met with:—

PAOLI, half after 7 o'clock A. M., 19th Sept.

DEAR GENERAL—

On the enemy's beating the reveille I ordered the troops under arms, and began our march for their left flank, but when we arrived within half a mile of their encampment found they had not stirred, but lay too compact to admit of an attack with prudence. Indeed their supineness answers every purpose of giving you time to get up—if they attempt to move I shall attack them, at all events. This moment Capt. Jones of Bland's Dragoons brought in four prisoners; three of them belong to the Queen's Rangers and one artillery-man; they don't seem to know much about the movements of the enemy, nor the loss they sustained at Brandywine, but have heard it was very great.

There never was, nor never will be, a finer opportunity of giving the enemy a fatal blow than the present—for God's sake push on as fast as possible. Interim I am your Excellency's most obedient, &c.

PAOLI, ¼ after 10 A. M., 19th Sept.

DEAR GENERAL—

The enemy are very quiet, washing and cooking. They will probably attempt to move towards evening. I expect General Maxwell on the left flank every moment, and as I lay on their right, we only want you in their

the 20th, he received what he believed was reliable information that the British commander would take up his line of march for the Schuylkill at 2 o'clock on the following morning, and he sent Col. Chambers as a guide to Gen. Smallwood, then near the White Horse, to conduct him to the place of encampment. When the junction with his forces should be effected, it was his design to advance upon the British rear and attack it while in the operation of moving. He had already reconnoitered a road leading along their right flank, and had determined on his plan of operation. To be in readiness for this purpose, he directed his men to lie on their arms, and, as it was raining, to protect their cartridge boxes with their coats, and that no time might be lost after the arrival of Gen. Smallwood, he had his own horse brought out, saddled and holstered ready for mounting, and his cloak thrown over his horse to preserve his accoutrements from injury from the inclemency of the weather.

He had carefully guarded himself against surprise, planted pickets and sentinels, and thrown forward patrols upon the

rear to complete Mr. Howe's business. I believe he knows nothing of my situation, as I have taken every precaution to prevent any intelligence getting to him—at the same time keeping a watchful eye on his front, flanks, and rear. I have not heard from you since last night.

I am your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

READING FURNACE, 6 o'clock P. M. (Sept. 19).

DEAR SIR—

I have this instant received yours of half past three o'clock A. M. Having written to you already to move forward upon the enemy, I have but little to add. Generals Maxwell and Potter are ordered to do the same, being at Pott's Forge. I could wish you and those generals to act in conjunction, to make your advance more formidable; but I would not have *too much time* delayed on *this* account. I shall follow as speedily as possible with jaded men—some may probably go off immediately, if I find they are in a condition for it. The horses almost all out on the patrol. Cartridges have been ordered for you. Give me the earliest information of everything interesting, and of your moves, that I may know how to govern mine by them. The *cutting off* of the enemy's baggage would be a great matter.

Yours sincerely,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

roads leading to the enemy's camp. Between nine and ten o'clock he received a visit from a friendly citizen of the neighborhood—a Mr. Jones—who had come to his quarters to give information, that a servant of Mr. Clayton, who had been taken by the enemy and afterwards liberated, had said that he had overheard some of the British soldiers speaking of an attack to be made upon Wayne's detachment during the course of the night. Gen. Wayne thought proper, in consequence, to take some additional precautions. He despatched a number of videttes, with orders to patrol all the roads leading to Howe's camp. He planted new pickets, one on a by-path leading from the Warren Tavern to the camp, and others to the right and in the rear. In addition to these, a horse picket was well advanced upon the Swedes Ford Road. And having taken these precautions, he lay in momentary expectation of Gen. Smallwood's arrival, to enable him to take the offensive.

Although the British commander did not know where the forces under Gen. Wayne lay, there were *Tories* residing in the neighborhood who did, and by these he was informed of the precise locality and of the nature of the approaches to it. He at once sent Gen. Grey to surprise and cut him off, and moved Col. Musgrave with the 40th and 55th Regiments up the Lancaster Road, near to the Paoli Tavern, to intercept any attempt to retreat over that route. The watchword of the Americans for that night was "Here we are and there they go," and this, the tradition of the neighborhood says, through some treachery, was communicated to the enemy.

Gen. Grey,¹ guided by his Tory aids, as is generally believed, marched from his encampment near Howellville, up the Swedes Ford Road, and massed his troops on that road, as near the camp of Wayne as possible, without betraying a knowledge of his approach. From there he moved on up the road to what is now known as the Valley Store, at the junction of the Swedes Ford and Long Ford Roads, north of the

¹ See *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biography*, vol. i. p. 14. Sargent's *Life of Andre*, 99. Mr. Sargent states that André was an aid to Grey at Paoli.

Admiral Warren. At this point there was an American picket, who fired and escaped. Tradition says the British made use of the American watchword, but the picket discovered they were not Americans, and fired. Gen. Grey then proceeded south on the Long Ford Road to near the Admiral Warren, where they encountered another picket, who also fired and escaped; from there he cautiously moved through the woods and up the ravine through the south valley hill north of this point, and near to the present Malvern Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The first intelligence Gen. Wayne received of the enemy's advance was from one of the videttes whom he had sent out in consequence of the notice received from Mr. Jones. Several pickets had been silently bayoneted in the darkness, and being missed by the patrolling officer, his suspicions were aroused, and he hastened to the head-quarters of his commander with the information. The troops were immediately ordered under arms, and many of them were awakened from their slumbers by the cry, "Up, men, the British are on you!" The night was dark, and being rendered more obscure by the surrounding woodland, much had to be left to conjecture as to the point of attack. Having ascertained, however, that the enemy were advancing upon his right, where the artillery was placed, Wayne directed Col. Humpton, his second in command, to wheel the division by sub-platoons to the right, and to march off by the left, and gain the road leading on the summit of the hill towards the White Horse, being the road on which the division had marched two miles the previous evening. The division wheeled accordingly, and the artillery moved off; but owing to some misapprehension, as is alleged, on the part of Col. Humpton, the troops did not move, although they were wheeled and faced for the purpose, until the second and third order had been issued. In addition to this, only part of the force took the right direction, while the other part took a wrong one, and were brought within the light of their fires, and thus gave the enemy an advantage which should have been most assiduously guarded against. Gen. Wayne took the light infantry and first regiment, and

formed them on the right, with a view to receive the enemy and cover the retreat of the artillery.

Gen. Grey, whose forces consisted of two regiments, a body of light infantry, and the second and tenth dragoons, was enabled, in consequence of the darkness and aided by the knowledge of his tory guides, to approach very closely without observation. He gained Wayne's left about one o'clock in the morning. The troops under Wayne met the enemy with spirit, and gave them several close and well-directed fires, which did considerable execution. They were, however, soon obliged to give way before the superior numbers of the assailants. Seeing this, Gen. Wayne immediately flew to the fourth regiment, with which he again received the shock of the enemy's charge, and covered the retreat of the rest of his line. After being again compelled to retire, he rallied such of Col. Humpton's troops as had taken the proper course in their retreat, about three hundred yards in the rear of the last stand, where they were again formed ready to renew the conflict. Both parties, however, drew off without further contest, and Wayne retreated to the White Horse, carrying with him his artillery and ammunition, except eight wagons loaded with baggage and stores, which, with a considerable amount of arms, were left upon the field, and fell into the hands of the enemy.

The British forces amounted to nearly double the number commanded by Wayne. Gen. Howe had received from disaffected persons such accurate accounts of the strength and position of the American forces, as enabled him to give to his own detachment so decided a superiority as to insure victory. He knew from his guides the precise point where to make the attack, and was enabled to move with decision and accuracy, while Wayne was under the necessity of acting, in a great measure, from conjecture.

The British attack was made with bayonets and light horsemen's swords only, in a most ferocious and merciless spirit. In emulation of a remarkable action which took place in the German war, Grey ordered his men to remove the flints from their guns, that not a single shot should be fired,

and thus gained the sobriquet of the "No-flint General." An officer of the British Light Infantry, in describing the attack, writes that, as they approached the camp of the Americans, General Grey "came to the head of the battalion, and cried out, 'Dash on, light infantry!' and, without saying a word, the whole battalion dashed into the woods; and, guided by the straggling fire of the picket, that was followed close up, we entered the camp and gave such a cheer as made the wood echo. The enemy were completely surprised; some with arms, others without, running in all directions in the greatest confusion. The light infantry bayoneted every man they came up with. The camp was immediately set on fire, and this, with the cries of the wounded, formed altogether one of the most dreadful scenes I ever beheld." Another officer of the light infantry, in writing to a friend, said: "Then followed a dreadful scene of havoc. The light dragoons came on, sword in hand; the shrieks, groans, shouting, imprecations, deprecations, the clashing of swords and bayonets, etc. etc.; no firing from us, and little from them, except now and then a few, as I said before, scattering shots, was more expressive of horror than all the thunder of artillery, etc., on the day of action."¹ Even the wounded and sick were not spared, and many were killed after resistance on their part had ceased. It is this feature in the conduct of the British commander which has stigmatized it as "British barbarity" and "cold-blooded cruelty," and has given to this affair the title of the Paoli Massacre.

When the attack commenced, Gen. Smallwood, with about eighteen hundred men, was within a short distance of Wayne, whom he was hastening to join. Had he commanded soldiers of sufficient firmness, his sudden arrival might have greatly

¹ In Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. 2, p. 164, 2d ed., N. Y. 1860, the following is given: A Hessian sergeant, boasting of the exploits of that night, exclaimed—"What a running about barefoot, and half clothed, and in the light of their own fires! These showed us where to chase them, while they could not see us. We killed three hundred of the rebels with the bayonet. I stuck them myself like so many pigs, one after another, until the blood ran out of the touch-hole of my musket."

embarrassed the British general, and even given a different turn to the affair. The raw militia commanded by him became, however, excessively alarmed, and could not be brought to face the enemy thus unexpectedly encountered, and the advance having fallen in with a small part of the enemy who were returning from the pursuit, they fled in confusion, with the loss of one man only, and Gen. Smallwood, with the remainder of his *Romans*, agreeably to the orders of Wayne, joined him at the White Horse.

The loss of the Americans was about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. The British reported their loss as eight killed, but the opinion of the neighborhood at the time was strongly against the veracity of this report, as many litters were seen to pass that night towards the British camp, and it is well known that they manifested extreme jealousy with regard to the discovery of the extent to which they suffered.

The next morning the scene of the conflict was visited by the people of the neighborhood, and the sufferings of the wounded were alleviated as far as circumstances would permit. It had rained heavily the night before, and to assuage their thirst, the water was dipped up with leaves and with the broad brims of their hats, from the pools which had formed, and given to the men. Fifty-three mangled dead were found upon the field, and decently interred by the farmers in one grave, immediately adjoining the scene of action, on the spot marked by yonder monument.

The unfortunate affair soon became the subject of animadversion in the army, instigated, it was said, by those who were envious of Wayne's rising reputation, and in consequence he at once requested an inquiry into his conduct. This request was granted, and soon after the Battle of Germantown a court-martial was convened. The charge, which was preferred by Col. Humpton, was, that Gen. Wayne "had timely notice of the enemy's intention to attack the troops under his command on the night of the 20th of September, and notwithstanding that intelligence, he neglected making a disposition until it was too late either to annoy the enemy or make a retreat, without the utmost danger and confusion." Gen.

Wayne made a written answer to this charge against him, and, after a full investigation, the Court unanimously acquitted him of the charge, and further declared that he had done everything that could be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer, under the orders which he then had, and they further added: "The Court do acquit him with the highest honor."

The attack upon Wayne's forces and their consequent retreat, frustrated the contemplated operations against the right wing and rear of the enemy, and enabled Howe to move without being molested. On the morning of the 21st of September he resumed his march, and in pursuance of his purpose to reach Philadelphia, moved down the road leading to Swedes Ford, intending to cross the Schuylkill at that point; but there were breastworks on the opposite side of the river, occupied by troops placed there by Washington, and seeing this, he turned up the river on the west side, with the intention of making its passage at some of the fords higher up.

The American army under Washington, in order if possible to prevent the British from passing the river, had in the mean time moved from Warwick Furnace, and crossed the Schuylkill at what was then known as Parker's Ford, at or near the present village of Lawrenceville, in this county—the officers and men wading the stream, which was breast-high—and marched southward on the east side, by way of the Trappe, as far as the Perkiomen.

The British commander then made a feint of moving his army northward along the west bank of the Schuylkill, with the view of inducing the Americans to suppose that it was his intention to gain their right, or else by a sudden movement to seize the ammunition and other military stores deposited at Reading. Washington, deceived by this movement, returned up the eastern side of the river to the neighborhood of Pottsgrove, and while he was there, Gen. Howe, on the 23d of September, suddenly wheeled his army, marched rapidly down the river, and dividing his forces, crossed with little opposition at Gordon's Ford, now Phoenixville, and at Fatland Ford, a short distance below Valley Forge, and pro-

ceeded by easy marches to Philadelphia, which he entered in triumph on the 26th of September.

One of the great difficulties with which the American cause had to contend, during the entire period of the Revolutionary War, after the early enthusiasm had in some measure subsided and war became a stern reality, was the fact that a portion of the people were either apathetic or disposed to favor the British interest.

The region bordering on the Schuylkill River, through which the armies passed, was largely disaffected towards the American cause, and for that reason Washington could procure very little reliable information of the movements of the enemy. Could he have obtained correct intelligence, he might have foiled Howe and saved Philadelphia. We perhaps appreciate too little the difficulties under which Washington sometimes labored in obtaining correct information, by reason of this disposition among a portion of the people to withhold their aid from the struggling cause.

The British army, in its march from the Head of Elk to Philadelphia, occupied about two weeks in its passage through Chester County, having entered it on the 9th of September, 1777, and left it on the 23d of the same month. It traversed nearly the whole length of the southern part of the county (then comprising within its limits the present county of Delaware), and also made incursions into several townships not on the line of the main route, before making its exit in the neighborhood of the present town of Phoenixville and of Valley Forge, and taking up its winter quarters in the quiet city of Penn. This was the only time during the entire contest that the soil of our good county was pressed by the foot of the invader, if we except the occasional foraging expeditions sent out from Philadelphia while it was occupied by the British army.

The plunder and devastation perpetrated by the enemy—English as well as Hessians—on the private property of passive non-combatants during this period, in violation of the proclamation issued by Howe, was enormous and wanton, while compensation for any portion of the property taken was

rarely made by those in command. Many families were stripped of everything they possessed, and left in a state of perfect destitution. "The British army had not before passed through a district of country so rich in agricultural productions, nor one in which every farm-house was so well stored with everything that could minister to the real comforts of life." Hence they did not fail to gather a rich harvest, carrying off horses, cattle, sheep, swine, grain, provisions, clothing, and whatever they could lay their hands on that could be used in the camp or on the march. Independent, however, of the property thus carried off, the wanton destruction of furniture and other articles which they could not use was unworthy of the most barbarous people, and this devastation was not confined to the track of the army, but extended for a considerable distance on either side.

For forty years the spot where the patriot dead of this field lay interred was unmarked, save by a heap of stones; but on the 20th of September, 1817, the Republican Artillerists of Chester County, aided by their fellow citizens, erected a monument over their remains, appropriately inscribed. On that occasion an address was delivered by Major Isaac D. Barnard, and an account of the massacre was given by the Rev. David Jones, then in his eighty-second year, who had been the chaplain to the ill-fated warriors, and who was on the ground on that fatal night and barely escaped. The occasion was also honored by the presence of Col. Isaac Wayne, the son of Gen. Wayne.

Soon thereafter these grounds, containing twenty-three acres, were purchased by the military organizations of Chester and Delaware Counties, and set apart as a parade ground. On each returning anniversary of the massacre, for many years, the citizens, soldiers of these counties, and occasional visiting companies from Philadelphia and elsewhere, met here to participate in the ceremonies of the day, which, I believe, were for some years invariably closed with a sham battle. These visits were interrupted by the war of the Rebellion, but since its close they have been resumed. The

scene of this conflict is probably the best preserved of any that marked the progress of the Revolutionary War.

Sixty years have, in the progress of time, been added to the forty which preceded them, and on this one hundredth anniversary of the day on which the heroes there interred laid down their lives that we might live free and independent, we meet to dedicate with loving hands a new and more stately and enduring monument to their memory.

It gives me pleasure to add, in conclusion, that while on the occasion of the dedication of the former monument, the assembly then present rejoiced in the presence of a son of Gen. Wayne, we to-day are honored, in the person of our first Vice-President, Capt. William Wayne, with a great-grandson of Chester County's brave and gallant hero, a gentleman who, inheriting the military qualities of his noble ancestor, was himself an officer in the Union Army during the late war with the South.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE PAOLI MASSACRE.

The following Account is from the Diary of Lieutenant afterwards Gen. Hunter, in the Historical Record of the 52d Regiment, and is printed in the Historical Magazine, vol. 4, p. 346. N. Y. 1860.

As soon as it was dark, the whole battalion got under arms. Major-General Grey then came up to the battalion, and told Major Maitland, who commanded, that the battalion was going on a night expedition to try and surprise a camp, and that, if any men were loaded, they must immediately draw their pieces. The major said the whole of the battalion was always loaded, and that, if he would only allow them to remain so, he, the major, would be answerable that they did not fire a shot. The general then said if he could place that dependence on the battalion, they should remain loaded, but firing might be attended with serious consequences. We remained loaded, and marched at eight in the evening to surprise Gen. Wayne's camp. We did not meet a patrol or vidette of the enemy until within a mile or two of the camp, where our advanced guard was challenged by two videttes. They challenged twice, fired, and galloped off at full speed. A little further on there was a blacksmith's forge; a party was immediately sent to bring the blacksmith, and he informed us that the picket was only a few hundred yards up the road. He was ordered to conduct us to the camp,

and we had not marched a quarter of a mile when the picket challenged, fired a volley, and retreated. General Grey then came to the head of the battalion and cried out—Dash on, light infantry! and, without saying a word, the whole battalion dashed into the wood, and guided by the straggling fire of the picket, that was followed close up, we entered the camp and gave such a cheer as made the wood echo. The enemy were completely surprised; some with arms, others without, running in all directions in the greatest confusion. The light infantry bayoneted every man they came up with. The camp was immediately set on fire, and this, with the cries of the wounded, formed altogether one of the most dreadful scenes I ever beheld. Every man that fired was instantly put to death. Captain Wolfe was killed, and I received a shot in my right hand soon after we entered the camp. I saw the fellow present at me, and was running up to him when he fired. He was immediately killed. The enemy were pursued for two miles. I kept up until I grew faint from loss of blood, and was obliged to sit down. Wayne's Brigade was to have marched at one in the morning to attack our battalion while crossing the Schuylkill River, and we surprised them at twelve. Four hundred and sixty of the enemy were counted the next morning lying dead, and not one shot was fired by us, all was done with the bayonet. We had only twenty killed and wounded.

Account by an Officer of the Second Battalion, British Light Infantry. From an unsigned letter in the Materials for History, edited by Frank Moore, N. Y. 1861.

I have been in a more bloody affair at midnight on the 20th of September. The battalion I served in (the second light infantry), supported by three regiments and some dragoons, surprised a camp of the rebels consisting of 1500 men, and bayoneted (we hear) from four to five hundred.

The affair was admirably conceived and executed. I will (as it is remarkable) particularize. I was released from picket at sunset—the preceding sunset I mounted—and was waked at nine at night to go on the bloody business. The men were ordered to unload; on no account to fire. We took a circuit in dead silence; about one in the morning fell in with a rebel vidette (a vidette is a horse sentinel), who challenged three times and fired. He was pursued, but escaped. Soon after two foot sentries challenged and fired; these escaped also. We then marched on briskly, still silent; our company was advanced immediately preceding a company of riflemen, who always are in front. A picket fired upon us at the distance of fifteen yards, miraculously without effect. This unfortunate guard was instantly dispatched by the riflemen's swords. We marched on through a thick wood, and received a smart fire from another unfortunate picket—as the first, instantly massacred. We then saw their wigwams or huts, partly by the almost extinguished light of their fires and partly by the glimmer of a few stars, and the frightened wretches endeavoring to form. We then charged. For two miles we drove them, now and then firing scat-

teringly from behind fences, trees, &c. The flashes of the pieces had a fine effect in the night.

Then followed a dreadful scene of havoc. The light dragoons came on sword in hand. The shrieks, groans, shouting, imprecations, deprecations, the clashing of swords and bayonets, &c. &c.; no firing from us and little from them, except now and then a few, as I said before, scattering shots, was more expressive of horror than all the thunder of the artillery, &c., on the day of action.

*From the Diary of the Revolution, by Frank Moore, vol. 1, p. 498.
Copied from Gaine's Mercury.*

Sept. 22. Yesterday the British having received intelligence of the situation of General Wayne, and his design of attacking their rear should they attempt to pass the Schuylkill, a plan was concerted for surprising him, and the execution intrusted to Major-General Grey. The troops for this service were the fortieth and fifty-third regiments under Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, and the second battalion of light infantry, the forty-second and forty-fourth regiments, under the general. The last detachment marched at ten o'clock last night—the other at eleven. No soldiers of either were suffered to load; they that could not draw their pieces took out the flints. The general knew nearly the spot where the rebel corps lay, but nothing of the disposition of their camp. He represented to the men that firing would discover them to the enemy, kill their own friends, and cause a confusion favorable to the escape of the rebels, and, perhaps, productive of disgrace to the British. On the other hand, by not firing, they would know the foe to be wherever fire appeared, and a charge insured his destruction; that amongst the enemy, those in the rear would direct their fire against whoever fired in front, and consequently destroy each other.

General Grey marched by the road leading to the White Horse, and took every inhabitant with him as he passed along. About three miles from camp he turned to the left, and proceeded to the Admiral Warren, where, having forced intelligence from a blacksmith, he came in upon the out sentries, pickets, and camp of the rebels. The sentries fired and ran off, to the number of four, at different intervals; the picket was surprised, and most of them killed in endeavoring to retreat. On approaching the right of the camp, the line of fires were perceived, and the light infantry, being ordered to form to the front, rushed along the line, putting to the bayonet all they came up with, and, overtaking the main herd of fugitives, stabbed great numbers, and pressed on their rear till it was thought prudent to order them to desist. The forty-fourth regiment, advancing in line likewise, closed up in support of the light infantry, putting to the sword such of the rebels as the heat of the pursuit had escaped that corps; whilst the forty-second came on in a third line as a reserve. Upwards of two hundred were killed and as many more wounded. Seventy-one prisoners were brought off—forty of them being badly wounded were left at different houses on the road. The

British loss consisted of Captain Wolfe and one or two men killed, Lieut. Hunter and five men wounded. It was about one o'clock this morning when the attack was made, and the rebels were then assembling to move towards the King's forces.

*Extract from General Howe's Letter to Lord George Germain.
See Remembrancer, vol. 5, p. 413.*

HEAD-QUARTERS, GERMANTOWN, Oct. 10, 1777.

MY LORD:—

* * * * *

The enemy crossed the Schuylkill on the 18th, above French Creek, and encamped upon the river on each side of Perkyomy Creek, having detached troops to all the fords of Schuylkill, with cannon at Swedesford and the fords below it.

Upon intelligence that General Wayne was lying in the woods with a corps of fifteen hundred men, and four pieces of cannon, about three miles distant, and in the rear of the left wing of the army, Major-general Grey was detached on the 20th, late at night, with the Second light-infantry, the Forty-second and Forty-fourth regiments, to surprise this corps.

The most effectual precaution being taken by the General to prevent his detachment from firing, he gained the enemy's left about one o'clock, and, having by the bayonet only, forced their out-sentries and pickets, he rushed in upon their encampment, directed by the light of their fires, killed and wounded not less than three hundred on the spot, taking between seventy and eighty prisoners, including several officers, the greater part of their arms, and eight wagons loaded with baggage and stores. Upon the first alarm the cannon were carried off, and the darkness of the night, only, saved the remainder of the corps. One captain of light-infantry and three men were killed in the attack, and four men wounded. Gallantry in the troops, and good conduct in the General, were fully manifested upon this critical service.

* * * * *

With most perfect respect,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

W. HOWE.

Letter of Col. Samuel Hay to Col., afterwards Gen., William Irvine.

CAMP AT THE TRAP, Sept. 29, 1777.

DEAR COLONEL: Since I had the pleasure of seeing you the division under the command of General Wayne has been surprised by the enemy with considerable loss. We were ordered by his Excellency to march from the Yellow Springs down to where the enemy lay near the Admiral Warren, there to annoy their rear. We marched early on the 17th instant, and got below the Paoli that night; on the next day fixed on a place for our camp. We lay the 18th and 19th undisturbed, but on the 20th at 12 o'clock at night the

enemy marched out, and so unguarded was our camp that they were amongst us before we either formed in any manner for our safety, or attempted to retreat, notwithstanding the General had full intelligence of their designs two hours before they came out. I will inform you in a few words of what happened. The annals of the age cannot produce such a scene of butchery—all was confusion—the enemy amongst us, and your regiment the most exposed as the enemy came on the right wing. The 1st Regiment (which always takes the right) was taken off and posted in a strip of woods, stood only one fire and retreated, then we were next the enemy, and as we were amongst our fires they had a great advantage of us. I need not go on to give the particulars, but the enemy rushed on with fixed bayonets and made the use of them they intended. So you may figure to yourself what followed. The party lost 300 privates in killed, wounded, and missing, besides commissioned and non-commissioned officers; our loss is Col. Grier, Captain Wilson, and Lieutenant Irvine¹ wounded (but none of them dangerously), and 61 non-commissioned and privates killed and wounded, which was just half the men we had on the ground fit for duty. The 22d I went to the ground to see the wounded, the scene was shocking—the poor men groaning under their wounds, which were all by stabs of bayonets and cuts of light horsemen's swords. Col. Grier is wounded in the side by a bayonet, superficially slanting to the breast bone. Capt. Wilson stabbed in the side, but not dangerous, as it did not take the guts or belly; he got also a bad stroke on the head with the cock nail of the lock of a musket. Andrew Irvine was run through the fleshy part of the thigh with a bayonet. They are all laying near David Jones' tavern. I left Capt. McDowell with them to dress and take care of them, and they are all in a fair way of recovery. Major La'Mar, of the 3d Regiment, was killed and some other inferior officers. The enemy also lost Captain Wolfe killed, and four or five light horsemen, and about 20 privates, besides a number wounded. The general officers have been in council for three days, and the plan is fixed, but what it is we do not yet know. Inclosed you have the state of the British army with their loss at Brandywine; you have it as I have it, and may judge of it as you think proper.

You will see by this imperfect scrawl how many sorts of ink I have written with—all borrowed, and the inkstands dry, as I have no baggage, nor have had any these four weeks, more than one shirt and one pair of stockings, besides what is on my back; the other officers are in the same way, and most of the officers belonging to the division have lost their baggage at Colonel Frazer's, taken by the enemy. I have nothing new to inform you of. My

¹ Captain Andrew Irvine received seventeen bayonet wounds in all, one of which penetrated through his company-book, which, in the confusion, he had taken up and thrust into the breast-pocket of his coat to carry off. He never entirely recovered, but died soon after the close of the war from the effects of these wounds.

compliments to Mrs. Irvine and Mrs. Armstrong; let her know the General is very well, and lodges near our camp.

I am with great respect,
Yours affectionately,
SAMUEL HAY.

P. S.—The officers of the division have protested against Gen. Wayne's conduct, and lodged a complaint and requested a court martial, which his Excellency has promised they shall have. This has brought down his pride a little already.—*Historical Magazine*, N. Y., 1859, p. 349.

Copy of a Memorandum in the Handwriting of Capt. Thomas Buchanan of First Pennsylvania Regiment.

At the affair of Paoli, in the fall of 1777, I was sent forward to Gen. Smallwood, that lay at the White Horse, to get him to cover our retreat and fix a place of rendezvous, &c. He sent me forward to try to stop as many of his broken troops that had taken the road to Downingtown. On coming near to there, I found where some of his artillery had thrown a field-piece into a limekiln, and had broke the carriage. I went on to Downingtown, and fixed a guard on the road to stop the runaways; got a wheeler and blacksmith to mend the carriage, and went down and put the cannon on the carriage, &c.

From Saffell's Records of the Revolution.

HEAD-QUARTERS, TOAMENSING, Oct. 11, 1777.

The Court of Inquiry, of which Lord Stirling is President,¹ now sitting at the President's quarters, is to inquire into the conduct of Brigadier-General Wayne, viz., that he had timely notice of the enemy's intentions to attack the troops under his command on the night of the 20th ult.; and, notwithstanding that intelligence, he neglected making a disposition until it was too late either to annoy the enemy or make a retreat without the utmost danger and confusion. The President will give notice when the Court can enter on the inquiry, and when the parties and evidence are to attend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

From Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. 3, p. 372.

Shortly after the 20th of September Gen. Wayne addressed the following letter to Washington.

SIR: I feel myself very much injured until such time as you will be kind enough to indulge me with an inquiry into my conduct concerning the action of the 20th of September.

Conscious of having done my duty, I dare my accusers to a fair and candid hearing; dark and insidious friends I dread, but from an open and avowed

¹ It consisted of Genls. McDougall and Knox, Cols. Spencer and Clark.

enemy I have nothing to fear. I have no other mode of showing them forth to open view than through your means. I must, therefore, beg an immediate investigation by a Court Martial. Your compliance will much oblige your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
ANTHONY WAYNE.

¹The action of the night of the 20th of September near the Warren has been variously and very erroneously represented.

However sanguine some persons were in their attempts to detract from the merits of the General, and worthy officers of his division, who, with unparalleled bravery, stood the bayonets of the enemy, saved all the artillery, and effected an honorable retreat in the face of every difficulty and danger, now find themselves egregiously deceived in proffering a charge which must have proceeded from the worst motives and the worst of hearts. A general court martial, of which General Sullivan was President, was held the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 30th of October, for the trial of Brigadier-General Wayne, on the following charges, *viz.* :—

That he had timely notice of the enemy's intention to attack the troops under his command, on the night of the 20th of Sept. last, and, notwithstanding that intelligence, neglected making a disposition until it was too late either to annoy the enemy or make a retreat without the utmost danger and confusion.

Upon which the Court pronounced their sentence as follows :—

The Court, having fully considered the charge against Brigadier-General Wayne, and the evidence produced to them, are *unanimously* of opinion that Gen. Wayne is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him, but that he on the night of the 20th ultimo did everything that could be expected from an *active, brave, and vigilant* officer, under the orders which he then had. The Court do acquit him with the highest honor.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence. The following is the General's defence :—

After the expiration of five weeks, during which period the tongue of slander has not been idle, I am happy to bring my case before a court of whose honor and impartial judgment I cannot have the least doubt. I shall not intrude on the patience of this court by any useless preface, but proceed to answer the charge.

The first part of the charge exhibited against me, that "I had timely notice of the enemy's intention to attack the troops under my command," is very readily answered.

I shall briefly notice what these gentlemen call a *timely notice*. A Mr. Jones, an old gentleman living near where we were encamped, came to my quarters between nine and ten o'clock at night, and informed me before Colonels Hartley, Broadhead, and Temple that a servant boy belonging to Mr. Clayton had been taken by the enemy and liberated again, who said that he had heard some of their soldiers say that they intended to attack me

¹ Extract of a communication dated White Marsh, 2d of November, 1777.

that night. Although this could not be deemed a *sufficient notice* upon any military principle, yet I immediately ordered out a number of videttes in addition to those already planted, with directions to patrol *all* the roads leading to the enemy's camp. I also planted two new piquets, the one in front on a blind path leading from the Warren to my camp, the other to the right, and in the rear, which made on that night not less than six different piquets. I had, exclusive of these, a horse piquet under Captain Stoddard, well advanced on the Swedes' Ford Road, being the very way the enemy marched that night. But the very first intelligence which I received of their advancing was from one of the videttes which I sent out in consequence of the *timely notice* from Mr. Jones, who had only *time* to go about a mile before he met the enemy. Immediately on his return the troops were all ordered to form, having been warned to lay on their arms in the evening, for a purpose which I shall presently mention. At this time it was raining, and in order to save the cartridges from wet, I ordered the soldiers to put their cartouch-boxes under their coats. This, gentlemen, does not look like a surprise, it rather proves that we were prepared either to move off or act as the case might require, when once apprized which way the enemy were actually advancing. To have made any move previously to ascertaining that fact, might have been attended by fatal consequences, totally subversive of the views of the Commander-in-Chief. So soon as it was discovered that the enemy were pushing for our right, where our artillery was planted, Major Ryan carried my orders to Col. Humpton and to the division to wheel by sub-platoons to the right, and to march off by the left, and gain the road leading on the summit of the hill towards the White Horse, it being the very road on which the division moved two miles the previous evening. The division wheeled accordingly, the artillery moved off, but, owing to some neglect or misapprehension, which is not uncommon in Col. Humpton, the troops did not move until a second and third order were sent, although they were wheeled and faced for the purpose. At the very time this order for the retreat was at first given, and which I presumed was obeyed, I took the light infantry and the first regiment, and formed them on the right, and remained there with them and the horse, in order to cover the retreat. If this was not *making a disposition*, I acknowledge I know not what a disposition is.

Those troops met and received the enemy with a spirit becoming free Americans, but were forced to give way to numbers. The neglect or misapprehension of Col. Humpton had detained the division too long, otherwise the disposition would have been perfect. I was, in consequence, necessitated to form the fourth regiment to receive the enemy and favor the retreat of the others; this Col. Butler and the officers of the infantry of that regiment were concerned in and witness of. About three hundred yards in rear of that I again rallied such of the divisions as took the proper route; those who went a contrary way and out of supporting distance, perhaps Col. Humpton can give the best account of. Here I have a fair and ample field for recrim-

ination were I so disposed. I shall waive the subject, and beg leave to read the orders which I received from time to time from his Excellency, Gen. Washington.

In the eyes of gentlemen and officers I trust that I stand justified for the part I took on that night. I had the fullest and clearest advice that the enemy would march that morning at two o'clock for the river Schuylkill, and, in consequence of this intelligence, I had reconnoitred a road leading immediately along the right flank of the enemy, with Cols. Humpton and Hartly, and had the men *lying* on their arms, to move (as soon as Gen. Smallwood should arrive) not *from* but *to* the enemy. For this purpose I had sent Col. Chambers, as a guide, to conduct that officer into my rear, who, with his division, was expected to arrive every moment, from two in the afternoon until we were attacked, at which time he was within a short distance of our rear, and retreated to the White Horse.

I shall just put a serious question or two, and then submit the matter to the decision of this court. Suppose that, after all these repeated orders from his Excellency, and the arrival of Gen. Smallwood, I had retreated before I knew whether the enemy intended to attack me or not, and that they should have marched for the Schuylkill that morning, which they actually did, would not these very gentlemen have been the first to default me for putting it out of my power to attack their rear? Would not his Excellency, with the greatest justice, have ordered me in arrest for cowardice and disobedience of his repeated peremptory and most pointed orders? Would not I have stood culpable in the eyes of the world? Would I not justly have merited immediate death or cashiering? I certainly would. What line could I follow but the one I trod? What more could be done on the occasion than what was done? The artillery, ammunition, etc., were covered and saved by a body of troops who were rallied and remained on the ground more than an hour after that gentleman, Col. Humpton, the prosecutor, had effected his escape from *danger*, although, perhaps, not without *confusion*.

I hold it needless to say any more, or to take up the time of this court on the occasion. I rest my honor and character, which to me are more dear than life, in the hands of gentlemen who, when deciding on my honor, will not forget their own.

The Evidence of Capt. James Wilson, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. See Historical Magazine, vol. 3, p. 375, N. Y. 1859.

That on the night of the 20th Sept^r, Genl. Wayne Personally placed me With the Light Infantry, his orders to me Was, stand like a Brave Soldier and Give them fire. his Orders I Obey'd as Long as Possible, but the Enemy being too numerous fors^d me to Give Way to the middle Fence, Where I Rallied about Thirty men and Gave them the Last Fire.

J. A. WILSON,
Capt 1st Regt.

(On the back, in the handwriting of Lord Stirling, are the following questions and answers :—)

Q. "What distance was the Light Infantry advanced from ye right of ye Division when you received the enemy?"

A. "300 yards."

Q. "How long was ye placed to oppose the Enemy before they came to you at Firing distance?"

A. "About 8 minutes, & then not above a rod distance."

NOTES ON THE IROQUOIS AND DELAWARE INDIANS.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM CONRAD WEISER TO CHRISTOPHER SAUR,
1746-1749.

COMPILED BY ABRAHAM H. CASSELL.
TRANSLATED BY MISS HELEN BELL.

(Continued from page 167.)

Of what is generally called a Religion, viz., a person openly contracting or uniting himself to God, and acting according to his prescribed laws and commands, either through fear or love, they have certainly (as I have said before) no outward form; therefore they have neither preacher nor meeting, no Formal Doctrine, no Formal Prayers; but when occasion offers we see that some confess and worship the Creator of all Things; they have usually a quantity of superstitions; if some of them are argued with, and such truths presented which they cannot deny, they apparently acknowledge and do not Contradict them; but perhaps a few minutes afterwards they will make a laughing-stock of them and scorn them. And they sometimes ask very foolish questions, for they have many silly fancies about spirits, about their dreams, and their sorceries; they believe that there are spirits in everything, in stones, rivers, trees, mountains, roads, &c., with which their old men can talk; sometimes they make offerings to these spirits, to incline them to protect them, and give them good luck in hunting and in battle.

A certain Indian was on a long journey through the bush

with a German, and one evening, as a very heavy rain was coming on, they were building a hut; the Indian wanted to drive stakes into the ground; but, as the ground was stony, and the stakes would not go in, he began to speak to the spirits in the stones, telling them they must give way, so that he could drive the stakes into the ground, or he would force them to yield; presently he entreated them, saying, "My Friend! I and my companion want to stay here to-night, and you must let me drive these stakes into the ground; so give way a little, or I will dig you out of the ground and throw you into the fire." And thereupon he worked hard, every now and then speaking harshly, as if he were striving or fighting with some one. The German laughed at him; but he said, "You see that I am beating, for the stones are giving way on one side. We poor Indians cannot use iron instruments like you Europeans; but we have other means, which we have learned from our Grandfathers, and we have it much easier if we talk to the spirits, and call them friends, and mingle threats therewith, then we succeed."

They consider their sorcerers (Conjurors) prophets, for they can make them believe whatever they wish. These sorcerers are very well paid for their advice, which they give when desired.

A small round hut about four feet wide is built for them, and covered with hides, or skins, or carpets; then a quantity of hot stones is carried into the hut, and they go within, as if they wished to sweat, and begin to sing and talk to their Familiar Spirits, until they seem to be drunken or swooning on account of the heat; occasionally they ask for a little water to cool themselves. In the mean time a whole household of Indians sit around the hut quite devoutly; some call out to him: "O Grandfather! O Father! O Brother! hold out, cheer up, until thou hast entreated and moved thy Familiar Spirit." And this they do until a crow, or a fox, or a wolf, or any other wild animal comes to him in the hut and brings him the desired answer. The Sorcerer, or Conjuror, says nothing until he comes out of the hut, and then such an answer passes for an oracle, or a divinely true answer. The

sorcerer sometimes receives the value of 3*l.* to 4*l.* currency for such an answer, according as it is something important, and as the people who have asked for the advice are able; and it must always be paid for beforehand, before he goes into the hut. But many a one has been killed, if the thing did not come to pass, and the people found that they had been deceived, yet they often can give reasons enough why it did not happen as they had said.

There is very little to say about their government or manner of governing and justice, excepting what pertains to their transactions and demeanour with other nations, for in that respect they take great pains: Each nation of the six tribes sends Deputies to the great Council at Onontago once or twice a year to confer with each other; they are very slow in coming to a decision in the Council, and have good rules which are looked to and kept inviolably, and when their deliberations are at an end, these rules are repeated once more, and the people are admonished to heed them.

In this Council they treat each other in a very friendly and moderate manner: The wisest men among each nation are sent thither to bring forward any business in the name of the nation.

The young people are certainly allowed to listen to the others, but even if 100 were present, no one would speak a word.

One of them makes a statement; thereupon each of the envoys considers it in silence by himself, and afterwards they meet and decide the affair.

All the other nations are as if in fear of the Council at Onontago; and, because they find out what their neighbors are doing through their spies or reconnoiterers (whom they always have, for they are very distrustful and suspicious), on this account they hold their old Councils before people who have intercourse with spirits, or before sorcerers and such.

They are very just in keeping their contracts or promises; but there is little justice among them, for they cannot punish any one for an offence, except with death, which very seldom happens. When any one has done anything that is consid-

ered worthy of death, the most eminent men of the nation meet and examine into it, whether the charge is true or false; for no one is charged with or accused of anything among them except of murder or robbery. If it is found to be true, the friends of the guilty person try to appease the injured party with gifts, and then they are present at the tribunal. When the crime is too great, and the guilty person is a notorious murderer or thief, that is, has been guilty several times before, then they counsel his own tribe to kill him, his tribe advise his own family to tell him the sentence, and then his nearest friend, and very seldom any one else, kills him.

The criminal is made drunk, and perhaps a quarrel is begun with him by the one who is appointed to do it, who then charges him with his offence, and at the same time informs him of the cause of his death. And in the ensuing quarrel he is killed, and the rum bears the blame, so that the avenger of blood has no power over the doer of the deed.

After their children are 14 or 15 years old, they have no other discipline than kind words and friendly admonitions, for fear the children might avenge it some time or other, and strike them on the head in their old age. As for the rest, there is entire peace and harmony among old and young in their villages; but if it should happen, as it does sometimes, that in drunkenness one person bites another's finger, nose, or ear, there is nothing more required than that the person should acknowledge his fault, and go into the woods and get a healing plant or root, or pay some one to do it. They do not take it ill of one another, and do not avenge such a thing if they are reconciled, for the Rum has done it; for then a new quarrel would arise from the drunkenness itself.

A person might be among them 30 years and even longer, and not once see two sober Indians dispute or quarrel; when one of them has a deadly hatred to another, they endeavor to smother their anger, and are soon reconciled when it is possible; otherwise either one or the other must leave the country, or be continually in danger of his life.

They never fight each other unless they are drunk; But

when two sober wise men fight, then death follows, for they seldom yield until but one remains.

When friends come to them in their dwellings, they receive them very cordially. When deputies or ambassadors from their allies (those whom they are friendly to) come to them, they give them the best they can get; for this end all the young men are ready, so that when one of their leading men tells them, they go out and hunt, and bring everything they can obtain to the house where the envoys are, even if their own families suffer want.

Concerning their Warriors. We cannot say with certainty concerning their number and the number of their warriors, for they are very much scattered about the streams which flow into the Mississippi, and around the Lakes or Seas of Canada and among the French.

The Maquaische are considered to have about 100 warriors at home.

The Oneider perhaps as many.

The Tuscarrora have about 150.

The Onontager not many over 200.

The Cayjucker about 500.

The Sinicker about 700 at home, or not far from home.

The Six Nations live about 400 miles from Lancaster; if we could go there in a straight line, it would be much nearer; but we cannot travel directly there on account of lofty mountains.

The Onontager lie the farthest to the north, about 450 miles from Lancaster, as the road goes.

The Sinicker are the nearest to us.

The Maquaische are the nearest to Albania, and live the farthest east of the Six Nations. It is about 200 miles from Albania to the Sinicker, who live principally towards the west.

The Onontager live in the middle, and have the Sinicker and Cayjucker to the west or southwest.

The Tuscarrora, Oneider, and Maquaische live to the east of them.

(To be continued.)

THE WHARTON FAMILY.

BY ANNE H. WHARTON.

THOMAS WHARTON,² who emigrated to Pennsylvania at an early date, was the son of Richard Wharton,¹ of Kellorth, in the Parish of Orton (or Overton),* Westmorelandshire, England. His parents were members of the Church of England, and on the 7th of November, 1663, he was baptized in All Saints Church, Orton. At what period he adopted the tenets of the Friends I am unable to discover, but at the time of his marriage he was certainly in full membership with their Society. The marriage took place January 20, 1688-9, O. S., at the Bank Meeting House in Philadelphia, where he and Rachel Thomas, in the quaint phraseology of their marriage certificate, "having declared their Intentions of taking each other in marriage before several public meetings of the People of God, called Quakers," . . . "according to the good order used amongst them, whose Proceedings therein, after a deliberate Consideration thereof, were approved by the said Meetings: They appearing Clear of all others. Now these are to Certify all whom it may concern, that for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions, this Second day of the Eleventh month, called January, in the Year One thousand Six Hundred, Eighty and Eight. They" . . . "appeared in a public Assembly of the aforesaid People and others mett together for that end and purpose . . . and (according to the Example of the holy men of God recorded in the Scriptures of Truth) in a Solemn manner, he the said Thomas taking the said Rachel by the hand, did openly declare as followeth—Friends, in the presence of God and before you his people do I take Rachel Thomas to be my wife and do promise to be a faithful and loving husband, until death separate us." After recording a similar declaration on the part of Rachel, the certificate

* See Clark's *British Gazetteer*, London, 1852.

proceeds—"And the said Thomas Wharton and Rachel Thomas, as a further Confirmation thereof, did then and there to these Presents set their hands,
THOMAS WHARTON.
RACHEL WHARTON."

Among the witnesses were Micah and James Thomas, Sen., also Samuel Richardson, William Salway, and William Southby, about that time members of the Provincial Council, John White, then speaker of the Assembly, and William Bradford, the celebrated printer.

Rachel Thomas was born Sept. 1, 1664, in Monmouthshire, Wales. She survived her husband nearly thirty years, and died in Philadelphia, June 10, 1747.

Thomas Wharton was principally engaged in mercantile pursuits, and was unambitious of political distinction; he was, however, on October 6, 1713, elected a member of the Common Council of the city of Philadelphia, and gave an active attendance to his duties in that position until his death. He remained during his life an earnest member of the religious denomination to which, in his youth, he had attached himself. He died in Philada. July 31, 1718, leaving a considerable estate to be divided between his children.

Thomas and Rachel Wharton had eight children, all b. in Philada.

3. JOSEPH, b. Nov. 25, 1689; bu. July 24, 1690.
4. RICHARD, d. unm. Philada. Mar. 5, 1721.
5. MARY, d. unm. Philada. Jan. 10, 1763, aged 67.
6. JAMES.
7. THOMAS, m. Christ Church, Philada. Sept. 12, 1728, Mary Curry. In his will, proved 1730, he styles himself "Mariner," and bequeathes all his estate to his wife. She m. 2dly, in 1736, Richard Grafton.
8. RACHEL, d. unm.; bu. Aug. 7, 1735.
9. JOHN, m. Mary Dobbins.
10. JOSEPH, b. Aug. 4, 1707; m. 1st, Hannah Carpenter; and 2dly, Hannah Ogden.

9. JOHN WHARTON^s (Thomas,^s Richard^l) m., Chester Co., Nov. 2, 1727, Mary, dau. of James Dobbins. She was b. 1696, and d. Philada. Jan. 10, 1763. After his marriage he resided for

Dec. 7, 1774, Elizabeth, dau. of William Fishbourne,* by his wife, Mary Tallman. She was b. Sept. 1752, and d. Philada. April 24, 1826. He d. at Lancaster, May 22, 1778. By his first wife he had five children.

41. LLOYD WHARTON, m. Mary Rogers and d. s. p.
42. KEARNEY, d. Jan. 4, 1848, aged 82; m. Maria Salter.
43. WILLIAM MOORE, d. Aug. 14, 1816, aged 49; m. 1st, Mary Wain; and 2dly, Deborah Shoemaker.
44. SARAH NORRIS, d. 1806, aged 64; m. 1st, Dr. Benjamin Tallman; and 2dly, Samuel Courtauld.
45. SUSANNAH, bu. Philada. Feb. 2, 1773.

By his 2d wife he had three children.

46. Mary, b. Sept. 7, 1775; d. unm. Philada. June, 1799.
47. THOMAS FISHBOURNE, b. Nov. 10, 1776; d. unm. Philada. Jan. 1865.
48. FISHBOURNE, b. Aug. 10, 1778; m. 1st, Susan Shoemaker; and 2dly, Mary Ann Shoemaker.

13. JOHN WHARTON⁴ (John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹) m. Philada. June 24, 1761, Rebecca Chamless. He was a shipbuilder in Philada., and during the Revolution, built for the Pennsylvania Navy two men-of-war, the Experiment and the Washington. He was a member of Continental Navy Board, 1778-1780. He d. Philada. Oct. 22, 1799, aged 67 years. His children were

49. CHAMLESS, b. 1769; d. April 20, 1775.
50. CHAMLESS, d. unm. Philada. Oct. 22, 1802, aged 22 years.

14. RACHEL WHARTON⁴ (John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹) m. Friends Meeting, Philada. Dec. 10, 1762, William Crispin, son of Silas Crispin, of Burlington, N. J. He was a commissary of the American Army. Collector of Excise. He d. Philada. April 24, 1797, aged 60 years. They had six children.

51. WILLIAM.
52. SARAH, m. William Lewis.

* His father, William Fishbourne, a member of the Provincial Council, 1723 to 1731, was born in Talbot County, Md., where his parents, Ralph and Sarah (Lewis) Fishbourne, then resided. William Fishbourne, the elder, settled in Philada. before 1700, and in 1702 married Hannah, daughter of Samuel Carpenter—see note, page 326.

53. ESTHER.

54. RACHEL.

55. MARY.

56. THOMAS, bu. Sept. 23, 1781, aged 3 years.

16. THOMAS WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Phila. Jan. 15, 1730-1; m. Friends Meeting, Philada. Rachel, dau. of Jacob Medcalf, by his wife Hannah Hudson. She was b. Feb. 21, 1729-30. "He was a merchant of great wealth and influence, and of the sect of Quakers. In the enterprise of Galloway and Goddard to establish "The Chronicle," a leading newspaper, he was their partner; and the parties supposed that Franklin, on his return from England, would join them. Previous to the Revolution, Franklin and Mr. Wharton were correspondents. In 1774, Washington records that he "dined with Thomas Wharton." (*Sabine's Loyalists*.) Like many other Friends, he was at first actively opposed to the oppressive measures of the British Government, and a signer of the non-importation agreement in 1765; but when the colonies resorted to arms his sympathy was entirely withdrawn from their cause. His prominence among the Friends, the majority of whom had pursued a similar course in regard to the active prosecution of the Revolution, made him an object of suspicion to the authorities of the newly arisen commonwealth, and in Aug. 1777 he and several other Friends were arrested, who, on their refusing to sign a parole, were in the following month exiled to Virginia. In April, 1778, they were allowed to return to Philada. Mr. Wharton, however, was proscribed as an enemy to his country, and lost his estate under the Confiscation Act of Penna. He d. near Philada. in the winter of 1782.

(To be continued.)

WELSH EMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA.

AN OLD CHARTER PARTY.

* COMMUNICATED BY W. F. CORBIT.

Articles of freightment, covenanted, indented, and made the seventh day of March, 1697-8, between Owen Thomas, of the County burrough of Carmathen, mercer, owner of the good shipp called the William Galley, now riding in the river of Towy, of the one part, and David Powell, of the parish of Nantmell, in the county of Radnor, and John Morris, of the parish of Karbadamfyneth, in the said county of Radnor, yeomen, of the other part: Witnesseth that the said David Powell, John Morris, and several other persons hereunto subscribed, being desirous to goe beyond seas for Pensilvania, have covenanted and agreed to and with the said Owen Thomas, owner of the said shipp, and Samuel Haines, master thereof, for a voyage or passage in the said ship by God's grace, in manner and form following (vizt.).

The said Owen Thomas, owner of the said ship, and the said Master, covenant and grant by these presents, to and with the said David Powell and John Morris, that the shipp with the first and next good wind and weather that God shall send after the tenth day of May next ensuing the date above written, shall depart from the said river of Towy, and directly sail for Philadelphia in Pensilvania, with the said passengers and such goods and wares as they shall sett aboard, or lay in the said shipp, on the River Towy, and being arrived or come to the sd. port of Philadelphia, or so nigh to the same as she safely and conveniently may come, shall there tarry for the space of ffive days next after her arrival, there to discharge and unload the said passengers, with all the goods and wares that shall be freighted and laden in her by them, freely on shore, upon the Key of Philadelphia.

And it is further covenanted and granted between the sd. parties, that the sd. David Powell and John Morris as well for themselves as also for all others the passengers hereunto

subscribed, do hereby promise and engage to pay for themselves and all other passengers from 12 years of age and upwards unto the said Owen Thomas, the sum of five pounds, in manner and form following (vizt.) fifty shillings for each of them att or upon the sixth day of April next, at the town of Rhayader upon the River Towy, and the other fifty shillings att or upon the day of their entering aboard the sd. shipp, and for every passenger under 12 years of age the sum of fifty shillings each, before the day of their going aboard for the sd. voyage, and that all sucking children have free passage, and freight free of and for all wares and goods for said passengers, not exceeding twentie tunns weight, and that the sd. goods be unloaded at the charge of the said owner and master of the said shipp at the port of Philadelphia aforesaid.

And it is further covenanted and agreed between the sd. parties, that in concideracion of the payments aforesaid by the sd. passengers, the sd. owner and master of the sd. shipp do covenant and grant to and with each and every of the said passengers, to find them during the time of their being aboard for the said voyage with sufficient meat, drink, and cabins, and all other necessaries, at the proper cost and charges of the said Owen Thomas, owner, and Samuel Haines, master of the said shipp.

And it is further covenanted between the said partys, that the said David Powell and John Morris, together with the other passengers hereto subscribed, shall make themselves ready to appear before the owner or master of the sd. shipp att the Burrough of Carmathen, upon the said tenth day of May next, and in case the wind and weather do not then serve to hoist sailes for the sd. voyage, that the sd. passengers do covenant and grant to find and maintain themselves with meat, drink, and all other necessaries, for the space of five days, next after the said tenth day of May, and in case the passengers be forced to stay longer after the said five days for wind, then the owner or master of the sd. shipp covenant and grant to find them with meat, drink, and other necessaries for fourteen days next after, and no longer.

Provided, also, that the said shipp be not in readiness for the sd. voyage, att the sd. tenth day of May, that then the

owner or master of the sd. shipp do find and maintain the sd. passengers with meat, drink, and necessaries until the sd. shipp be fully ready.

And it is further covenanted and agreed between the said parties that every master of a family among the sd. passengers having a wife and children, or a considerable family, shall pay att the time of their going aboard, ffive shillings encouragement to the Doctor belonging to the said shipp, and all single persons, except servants, pay one shilling apiece.

And also it is agreed by the sd. partys, that the said David Powell and John Morris shall bring to the said owner or master the sd. shipp a positive account of the number of passengers intended for the sd. voyage, by the twentieth day of this instant, March ; and it is further covenanted between the said parties that the sd. Owen Thomas will find cellars, free without any hire, for the goods and wages of the passengers to abide until they be sett aboard the sd. shipp.

And finally and lastly, it is mutually covenanted and agreed by and between the said parties, for themselves, their heirs, executors, and administrators, to observe, fulfill, and accomplish all and singular the grants, articles, and agreement herein before specified or mencioned to be observed, fulfilled, and accomplished by virtue of these presents.

In witness whereof, both the sd. Partys have hereunto their hands and seals interchangeably sett the day and year first above written.

OWEN THOMAS [SEAL].
SAMUEL HAINES [SEAL].

Sealed and delivered in the sight and presence of us.

DAVID WILLIAMS.
THOMAS OSBURNE.

David Powell,	for 11 passengers.	Thomas Jerman,	for 3 passengers.
John Morris,	" 6 "	John Powell,	" 2 "
Margaret Jones,	" 3 "	James Price,	" 2 "
Edward Moore,	" 4 "	John Vaikaw,	" 1 "
Thomas Powell,	" 3½ "	Lymley Williams,	" 1 "
Thomas Griffith,	" 2 "	Ann Lewis,	" 1 "
Rees Rees,	" 4½ "	Thomas Watts,	" 1 "
Edward Nicholas,	" 4 "	Waiter Ingram,	" 1 "
Winnifred Oliver,	" 5 "	Benjamin Davis,	" 2 "
Evan Powell,	" 5 "		

NOTE.—The above agreement was probably carried out in good faith by the captain and owner of the ship, as the passengers named were in Philadelphia in March, 1699.

ROBERT MORRIS.

PRESENTED BY MRS. ARMINE NIXON HART.

(Centennial Collection.)

In presenting a brief memoir of the life of Robert Morris, it is impossible to forget the biting sarcasm and sharp wit of Rufus Choate's memorable toast,—“Pennsylvania's two most distinguished citizens, Robert Morris, a native of Great Britain, and Benjamin Franklin, a native of Massachusetts.” It is to portray the life of one of these “*citizens*” that I have been invited here to-day.

Robert Morris, the Financier of the American Revolution, was born in Liverpool, Kingdom of Great Britain, on the 20th of January, 1733–34, old style, or what would be, according to the modern method of computation, January 31st, 1734. His father, also Robert Morris, came to this country and settled at Oxford on the eastern shore of Maryland prior to the year 1740. He was there engaged in the tobacco trade as the factor of Foster Cunliffe, Esq., of England. His tombstone in Whitmarsh burial ground, Talbot County, Maryland, records, that “A salute from the cannon of a ship, the wad fracturing his arm, was the signal by which he departed greatly lamented, as he was esteemed, in the fortieth year of his age, on the 12th day of July, MDCCL.”

Robert, the son, at an early age came to Philadelphia, and entered the counting-house of Mr. Charles Willing, one of the first merchants of his day, and subsequently in 1754, at the age of twenty, formed a copartnership with his son Thomas Willing, which lasted until 1793, a period of thirty-nine years, and the firm of Willing & Morris became the best known and largest importing house in the colonies. In October, 1765, upon the arrival of the “Royal Charlotte,” carrying the obnoxious stamped paper for the colonies, a town meeting was held at the State House, to prevent the landing of the stamps,

and a committee was appointed to wait upon John Hughes, the stamp distributor, and demand his resignation of the office. On this committee Mr. Morris was appointed, and from Hughes' letters¹ it would appear that he and James Tilghman were the spokesmen on the occasion. Later in the same year Mr. Morris signed the Non-Importation Resolutions and Agreement of the Merchants of Philadelphia, and in January, 1766, was appointed one of the first wardens of the port of Philadelphia, by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. ✓ Upon the formation of a Committee of Safety for the Province, in June, 1775, Mr. Morris was made vice-president, Franklin being the head, and continued in the office until the dissolution of the Committee, in July, 1776.

The appointment of Mr. Morris, by the Assembly of Pennsylvania on the 3d of November, 1775, as one of the delegates to the second congress, then in session at Philadelphia since May 10th, was his first entrance into important public life. Soon after he had taken his seat he was added to and made chairman of the Secret Committee, which had been selected in September, to contract for the importation of arms and ammunition. On the 11th of December, he was designated as one of the committee to devise ways and means for furnishing the colonies with a naval armament, and subsequently, on the formation of a naval committee, he was made a member. In April, 1776, Mr. Morris was specially commissioned to negotiate bills of exchange, and to take other measures to procure money for the Congress. When Richard Henry Lee's resolution of June 7th came up for final action on July 2d, the day we celebrate, he, with John Dickinson, Thomas Willing, and Charles Humphreys, voted against independence; and afterwards, on the FOURTH, when the Declaration was submitted for approval, he and Dickinson absented themselves from their seats in Congress. His action was of course much commented upon, and John Adams, the most ardent and at the same time the most severe and censorious of his contemporaries, wrote to General Gates: "You ask me what you are to think of Robert

¹ 2 Hazard's Register, 247.

Morris? I will tell you what I think of him. I think he has a masterly understanding, an open temper, and an honest heart; and if he does not always vote for what you and I think proper, it is because he thinks that a large body of people remains who are not yet of his mind." This query was doubtless occasioned by the apparent inconsistency of Mr. Morris's action with his views expressed to General Gates, in a letter written from Philadelphia on April 6th, 1776, in which he says:—

“Where the plague are these Commissioners? If they are to come, what is it that detains them? It is time we should be on a certainty, and know positively whether the liberties of *America* can be established and secured by reconciliation, or whether we must totally renounce connection with Great *Britain*, and fight our way to a total independence. Whilst we continue thus firmly united amongst ourselves, there is no doubt but either of these points may be carried; but it seems to me we shall quarrel about which of these roads is best to pursue, unless the Commissioners appear soon and lead us into the first path, therefore I wish them to come, dreading nothing so much as even an appearance of division amongst ourselves.” Mr. Morris's reason for this course was that he considered the act premature and unnecessary, that the colonies were not yet ready for independence; and that his motives were respected and sanctioned by his constituents, and his patriotism never questioned, are shown by the fact that on the 20th of the same month, he, alone of the members who had voted with him, was re-elected a delegate. On this same day he wrote “From the Hills on Schuylkill” to Joseph Reed: “I have uniformly voted against and opposed the Declaration of Independence, because, in my poor opinion, it was an improper time, and will neither promote the interest nor redound to the honour of *America*; for it has caused division when we wanted union, and will be ascribed to very different principles than those which ought to give rise to such an important measure. I did expect my conduct on this great question would have procured my dismissal from the great Council, but find myself disappointed,

for the Convention has thought proper to return me in the new delegation, and although my interest and inclination prompt me to decline the service, yet I cannot depart from one point which first induced me to enter the public line. I mean an opinion that it is the duty of every individual to act his part in whatever station his country may call him to, in hours of difficulty, danger, and distress. Whilst I think this a duty, I must submit, although the councils of America have taken a different course from my judgment and wishes. I think that the individual who declines the service of his country because its councils are not conformable to his ideas, makes but a bad subject; a good one will follow if he cannot lead." Subsequently, on the 2d of August, when the engrossed Declaration was laid on the table to be signed, he subscribed, with firm hand and unfaltering heart, his signature to our Magna Charta. This act was not inconsistent with his earlier course, for in that brief month great changes had taken place.

He cannot, however, be said to have been, like Sam. Adams, "BURNING FOR INDEPENDENCE," for while he was ever earnest in his exertions to withstand the encroachments of the British crown, he afterwards, on several occasions, expressed his great regret for the act. In October, 1777, after the surrender of Burgoyne, he wrote to Gates:—

"Mr. Johnson, and, indeed, all the other Maryland delegates, are at home forming a Constitution. This seems to be the present business of all America, except the army. It is the fruit of a certain premature declaration which, you know, I always opposed. My opposition was founded on the evil consequences I foresaw, or thought I foresaw, and the present state of several of the colonies justifies my apprehension. We are disputing about liberties, privileges, posts, and places, at the very time we ought to have nothing in view but the securing of those objects, and placing them on such a footing, as to make them worth contending for amongst ourselves hereafter. But instead of that, the vigor of this and several other States is lost in intestine divisions; and unless this spirit of contention is checked by some other means, I fear it

will have a baneful influence on the measures of America. Nothing do I wish for more, than a peace on terms honorable and beneficial to both countries; and I am convinced it is more consistent with the interest of Great Britain to acknowledge our independence, and enter into commercial treaties with us, than to persist in attempting to reduce us to unconditional submission. I hope we shall never be reduced to such a vile situation, whilst a true friend of America and freedom exists. Life would not be worth having, and it is better to perish by the sword, than to drag out our remaining days in misery and scorn; but I hope Heaven has better things in store for the votaries of such a cause."

In December, 1776, when Congress retired to Baltimore on the approach of Cornwallis, a committee, consisting of Mr. Morris, George Clymer, and George Walton, was appointed to remain in Philadelphia, with extensive power to execute all necessary public business. It was just at this period that Washington wrote to Morris, from above Trenton, that unless he had a certain amount of specie at once, he would be unable to keep the army together, and could not foretell the result. Morris on his personal credit borrowed a sufficient sum, forwarded it to Washington, and enabled him to finish the victory over the Hessians at Trenton, by his success at Princeton.

On the 10th of March, 1777, Mr. Morris was a third time sent as a delegate to Congress, and soon after was placed on the Committee of Commerce, which succeeded the Secret Committee. When Hancock, in the fall of this year, on account of his ill-health, decided to resign his place in Congress, Mr. Morris was urged to accept the Presidentship, but he declined to serve, as it would interfere entirely with his private business, and disarrange his public engagements. Henry Laurens was therefore chosen as Hancock's successor. In November, Mr. Morris was selected with Elbridge Gerry to repair to the army, and confer confidentially with the Commander-in-chief, as to the best means of providing for the Army. On the 13th of December, he was again re-elected to Congress, and on the 9th day of July, 1778, led the Pennsylvania delegation, in signing the "Articles of Confederation

and Perpetual Union between the States," under which the government was carried on until supplanted, ten years later, by the Constitution of the United States. In August, he was appointed a member of the Committee of Finance, and in the spring of 1780, organized the Bank of Pennsylvania, "to supply the army with provisions for two months," and to it subscribed £10,000. Early in the year 1781, Congress found it necessary to organize the Executive departments of the government, and, "whatever may have been thought, in regard to the candidates suitable for the other departments, there was but one opinion in Congress and in the nation as to the proper person for taking charge of the finances, then in a dilapidated and most deplorable condition. The public sentiment everywhere pointed to Robert Morris, whose great experience and success as a merchant, his ardor in the cause of American liberty, his firmness of character, fertility of mental resources, and profound knowledge of pecuniary operations qualified him in a degree far beyond any other person for this arduous and responsible station."¹ Accordingly, on the 20th of February, at a time when Mr. Morris was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, he was unanimously chosen to the office of Superintendent of Finance. This action was communicated to him, by the President of Congress, in the following letter:—

" PHILADELPHIA, February 21, 1781.

"SIR—By the enclosed copy you will be informed that Congress have been pleased unanimously to elect you, Sir, to the important office of Superintendent of Finance.

It is hoped that this important call of your Country will be received by you, Sir, as irresistible.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

SAM. HUNTINGTON, *Presdt.*

ROBERT MORRIS, *Esquire.*"

On the 13th of March, Mr. Morris sent his reply to Congress, in which he made certain stipulations as a condition

¹ Jared Sparks' "Life of Gouverneur Morris," vol. i. p. 231.

precedent upon his accepting the office. This led to a conference with a committee of the Congress specially appointed for the purpose, which resulted in the passage of certain resolutions on the 20th of March and 21st and 27th of April, in effect assenting to Mr. Morris's conditions; and, upon receiving, from the President of Congress, copies of these resolutions, Mr. Morris, on May 14th, accepted the office of Superintendent of Finance. In his letter of acceptance, which is a noble eulogium upon the man who wrote it, he says: "In accepting the office bestowed on me, I sacrifice much of my interest, my ease, my domestic enjoyments, and internal tranquillity. If I know my own heart, I make these sacrifices with a disinterested view to the service of my country. I am ready to go further; and THE UNITED STATES MAY COMMAND EVERYTHING I HAVE EXCEPT MY INTEGRITY, AND THE LOSS OF THAT WOULD EFFECTUALLY DISABLE ME FROM SERVING THEM MORE." From this period until November 1st, 1784, when he resigned, he continued to fill this arduous and responsible post.

In so brief a notice it is impossible to recount the duties which this appointment imposed; but it was a herculean task, which he managed so as to bring order out of chaos and success out of doubt. When the exhausted credit of the government threatened the most alarming consequences; when the army was utterly destitute of the necessary supplies of food, clothing, arms, and ammunition; when Washington almost began to fear for the result, Robert Morris, upon his own credit and from his private resources, furnished those pecuniary means without which all the physical force of the country would have been in vain; without Robert Morris the sword of Washington would have rusted in its sheath. A dispassionate foreigner, Carlo Botta, in his History of the American Revolution, says: "Certainly the Americans owed and still owe as much acknowledgment to the financial operations of Robert Morris as to the negotiations of Benjamin Franklin or even the arms of George Washington."

One of the earliest official acts of Mr. Morris was to submit to Congress, in the same month as he accepted his appointment, "A Plan for Establishing a National Bank for the United

States," and, on the 31st of the following December, "The President, Directors, and Corporation of the Bank of North America" were incorporated. This was the first incorporated bank in the United States. The Assembly of Pennsylvania having in 1785 annulled the charter of the bank, Mr. Morris, at the earnest solicitation of many citizens, consented to become a candidate for the Legislature, in conjunction with his friends Thomas Fitzsimmons and George Clymer, in order to obtain, if practicable, its renewal. He was consequently elected the following year, and although failing in the first effort, his exertions were subsequently crowned with success.

When peace had once again fallen upon the land of his adoption, and a fundamental law was necessary to be formed for its governance, Mr. Morris was chosen a delegate to the memorable convention which met in Philadelphia, May 25th, 1787, and framed the Constitution of the United States. It was he who proposed Washington for president of that convention, and during its entire session Washington was his guest. During the deliberations of the convention he strenuously advocated the choice of senators *for life*, and that they should be "men of great and established property—an aristocracy." In the course of one of his speeches, he used these weighty words, which deserve to be studied carefully at the present day, with a healthy recollection of our present condition: "History proves, I admit, that men of large property will uniformly endeavor to establish tyranny. How shall we ward off these evils? Give them the second branch, the Senate, and you secure their weight for the public good. They are responsible for their conduct, and this lust of power will ever be checked by the democratic branch, and thus form the stability of your government. But if we continue changing our measures by the breath of democracy, who will confide in our engagements? Who will trust us? Ask any person whether he has any confidence in the government of Congress under the Confederation or that of the State of Pennsylvania, he will readily answer you 'No.' Ask him the reason, and he will tell you it is because he has no confidence in their stability." In October, 1788, he received a renewed mark of

the high confidence his fellow-citizens entertained for him, by being chosen the first Senator from Pennsylvania, to the first Congress of the United States under the Constitution, and which assembled in New York on the 4th of March, 1789. It was mainly through his instrumentality that the seat of government was removed, the next year, to Philadelphia, where it remained, *temporarily*, for ten years, until the buildings were completed in the District of Columbia. He served a full term in the Senate, retiring in 1795. Washington desired Mr. Morris to become his Secretary of the Treasury, and upon his declining requested him to name the person most competent, in his opinion, to fill the office, which he did by naming Alexander Hamilton.

On Mr. Morris's retirement from public life, he began to speculate largely in unimproved lands in all sections of the country, and in February, 1795, organized, with John Nicholson and James Greenleaf, the North American Land Company, which, through the dishonesty and rascality of Greenleaf, finally caused his ruin, and burdened the closing years of his life with utter poverty. The government, that he had carried on his own shoulders through adversity to prosperity, allowed him to remain from the 16th of February, 1798, until the 26th of August, 1801, a period of *three years, six months, and ten days*, an inmate of a debtor's prison, without raising a hand to help him, thus adding another link to the chain which proves that "Republics are ungrateful."

Mr. Morris survived his imprisonment not quite five years, dying on the 7th of May, 1806, in his seventy-third year, and his remains repose in the family vault, Christ Church, Second Street above Market Street, Philadelphia. Mr. Morris was married March 2d, 1769, to Mary, daughter of Thomas and Esther [Huelings] White, and sister of Bishop White. They had seven children: Robert, who married Ann Shoemaker; Thomas, who married Sarah Kane; William White; Hetty, who married James Marshall, of Virginia; Charles; Maria, who married Henry Nixon; and Henry, who married Eliza Jane Smith.

Mr. Morris was a very large man, quite six feet in stature,

with a full, well-formed vigorous frame, and clear, smooth, florid complexion. His hair, sandy in youth, was worn when gray, loose and unpowdered. His eyes were bright blue, of medium size, but uncommonly brilliant. There are four portraits of him. The earliest by Charles Wilson Peale, now in Independence Hall, was never like the original, and Mrs. Morris could not bear it in her sight, or to hear it mentioned as a likeness of Mr. Morris. The second, a miniature by Trumbull, is now in Virginia, in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Ambler. The third was painted by Robert Edge Pine, the English artist, for whom Mr. Morris built a house in Eighth Street below Market, and is the most familiar one, as from it all the engraved portraits have been taken. It is believed to have been a very fair likeness, and is now in possession of the family of his son Henry Morris. The latest portrait was painted by the great genius Gilbert Stuart, and is a masterpiece of this great artist's work. As you look upon the canvas you forget it is inanimate, and feel as if you were in the very presence of the man, while that intuitive something tells you it is like as life. The original is in New York, in possession of the family of his son Thomas Morris, and a duplicate is in possession of his granddaughter Miss Nixon, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Morris possessed naturally great intellectual qualities. His mind was acute, penetrating, and logical. His conversation was cheerful, affable, and engaging. His public speaking was fluent, forcible, and impressive, and he was listened to always with the profound attention and respect his great experience and practical good sense so justly merited. In debate, his argumentative eloquence is described as being of a high order, expressing himself in a terse and correct manner. His extensive public and private correspondence was conducted in a graceful, clear style. His manners were gracious and simple, and free from the formality which generally prevailed, while at heart he was an aristocrat, and looked upon as the leader of the aristocratic party in the republic. He was noted for his great cheerfulness and urbanity of disposition, which even under the most distressing circumstances never for-

sook him, and from the prison house in adversity as from the counting-house in prosperity, he sent familiar notes filled with amusing and sprightly expressions; but his sarcasm and invective were as sharp and severe as his benevolence and kindness were unbounded. In all his misfortunes he seldom uttered a complaint, placing them where they justly belonged—to his ambition for accumulating wealth. None of the many worthies of the Revolution stood higher in the esteem or approached nearer to the heart of Washington than Robert Morris. The *pater patriæ's* adopted son, George Washington Parke Custis, says, "If I am asked—'And did not Washington unbend and admit to familiarity and social friendship some one person to whom age and long and interesting associations gave peculiar privilege, the privilege of the heart?'—I answer that favored individual was Robert Morris." In the fall of 1798, when Washington repaired to Philadelphia to superintend the organization of his last army, called together on the apprehension of war with France, "he paid his first visit to the prison house of Robert Morris. The old man wrung the hand of the Chief in silence, while his tearful eye gave the welcome to such a home." Well may we repeat Whittier's words:—

"What has the gray haired prisoner done?
Has murder stained his hands with gore?
Not so; his crime 's a fouler one:
God made the old man poor."

C. H. H.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

BY SAMUEL L. CLEMENS
(*"MARK TWAIN"*).

(Centennial Collection.)

This man's life-work was so inconspicuous, that his name would now be wholly forgotten, but for one thing—he signed the Declaration of Independence. Yet his life was a most useful and worthy one. It was a good and profitable voyage, though it left no phosphorescent splendors in its wake.

A sketch of Francis Lightfoot Lee can be useful for but one purpose, as showing what sort of material was used in the construction of congressmen in his day; since to sketch him is to sketch the average congressman of his time.

He came of an old and excellent family; a family which had borne an unsullied name, and held honorable place on both sides of the water; a family with a reputation to preserve and traditions to perpetuate; a family which could not afford to soil itself with political trickery, or do base things for party or for hire; a family which was able to shed as much honor upon official station as it received from it.

He dealt in no shams; he had no ostentations of dress or equipage; for he was, as one may say, *inured* to wealth. He had always been used to it. His own ample means were inherited. He was educated. He was more than that—he was finely cultivated. He loved books; he had a good library, and no place had so great a charm for him as that. The old Virginian mansion which was his home was also the home of that old-time Virginian hospitality which hoary men still hold in mellow memory. Over their port and walnuts he and his friends of the gentry discussed a literature which is dead and forgotten now, and political matters which were drowsy with the absence of corruption and “investigations.” Sundays he and they drove to church in their lumbering coaches, with a due degree of grave and seemly pomp. Week-days they inspected their domains, ordered their affairs, attended to the needs of their dependents, consulted with their overseers and tenants, busied themselves with active benevolences. They were justices of the peace, and performed their unpaid duties with arduous and honest diligence, and with serene, unhampered impartiality toward a society to which they were not beholden for their official stations. In short, Francis Lightfoot Lee was a gentleman—a word which meant a great deal in his day, though it means nothing whatever in ours.

Mr. Lee defiled himself with no juggling, or wire-pulling, or begging, to acquire a place in the provincial legislature, but went thither when he was called, and went reluctantly.

He wrought there industriously during four years, never seeking his own ends, but only the public's. His course was purity itself, and he retired unblemished when his work was done. He retired gladly, and sought his home and its superior allurements. No one dreamed of such a thing as "investigating" him.

Immediately the people called him again—this time to a seat in the Continental Congress. He accepted this unsought office from a sense of duty only, and during four of the darkest years of the Revolution he labored with all his might for his country's best behests. He did no brilliant things, he made no brilliant speeches; but the enduring strength of his patriotism was manifest, his fearlessness in confronting perilous duties and compassing them was patent to all, the purity of his motives was unquestioned, his unpurchasable honor and uprightness were unchallenged. His good work finished, he hurried back to the priceless charms of his home once more, and begged hard to be allowed to spend the rest of his days in the retirement and repose which his faithful labors had so fairly earned; but this could not be, he was solicited to enter the State Legislature; he was needed there; he was a good citizen, a citizen of the best and highest type, and so he put self aside and answered to the call. He served the State with his accustomed fidelity, and when at last his public career was ended, he retired honored of all, applauded by all, unaccused, unsmirched, utterly stainless.

This is a picture of the average, the usual Congressman of Francis Lightfoot Lee's time, and it is vividly suggestive of what that people must have been that preferred such men. Since then we have Progressed one hundred years. Let us gravely try to conceive how isolated, how companionless, how lonesome, such a public servant as this would be in Washington to-day.

NOTE.—The subject of this sketch was born on the fourteenth day of October, 1734, and died in April, 1797.—Ed.

GENERAL JAMES POTTER.



J. Potter
Vice President

"General James Potter, of the Pennsylvania Militia, of whom little is known."—*See note, p. 18, No. 1, PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, 1877.*

Intelligent persons who have made Pennsylvania history an object, who have ever consulted Scott, Watson, Day, Hazard, Trego, Reed, Sergeant, Huston, Sypher, or Egle, know a great deal more of General Potter than of the Robert Morton, whose "diary," the above note is intended to illustrate.¹

Active public service in various positions for more than thirty years has left James Potter a record, most of it in printed

¹ This annotation was not made without consideration, as but little was known of James Potter, in general history, commensurate with the services he rendered his State. The view expressed was confirmed by the following extracts from an article printed in the *Historical Record*, of August, 1872, by Mr. John B. Linn, of Bellefonte, Centre County, Pennsylvania :—

"General Potter," he says, "left a vast quantity of correspondence, embracing letters from all the prominent characters of the Revolution, from General Washington to Lady Harriett Ackland; yet no memoir has ever appeared of this most trusty of Washington's Generals;" and again, "Yet no one can this day tell where his bones are mouldering." Since the publication of Mr. Linn's article, he has issued his valuable *History of the Buffalo Valley*, in which we have his later investigations regarding Gen. Potter. The interesting reply that has been elicited will, we think, by its freshness vindicate the truth of the note to "Morton's Diary," as but little that it contains will be found in any of the authorities cited by our correspondent, as containing more regarding James Potter than of Robert Morton, a fact not surprising, as the latter never held any public position, and his journal was only printed on account of the interesting historical data it contained.—ED.

books, which entitled him to a more extended, if not more respectful notice. Yet this very omission affords an opportunity to inform our readers something of this gentleman, that they may judge what his fellow-citizens thought of him one hundred years ago.

A very extended notice of his career could be prepared from the material at hand. This is judged to be unnecessary. A life of which so much is known and on the record, is quite independent of the decoration of a post-obituary.

A true pedigree, if not a very extended one, is a thing not to be despised, and in attempting to tell of Potter's history, it is proper to trace him from the start, to show that his connections have occupied first-rate position in the great Pennsylvania, outside of the three original counties. That his family have furnished two other General Potters, one United States senator, a governor of Pennsylvania, several members of Congress, law Judges, and representatives in the State Legislature. The General served with great acceptance in civil and military positions; in private life, one of the most enterprising and successful of all our Revolutionary officers. A stout, broad-shouldered, plucky, active man, five feet nine inches in height, of dark complexion, an excellent representative of the Scotch-Irish race. His judgment and energy overcame the want of education. What he had of that was unusually primitive.

John Potter and wife, the parents of General Potter, came to America with John Hamilton and Isabella Potter-Hamilton, a sister of Mr. Potter, in 1741, "aboard ye good ship Dunnegall," landing at Newcastle, Delaware, in September of that year. Mrs. Potter-Hamilton and a child died, and were buried there. She left only one child, Katherine Hamilton, who married in 1760 General James Chambers, of "Loudon," Franklin County. He first met his "Dear Kitty" at "Sheriff" Potter's, in the "neighborhood of Shippen's farm," now Shippenburg. Potter was established in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1746. Upon the formation of the county he was appointed its first sheriff. His commission was October,

1750; his second commission, 1754. This brings us to the James Potter of whom "so little is known".

He was born on "the bank of the river Foyle, Tyrone, Ireland, in" 1729, and was about twelve years of age when his father landed at Newcastle. At twenty-five years of age he was a lieutenant in a border militia company; in 1755 he was captain of a company in the victorious Kittanning campaign under Armstrong, and ever after this the general and he were attached friends. In 1763 and '64, he was in active service as a major and lieutenant-colonel. During all this busy period of his life he was a successful farmer.

He was prominent in the political agitation consequent upon the dispute with the mother country. There was no meeting of the patriotic inhabitants of the then large county of Northumberland, held without his presence and led by his advice. He was a colonel in 1775. Appointed a brigadier-general April 5, 1777,¹ with John Armstrong as first; John Cadwalader, second; Samuel Meredith, fourth. In 1781, Vice-President of the State. In 1782, commissioned a major-general. In 1784, one of the council of Censors, and was within a few votes of defeating for President the most distinguished man in the State, John Dickinson. He served in the field in his military capacity through the whole Revolution,

¹ The services of General Potter in the Pennsylvania campaign of 1777 were very distinguished. With the troops under his command in the counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Delaware, he obtained for Washington important information regarding the movements of the enemy, and with great vigilance gave all the annoyance possible to the foraging parties that were sent out of Philadelphia.

On the 11th of December, while the army under Washington were on their march to Valley Forge, after a portion of it had crossed the Schuylkill at Matson's Ford, it was found that the enemy under Cornwallis were in force on the other side. "They were met," writes Washington, "by General Potter, with part of the Pennsylvania militia, who behaved with great bravery, and gave them every possible opposition till he was obliged to retreat from their superior numbers." In the spring of 1778, Washington wrote from Valley Forge, "If the state of General Potter's affairs will admit of returning to the army, I shall be exceedingly glad to see him, as his activity and vigilance have been much wanted during the winter."—ED.

and was trusted by all its leaders, Washington, Greene, Pickering, Mifflin, and his fellow-brigadiers. His residence was in Penn's Valley in the present Centre County, from 1772 to the time of his death, in November, 1789, at which moment he was one of the associate or bench of justices of Northumberland County. He left one of the most extensive and valuable estates in Pennsylvania.

Much more could be said of this Pennsylvania militia-man, but it is not necessary to encumber this brief sketch with a record, which has been so faithfully published by the State in the *Colonial Records*, and the *Pennsylvania Archives* by Hazard, and as it continues to be by Linn & Egle. His remains rest in the venerable and picturesque burial ground at Brown's Mill, about ten miles south of Chambersburg, in Franklin County.

General Potter was married twice: first wife, Elizabeth Cathcart, of Philadelphia, by whom a daughter—

1. Elizabeth C. Potter, married James Poe, of Franklin County.

Second wife, Mrs. Mary Patterson, of Mifflin County, by whom—

2. James Potter, "the Judge," who married Mary Brown, of "Brown's Spring," Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County.

3. Mary Potter, married George Riddles—secondly, William McClelland, of Northumberland County.

4. John Potter, died unmarried.

5. Martha Potter, married Andrew Gregg (U. S. Senator), of Centre County.

6. Margaret Potter, married Edward Crouch, of "Walnut Hills," Dauphin County.

A. B. H.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 221.)

June 10, 1739.	Ashton,	William, son of John.
Aug. 12, 1739.	“	Isaac, son of Isaac.
Nov. 5, 1740.	“	John.
Feb. 22, 1740-1.	“	Ann, dau. of ye widow.
May 24, 1741.	“	Hannah, dau. of Isaac.
May 10, 1744.	“	Margaret, widow of <i>John</i> .
April 30, 1745.	“	Sarah, dau. of Isaac.
Jan. 29, 1745-6.	“	Sarah, wife of Isaac.
Sept. 11, 1748.	“	Thomas, son of the widow.
Jan. 23, 1748-9.	“	Mary, wife of Richard.
July 23, 1751.	“	Henriette.
July 4, 1752.	“	Isaac. [Gent.
Sept. 30, 1726.	Ashurst,	Greenwood, of Barbadoes,
Nov. 22, 1728.	Aske,	Anne, wife of Samuel.
Oct. 16, 1727.	Asson,	Thomas, son of John.
Nov. 15, 1751.	Aston,	Isaac.
Sept. 5, 1721.	Atkins,	Eleanor, wife of Robert.
Mar. 30, 1725-6.	“	Rebecca, wife of Thomas.
Nov. 28, 1729.	Atkinson,	William.
June 1, 1742.	“	Nicholas, son of William.
April 27, 1744.	Atley,	William.
Jan. 10, 1730-1.	Austin,	Elizabeth, dau. of Edward.
Feb. 15, 1738-9.	“	Elleanor. [Infant.
Dec. 19, 1732.	Axford,	Elizabeth. [dalen.
June 12, 1712.	Backet,	Ann, dau. of John and Mag-
June 25, 1712.	Backet,	John, son of John and Mag- [dalen.
Aug. 2, 1727.	Badcock,	Mary. Strangers' Ground.
Dec. 1, 1741.	Bagley,	Mary.
Oct. 11, 1734.	Bailey,	James, son of James.
Aug. 10, 1735.	“	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
Oct. 3, 1737.	“	Mary.
Aug. 23, 1744.	“	Ann, wife of James.
Aug. 27, 1759.	“	Rebecca.
Oct. 8, 1759.	“	John.
Nov. 12, 1759.	“	John.

July 24, 1737.	Baily,	James.
Oct. 7, 1750.	Baird,	Elizabeth, wife of Dr. Patrick.
Dec. 22, 1728.	Baker,	Elizabeth, wife of John.
Aug. 23, 1729.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
May 1, 1732.	"	Anne, wife of John.
Jan. 7, 1733-4.	"	Simon, son of John.
Oct. 12, 1734.	"	John.
Mar. 17, 1735-6.	"	Martha, wife of John.
Mar. 5, 1740-1.	"	Isaac, son of John.
Aug. 3, 1741.	"	William.
Sept. 2, 1741.	"	John Moore.
July 24, 1744.	"	Francis, son of John.
May 20, 1747.	"	John. Poor.
Oct. 24, 1749.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Baker.
Dec. 5, 1756.	"	John.
Jan. 3, 1759.	"	John.
May 8, 1734.	Balhatchet,	Elizabeth.
Oct. 7, 1737.	Ball,	Martin.
July 9, 1748.	"	Richard, son of Richard.
Aug. 19, 1759.	"	James, son of William.
Aug. 18, 1742.	Ballard,	Mary, dau. of William.
Oct. 15, 1710.	Baly,	Merriam, wife of Edward.
Aug. 3, 1753.	"	Jacob, son of James.
July 4, 1755.	"	——— son of James.
Nov. 11, 1755.	Banc,	Mary, dau. of Nathaniel.
Sept. 10, 1710.	Banester,	Richard.
July 30, 1715.	Banks,	Phœbe, dau. of Thomas and
Sept. 13, 1748.	"	Esther. [Hester.]
May 28, 1753.	"	Anne, dau. of Anne.
Aug. 22, 1759.	"	Samuel.
Aug. 15, 1742.	Bankson,	Mary, wife of John.
Oct. 2, 1751.	"	Wilhemina, dau. of Anne.
July 30, 1726.	Banton,	Rebecca, dau. of Peter and
Oct. 10, 1733.	Bantosst,	William. [Mary. Gent.]
Aug. 22, 1726.	Bantost,	Rebecca, dau. of William.
Aug. 8, 1742.	Barber,	Joseph-Davis. Poor.
Sept. 29, 1743.	"	Dorothy, wife of Joseph.
June 28, 1753.	Barcklay,	Anne, wife of Alexander.
Aug. 6, 1735.	Bard,	Samuel. Pall.
Nov. 20, 1742.	"	John, son of Peter.
April 18, 1748.	"	Andrew, son of Thomas.
April 13, 1751.	"	William, son of Peter.
Feb. 12, 1757.	"	Bennet.
Aug. 26, 1721.	Barnes,	John, son of Sarah. Base born.
Sept. 16, 1721.	"	Ann, dau. of Thomas.

Dec. 21, 1723.	Barnes,	Elizabeth.	
June 29, 1747.	"	James.	
Nov. 3, 1735.	Barnett,	John.	Poor.
June 15, 1742.	Barns,	Margret.	
Sept. 2, 1742.	"	Elizabeth, wife of John.	
Sept. 21, 1751.	Barret,	Jane, dau. of Charles.	
May 3, 1753.	"	James.	
Sept. 9, 1756.	"	Nicholas.	
Mar. 8, 1727-8.	Barrett,	Mary, wife of James.	
Dec. 20, 1752.	Barron,	Anne, wife of John.	
Aug. 10, 1725.	Barry,	Thomas, of Barbadoes,	Gent.
July 29, 1712.	Barten,	Peter, son of Margaret.	
Jan. 2, 1754.	Bartholomew,	Thomas, dau. of Andrew.	
Dec. 4, 1754.	"	Elizabeth.	
Aug. 6, 1756.	Bartleson,	——— dau. of Sabas.	
Oct. 10, 1713.	Barton,	Henry, son of Ye Widow.	
Sept. 1, 1730.	"	Anne, dau. of Andrew.	
Mar. 19, 1732-3.	"	Andrew.	
Aug. 15, 1743.	"	Robert, son of Robert.	
June 6, 1744.	"	John.	
Aug. 1, 1747.	"	Frances, wife of Thomas.	
June 26, 1750.	"	Thomas.	
Nov. 21, 1759.	"	Jane, dau. of Thomas.	
Nov. 24, 1756.	Bass,	Nathaniel.	
July 12, 1758.	"	Ann, dau. of Nathaniel.	
April 2, 1731.	Basset,	Benjamin.	
Sept. 11, 1736.	Bastick,	Henry, son of Henry.	
Oct. 30, 1737.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Henry.	
July 16, 1740.	Bath,	——— son of Thomas.	
May 8, 1741.	"	Thomas.	
July 4, 1742.	Baty,	Joseph, son of Joseph.	
June 20, 1726.	Bayer,	Rebecca, wife of Otto.	Gent.
June 10, 1730.	Baynton,	Jeffry, son of Peter.	
Nov. 14, 1731.	"	Peter, son of Peter.	
April 9, 1739.	"	Mary, dau. of Peter.	
Oct. 29, 1714.	Bealy,	Capt. John.	
Dec. 12, 1756.	Bean,	Nathaniel.	
Dec. 19, 1756.	"	Nathaniel.	
Oct. 11, 1743.	Bears,	Elizabeth, widow.	
Aug. 4, 1734.	Beavan,	William.	
April 10, 1734.	Beaver,	John, son of Thomas.	
Sept. 8, 1754.	Beazley,	Sarah.	
July 5, 1742.	Becket,	William, son of the Rev.	
Dec. 3, 1721.	Beckett,	John.	[William.]
July 3, 1749.	Bedenson,	Robert.	
Nov. 15, 1751.	Bedison,	William, son of the widow.	

Nov. 15, 1756.	Bedson,	——— dau. of John.
Oct. 17, 1716.	Beeckam,	Thomas.
June 28, 1727.	Beekes,	John.
July 19, 1727.	Beeks,	——— infant of John.
April 28, 1740.	"	Anne, dau. of Joseph.
Nov. 26, 1755.	"	John, son of Joseph.
Aug. 1, 1756.	"	——— son of Joseph.
June 16, 1742.	Beers,	John.
July 24, 1744.	"	Samuel, son of Jonathan.
July 13, 1745.	"	Sarah, dau. of Caleb. [garet.
Sept. 20, 1721.	Bell,	Mary, dau. of John and Mar-
Aug. 1, 1728.	"	Joseph, son of William.
Dec. 16, 1730.	"	Joseph, son of William.
Aug. 11, 1739.	"	William, son of William. Beg.
April 8, 1741.	"	William.
Mar. 4, 1745.	"	William. Merchant.
Oct. 14, 1747.	"	William.
Feb. 4, 1749-50.	"	Mary.
May 30, 1742.	Benbridge,	James, son of James.
April 17, 1750.	Benezet,	Stephen, son of Daniel.
Nov. 17, 1753.	"	William, son of Daniel.
June 24, 1758.	"	——— dau. of James.
Feb. 18, 1759.	"	——— dau. of Daniel.
May 7, 1745.	Benger,	Charity.
Dec. 13, 1748.	Benham,	William.
Aug. 22, 1742.	Bennet,	John, son of John.
Nov. 3, 1747.	"	Edward. [Hannah.
Nov. 9, 1716.	Bennett,	Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel and
Dec. 18, 1729.	"	George, son of John.
July 9, 1738.	"	John.
Sept. 29, 1737.	"	Mary, wife of John.
July 12, 1741.	Benney,	Elizabeth.
Nov. 14, 1754.	Benning,	William, son of William.
Sept. 6, 1756.	Bennings,	——— son of William.
Nov. 10, 1744.	Bennit,	John.
Dec. 19, 1739.	Berkley,	John.
July 3, 1740.	"	Anthony-Henry, son of Tho's.
Oct. 12, 1716.	Berry,	Mary, dau. of Sam. and Mary.
Sept. 20, 1728.	"	Sarah. Buried at Germanto'n.
Aug. 29, 1742.	"	Ann, dau. of James.
Dec. 11, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Sept. 25, 1746.	Bertley,	Jedidiah.
Sept. 21, 1733.	Berwick,	Simon.
Aug. 10, 1725.	Betterson,	Ann.

(To be continued.)

MAY MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on the evening of May 7, 1877; the President, Mr. John William Wallace, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting, and of the called meeting of April 16th, were read and approved.

The President of the Council, Mr. Charles M. Morris, presented the annual report of that body.

Among other accessions to the collections of the Society, received during the year, were the widely-known verses, Home, Sweet Home, and the Star Spangled Banner, in autograph by their celebrated authors, from Mr. Henry May Keim and other children of our late member General George M. Keim, of Reading.

A portrait of Christina, Queen of the Swedes, after the original by Beck in the National Museum at Stockholm; and a portrait by Chas. Wilson Peale of Robert Aitken, of Philadelphia, the printer of the first American edition of the English Bible.

Abstracts of the reports of the Librarian, the Treasurer, the Trustees of the Publication Fund, of the Building Fund, of the Library Fund, and of the Binding Fund were included in that of the Council.

The Council also reported that a new fund had been commenced, called the "Endowment Fund," and that four subscriptions of \$500 each, and several of smaller sums had been received. "The gentlemen who subscribed believed with the Council that the importance of such a fund should be constantly had in view, and that every proper effort should be used to make it reach at no distant day the sum of fifty thousand dollars."

The election of officers for the ensuing year was held, and the tellers reported the following gentlemen unanimously chosen:—

<i>President.</i>	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>	<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>
John William Wallace.	Samuel L. Smedley.	John W. Jordan.
<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>	<i>Treasurer.</i>	<i>Council.</i>
Horatio Gates Jones,	J. Edward Carpenter.	Joseph J. Mickley,
George de B. Keim.		John A. McAllister,
		John R. Fell.

Mr. Townsend Ward then read a memoir of Charles Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie, Brigadier-General in the American Revolution.

Mr. Vice-President Keim moved the thanks of the Society for the able and interesting essay on Armand, and that a copy be requested for preservation.

The President announced the loss by death since the last meeting of two members of the Society, Capt. Wm. H. Hart and Thomas Balch, Esq.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

OLD SWEDES CHURCH.—On the evening of Trinity Sunday, May 27, 1877, this ancient church, sometimes called the *Gloria Dei*, celebrated the 200th anniversary of its being founded. The church was crowded with worshippers. An eloquent discourse was delivered by the rector, the Rev. Snyder B. Simes, D.D., in which the history of this venerable corporation was presented in a succinct but interesting and instructive way. An invitation having been given to the Historical Society of the State to be present on an occasion naturally likely to prove interesting to it, a large deputation, headed by the President of the Society, the Senior and other Vice-Presidents, the President of the Council, and other chief officers, went to the celebration. They were received by the wardens of the church in the Sunday-school room, and after a few minutes of agreeable conversation, in which they were introduced to the vestrymen and several members of the congregation, they were escorted to pews of distinction reserved for them in front of the chancel. They listened with great interest to the discourse, and on their subsequent report to the Society a copy was requested of the rector, Dr. Simes, for preservation in the Society's archives. The rector took occasion in his discourse to pay a high compliment to "that noble institution," the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and to the usefulness of its labors, as illustrated by the volumes and Magazine issued by its Publication Fund.

REVOLUTIONARY RELICS.—I have in my possession an interesting relic, of which I send you a description. It is a broadside or handbill, which in former times took the place of newspapers or "extras" when any remarkable events transpired. It measures about 12 inches wide by 18 inches long, and was printed by "E. Oswald, in Market St., Philadelphia." It has the following heading, printed in rather large type, Philadelphia, February 13th, 1783: "By a gentleman just arrived in this city from New Jersey, we have received his Brittanic Majesty's Speech to Both Houses of Parliament;" then follows a sub-heading, as follows: "New York, Feb'y 19th, 1783. By the Brigantine *Peggy*, Capt. McNeil, in 19 days from Tortola, we have received the following copy of his Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament on Thursday, Dec. 5, 1782, which was brought to Tortola from the Windward by Capt. Rodney, son of Lord Rodney." Then follows the King's speech in full, in which he says: "I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them (the American Colonies) FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES" (in quite large type).

At this time one can scarcely realize the thrill of joy that the reception of this intelligence sent throughout the land, and the illuminations, bell-ringsings, and congratulations which ensued.

While on the subject of relics, I will describe another in my possession. It is a Charter Party between James King (my grandfather) and "Samuel Ward, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas McKean, Joseph Hewes, Josiah Bartlett, and Robt. Morris, Esquires, a Secret Committee appointed by the Honourable the Continental Congress, to hire and let to freight the Brigantine *Cornelia*, Capt. Thos. Genn, of 100 tons burthen, to proceed to the Port of Nantz, in France, there to deliver a cargo according to Bills of Lading, and there receiving on board again all such goods, wares, and merchandises as the agents or factors shall put on board, and to return back to this

coast, making the first good harbor between Virginia and New Hampshire." The date of this document is February 1st, 1776, and it expresses that the "voyage is to be performed in the service of the United American Colonies," for the monthly hire or freight of £120, Pennsylvania currency, unless the said brigantine should be *sunk, taken, seized, or destroyed* (this passage clearly showing the perilous nature of the service on which the vessel was employed). The vessel *did* arrive safely, I presume, as the good brigantine, I find by my grandfather's books, continued for some time afterwards to trade with the West Indies and elsewhere. The charter bears the autographs of all the committee, Robt. Morris, B. Franklin, and the others.

Yours, respectfully, D. RODNEY KING.

ROXBOROUGH, PHILA., Aug. 8, 1877.

A LOST VOLUME OF MSS.—The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is in possession of two folios in manuscript, containing the registry of German and other Redemptioners. The first volume comprises the period of 1785 to 1804; the other the time after 1817. The intervening volume is wanting. Could any of our readers give us a clue to its whereabouts?

HUGUENOTS IN THE UNITED STATES.—"Descendants of the Huguenots in the United States will be gratified to learn that the task of writing an account of the emigration of their ancestors to this land, has been taken up by the Rev. Charles W. Baird, of Rye, N. Y. Mr. Baird has already been so fortunate as to gather for this history a large amount of documentary material, hitherto inaccessible or unknown; and we are assured that he will spare no pains to make the work an accurate and exhaustive one.

"The settlements of Huguenots in America—besides the abortive attempts at colonization in Brazil, Florida, and elsewhere—were made in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina. In all these States there are traces of the refugees, which ought to be carefully preserved. It is believed that not a few families descended from this honored race possess records and traditions relative to their flight from France, and their coming to this country, which would be of great interest and value. Some of these families have already communicated with Mr. Baird, and others would do well to furnish him with any facts that may bear on the subject."—*The New York Observer*, Dec. 23, 1875.

Since the publication of this paragraph Mr. Baird has sailed for Europe, with a view of spending a portion of his time, while in that country, in collecting material for the work on which he is engaged.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY.—The following additional notes regarding the Rev. Joseph Montgomery, member of the Continental Congress of 1780–81, have been handed to us by Dr. W. H. Egle, of Harrisburg.

[These extracts from a memorandum of Rev. Joseph Montgomery, in the possession of A. Boyd Hamilton, Esq., are copied verbatim. The entries begin in 1767, and, as will be seen, close in 1775. The book in question has been mutilated by having several leaves cut therefrom. Other entries are made of receipts and payments, from or to, Eves, Dunn, Jaquet, Patterson, Thompson, Reed, Pusey, Wood, Bedford, and other well-known Delaware surnames. These, however, possess no present interest, and it is not necessary to quote them.]

"June 16th, 1768. The congregation of Geo: town to Jos. Montgomery, for one year's salary, £120."

"June 16th, 1769. To one year's salary due, £120." [In which period he notes that he paid for a chimney for the church, for fencing, and other items £20. 4. 6.]

- "June 27, 1769. By house rent £20."
- "September 12th, 1769. I married David Lewis & Jane Mackey; received £1. 10. 0."
- "Novr. 3, 1769. Married John McKee & Sarah Porter; received £0. 12. 6."
- "Jan. 5, 1770. Paid in Licence & Marriage fees £2. 3. 6."
- "February 8, 1770. Married Henry Clark & Ann James. Received £1. 10. 0."
- "March 9, 1770. Married Daniel McFarlan and Sarah Spear. Paid 10s.; returned to y^e Bride."
- "March the 15th. Married Abraham Sankey & Jean Scott; received £0. 15. 0."
- "March 28. Married Cornelius Armstrong and Elizabeth Rothwill; received £1. 2. 6."
- "April fourth. Married John Brooke and Effy —; received —."
- "April 5th. Married John Downey and Rebecca Neilson; received £0. 18. 3."
- "May 8th, 1770. Married John Brice and Demas Huff; received £0. 11. 0."
- "June 6. Married Isaac Moody and Margaret Stewart; received £2. 2. 6."
- "June 26th. Married John McKee and Margaret Wilson; received £0. 10. 0."
- "New-Castle, July the 11th, 1769.* I entered as a Tennent into Mr. Bedford's house."
- "July 14. To cash for house expenses, £5. 4. 0."
- "July 26th, 1770. Married Adam Nuttall and Margret York; received £1. 15. 0."
- "August 21st. Married James Stewart and Katharine Platt; received £1. 15."
- "August 23d. Married Alexander McIlhaney & Rachel Dael; received 15s."
- "Sept. 20th. Married Edward Dilmore and Sarah Sittin, both of Penn Neck. 7. 6. 0."
- "January 28th, 1771. Received of John Voorhies at Geo: Town, for preaching there, £1. 10."
- "HARVEST ACCOUNT.—Jan^y, 1773. Balance of [Est. of John] Eves, 28 acres of wheat, at 40s. per acre, £56. 0. 0.
- "Expenses of reaping, &c. To 10 galls. Rum, at 3s. 7d.
- "To 8 days' labor reaping, 28 shillings."
- [In December, 1772, we find Mr. Montgomery at New Castle, and entries thereafter are made at the reverse opening of the book of memoranda. He was then pastor at New Castle and Christiana Bridge. His entries continue]:—
- "December 4, 1772. Received for Sallary from Ro. Kerr, £1. 0. 0."
- "Received of David Thompson, one of the Collectors for the present year, £4. 5. 0."
- "Paid Nat. Brigan, for part Negro Peg's price, £4. 5. 0."
- "September 22. Received from Dav. Thompson, as a present from sundry persons, £6. 0. 0."
- "Sept. 23, for marrying John Davis and Rachel Morton, £2. 5. 0."
- "1774. Jan. 18. Received from Isaac Thomas, for a marriage license, £1. 9. 6."
- "Feb^y 1. Received for marriage license and marriage fees, from John Reynolds, £3. 0. 0. From James Talbot, for same, £2. 5. 0."

* Evidently a mistake. It should be 1770.—W. H. E.

"1775. March 13. Received of Col. Haslet, for subsistence money, £9. 0. 0."

"Mr. McKean, for salary, £2. 0. 0." [This was probably Gov. McKean, who then resided at New Castle.]

EARLY METEOROLOGICAL ESSAY.—"The first Meteorology, or Essay to Judge of the Weather, that ever was printed in Pennsylvania, anno 1687, was written by one of our namesakes, and a well-wisher to our provincial affairs, John Southworth, etc."—*Pastorius MSS., The Beehive*, No. 496.

Queries.

CAPT. WILLIAM EVELYN, of the 4th or King's Own Regiment, was mortally wounded in a skirmish at Frog's Neck, Westchester County, New York in October, 1776, and died a few days afterwards in New York City. Any information as to the precise date of his death, place of burial, or his military career in America, will oblige
CHAS. R. HILDEBURN.

MOORE.—I desire information of the descendants of Thomas Moore, John Moore, and David Moore. The former came to the United States prior to 1718, John in 1727, David in 1722, died in 1726, leaving widow, Mary, and children, William, John, and James. I am writing a genealogy of the Moore family.
J. A. M. P.

STRANGWAYS.—Is anything known with regard to Arthur Strangeways referred to by Mr. John F. Watson in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, in the account of John S. Hutton (among "Persons and Characters," with a portrait in the first edition), as having "died at Boston at the age of 101 years"? The daughter of Strangeways was married to John Hutton, of Bermuda (where?) in Scotland; and their son John Strangeways Hutton was born in New York in 1684, and was married to Catharine Cheeseman, of that city, by whom he had eight children, and afterwards, in 1735, to Ann Vanlear, of Philadelphia, by whom he had seventeen children, and died in Philadelphia, aged 109 years, December 20, 1792.
G. B. KEEN.

DOCTOR THOMAS RUSTON.—Any facts bearing upon the career of Doctor Thomas Ruston, or upon his ancestry or family, are desired. He built the house corner of 8th and Chestnut Sts., Phila.
P.

HORDIWAN.—Who was the wife of Abraham Hordiwan, of Haverford West, and of Dr. Richard Hoskins, who came from the Barbadoes? Dr. Hoskins's wife's first name was Esther. Any information will be acceptable on these points.
WHARTON.

PHILIP MOORE.—Can any one of your readers tell me who his father was, or to what branch of the Moore family he belonged? He lived in Washington County, Maryland, in time of the Revolutionary War, and moved to Fayette County, Pennsylvania, in 1780, and from there to the mouth of the Scioto, 1798; was a member of the Episcopal Church; his wife was Nelly Evans; his sons' names were Joseph, Philip, Evan, John, Daniel, and Amos; daughters, Sarah, Elizabeth, Rachel, Nelly, and Casandria; had relatives in New Jersey, and I think in Jefferson County, Va. W. MOORE, *Portsmouth, O.*

EDWARD WARNER.—Information is desired concerning the ancestry and family of Edward Warner who died about November, 1754. He was a

Friend, and described himself as "of the city of Philadelphia, house carpenter," and sometimes as "merchant." He seems to have been a man of means and position. He married Ann, daughter of William Coleman, and sister of the Judge of the same name, who was a very prominent man in his time.

R. B. W.

INFORMATION is desired of any or all of the children (William, Elizabeth, Mary, John, and Richard) of Mary Ann Cherry, whose maiden name was Hollenback, and who is supposed to have been born about 1756; lived many years at or near Martinsburgh, Va., and removed to Ohio with her family about fifty years ago. Any person who has a personal knowledge of any of the descendants, whether by the name of Cherry, Patton, Harris, or Wysong, or can give the address of any person or persons having such knowledge, will confer a favor by making it known to the subscriber. It is desired to trace the genealogy down to the present day, in complete form, to be incorporated with the records of the other descendants of John Hollenback, of Martinsburgh, who was born in 1719, and died in 1793. His other children were George, Jane *Hunter*, Matthias, and John.

EDW. WELLES, *Wilkesbarre, Pa.*

HAMPTON.—Any information about Simon Hampton, of Thornbury, Chester County, Pennsylvania, whose son Samuel married fifth month 10th, 1753, Sarah, daughter of George Smedley, will oblige,

C. H. R.

JEOFFERIES.—Sarah Jeofferies married, Philadelphia meeting, tenth month 7th, 1704, Richard Robinson, of Philadelphia. Who were her parents?

N. G. B.

Replies.

THE WHALLEY FAMILY (pages 55, 230, 231).—In the memorandum published on page 231 of the *MAGAZINE*, it will be seen that Major-General Whalley, by his second wife, Mary Middleton, had a son Edward.

In the Virginia Rebellion of 1676, after Nathaniel Bacon's death, the opponents of Governor Berkeley made their last stand at New Kent, under leadership of Drummond, Lawrence, and Major Whalley. Drummond was seized by Berkeley and executed, but Lawrence and Whalley fled, in the language of an old chronicler, "making a clean escape, but which way or to what place is not known."

A few miles above Drummondtown, Accomac County, Virginia, is Sinepuxent, an obscure place within the borders of Maryland, affording a most secure retreat.

May not, then, the Major Whalley of Bacon's Rebellion be the son of the Major-General, who, if he lived until A. D. 1718, might have been more than seventy years of age, and the settler on Sinepuxent?

The Sinepuxent settler had a son named Nathaniel, which might have been given out of respect for Bacon.

On Herman's Map, published in A. D. 1673, on the south side of the Pocomoke River, near its mouth, is a point called Ratclif. Among the patents issued by Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, was one to Radcliffe without Christian name, dated November 9, 1666, for 1200 acres on Crooked Creek, flowing into the Pocomoke River. Could he have been the brother Ratcliffe spoken of in Edward Whalley's will?

On April 9, 1674, there was granted to J. Wallop, alias Wardlaw, 450 acres on the Swanseacute Creek near the boundary of Maryland and Vir-

ginia, which flows into the Atlantic. Edward Robins, on March 27, 1676, received a patent for 680 acres on Chincoteague Island below the Sinepuxent, commencing at the boundary of Maryland and Virginia.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

EDWARD D. NEILL.

ALTERATION IN THE PRAYER-BOOK (page 226).—In the historical account of Christ Church, the late Dr. Dorr, "R. R." will find the following on page 180:—

1776, July 4th. "A vestry meeting was held on this memorable day, the minutes of which we give entire. 'At a meeting of the Vestry at the Rector's July 4th, 1776, present Rev. Jacob Duché, Rector, Thomas Cuthbert, Church Warden, Jacob Duché, Robert Whyte, Charles Stedman, Edmund Physick, James Biddle, Peter DeHave, James Reynolds, Gerardus Clarkson, Vestrymen.

"Whereas, the honourable Continental Congress have resolved to declare the American colonies to be free and independent States, in consequence of which it will be proper to omit those petitions in the liturgy wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with the said declaration, therefore, resolved, that it appears to this vestry to be necessary, for the peace and well-being of the churches, to omit the said petitions; and the rector and assistant ministers of the united churches are requested, in the name of the vestry and their constituents, to omit such petitions as are above mentioned.'" As the vote on the Declaration of Independence did not take place until the evening of the 4th of July, 1776, the action of the vestry of Christ Church was doubtless prompted by the passage of the "Resolutions respecting Independency" on the 2d of July, and shows the important consideration which that measure commanded.

F. D. S.

ROBERT STRETTCELL JONES (page 226).—In the PENNA. HIST. MAG., you inquire for descendants of R. S. Jones. I think it probable that none of his descendants hereabout will see your query. I therefore will answer it.

Ann Jones married George Fisher, long a distinguished lawyer at Harrisburg. She was his second wife.

Robert Strettcell Jones Fisher, Judge Fisher, of York. Has a family.

His signature "R. Jones F."

Ann, unmarried.

Edward married, and had issue.

Catharine married John Frederick Houston, of Columbia, family.

Elizabeth Jones married Thomas Elder, son of Rev. John. A prominent lawyer here. She was his second wife.

Catharine, of Harrisburg, married Samuel Bethel Boude, of Columbia, and had issue.

Thomas married Margaret Wilson, daughter of J. L. Wilson, of Harrisburg, and had issue.

John married, and had issue.

James married Miss Carpenter, of Halifax, daughter of Samuel Carpenter, a family.

Ann Jones, died unmarried.

The Fishers settled in Middletown, Dauphin County.

Harrisburg.

A. B. H.

[Mr. Hildeburn, who sent us this query, has received from Geo. Fisher, Esq., an extended genealogy of the descendants of Robert Strettcell Jones.—Ed.]

TRANSLATOR OF CHASTELLUX'S TRAVELS (page 227).—An answer to this query will be found in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April, 1869.

Boston.

S. A. G.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. I.

1877.

No. 4.

WILLIAM PENN.

EULOGY ON THE FOUNDER OF PENNSYLVANIA, DELIVERED BEFORE THE
PENN CLUB, TO COMMEMORATE THE ONE HUNDRED AND
NINETY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS LANDING.

BY WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

GENTLEMEN: The Executive Committee of the Penn Club thought it not unbecoming to gather its friends together upon this anniversary of the landing of him whose name it bears upon the soil of the State he founded, and their partiality has devolved upon me the agreeable duty of expressing the gratification the members of the club feel at your presence, and the heartiness of the welcome they desire to proffer you. They are especially glad to receive the learned members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and to avail themselves of this opportunity to bear their testimony to the inestimable value of the distinguished services that society has already rendered, and the services more distinguished, if possible, which it is destined to render in enlightening and elevating the patriotism of the citizens of the imperial commonwealth, whose early history it has caused to be investigated with so much patience, and illustrated with so great discernment.

It is, indeed, no less an authority than my Lord Bacon, who,

in "the true marshalling of the sovereign degrees of honor," assigns "the first place to the *conditores imperiorum*, founders of States and Commonwealths," and cultivated communities have always commemorated with pride the virtues of the heroic men who laid the foundations of their strength and greatness. Apart, however, from any patriotic interest in it natural to us, the story of American colonization is one of the most interesting and attractive episodes in human history. It was an age of marvellous ambition and of marvellous achievements; and except those sunny years at Athens during which the human spirit attained and preserved the serenest and completest culture it has ever known, perhaps blood was never less sluggish, thought never less commonplace, lives never less monotonous than in the early days of the settlement of America.

Great scientific discoveries had filled the minds of men with thirst for wider knowledge. Mechanical inventions of priceless value had awakened in them an eager desire to avail themselves of their advantages. By the aid of movable types wise books could be cheaply printed. By the aid of the mariner's compass great ships could be safely sailed. By the aid of gunpowder virgin lands could be rescued from savage tribes. The illustrious names of that illustrious time crowd upon our recollection, for their renown still fills the world, and their surpassing excellence still kindles the flame of a generous emulation in all the leading departments of virtuous human effort,—in art, in adventure, in discovery of new lands, in philosophy, in poetry, in searching for the secrets of nature, in subjecting the forces of nature to the will of man, in heroism, in war by sea and by land, in sacrifices for liberty of conscience.

It cannot therefore do us harm to stand, as it were, a little while in the presence of any eminent man of that formative period, and by the contemplation of his spirit to quicken our own as by coals of fire from off an altar. In Sir Thomas Moore's portrayal of the perfect state we are told that "they set up in the market-place the images of such men as had been bountiful benefactors of the commonwealth, for the per-

petual memory of their good acts, and also that glory and renown of the ancestors might stir and provoke their posterity to virtue." This is an anniversary of the most momentous event in the eventful career of him who has been our most bountiful benefactor, and we may wisely, therefore, withdraw a few moments from the social enjoyments of the evening to look once more upon a likeness of our founder. It is true that when he landed at Upland, he entered into possession of a province which had before attracted the attention of great statesmen, and been selected by them as the theatre of a novel and lofty experiment in government; for it was here that Gustavus Adolphus hoped to secure a city of refuge for the oppressed, and the sagacious Oxenstiern hoped to realize his beneficent scheme of colonization, and it was here that Christina had founded a New Sweden, whose simple-minded, pious, and frugal citizens purchased the lands they coveted, and tilled them with their own hands, living in peace with all their neighbors; but nevertheless the coming of William Penn was the founding of Pennsylvania, and in spite of all abatement, though he

" Was flawed
For Adam, much more, Christ,"

yet he was eminently worthy of the greatness of his trust.

He had inherited a distinguished name and a great opportunity. His grandfather had been a captain in the English merchant service in the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, when that service was perhaps the best school which ever existed to render men alert, brave, self-reliant, and capable of confronting any peril with an equal mind. His father had been reared in the same school, and had developed, at a very early age, remarkable capacity for naval warfare. To this capacity he added a handsome presence, courtly manners, and such political virtue as was not incompatible with regarding his own advancement as the principal duty of his life. At twenty-one he was a captain in the English Navy, at thirty-one he was Vice-Admiral of England, at thirty-four he was a member of Parliament, at forty-three he was captain commander under the Duke of York, and died shortly after his retirement from the Naval Board, before he had attained

fifty years of age. The rapidity of his promotion to great offices is very remarkable, when it is remembered that he served the Parliament, Charles I., the Lord Protector, and Charles II., and continued to rise steadily notwithstanding the civil war and the frequent changes of administration it produced. He was quite evidently a worldly-minded man, but he was also wise with the wisdom of the world, and by adding to his great services the favor of his sovereign, he laid the foundations of a noble house, needing only for its security that his son should follow in his footsteps, and with filial piety accept the wealth, and rank, and fame which were proffered him.

The son had been born near the Tower of London while his father was sailing down the Thames to join Lord Warwick in the Irish Seas, and had passed his childhood with his mother, Margaret Jasper, of Rotterdam, at their country-house at Wanstead, in Essex. He was only eleven years of age when his father returned from the fruitless attack upon Hispaniola, and was consigned to the Tower by Cromwell. But at that early age he was profoundly impressed by his father's misfortune. When about sixteen years of age he was sent to Oxford, and was matriculated as a gentleman commoner at Christ Church.

At that time the world certainly appeared to be opening before his youthful vision in undimmed radiance and beauty. The son of a great admiral, who was also a great favorite of the king and of his royal brother, he entered upon his academical career under the most brilliant auspices. Fond of study and athletic sports, a diligent reader and a good boatman, he easily won his way to the esteem of his teachers and the regard of his fellows, and for a time he satisfied all expectations; but for students of high intelligence and sensitive conscience, venerable and beautiful Oxford, "spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Age," possesses a charm which may be a danger. Walking in the spacious meadows of his college, or meditating beneath her noble elms, William Penn became possessed by the genius of the place, for the

chief university of the world has always been "the home of lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names, and impossible loyalties." It was while under the influence of this spirit that he was attracted by the doctrines of George Fox, and for his stubborn loyalty to what he was then pleased to call his convictions he was finally expelled.

To withdraw him as much as possible from the thoughts upon which he was at that time intent, his father sent him to the Continent, and at Paris he was presented at the court of the Grand Monarch, and heartily welcomed. He entered with becoming spirit into the enjoyments of the French capital, and proved his title to its citizenship by fighting a duel in its streets. Thence he went to the famous College of Saumur, where he finished those liberal studies which made him not only an accomplished linguist, but a man of most varied and generous culture. He afterwards travelled through France and Italy, and returned to England to dance attendance at Whitehall for a brief period, and to share in the perils of a naval engagement on board the flagship of his father. He afterwards devoted some attention to the law as a student at Lincoln's Inn, but he soon joined the staff of the Duke of Ormond, then Viceroy of Ireland. While acting in this capacity he saw some military service, and apparently contracted a strong desire to devote himself to the career of a soldier. Indeed, he earnestly and repeatedly sought his father's permission to enter the British army, but this permission was steadily refused.

It was at this interesting period of his life that the authentic portrait of him now in possession of our Historical Society was painted—a portrait which dispels many of the mistaken opinions of his person and his character generally entertained. It presents him to us, clad in armor, of frank countenance, and features delicate and beautiful but resolute, with his hair "long and parted in the centre of his forehead, falling over his shoulders in massive natural ringlets." This portrait bears the date of his twenty-second birthday and the martial motto, "*Pax queritur bello.*"

It is to William Penn, as presented by this portrait, that I especially desire to attract your attention this evening; to

William Penn as an accomplished cavalier, a ripe scholar, a brave soldier, and in the full glow of his youthful beauty, the product of the quiet years of motherly companionship at Wanstead, of the restless, aspiring, combative years at Christ Church, of the gay society of Paris, of the studious vigils at Saumur, of Italian air and sky, of the depraved court at Whitehall, of the chambers of Lincoln's Inn, of the vice-regal staff at Dublin, of the joy of battle on the deck beside his father in the Channel, or joining as a volunteer in the attack at Carrickfergus.

This portrait fitly represents him in mail, for his life thenceforward was one long battle, relieved only by the brief repose of his courtship and his honeymoon in the attractive and historic circle in which he found his wife, a circle which included Isaac Pennington, Thomas Ellwood, and John Milton.

It is not my purpose, as it is not my privilege, to detain you upon this occasion with any elaborate statement of his subsequent life or any elaborate estimate of his character. Ample opportunity will be afforded in the recurrence of this anniversary and the celebration of it, for the diligent historical students who honor us with their presence to-night to arrange the details of that life in lucid order, and to praise his character with discriminating eulogy. Its main outlines only concern us now, but those outlines are full of instructions and of interest for us all.

We know, and we are glad to know, that his desire to be useful to his fellowmen could not exhaust itself even by preaching the Gospel as he understood it, in season and out of season, but that to this great labor of love he added other like labors scarcely less great. He defended the rights of conscience. He defended the liberties of Englishmen. He defended the privileges of jurymen. His first plea for toleration was in behalf of the sect with which he had the least sympathy. In obedience to his convictions of the truth of the creed he professed he endured the anger of his father, the loss of a peerage, separation from home, opprobrium and contumely from men, and frequent and prolonged imprisonment. While his spirit was being purified by suffering his mind was being widened by high converse with John Locke and Algernon

Sidney ; and at last, when all obstacles to the trial of the experiment of his principles of government upon a virgin soil were overcome, he could truthfully exclaim, as he received the royal charter of his Province: "God hath given it to me in the face of the world. . . He will bless and make it the seed of a nation."

It was, therefore, very precious freight which the good ship *Welcome* brought to these shores the day whose anniversary we celebrate, for it carried the sublime religious and political principles of William Penn and the illimitable influences of his wise and beneficent government, whose corner-stone was civic peace, born of justice, and whose capstone was religious liberty, born of toleration.

There was doubtless much in his life which was inconsistent with the highest standards of the religion he professed, but this inconsistency he shared with every man who professes the Christian faith, and the contradictions in his career are easily reconciled in the light of his youth and early manhood. But his virtue and his glory are his alone ; for, in the seventeenth century, he discovered and proclaimed the political utility of liberty, of justice, of peace, of a free press, and a liberal system of education—the principles upon which rest the blessings of the present and the hopes of the future of the human race.

Whenever, therefore, we are pained with the perusal of the sad record of his later years, the ingratitude he experienced, the embarrassments he suffered, the injustice he endured, as we follow his declining steps to the undistinguished grave where he lies buried, we may see as in retrospect the long pathway by which he travelled thither, and learn the secret of the divine inspiration by which the young soldier at its beginning was transformed before its close into an immortal benefactor of mankind.

Friend of liberty, friend of justice, friend of peace, apostle of God,—

"Live and take comfort—thou hast left behind
Powers which will work for thee * * *
Thou hast great allies ;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies, and love,
And man's unconquerable mind."

BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT GERMANTOWN UPON THE ONE HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE ENGAGEMENT, OCTOBER 4, 1877.

BY ALFRED C. LAMBDIN, M.D.

[The story of the battle of Germantown, as told by Dr. Lambdin, agrees in all of its important points with the conclusion arrived at by the editors of this Magazine, after a careful study of every authority bearing upon the subject, which in the last few years they have been able to gather together.

From a military point the views of the editors have received the endorsement of Gen. W. W. H. Davis, whose long experience in active service must give weight to his opinion, formed on the scene of the conflict, with the evidence in the case before him.

Dr. Lambdin, in preparing his paper, has given preference in each particular to the statement of the person under whose eye the event described occurred, and no attempt has been made to reconcile other accounts, although of creditable persons, when it is known that they were in another part of the field.

The notes that have been added are by the editors, and are given to show wherein the views expressed by Dr. Lambdin differ from those of other writers. They also designate the authorities from which the statements are drawn. When conflicting evidence exists, both sides are given, that the reader may draw his own conclusions.—Eds.]

In the little book from which I gained my first lessons in American history, I recollect a rude engraving, which was said to represent the Battle of Germantown. It was the picture of a large stone house, from the windows of which issued the flash and smoke of musketry, while a platoon of Continental soldiers in elaborate uniform was boldly charging across the lawn in front. The description of the battle given in the text was equally adequate with this pictorial presentment. "On the 4th of October, 1777," it said, "General Washington's army attacked the British under Sir William Howe at Germantown, but a body of the enemy, having taken refuge in Chew's house, was enabled to keep up such a galling fire upon the patriots as compelled them to retreat." Such, in effect, was the idea inculcated in the youthful mind some



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years ago of the event which we are met to commemorate, and such, I dare say, is the popular idea of the Battle of Germantown to this very day. Has not everybody heard of the engagement at Chew's house? and has not the enclosure around that historic mansion been pointed out to all visitors to Germantown as the battle-ground? Traditions such as this should always command respect, but if, in what is here to be told of the Battle of Germantown, Chew's house be given a place of secondary importance, it will be only in accordance with the good judgment of your committee of arrangements, who have appointed our present meeting not in the garden of the Colonial Chief Justice, but at a spot much nearer that on which—if so much can be said of any one spot—were decided the fortunes of that eventful day.

For the Battle of Germantown, I hardly need say to you, was very much more than a contest with half a dozen companies for the possession of a country house. It was a contest for the possession of a widely-extended and strongly-posted line, between two armies; not large, indeed, according to our modern ideas, but such as not often met face to face in the war for independence. In its general plan it was one of the largest and boldest, as it was also, in parts, one of the most spirited battles of the revolutionary struggle; and though it produced no very obvious military results, its moral and political influence was such as to give the Battle of Germantown a place among the most memorable battles of the war. Certainly no other engagement of that time has been the subject of warmer discussion, or, I may say, has been so wrapped in obscurity; and to-day it is no easy task to unravel, from the infinite tangle of conflicting accounts, a continuous thread of intelligible narrative. Far abler and more learned historians than I shall ever be have tried it with but indifferent success, and the most that I can hope to do to-day is to sketch the outlines of the battle in such a way as at least shall not make more difficult the work of my fellow-students; and if, in fulfilment of the task assigned me, I shall be able to add anything to what is already known, I shall freely acknowledge my indebtedness to others, and especially to the officers of

the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who have kindly placed at my disposal a great mass of original material which I should not have been able to gather for myself. At the same time let me say that for the use made of this material I am alone responsible. If my paper have any value, it owes it to the Historical Society's collections. Its errors and omissions are not the society's, but my own. It would have been easy to write a more attractive story, for the stock of picturesque incidents is as large as the combined imagination of the historians of a century could make it; but whatever else this paper may lack, I believe it to be truthful, and as I hope to make you understand the Battle of Germantown, I shall rigidly confine myself to a plain unvarnished tale.

BEFORE THE BATTLE.

Let us briefly recall the position of affairs in the colony at the beginning of October a hundred years ago. The efforts to defend Philadelphia had failed with disaster, and on the 26th of September Lord Cornwallis, at the head of his grenadiers, made the formal entry into the federal city, whence the Continental Congress had hastily adjourned to Lancaster. The main body of Howe's army, having crossed the Schuylkill at Fatland ford, was encamped at Germantown. Washington was at Pennybacker's Mills, between the Perkiomen and the Skippack Creeks, thirty miles from the city, where he hoped to receive reinforcements from the Northern Department. His army, which was mainly composed of Continental troops, with militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, had suffered severely at Brandywine and in the rapid marches afterward. It was ill-clad, almost unshod, and scantily fed. The enthusiasm of Pennsylvania in the patriot cause, never as exuberant as that of some of the other colonies, had been waning as the war dragged on, and now, with the actual invasion of the colony, with its capital in the hands of the enemy, had almost died out. The outlook was gloomy in the extreme. Congress was full of cliques, the army of ambitious malcontents. The news of Burgoyne's surrender had not yet come to cheer the drooping spirits of the patriots, and

on every hand were discontent and despondency. "Oh, Heaven, grant us one great soul!" exclaimed the querulous John Adams; "one leading mind would extricate the best cause from that ruin which seems to await it;" while the venerable Parson Muhlenberg cried out, "Now, Pennsylvania, prepare to meet the Lord thy God!" Almost the only man who preserved an unruffled temper in these times was the object of all this grumbling and criticism and plotting, the Commander-in-Chief, always greatest in adversity, who calmly watched events and awaited his opportunity.

Nor did he have to wait long. The Continentals, it will be remembered, retained control of the forts and defences of the Delaware, and General Howe's first care, after seeing his army well posted, was to gain possession of these. "Having received intelligence," writes Washington,¹ "through two intercepted letters, that General Howe had detached part of his force for the purpose of reducing Billingsport and the forts on the Delaware, I communicated the accounts to my general officers, who were unanimously of opinion that a favorable opportunity offered to make an attack upon the troops which were at and near Germantown."² It was accordingly agreed that this attack should be made on the morning of October 4th, and the Commander-in-Chief carefully prepared his order of battle.

GENERAL HOWE'S POSITION.

Germantown at that time consisted of the single street, built for a space of about two miles with houses of stone, set

¹ See Letter to Congress, Oct. 5th, 1777.

² On the 28th of Sept. Washington first submitted the question regarding the propriety of attacking the enemy, to his officers, but it was decided in the negative,—Brigadiers Smallwood, Wayne, Scott, Potter, and James Irvine, voting that an attack should be made, whilst Major-Generals Sullivan, Greene, Stirling, Stephen, Armstrong, and Brigadiers M'Dougall, Knox, Muhlenberg, Nash, and Conway voted to defer doing so until reinforcements expected from Peckskill should arrive. It was recommended, however, that the army should be moved nearer the enemy, so that an attack could be made as soon as an opportunity should offer.—See Washington Papers quoted in *Life of Muhlenberg; Writings of Washington*, by Sparks, vol. v., p. 75.

close to the highway, from which the farm fences, orchards, and inclosures extended back a considerable distance on each side. In an open space in the centre was the Market house, just five miles distant from Philadelphia. From the head of the village, one mile from the Market house, the street continued northward through Beggarstown to Mount Airy, a mile distant, and thence another mile to Chestnut Hill, where the road branched, the left fork leading to Reading and the right toward Bethlehem. On the west of the village the land rolled away to the high bluffs of the Wissahickon near its confluence with the Schuylkill, while the ground on the east, intersected by the Wingohocken and other remote tributaries of the Delaware, was also well disposed for defence.¹ General Howe's army was encamped upon the general line of School House and Church Lanes, crossing the town at its centre.

The left wing, under Lieutenant-General Knypphausen, which comprised seven British battalions, forming the Third and Fourth Brigades, under Major-General Grey and Brig.-Gen. Agnew, three Hessian battalions, under Maj.-Gen. von Stirn, and the mounted and dismounted chasseurs, under Colonel von Wurmb, extended to the Schuylkill; the chasseurs were in front and on the flank, and the extreme left was guarded by a small redoubt on the bluff at the mouth of the Wissahickon, where School Lane joined the Manatawny or Ridge Road, one of the approaches to the town from the north. Major-General Grant and Brigadier-General Matthew were upon the right, with the corps of Guards, six battalions of British and two squadrons of dragoons, the line extending about a mile to the eastward to the woods near Lukens' mill—more lately Roberts' mill, but now, alas! no mill at all. This wing was flanked by the First Battalion of Light Infantry, which was encamped upon the Limekiln Road, while the Queen's Rangers, a provincial corps, afterward com-

¹ It has been frequently stated that the open position occupied by Howe's army invited an attack, but such criticisms must have been made without any knowledge of the ground. The rough country in front of either wing of the British army made its position a strong one.

manded by Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, were thrown out on the extreme right flank toward Branchtown, on the York Road, these being the two approaches to the town upon the east. The Second Battalion of Light Infantry occupied the extreme advance toward the north, being posted, with a battery of artillery, on the east of the main street at Mount Pleasant, with an outlying picket with two six pounders at Allen's house, on Mount Airy, while the Fortieth Regiment, under Col. Musgrave, was encamped in the field opposite Chew's house, nearly a mile in the rear.¹ General Howe had his head-quarters at Stenton, a mile or so south of the Market house.²

Such was the disposition of the troops at and near Germantown when Washington, who on September 29th had marched from Pennybacker's Mills down to Skippack, about twenty-five miles from the city, and on the 2d advanced his camp some five miles further, to Worcester Township, prepared for his attack.³ There appears to have been little effort to keep his movements secret.⁴ "Mr. Washington," writes an officer of the Second Light Infantry on the night of October 2d (evidently not relishing his isolated position),⁵ "by the accounts

¹ The positions of the British are taken from the map drawn by J. Hills, Lieut. of the 23d Regt. and Assist. Engineer, published in London by Faden in 1784; and from the letter of Sir Wm. Howe to Lord George Germain, Oct. 10, 1777. *The German Auxiliaries in the War of North American Liberation, 1776 to 1783*, by Max von Eelking, Hanover, 1863, has also been consulted, as that excellent work was prepared from original material not accessible in this country.

² Several writers have stated that Howe had his head-quarters at the house subsequently occupied by Washington, opposite the Market house. But the best evidence shows that at the time of the battle Stenton was the residence of Gen. Howe. See *Hill's Map*.

³ Pickering's Diary.

⁴ The Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, who resided near the American encampment, recorded in his diary, Oct. 3. . . . "There is a report that at daylight the British outposts, at Barren Hill and Germantown, will be attacked."—See *Collections Penna. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 170.

⁵ See *Material for History*, by Frank Moore, p. 55, New York, 1861.

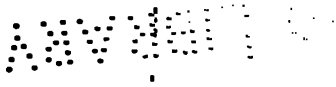
In speaking of the affair at Paoli, this officer writes, in the letter quoted: "They threaten retaliation, vow they will give no quarter to any of our bat-

of some who came in to-day, is eighteen miles distant, with his main body. They also say he intends to move near us to try the event of another battle." Scouting parties had repeatedly approached the lines, and the pickets had been driven in for three nights by the cavalry under Pulaski.¹ Sir George Osborn, in his testimony before the House of Commons Committee, says that he "received from General Howe, who was accompanied by his aid-de-camp, only the night before, the order to move on with the grenadiers and light infantry of the guards to Major Simcoe's post, about half a mile in front of the line of infantry, as I might expect the enemy at day-break the next morning;" adding, "The firing of the enemy on the morning of the attack began exactly or near the time that Sir William had represented me the night before it would do." Being cross-examined, however, and asked did he "conceive any other part of the army was surprised," Sir

talion. We are always on the advance post of the army; our present one is unpleasant; our left is too open and unguarded. We expect reinforcements. There has been firing this night all around the sentries, which seems as if they endeavored to feel our situation, I am fatigued, and must sleep. Couldst thou sleep thus no more than I could act Sir Wildair in a Ship on Fire; nor I at first (*entre nous*), but I grant custom, etc., etc. Yet my rest is interrupted, I wake once or twice, or more, my ear is susceptible of the least noise."

¹ See Letter of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Judge William Johnson, *Hist. Magazine*, N. Y., 1866, page 202. Col. Pinckney states that after driving in the British pickets, Pulaski drew off his command; "and when the head of Sullivan's Division arrived near the point of attack, we found he had laid down and gone to sleep, for which he was severely reprimanded by the General." Judge Johnson adds to the statement of Col. Pinckney, on what authority he does not mention, the information that Pulaski retired to a "farm house." and to the negligence of that officer in allowing the patrols of the enemy to learn of the approach of the Americans, he attributes the failure of Washington's plan. This charge against Pulaski called forth a number of replies. (See *Pulaski Vindicated, etc. etc.*, by Paul Bentalou, Baltimore, 1824. *A Reply to Judge Johnson's Remarks on an Article in the N. A. Review, etc.*, by Paul Bentalou, Baltimore, 1826, and an article by Sparks in *N. A. Review*. No. 53, Oct. 1826.) If any further refutation to the charge of Judge Johnson is required than those found in the publications mentioned, it is in the undeniable testimony of Lieut. Hunter, of the British light infantry, that the attack in force was a surprise.

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George Osborn declined to answer the question. Howe himself, though he would not acknowledge the surprise, testified that after the drubbing the Americans got at Brandywine he did not believe they would hazard another battle.¹

THE ORDER OF BATTLE.

General Washington, who was well informed of the enemy's position and movements, prepared his order of battle with great care. "The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne,"² he explains in his letter to Congress, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by way of Chestnut Hill, while General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down the Manatawny road by Van Deering's mill and get upon the enemy's left and rear. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by McDougall's brigade, were to enter, by taking a circuit by way of the Limekiln Road, at the Market house, and attack their right wing, and the militia of Maryland and New Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Forman, were to march by the old York Road and fall upon the rear of their right. Lord Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, was to form a *corps de reserve*. The official order further explains that "General McDougall is to attack the right wing of the enemy in front and rear; General Conway to attack the enemy's left flank, and General Armstrong to

¹ Major Simcoe, according to his journal, was not appointed to the command of the Queen's Rangers until the 15th of Oct. 1777, and did not join the army at Germantown until the 16th. The testimony of Sir George Osborn, however, was given in 1779, after the Queen's Rangers under Simcoe had acquired considerable reputation, and Sir George no doubt, in speaking of "Major Simcoe's post" alluded to the position of the corps with which his name had become identified, which, according to Hill's map, was stationed on the Old York Road, as mentioned by Dr. Lambdin. If Sir George was personally present with the troops he speaks of, Gen. Howe was guilty of a very questionable action in presenting him as a witness in the case, as the post surprised was that of the 2d Battalion of Light Infantry at Mt. Airy, two miles from where Sir George was posted. The question Sir George declined to answer would seem to show that suspicion of the facts existed in the mind of his interrogator.—See *Howe's Narrative* and *Simcoe's Journal*.

² See Sparks, vol. v. p. 78.

attack their left wing in flank and rear." The pickets were to be "taken off"—not driven in—those at Van Deering's mill by General Armstrong, those on Mount Airy by Sullivan, and those at Lucan's mill by Greene. Each column was to make its dispositions so as to get within two miles of the enemy's pickets by 2 o'clock, there halt till 4, and attack the pickets precisely at 5 o'clock, "with charge bayonets and without firing, and the column to move to the attack as soon as possible." The columns were to communicate with each other from time to time by light horse, and proper flanking parties to be kept out from each column. Each officer and man, it was further ordered, should wear a piece of white paper in his cap, a precaution which, if it was not neglected, evidently proved ineffectual to distinguish friend from foe. In addition to the troops mentioned, a detachment of militia was sent down the west side of the Schuylkill, with orders to make a demonstration at the Middle ferry, at Market Street, to engage the attention of the enemy and prevent reinforcements being sent from the city. They showed themselves opposite Market Street and fired several cannon shots across the river, and though they produced no effect, this demonstration must be mentioned as a part of the plan of the battle.¹

It may be said here that, though the destination of Smallwood's column of militia seems plainly to have been against the rear of the enemy, the official order gives it minute directions to move from White Marsh Church by "the left-hand road which leads to Jenkins' tavern, on the Old York Road below Armitage's, beyond the seven-mile stone, half a mile from which a road turns off short to the right hand, fenced on both sides, which leads through the enemy's encampment to Germantown Market House," which would simply have brought it along with or behind Greene. Practically, however, these instructions made little difference, for Smallwood only came up toward the close of the action, in time to join in the retreat. His movements, therefore, will not concern us. Armstrong, too, instead of falling upon the enemy in

¹ See Morton's Diary, *Penn. Magazine*, vol. i. p. 13.

flank and rear, conceived that his "destiny was against the foreigners, rather to divert them with the militia than fight their superior body;" and, though he succeeded in this so far as to keep a considerable Hessian force out of the battle in the early part of the day, he had so little general effect upon the whole result that we may for the present dismiss him from our minds, and confine our attention to the two main columns.

THE ATTACK.

On the evening of October 3d the army left its encampment on Metuchen Hills by the routes prescribed in the order of battle. It was a hard march in the darkness¹ over rough roads, and at daybreak of a dark, foggy morning the right wing, which General Washington accompanied, after such a halt as the time allowed, reached Chestnut Hill.² As it descended into the valley approaching Mount Airy the sun rose, but soon buried itself in a bank of clouds.³ Conway's brigade led the column, with Sullivan's division following, and Wayne's in the rear of Sullivan's, the whole under Sullivan's command.⁴ Here one regiment from Conway's brigade and one from the Maryland brigade were advanced in front,⁵ and a detachment, under Captain Allen McLane, of Delaware, was sent forward to take the enemy's picket at Allen's house, on Mount Airy.⁶ He fell upon and killed the double sentries, with the loss of one man, but the alarm was given, and the outpost, after discharging their two six-pounders,⁷ fell back upon the battalion of light infantry⁸ that was already form-

¹ "There was an appearance of rain, and the night was dark but remained dry."—*Muhlenberg's Journal*, Oct. 3d, 1777.

² Pickering's letter in *N. A. Review*, Oct. 1826, p. 426.

³ Col. Howard's letter, *Writings of Washington*, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 468.

⁴ Sullivan's letter to Weare. See *Writings of Washington*, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 464.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Memoirs of Wilkinson*, vol. i. p. 364.

⁷ Col. Howard's letter, *Writings of Washington*, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 468.

⁸ Sullivan states that the picket was re-enforced by the light infantry, and his account has been generally followed. Washington in his letter to Congress writes that the picket "gave way," and that Sullivan, "following,

ing in line of battle upon the east of the road at Mount Pleasant. Conway thereupon formed his brigade to sustain the attacking regiments,¹ while Sullivan drew up his own division on the right of the road at Allen's Lane.² For some minutes the ground was hotly contested, but the enemy at length gave way. Wayne's division having by this time come up, General Sullivan formed it upon the east of the road, and directed Conway to file off to the extreme right, sending also one regiment from Wayne's and one from his own division, with Moylan's regiment of light-horse, to further protect his right flank.³ These dispositions made, he advanced his line,⁴ the light infantry leaving the field, and with it their

soon engaged the light infantry and other troops encamped near the picket." As this account agrees with Lieut. Hunter's, of the light infantry, it is preferred.

¹ Sullivan's letter to Weare. See *Writings of Washington*, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 464.

² Col. Howard's letter, *Writings of Washington*, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 468.

³ Sullivan's letter to Weare. See *Writings of Washington*, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 464.

⁴ The fullest account of the deployment of the right wing into line will be found in Sullivan's letter to President Weare; and no document that we know of, relating to the battle, has been more misused, or has given rise to so many false ideas. Sullivan writes: "Upon finding that our left wing, which had near four miles further to march than the right, had not arrived, I was obliged to form General Wayne's division on the east of the road to attack the enemy's right." and again, "No evidence being given of General Armstrong's arrival, I was obliged to send a regiment from Wayne's and another from my own division to keep the enemy from turning our right." These two passages have been quoted to prove that the commands of Greene and Armstrong were intended to co-operate with that of Sullivan at Mt. Airy, and some writers have added that Wayne was ordered on ground assigned to Greene in the original plan of the battle.

To put this construction on the language of Sullivan, although not an unnatural one, is to argue that neither Sullivan, nor Washington, under whose eye he acted, understood the plan of the battle.

A reference to the map and to the "Order of Battle" will show that it was impossible for Greene or Armstrong to perform the duties assigned to them, and be near Mt. Airy at the time Sullivan made the attack. Sullivan doubtless intended to convey the idea that the non-arrival of Greene and Armstrong *at the points they were designed against*, caused him to make

encampment, but making "a stand at every fence, wall, and ditch they passed, which were numerous," the General explains, adding that "we were compelled to remove every fence as we passed, which delayed us much in the pursuit."¹

It was with peculiar spirit that Wayne's division advanced against the British light infantry, for it was that body which had made the cruel attack on the camp at Paoli; and Lieut. Hunter, writing a few days afterward, says: "When the first shots were fired at our pickets, so much had we all Wayne's affair in our remembrance, that the battalion were out and under arms in a minute. At this time the day had just broke, but it was a very foggy morning, and so dark we could not see a hundred yards before us. Just as the battalion had formed, the pickets came in and said the enemy were advancing in force. They had hardly joined the battalion when we heard a loud cry, 'Have at the bloodhounds! revenge Wayne's affair!' and they immediately fired a vol-

the disposition he did. Equally erroneous are the assertions that the "change" of arrangement at Mt. Airy caused the confusion which occurred as the troops of Sullivan and Greene approached the centre of the town. This argument is deduced from the ideas that Wayne should not have been ordered on the east of the road, and that Sullivan was to confine his attention alone to the enemy on the west of the main street. In the first place, there was no "change" at Mt. Airy, and in the second it would have been impossible for Sullivan to have advanced on one side of a road and allowed the enemy to remain on the other, and the route assigned to Greene was so far to the east as to preclude the idea that any of the enemy near the main street were to have engaged his attention. The passages in Sullivan's letter, describing the formation of the line of battle at Mt. Airy, are explanatory of time, not of action.

¹ Col. John E. Howard, then Major of the fourth Maryland regiment, states that they were formed in Allen's Lane, two hundred yards from the house, and as they advanced they inclined to the left until the road was reached; this movement was, no doubt, to cover the space made vacant by the withdrawal of Conway's brigade. Wayne has usually been accorded the honor of beginning the attack, but in his own letter he writes: "The action soon became general, *when* we advanced on the enemy with charge bayonets." Col. Howard, after describing the retreat of the picket, writes: "It is certain no other part of the army was up to us at that time," and we see no reason why his statement should be disregarded.

ley." Wayne himself gives a similar account in his enthusiastic style: "Our people," he writes, "remembering the action of the night of the 20th of September, near the Warren, pushed on with their bayonets, and took ample vengeance for that night's work. Our officers exerted themselves to save many of the poor wretches, but to little purpose; the rage and fury of the soldiers were not to be restrained for some time, at least not until great numbers of the enemy fell by their bayonets."¹

When the attack began, Colonel Musgrave, with the Fortieth Regiment, had moved forward to the support of the light infantry. He met them retreating, and formed upon the left of the road,² when, Sullivan says, "a severe conflict ensued," and the British were pressed back. General Howe, at the first firing, at once mounted and hurried to the front, to meet his troops retreating. "For shame, light infantry!" he cried, "I never saw you retreat before;"³ but a grape-shot scattering the leaves above his head called attention to the force that was advancing, and the general immediately turned his horse and galloped back to the camp to prepare for the attack. Sullivan continued his advance, having sent back word to Washington that he had engaged the enemy's left, and asking that Wayne be advanced against the right, seemingly not aware, in the fog, that Wayne was already moving forward.⁴ Washington, who followed with the re-

¹ Wayne's letter to his wife, Dawson's *Battles of the U. S.*, vol. i. p. 328.

² See *Hill's Map*. Lt. Hunter writes, . . . "the enemy were kept so long in check that two brigades had advanced to the entrance of Beggartown, where they met our battalion retreating." Hunter doubtless mistook the 40th Reg't for a larger body of troops, as Howe, who was present, mentions no other re-enforcements to the Lt. Infantry but Musgrave's command.

³ Hunter's diary, in Moorson's *Historical Record of the 52d Regiment*. The extract will be found in *Historical Magazine*, N. Y., 1860, p. 346.

⁴ There can be no doubt that Wayne advanced on the east of the road shortly after Sullivan did on the west. Lt. Hunter's account clearly shows that Wayne was early in the engagement. The passage in Sullivan's letter stating that he sent his aid, Morris, to Washington, to request him to order Wayne to advance, has been applied to that part of the battle which took place south of Chew's house; but erroneously so, for Sullivan continues, that

serve, then advanced a detachment of that body, a part upon the right and a part upon the left, and at the entrance to Germantown, a mile from where the attack began, the line passed Chew's house (a fine stone mansion standing several rods from the street in a large inclosure), Sullivan's division upon the west, its left resting on the road, and Wayne upon the east of the house.

CHW'S HOUSE.

The morning was very dark ; a thick fog, rendered more dense by the smoke of the cannon and musketry, obscured everything, and it was impossible for the soldiers, marching over ground broken by roads and houses, to see clearly what was before them as they advanced upon the two sides of the town. Sullivan, however, pushed on past the present Washington Lane, and Wayne as far as the Green Tree Tavern, then kept by the Widow Mackinett (the old stone building opposite the Haines place). When General Washington, with the reserve, arrived at the top of the hill at the entrance of the town, he found that Colonel Musgrave, with six companies of the Fortieth Regiment, had boldly thrown himself into Chew's house, and, having barricaded the doors and windows, was prepared for a vigorous defence. A few shots had been fired from the upper windows at Sullivan as he passed, but they were not regarded, and Colonel Pickering,¹ who was sent forward with a message to that officer not to waste his ammunition, tells us that the first he heard of Chew's house was "the whizzing of musket ball across the road, before, behind, and above me, as I was returning after delivering the orders to Sullivan," whom he had met in the road three or four hundred yards beyond.

Wayne's division "advanced with great bravery and rapidity" and passed Chew's house abreast with his own. This error has given rise to the idea that Wayne was recalled to take part in the attack on Chew's house, for which we find no authority, and that Sullivan requested he should be again ordered forward; but Sullivan's request, it will be seen, was made before either he or Wayne had reached Chew's house.

¹ See *N. A. Review*, Oct. 1826.

Coming back to the house next north of Chew's—Billmeyer's, which, like the other, stands unchanged to this day, Pickering tells us that he found a group of officers discussing in the General's presence the propriety of moving the remainder of the troops forward, without regard to this impudent obstacle, against which a fruitless attack had already been made by artillery as well as by infantry. General Knox it was who insisted that it was contrary to all military rule to leave a castle in one's rear, and that the garrison should be summoned to surrender. As General Knox was chief of artillery and otherwise a dignified and influential person, his view prevailed, and a flag was sent with a summons. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, a gallant young Virginia staff officer, volunteered to carry the flag, an enterprise which some of the officers, at least, objected to as useless. As he advanced across the lawn he received a shot, which stretched him upon the ground and from which he died.¹ General Maxwell, with his brigade and four pieces of artillery, was thereupon ordered to attack the house, and an ineffectual siege began, the six-pounders of the day making very little impression upon the heavy stone walls, and the troops within being well protected from the fire of musketry.² There was no lack of vigor on the part of Maxwell's men, who repeatedly advanced close to the house and tried every means to dislodge the garrison. So close, indeed, was the assault that the two New Jersey regiments of Maxwell's brigade lost no less than forty-six officers and men, and one of the officers has recorded that his horse was shot under him three yards from the corner of the house.³ Attempts were also made to fire the house, the Chevalier Duplessis and John Laurens, of South Carolina, distinguishing themselves among the incendiary volunteers;⁴ but every effort

¹ Lieut.-Col. Smith was Deputy Adjutant-General. He died of his wounds on the 23d of October. See *Life of Pickering*, vol. i. pages 169-173.

² See *Life of Pickering*, and Pickering's letter in *N. A. Review*, Oct. 1826.

³ See Proceedings of N. J. Historical Society, Col. E. Dayton's report, vol. 9, page 187.

⁴ See Travels of the Marquis de Chastellux. Major White, of Sullivan's staff, is said to have been one of the officers killed in attempting to set fire to the house. He died a few days after the battle.

to dislodge the British was ineffectual, and Colonel Musgrave maintained his position until relieved by General Grey at the end of the battle.

GREENE'S COMMAND.

While all this was going on in the northern part of Germantown, General Greene, commanding the left wing, had made the circuit of the Limekiln Road, and half an hour¹ from the time of the attack on Mount Airy had engaged the enemy's right. The first body of troops which he encountered was the First Battalion of the Light Infantry, who were advanced upon the Limekiln Road beyond Betton's Woods.² General Greene formed his army in line, with Stephens' Division upon the west of the road and his own division, composed of Muhlenberg's and Scott's brigades, under the immediate command of General Muhlenberg, on the east, with McDougall's brigade on the extreme left flank. General Stephens says: "The two divisions formed the line

¹ Washington writes three-quarters of an hour; Walter Stewart, fifteen minutes; Marshall, in 1st edition of *Life of Washington*, half an hour,—2d edition, a little over half an hour. Pickering says that the firing of the left wing was heard as he advanced with the reserve under Washington, and that they and Woodford's brigade arrived at Chew's house about the same time.

² From the order of battle it is evident it was not expected that the left wing would encounter the enemy until it reached Luken's Mill. The testimony of Sir George Osborn shows that the night previous to the battle his battalion was advanced in front of the right wing of the English, and there can be no doubt that he was stationed north of a line drawn due east from Chew's house, as Chief Justice Marshall, who was an officer in Woodford's brigade, which was on the right of the left wing, states that, while rapidly pursuing the flying enemy, that brigade got out of its course and was arrested by a heavy fire from Chew's house. From this it is apparent that the attack must have been made a considerable distance north of Luken's Mill, or else it would have necessitated a retrograde movement of Woodford's brigade to have approached near to Chew's house.—See First and Second editions of *Life of Washington*.

As a man by the name of Isaac Woods was killed while looking out of the cellar door of a house marked "Andrews" on the map, on the Limekiln Road, at the fight going on towards Betton's Woods, it is clear that the first attack was at or above that point.—See *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*, vol. ii. page 53.

of battle at a great distance from the enemy, and marched far through marshes, woods, and strong fences, [so that they were] mixed¹ before we came up with the enemy," though the greatest obstacles must have been encountered after the first engagement, in which Lieutenant Morgan, of the Light Infantry, a very gallant young officer, was killed at the head of his command.² Colonel Matthew was here detached by Stephens with his Virginia regiment, and pursued his opponents with great vigor, as will afterward appear.

The hilly character of the country and the multitude of fences and other obstructions soon broke the line, and Woodford's brigade, whose brave commander was at the time lying ill of the wounds received at Brandywine, bore away to the right, and, led by the sound of firing, pressed toward Germantown, quickening their pace as they advanced, and came out opposite Chew's house.³ They halted here, and while Maxwell was attacking the house from the front, the artillery of Woodford's brigade opened fire on it from the other side—"a windmill attack,"⁴ Wayne afterward called it. The remainder of Stephens's division, on the retreat of the enemy, pushed on in a similar direction, and thus came upon the flank of Wayne's division, already disturbed by the firing in its rear, and the two bodies of troops became entangled.⁵ "We had now pushed the enemy nearly three miles," writes Wayne, with his usual exaggeration—he could not have been two miles from where the fight began—"and were in possession of their whole encampment, when a large body of troops were advancing on our left flank, which, being taken for the enemy, our men fell back in defiance of every exertion of their officers to the contrary, and after retreating about two miles they were discovered to be our own people, who were originally intended to attack the right wing of the enemy."⁶

¹ Letter of Mr. Bancroft in *N. A. Review*, 1867.

² See extract from Memoirs of Admiral Gambier, printed in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. v. page 69.

³ Chief Justice Marshall, who was an officer in this brigade; see *Life of Washington*.

⁴ Wayne to Gen. Gates.

⁵ Stephens to Washington.

⁶ Wayne's letter to his wife.

Wayne's inaccuracy in details makes his accounts often perplexing, but his general impressions may be accepted as correct. That Stephens, who was subsequently cashiered for drunkenness and misconduct on the retreat, failed in his own work and interfered with that of others, has always been believed, and, unlike many other things that have always been believed about this battle, is unquestionably true. The resulting confusion ended the efforts of Sullivan's column upon the east side of the town.

General Greene, with the remainder of his command, continued to advance upon the east side of the Limekiln Road, maintaining the line of battle, "till," as Lieutenant-Colonel Heth explains, "that order was found impracticable, which, from the number of post and rail fences, thickets, and in short everything that could obstruct our march, threw us frequently into the greatest disorder."¹ McDougall's brigade, it will be remembered, was upon the left, and was to attack the enemy in the flank; but the extreme roughness of the ground he had to traverse made his rapid movement impossible, and his course led him so far to the east and south as to take him quite out of the action,² and leave exposed the flank of Greene's division, as, with a rapidity of movement that left McDougall, as he has himself said, far behind,³ it turned at Church Lane, and advanced toward Germantown. The accounts of the movements of this wing of the army now become exceedingly obscure, and it is impossible to describe the contest with accuracy. "I happened to be detached," writes Colonel Walter Stewart, "and fell on the left of the whole, when I engaged the Fifth and Thirty-eighth; they

¹ See *Life of Lamb*, by Leak, p. 183.

² J. F. Watson, the annalist, was told by an old resident of Germantown that there was fighting "on Armstrong's Hill by the mill" (see *Annals of Philada.*, vol. ii. p. 58), which stood south of Shoemaker Lane on the Wingohocking; and that quantities of bullets had been found there. We find no other evidence that there was fighting in that vicinity, but if there was, it was no doubt McDougall's men that there engaged the enemy.

³ McDougall's letter to Greene. See *Life of Greene*, by Prof. Geo. W. Greene, vol. ii. p. 500.

both ran lustily, and I took a little flush redoubt, with three pieces of cannon, from them. I had cursed hot work for it before they left them."¹ This little redoubt was at Luken's Mill,² and Stewart pushed on to the Market house, where also Colonel Matthew, with his Ninth Virginia Regiment, had penetrated, taking a number of prisoners, but becoming so closely engaged that he was unable to extricate himself in the retreat which followed, and was taken prisoner, with his command, on Kelly's Hill.³

THE CRISIS.

The morning was now well advanced, and the two wings of the army had approached the central objective point—the Market house in the middle of the town. But the lines were broken and disordered, and the advance had been so retarded by the innumerable obstacles and by the impenetrable fog, as to afford the British opportunity to re-form their own shattered lines. Howe had not been idle through the morning. Upon the appearance of Armstrong's militia upon his left he had sent Minnegerode's battalion of Hessian Grenadiers to support the Yagers,⁴ while three battalions of the Third Brigade, under General Grey, and the Fourth Brigade, under General Agnew, supported on the left by two Hessian battalions, were advanced to resist the American right. General Grant also re-formed the right of the British lines to oppose the command of Greene.⁵

Sullivan's division, with Armstrong's North Carolina Regiment and part of Conway's brigade, had pushed forward nearly to School Lane,⁶ upon the west of the town, while

¹ Walter Stewart to Gen. Gates.

³ Sullivan's letter to Weare.

² *Watson's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 37.

⁴ *Von Elking's German Auxiliaries*. ⁵ Howe's letter.

⁶ It is difficult at this day to decide upon the extreme point reached by the command of Sullivan, the authorities being very conflicting.

Col. Pickering, in his letter of August, 1826, states that he found Sullivan personally about four hundred yards below Chew's house, which would be near Washington Lane, immediately north of which, on the west of the

Greene was entering on the east, but now, according to Sullivan's own account, finding themselves "unsupported by any other troops, their cartridges all expended, the force of the enemy on the right collecting to the left to oppose them; being alarmed by the firing at Chew's house, so far in their rear, and by the cry of a light horseman on the right that the

street, a portion of a cedar board fence is standing at this day, riddled through and through with bullets fired during the battle.

Col. Howard, who commanded the troops west of the main street, writes that his regiment was halted in an orchard by Col. Hazen, and that while halted "the British army formed in the School House Lane, directly in our front, six or seven hundred yards from us," which would place Howard's command about half way between Washington and School Lanes.

Robert Morton, who visited Germantown the day after the battle, has recorded that the Americans got down as far as the Widow Mackinett's Tavern, which the editor, in annotating Morton's Diary (see *Penn. Mag.*, vol. i. page 15), was under the impression stood near the Market house, but which old residents of Germantown assure him was at the Green Tree, as stated by Dr. Lambdin.

Watson, the annalist, was told by one Smith, who was a boy at the time of the battle, that he gave cider to two of the Americans who lay wounded on Wunder's lot, where the old railroad depot stands. These, however, may have been some of Greene's men.

Wilkinson, who gathered his information in Washington's camp shortly after the battle, and visited the ground previous to the publication of his memoirs, states that the front of the American troops had nearly reached the Market house when the retreat took place.

Col. Tilghman, who was on Washington's staff, wrote to his father October 6th, that "we pushed them by degrees from Mt. Airy below the lane that leads to the College." This statement of Col. Tilghman's would be sufficient, if it could be shown that he was an eye-witness; but as he describes with equal gusto and vivacity the driving of the enemy across the town by Greene, it is evident a portion of his account must have been drawn from that of another.

The man who resided west of the school house recorded in his diary that he returned to Germantown the day of the battle, and found that a hot engagement had occurred between the two armies. . . . "His poor wife was alone up two pair of stairs when a cannon-ball passed through a window very near her." Had the British been driven across School House Lane, his dwelling would have been in the midst of the conflict, and it is hardly likely his remarks would have been confined to the one incident.

The English accounts all speak of the engagement being in the upper part of the town.

enemy had got round us, and at the same time discovering some troops flying on our right, retired with as much precipitation as they had before advanced, against every effort of their officers to rally them."¹ Taking this brief description for what it is worth, it at least serves to show the confusion which existed. How far Sullivan's line extended it is impossible to tell, but as it had by this time lost its compactness it probably spread far away in the fields. An army that had pushed forward, as it had done, across fenced lots and among houses and outbuildings, must have been in a sufficiently perilous position under the best of circumstances. So when General Grey, "turning his front to the village,"² from his camp out School Lane, advanced to the attack, the Americans could not resist him. To put it plainly, they were repulsed. As they withdrew, with the precipitation which General Sullivan describes, Grey advanced across the lots and moving by the right flank brought his command into column and entering the main street, pushed on toward Chew's house.³ General Agnew, following in the rear of Grey, entered the street not far from where we are now assembled, and rode forward at the head of his column. As he ascended the hill he received a sudden volley from a party of citizens⁴ who were concealed behind the Mennonist meeting-house, and fell mortally wounded.⁵ On the east of the town Wayne's division, as has been explained, had already withdrawn, and General Grant, moving up the Forty-ninth Regiment, as General Howe relates, "about the time Major-General Grey had forced the enemy in the village, and then advancing with the right wing, the enemy's left gave way, and was pursued through a strong country between four and five miles." General Washington, who had remained at the head of the hill above Chew's house,

¹ Letter to Weare.

² Howe to Lord George Germaine.

³ Hill's Map and Howe's letter.

⁴ Philip Boyer is said to have been the man who shot General Agnew.

⁵ He was carried into a house near the spot where he died, and his remains were removed to his former quarters, the present residence of Charles J. Wister. See Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 319.

saw the failure of his well-laid plans, and issued his orders for the retreat.¹

THE RETREAT.

Colonel Lacey, who was without a command at the Battle of Germantown, but was an interested looker-on, has given us this striking picture: "I rode forward," he says,² "to where the main army was engaged, and had an opportunity of seeing the manner in which the business was conducted. We had

¹ It is the opinion of some writers that Washington left a single regiment to watch Chew's house, and with the remainder of the reserve moved to the front.

The authorities for this view are the letter of Sullivan to Weare and the second edition of Marshall's *Life of Washington*. Sullivan writes: "I cannot help observing that with great concern I saw our brave commander exposing himself to the hottest fire of the enemy in such a manner that regard to my country obliged me to ride to him and beg him to retire. He, to gratify me, and some others withdrew a small distance; but his anxiety for the fate of the day soon brought him up again, where he remained till our troops had retreated." Marshall, an officer in Woodford's brigade, in the 2d edition of *Life of Washington*, states that he found Chew's house guarded by a single regiment.

Opposed to this view is the direct statement of Col. Pickering, made in 1826, that he was with Washington, and that the commander-in-chief did not pass Chew's house, and the fact that neither the diary of Pickering, the letters of Charles Colesworth Pinckney (1820), of Knox, or the account of Col. Dayton, the writers of all of which were present at Chew's house, fail to mention such an important movement.

The letter of Pinckney and the diary of Pickering state that such a movement was contemplated, and the former that Col. Ogden's regiment was ordered to remain, but they fail to show that it was executed. It would appear from the diary of Pickering that the column of Sullivan retreated about the time it was proposed to advance that part of the reserve not required to guard Chew's house. As the passage in Sullivan's letter is the closing one, and apparently supplementary, and consequently applicable to any part of the battle, and as Chief Justice Marshall in the 1st edition of his work said, that a *brigade* from Sullivan's column was found firing at the front of Chew's house when the one in which he was arrived in its rear, and gives a different version in his subsequent edition, thus invalidating his claim to be considered an eye-witness to what took place on the west of the house, we cannot but think the view taken by Dr. Lambdin the correct one.

² See *Life of Lacey*, by Gen. W. W. H. Davis.

full possession of the enemy's camp, which were on fire in several places. Dead and wounded men were strewed about in all quarters. When the order for the retreat came, the American troops were in much disorder; those in front driven back by the enemy and falling on those in the rear, increased the confusion and rendered it impossible to form in such order as to oppose the advancing enemy. A general retreat was inevitably necessary to save the American army from a general rout."

It is necessary here to say a few words about General Armstrong, who was sent down the Ridge Road with the column of Pennsylvania militia to attack the enemy's left. The extreme left of the British line was held by the Hessian Yagers under Colonel von Wurmb, who, apprised of the attack, as many of his brother officers were, was more vigilant than most of them, and kept up a continuous watch throughout the night, and at daybreak the approach of the militia was discovered.¹ There followed a brisk interchange of shots, but no real engagement. "We cannonaded from the heights on each side of the Wissahickon," says Armstrong, "whilst the riflemen on opposite sides acted on the lower ground."² About nine o'clock, he continues, he was called off to join the General, but left a party, under Colonels Eyers and Dunlap, who shortly after were obliged to retreat, bringing off their fieldpiece and a second one which Armstrong had left "in the horrenduous hills of the Wissahickon." The militia went up the stream to Cresheim Creek, which led them across above Germantown, "directed by a slow fire of cannon," and there fell in front of a body of the enemy, whom they engaged for some time. "Until then," says General Armstrong, "I thought we had a victory, but to my great disappointment soon found out our army had gone an hour or two before, and we last on the ground."³

¹ *Von Felking's German Auxiliaries.* Armstrong's letter to Wharton.

² He appears to have made no attempt to cross the Wissahickon as ordered.

³ Armstrong's letter to Wharton, Penna. Archives, vol. v. p. 645.

THE PURSUIT.

Lord Cornwallis, who had early heard in Philadelphia of the attack upon Howe's position, at once put in motion two battalions of British and one of Hessian grenadiers, with a squadron of dragoons, and, getting to Germantown just as the Americans had been forced out of the village, he joined General Grey, and, placing himself at the head of the troops, took up the pursuit. General Greene effected the withdrawal of his forces with considerable difficulty and not without loss, Colonel Matthew's gallant regiment, or what remained of it, being left in the hands of the enemy, its heroic commander and many of his officers severely wounded by the enemy's bayonets. The cannon, too, gave Greene no little care, and at one point beyond Chestnut Hill, when Pulaski's cavalry, which was in the rear, being driven by the pursuing enemy, rode into and scattered his division, he was in a fair way to lose them; but by ordering his men to join hands he collected a sufficient number to protect the guns, which, being turned upon the enemy, induced him to relinquish the pursuit.¹ A letter from Wayne to Washington, written at eight o'clock in the evening, gives this account of the retreat: "After we left the field of battle the troops who took the upper route were formed at White Marsh Church under General Stephen. It was thought advisable to remain there some time in order to collect the stragglers from the army. The enemy made their appearance with a party of light horse and from 1500 to 2000 infantry, with two field pieces. The troops were ordered off, when I covered the rear with some infantry and Colonel Bland's dragoons; but finding the enemy determined to push us hard, I obtained from General Stephen some field pieces and took the advantage of a hill overlooking the road the enemy were marching on; they met with such a reception as that they were induced to retire back over the ridge which they had just passed and give up further pursuit. The time gained by this stand," adds Wayne, with a cheerful-

¹ Gordon, who obtained these facts from Greene. See *Gordon*, vol. ii. p. 524; *Greene's Life of Greene*, vol. ii. p. 417.

ness that no defeat could dampen, "favored the retreat of a considerable number of our men, three or four hundred of whom are now encamped here, and which I hope will facilitate the retreat of almost all who were scattered; so that you are now, in my humble opinion, in as good, if not better situation than you were before the action of this day."¹ Washington returned that night to Pennybacker's Mills, and there, after twenty-four hours of continuous hard work, shared alike by officers and men, he and his army resumed their camp.

THE LOSSES.

A sad task remained for the British soldiers and a sadder yet for the people of Germantown. For "two hours and forty minutes," according to General Knox's watch, the battle had waged at their very doors, in their gardens and orchards and in their fields; and now, as the fog and smoke lifted and the sounds of the contest died away, they ventured forth, some to look with anger upon the destruction of their property, others to carry succor to those who lay in woful need of kindest care.² If we could trust local tradition, we should

¹ *Life of Wayne*, by H. N. Moore, p. 41.

² The day after the battle, hundreds of the citizens of Philadelphia visited Germantown to satisfy their curiosity. (See *Watson*, vol. ii. p. 69.) The description of the scene given by Robert Morton will be found on page 14 of volume 1 of *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*. Some of the visitors, however, were prompted by more serious motives. "On the day of the battle of Germantown," wrote Warner Mifflin (see *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 207), "our yearly meeting issued a testimony respecting our peaceable principles. I was one, among others, appointed to present it to the commander-in-chief of each army. This was a proving time—to pass through opposing armies, most of whose minds were probably agitated, and many of them afresh fired by the spirit of war, from their recent engagement—and with no passport or shield to protect us from any merciless attack, but our innocence, sheltered by the wing of Divine preservation."

"We lost great part of yesterday with a deputation of Quakers from their yearly meeting," wrote General Armstrong to President Wharton on the 8th of October, "Waln, Emlen, Joshua Morris, and two others declaring their own and the innocence of their Body, desiring prejudices against them might be removed as a Society, seeking in the world only peace, truth, and righteousness, with equal love to all men, etc. . . . The General was for send-

conclude that there was not a patch of ground within a mile of Germantown on which there lay not at least one dead or dying man, but certainly the number was great enough to give those good people a fresh horror of barbarous war. The entire loss sustained by the combatants was never accurately ascertained, but according to the returns collected afterward by the Board of War,¹ the casualties in Washington's army were thirty officers and one hundred and twenty-two men killed, one hundred and seventeen officers and four hundred and four men wounded, and about four hundred prisoners. Included in this last number were some fifty officers and Colonel Matthews regiment. The British loss was reported to be thirteen officers and fifty-eight men killed, and fifty-five officers and three hundred and ninety-five men wounded.² American writers have generally believed that the British loss was understated, but the many advantages of defence and protection which the British had in the contest would account for the seeming disparity of numbers, and the aggregate of 1,157 killed and wounded out of the comparatively small forces engaged on either side shows that the Battle of Germantown was no child's play.

Each army, too, had to mourn severe bereavements. On the royal side there was young Morgan, the flower of the army, and the adventurous Agnew, a lieutenant colonel in actual rank, though acting as a brigadier, whose cruel death cast a further gloom upon the noways joyous triumph of Howe's army. He lies in the "lower burying-ground" at Fisher's Lane, and Lieutenant Colonel Bird by his side, and over their graves, with pious care, the Annalist Watson caused a slab to be placed that worthily marks the last resting place of two noble victims of their King's ambition. It was the same loving heart and hand that searched out the burial places of the patriot dead, and marked for us the

ing them to you and to Congress who had banished their friends. . . . The General gave them their dinner, and ordered them only to do penance a few days at Pottsgrove until their beards are grown, for which they seemed very thankful."

¹ Gordon, vol. ii. p. 525.

² Remembrancer.

graves of Captain Turner, of North Carolina, Major Irvine and six privates, in the "upper burying-ground," and performed a nation's neglected duty in the erection of a monument to General Nash, whose death was the severest loss sustained by the Americans on that day. While riding down the main street, leading the North Carolina Brigade into action, a shot from the British artillery struck and fractured his thigh, at the same time killing his horse. Custis, in his "Recollections," says that "a round-shot, striking a sign-post in Germantown, glanced therefrom, and passing through his horse shattered the General's thigh on the opposite side," which was a pretty clever piece of work for a round-shot, and if we add to this another statement that the same ball took off Major Witherspoon's head,¹ gives us, if not a new idea of what a round-shot can do, at least an idea of the value of Revolutionary anecdotes. It is true, however, that Major Witherspoon,² a brave young Jerseyman, the much-loved son of Parson Witherspoon, of Princeton, was killed in the fight, and though we may distrust a part of Custis' details, there is no reason to doubt the characteristic picture he gives of the fearless North Carolinian: "The fall of the animal threw its unfortunate rider with considerable force to the ground. With surpassing courage and presence of mind General Nash, covering his wound with both hands, gayly called to his men: 'Never mind me, I have had a devil of a tumble; rush on, my boys; rush on the enemy; I'll be after you presently.' Human nature could do no more. Faint from loss of blood and the intense agony of his wound, the sufferer was borne to a house hard by and attended by Dr. Craik, by special order of the Commander-in-Chief." He lingered in great suffering for two or three days and then died, and on the 9th of October, he was buried with military honors in the Mennonist graveyard at Kulpsville, in the presence of General Washington's army.³

¹ Armstrong to Wharton, Oct. 5, 1777.

² Major Witherspoon was an aid to Maxwell. See *Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, by Gen. Wm. J. Stryker.

³ There can, we think, be but little doubt that Gen. Nash was wounded some distance above Chew's house, most likely about the time when Sullivan

There are innumerable anecdotes and incidents afloat relating to the care of the wounded, but these need not engage our attention now. Local tradition ascribes some cruelty to the British in this respect, but it was probably only the harshness of military discipline, for there is no evidence that the Americans who fell into their hands received less care than their own men.¹ They were removed to such shelter as convenience suggested—the Haines house appears to have been used as a field hospital—and a considerable number, according to Watson, to the hill at the foot of the town; but on the following days the wounded were carried to the city, to the hospitals there.

THE END.

And so ended the Battle of Germantown. In comparison with the great engagements of recent history it seems a small affair, but the armies that met there were not to be despised. General Howe had probably ten thousand troops available, though but a portion of these were actually engaged, and among them were not a few battalions of which the Royal service was justly proud and the best of the Hessian auxiliaries. Washington's force was, in round numbers, about

states that a portion of the reserve was ordered forward. Major Wither-
spoon was buried in front of Philip Weaver's house near Beggarstown, and it is said he was killed by the side of the unfortunate General. Thomas Paine, who, on the morning of the 4th of October, left the camp that Washington had occupied and started for Germantown to see the battle, stated that the first man he met informed him that the British pickets had been driven in and that they were put to flight. Shortly after that he met Gen. Nash, who was being carried on a litter.

¹ The contempt in which some of the British officers held the Americans is well shown in a letter from Lord Lindsay, written immediately after the battle. "This may well be called," he writes, "an unfortunate war for us all. Hardly an officer but is now lamenting the loss of one of his brave friends, and no man can look at the instruments of their misfortune without pitying them still more for having died by the hands of fellows who have hardly the form of men, and whose hearts are still more deformed than their figures." In direct contrast to this is the remark of the British soldier, who said, as he witnessed the interment of the American dead, "don't bury them thus, and cast dirt in their faces, for they also are mothers' sons."

eight thousand soldiers of the line and three thousand militia; but the latter took no part in the action, which was peculiarly a Continental battle, and one that has especial interest from the fact that nearly, if not quite, every one of the thirteen States was represented among the troops engaged. Each of them had its own heroes there. New Hampshire had sent Sullivan; Massachusetts, Knox; Rhode Island, Greene; New York, McDougall; New Jersey, Stirling and Witherspoon; Pennsylvania, Wayne; Maryland, Smallwood; Virginia, Muhlenberg and Matthews; North Carolina, Nash; South Carolina, John Laurens and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; Georgia, McIntosh.¹ Have I named them all? No; the Delaware regiment was there, and a regiment from Connecticut. That makes the whole thirteen. We have remembered some of these men in the names of our streets; we have Washington, and Wayne; Pulaski, Knox, and Green—that name should have an “e” at the end of it. The next new avenues opened in Germantown should be called for Sullivan and Nash. Of the results of the battle and of the events that followed it I shall not speak, except to say that the unsuccessful Americans seem to have got more satisfaction from it than did their opponents, who not long after abandoned Germantown and removed within a line of entrenchments directly north of Philadelphia. Congress thanked the General and his army,² and the General and each of his subordinates congratulated the troops. “Although,” said the Commander-in-Chief, “an unfortunate fog, joined with the smoke, prevented the different brigades from seeing and supporting each other, or sometimes even from distinguishing their fire from the enemy’s, and some other causes which as yet cannot be accounted for, they finally retreated, they nevertheless see that the enemy is not proof against a vigorous attack, and may be put to flight when boldly pushed. This they will remember, and assure themselves that on the next occasion a proper exertion of the powers God has given them, and inspired by the cause of

¹ It is said Lachlane McIntosh joined the army just after the battle of Brandywine.

² See *Journals of Congress*, Oct. 8, 1777.

freedom in which they are engaged, they will be victorious.”¹ General Greene did not take so calm a view of it. He had “the mortification to assure the troops that they fled from victory,” and he wished “most ardently that the troops could be convinced of the necessity of retreating and rallying likewise,” and that “a retreat is not to be considered general without the order as such.”² He had satisfaction, however, in assuring the troops “that the enemy suffered very severely.”

But is it really true that our countrymen “fled from victory?” It is not an easy question to answer. Perhaps it is not worth while to try. But if this account has presented the Battle of Germantown distinctly before your minds, I think you will see that General Washington’s undertaking failed because, under all the circumstances, it was impossible for it to succeed. The art of war, we must remember, was not in his time what it is to-day. Napoleon had not then come upon the field. The tactics, both great and small, that Washington had learned were extremely simple, and the organization of the army was more simple still. That essential instrument of modern warfare, the general staff, had scarcely a rudimentary existence. A battle once planned must be carried out precisely according to the plan or else abandoned. General Washington himself, in an order issued the week after Germantown, expressed this idea very fully. “It is not for every officer to know the principles upon which every order is issued, and to judge how they may and may not be dispensed with or suspended, but their duty to carry them into execution with the utmost punctuality and exactness. They are to consider that military movements are like the working of a clock, and will go equally, regularly, and easily if every officer does his duty; but without it, be as easily disordered, because neglect from any one, like the stopping of a wheel, disorders the whole.”³ In a general sense, of course this is as true now as ever; but a modern commander does not start his battle as he would wind up his watch, and expect it to run of itself, but moves

¹ See *Records of the Revolutionary War*, by Saffell, 344.

² *Ibid.*, 345.

³ *Ibid.*, 346.

its parts rather as pieces upon a chess board, according to a general plan, indeed, but also with reference to emergencies as they arise. In this a large and efficient staff is of the first necessity, and the greater the scale of the battle, the more carefully conceived the plan, the more indispensable the general staff. But Washington and the commanders of his time had nothing resembling what we know by this term, and to move an army in four detachments on such wide lines, over such a country and among such obstacles as were encountered at Germantown, without the means of constant communication, which should keep every part subject to the General's instant direction, was an enterprise that, according to our modern ideas, would not appear promising. That it apparently came so near success is a warning that we are to apply the canons of modern military criticism to the operations of a hundred years ago with considerable caution, for the same limitations in the strategy and tactics of the day that governed the operations of one commander controlled those of his antagonist. How far General Washington was in advance of his age as a military commander it is no part of this paper's purpose to discuss, but I am sure that no one can study any episode in his career as I have just been studying this of the Battle of Germantown without feeling more and more the man's immense moral stature, which seems to dwarf that of every one around him. The dignity, the gentleness, the patience, the strength of will, the indomitable courage, the unflinching trust in God, and the unswerving devotion to duty through evil and through good report—if these do not constitute greatness, where are we to look for it? We do well to commemorate the Battle of Germantown, to repeat its story and teach it to our children. What matters it whether our little army, in that one day's struggle, won or lost? It is by rough ways only that the stars are reached; by daring and by suffering that victory is won; and surely this story brings before us, right here at our very doors, the patient courage of the men who carried to its happy end that long and weary struggle, and under God's good providence achieved the task that was set before them, to make for us an inheritance which we by like courage and like devotion only can maintain.

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS RELATING TO THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE.

From the Wayne MS. Communicated by the Hon. George Bancroft.

ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE 4TH, AT GERMANTOWN. 3d Oct. 1777.

THE Troops to be in Readiness to march at six this evening. The Divisions of Sullivan and Wayne to form the Right wing, and attack the enemy's left, they are to march above Monitony [Manatawny] Road. The Divisions of Green and Stephen to form the left wing and attack the enemy's right, they are to march down the Scipback [Skippack] road. Genl. Conway to march in front of the troops that compose the right wing and file off to attack the enemy's left. Genl. McDougall to march in front of the Troops that compose the left wing, and file off to attack the enemy's Right flank.

Genl. Nash and Genl. Maxwell's Brigades to form the corps de reserve, and to be commanded by Major Genl. Lord Stirling. The corps de reserve to pass above the Scipack [Skippack] road. Genl. Armstrong to pass down the Ridge road and pass by Liverius Tavern and take guides to cross Weasahochen [Wissahickou] creek above the head of John Van Deerings Mill dam so as to fall above Joseph Warner's new house.

Smallwood and Forman to pass down the road by a Mill, formerly Danl. Morris's and Jacob Edges mill into the White Marsh road, at the Sandy Run, thence to White Marsh Church, where take the left hand Road which leads to Jenkins's Tavern in the Old York Road below Armitages beyond the seven mile stone, half a mile from which a Road turns off short to the right hand fenced on both sides which leads through the enemy's encampment to Germantown Market House.

Genl. McDougall to attack the Right wing of the enemy in flank and rear. Genl. Conway to attack the enemy's left flank, and Genl. Armstrong to attack their left wing in flank and rear.

The Militia who are to act on the flanks not to have cannon. Packs and blankets to be left, the men are to carry their provisions in their Haversacks or any other manner least inconvenient.

Erased in the original. { All the Pioneers of each Division who are to march to be left with the Baggage and spare artillery, these to be commanded by a Sub from each Brigade, and the whole by a field officer—are to move in front of their respective Divisions with all the axes they can muster.

Every officer and Soldier to have a piece of white paper on his hat. The Piquets will be left at Van deering's Mill, to be taken off by Genl. Armstrong, one at Italian [Allen's] House on Mt. Airy by Genl. Sullivan, one at Liveaus [Luken's] Mill by (Genl.) Green.

Each column is to make their disposition so as to attack the Piquets in

their respective routes precisely at five o'clock, with charged bayonets and without firing, and the column to move to the attack as soon as possible.

The columns to endeavour to get within two miles of the enemy's Piquets on their respective routes by two o'clock and there halt till four, and make the disposition for attacking the Piquets at the time above mentioned.

The columns of Continental Troops and Militia to communicate with each other from time to time by Lt. Horse—Proper flanking parties to be kept out from each column.

COL. STEWART TO GEN. GATES.

From the Original in the Gates' Papers in the New York Historical Society. Communicated by John Austin Stevens, Librarian.

CAMP 26 MILES FROM PHILADA., Oct. 12, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR: The last time I had the pleasure of writing you was about the 2nd or 3rd when I gave you a small sketch of what had passed after the Battle of Brandy Wine untill we crossed the Schuylkill. on the 4th in the afternoon we had orders to march at 6 o'clock and march'd all that Night towards the Enemy the distance about 12 miles; on account of the darkness of the night and badness of some Roads we did not arrive at our appointed place until past 6 O'Clock (the Disposition for Attack you have Inclos'd) at which time the attack was begun by Sullivan and Wayne, we however join'd in about 15 Minutes, when the Action became very general, at the distance sometimes of twenty and sometimes forty yards. We however began to gain Ground on them, and in an hour from the beginning their Army was on the retreat in all Quarters, the right of our Army got into Germantown where they were a good deal annoy'd from the Houses particularly Chews in which they had four field Pieces and 500 men, this stop'd the whole right and kept them engag'd for a long time untill the Enemy had time to rally and return to the charge, when I believe the right stagger'd a good deal and shortly gave way. On the left of our Army where Green and Stevens were, our success was great When I first engag'd we were a mile and a half from Germantown, and before we ended I got to the Market house at German-town. General McDougle who was to have attacked the [enemy] on their right flank, never got to his ground, which Expos'd our flank much and I happened to be detached and fell on the left of the whole where I engag'd the 5th and 38th they both ran lustily and I took a little flush redoubt with three pieces of Cannon from them I had cursed hot Work for it before they left them; but every thing appeared in our favour when the Unfortunate retreat took place, which cannot yet be accounted for; it is left on Genl. Stevens who certainly gave the order to the left wing, he is suspended and to day a Court of Enquiry sits of which Lord Sterling is President. Our loss that day is between six and seven hundred the accounts from Philada. are great. Miss Lucy Lenard is come out and says Genl. Agnien was killed on the spot, Genl. Grant mortally wounded and two Hessian Genl's killed

that 52 officers were buried in one day and that they had kill'd on the spot 780 Privates; Indeed every account that has come out since, makes it a great deal more but this will do pretty well. They are much alarm'd forming Abbalies all round Philada., she heard the officers say at dinner, twas the severest Blow they had yet met with, twas plan'd with Judgement, executed with Spirit and they cant tell why we left it unless for want of Ammunition they informed her I lay dead on the field, am very happy they are so much mistaken. This afternoon or tomorrow believe we again advance the next Action think will be decisive; a heavy fring has been these two days at the fort, hope in God they will stand it. We are very Impatient to hear from you. I am my dear General

Yr Obliged Sincere Friend,

WALTER STEWART.

I hope one day or another to pay you a visit in Canada when you have the Government.

(Superscription)—To the Honourable Major General Gates Commanding the Northern Army.

LETTER FROM GENL. SMALLWOOD.

*From the Sparks Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard College.
Communicated by John L. Sibley, A.M., Librarian, with
permission of Mrs. Sparks.*

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, HATFIELD TOWNSHIP, Oct. 9, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Good news for America, such perhaps as will relieve you from that state of suspence and anxiety which your last to me expressed you to be in. The enemy's situation being reconnoitred, Their number being nearly ascertained, his Excellency in Council with the other General Officers on the 3d Inst. unanimously resolved on the expediency of attacking, and accordingly the Army moved at 6 o'Clock in the Evening in 4 Columns towards the enemy in the following order: The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne to form the right wing and attack the enemy's left. The divisions of Green and Stephens to form the left wing and attack the enemy's right. Genl. Conway with his Brigade to march in front of the Troops that Compose the right wing and file off to attack the enemy's left. Genl. McDougal to march in front of the Troops that Compose the left wing and file off to attack the enemy's right Flank. Genl. Armstrong to fall in and attack the enemy's rear and left Flank. And Smallwood with his division and Genl. Fourman's Brigade to attack the enemy's rear and right Flank; And Genl. Nashe's and Maxwell's Brigades to form the Corps de Reserve, and be Commanded by Major Genl. Lord Stirling. in this order the columns moved on from 15 to 20 miles agreeable to the distance of their respective routes. and at 4 o'Clock made the disposition for attacking generally, at 5 o'clock in the morning when the picquets were to be cut off, which was the

Signal for the whole to begin the attack, which soon after became General and the enemy were as generally repulsed and drove for near 5 hours, when our Ammunition on the right and in some other parts grew scarce, which together with our Troops in the Centre being flushed with success, and their officers not attending to preserve their order, they got into Confusion by the pursuit, and contributed to loose one of the most glorious Victories perhaps that America for some time may have an opportunity of gaining. The retreat commenced in that quarter where very little of their Ammunition was expended, and in the midst of Victory at a time when no person could account for it, nor can the cause of it yet be ascertained. *Tho there is a charge exhibited which upon inquiry may perhaps better account for the cause.* The enemy themselves are amazed and at a loss to account for the retreat tho they attribute it to the want of ammunition, part of the centres retreating composed of Continental Troops, set the example to others to retreat, and the sentiment that it was necessary, from the impression of so bad an example in the first instance, lead many more, which induced Genl. Washington (after many efforts to carry them on to the charge were found ineffectual) to order a retreat, which was prosecuted with little or no other loss than the field of action, which to our reproach was shameful to abandon in the midst of Victory, after taking possession of their encampment and baggage with many pieces of artillery and military Stores.

Your, &c., &c.,

WM. SMALLWOOD.

TESTIMONY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AGAINST WAR.

*Transmitted to Generals Washington and Howe by the Committee,
James Thornton, William Brown, Nicholas Waln, Warner,
Mifflin, Joshua Morris, and Samuel Emlen.*

A Testimony given forth from our Yearly Meeting, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by Adjournments, from the 29th Day of the Ninth Month to the 4th of the Tenth Month inclusive, 1777.

A Number of our Friends having been imprisoned and banished, unheard, from their Families, under a Charge of Insinuation that "they have in their general Conduct and Conversation evidenced a Disposition inimical to the Cause of America," and from some Publications intimating that "there is strong Reason to apprehend that these Persons maintain a Correspondence highly prejudicial to the public Safety;" may induce a Belief that we have in our Conduct departed from the peaceable Principles which we profess; and apprehending that the Minds of some may thereby be misled; for the clearing of Truth, we think it necessary publicly to declare, that we are led out of all Wars and Fightings by the Principle of Grace and Truth in our own Minds, by which we are restrained either as private Members of Society or in any of our Meetings, from holding a Correspondence with either Army; [but are] concerned to spread the Testimony of Truth

and the peaceable Doctrines of Christ, to seek the good of all—to keep a Conscience void of Offence towards God and Man—to promote the Kingdom of the Messiah, which we pray may come, and be experienced in Individuals, in Kingdoms and Nations; that they may beat their Swords into Plow-shares and their Spears into Pruning-hooks, and Nation not lift up Sword against Nation, neither learn War any more, Isai. ii. 4. And deny in general Terms, all Charges and Insinuations which in any Degree clash with this our Profession.

As to a nameless Paper lately published, said to be dated at Spank-Town Yearly-Meeting, and found among the Baggage on Staten Island, every person who is acquainted with our Stile, may be convinced it was never wrote at any of our Meetings, or by any of our Friends. Besides, there is no Meeting throughout our whole Society of that Name, nor was that Letter, or any one like it, ever wrote in any of our Meetings since we were a People. We therefore solemnly deny the said Letter and its Authors; and wish that those who have assumed a fictitious Character to write under, whether with a View to injure us or to cover themselves, might find it their Place to clear us of this Charge by stating the Truth.

And as from the Knowledge we have of our banished Friends, and the best Information we have been able to obtain, we are convinced they have done nothing to forfeit their just Right to Liberty; we fervently desire that all those who have any hand in sending them into Banishment, might weightily consider the Tendency of their own Conduct, and how contrary it is to the Doctrines and Example of our Lord and Law-giver Christ Jesus; and do them that Justice which their Case requires, by restoring them to their afflicted Families and Friends: And this we are well assured will conduce more to their Peace than keeping them in Exile. We give forth this Admonition in the Fear of God, not only with a View to the Relief of our Friends, but also to the real Interest of those concerned in their Banishment.

Having been favoured to meet to transact the Affairs of our Religious Society, which relate to the Promotion of the Cause of Truth and Righteousness, we have felt a renewed Concern for the Good and Happiness of Mankind in general, and in the Love of the Gospel have issued forth this Testimony, for the clearing ourselves and our Friends, and the warning of those, who from groundless Suspicions and mistaken Notions concerning us, may be persuaded to seek our Hurt, to the wounding their own Souls and the Loss of the Community.

Signed by Order and on Behalf of the Yearly Meeting, by
ISAAC JACKSON, Clerk.

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM BLACK,

1744.

SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR GOOCH, OF
 VIRGINIA, TO UNITE WITH THOSE FROM THE COLONIES OF PENNSYLVANIA
 AND MARYLAND, TO TREAT WITH THE IROQUOIS OR SIX NATIONS
 OF INDIANS, IN REFERENCE TO THE LANDS WEST OF THE
 ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS.

Edited by R. Alonzo Brook, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society.

(Continued from page 249.)

PHILADELPHIA, *Thursday* 31st.

Where I left you last night I found myself this morning about 6 O'Clock, and at 7 I ventur'd up and went to the Commissioners' Lodgings, where I Breakfasted and wrote till near 12 O'Clock, when I went Home and Dress'd myself, and Join'd the Company at the Coffee House, who were to Meet there in order partake of the proffer'd bounty of Mr. Thomas Lawrence,¹ one of the Honourable Council, Alderman, and a Considerable Merchant of the City; Din'd between 1 and 2 O'Clock in Company with the Governor and several other Gentlemen of the Town. After Dinner, the Commissioners, with the Governor in his Coach, took a ride two or three Miles out to view the Curious Plantation belonging to Mr. Turner;² the rest of the Levee with myself, with some of our New Acquaintance, took a turn to the Center House,³ where is

¹ Thomas Lawrence was the son of Thomas Lawrence and Elizabeth Lewis. He was in business with Edward Shippen (of Lancaster). He was a member of the Common Council, an Alderman, one of the Governor's Council, and five times Mayor of the city. He died in his fifth mayoralty, April 25, 1753, and is buried in Christ Church ground, where his vault is one of the few on which armorial bearings can be traced.

² Joseph Turner, whose place spoken of was on the late Turner's Lane. He was a partner of Mr. Allen, to whom he was nearly related. He was appointed a member of the Governor's Council in May, 1747, and held various offices under the Provincial Government. He died at his seat at an advanced age in 1783.

³ At Penn Square.

a Billiard Table and Bowling Green, where we Amus'd ourselves the Afternoon; this place is so call'd the Center as it ly's in the middle, between the Rivers Delaware and School-kill, and, according to the Plann of the City, it extends from the one River to the Other, and this place is laid off for the middle of the Town. In the close of the Evening, we got to the Coffee house, where we Join'd the Commissioners, etc., and after a short stay from thence to the Clubb, where the Comm'rs pass'd two or three hours and Retir'd to their Lodgings; for my part, I staid as long as any of my Company did, and on the first Motion to begone I was ready; but I do assure you that it was the Pleasures of Conversation, more than that of the Glass, that Induc'd me; I observ'd that in such a Company, I could Learn More of the Constitution of the Place, their Trade, and manner of living, in one hour, than a Week's Observation Sauntering up and down the City could produce; besides numberless other Advantages which is to be gather'd from the Conversation of a Polite Company, which brings many helps to the Understanding of a Person, who otherwise has his Sight Limited to the Length of his Nose; At 11, or few Minutes after, My Company withdrew, we Separated just after, every one to his Respective Lodgings. I got to my Appartment directly, and went to bed.

PHILADELPHIA, *Friday*, June 1st.

The Sun had run his course in our Hemisphere for the space of two hours, before the Leaden Scepter was removed from my Eye Lids, at last about a half an hour past 6, I had those Instruments of Sight and Doors of the Mind laid open, and Jump'd from my Bed in some haste, designing before that time to have been at the Market Place; the days of Market are Tuesday and Friday, when you may be Supply'd with every Necessary for the Support of Life thro'ut the whole year, both Extraordinary Good and reasonably Cheap, it is allow'd by Foreigners to be the best of its bigness in the known World, and undoubtedly the largest in America; I got to this place by 7; and had no small Satisfaction in seeing the pretty Creatures, the young Ladies, traversing the place from

Stall to Stall where they cou'd make the best Market, some with their Maid behind them with a Basket to carry home the Purchase, Others that were designed to buy but trifles, as a little fresh Butter, a Dish of Green Peas, or the like, had Good Nature and Humility enough to be their own Porters; I have so much Regard for the fair Sex that I Imagin'd, like the Woman of in the Holy Writ, some Charm in touching even the hem of their Garments; after I had made my Market, which was One penny worth of Whey and a Nose Gay, I Disengag'd myself from the Multitude, and made the best of my way to Mr. Strettell's where I Breakfasted: after Breakfast I Exchang'd the Commissioner's Bills for Gold and Paper Money to the Value of 700 and odd Pounds, and after I settled the Account return'd to my Lodgings, in order to Dress my self and Join the Commissioners, &c. who Design'd after Dinner to pay a Visit to Mr. James Logan, who through the Infirmitics of Old age hastened on with a lingering Distemper had Retir'd from Business, to live at a Beautiful House¹ he had about 4 miles from the City: At 1 O'clock P.M.: at the Invitation of Secretary Peters, I went with him to the three Tunn Tavern in Water Street,² where in Company with the Gentlemen of the Levee & two or three more of the Town, I Din'd, and after a few Glasses of Good Madeira, Mr. Lee, Mr. Littlepage, Mr. Brooks and My self set out in order to Accompany the Commissioners to Mr. Logan's, they were gone before we got to their Lodgings, but with the Help of some very good Horses, which we were Oblig'd to some of the Town's Gentlemen for, we soon came up with them, and Mr. Strettell & Son, who were with them. We got to Mr. Logan's, a few minutes after 3, and found him hid in the Bushes, an Expression the Indians used when Treating with the Province at Philadelphia, in July 1742, saying "They were sorry to find their Good Friend James Logan hid in the Bushes," Meaning, it gave them concern their Friend was so

¹ Stenton.

² It stood at the corner of Ton Alley and Water Street, which at the present day runs from 120 S. Delaware Avenue to 121 S. Water Street.

much Oppress'd with Sickness as to be Oblig'd to live a Life Retir'd from Public affairs: he had been a very great Benefactor to the Indians, and Conducted several Treaties with them, and they having always found him true to them, had an Extraordinary Regard for him: The Commissioners had some Conversation with him about the Indians, and told him, his Advice would be of the last Consequence to them in Conducting the Treaty, he appear'd somewhat Reserv'd and Spoke very little: At last the Tea Table was Set, and one of his Daughters presented herself in Order to fill out the Fashionable Warm Water: I was really very much Surpriz'd at the Appearance of so Charming a Woman, in a place where the seeming Morosness, and Gratified Father's Appearance, Promised no such Beauty, tho' it must be allow'd the Man seem'd to have some Remains of a handsome enough Person, and a Complection beyond his years, for he was turn'd off 70: But to return to the Lady, I declare I burnt my Lips more than once, being quite thoughtless of the warmness of my Tea, entirely lost in Contemplating her Beauties.

She was tall, and Slender, but Exactly well Shap'd her Features Perfect, and Complection tho' a little the whitest, yet her Countenance had something in it extremely Sweet, her Eyes Express'd a very great Softness, denoting a Compos'd Temper and Serenity of Mind, Her Manner was Grave and Reserv'd, and to be short, She had a Sort of Majesty in her Person, and Agreeableness in her Behaviour, which at Once Surprized and Charmed the Beholders:¹ After the Tea Table was remov'd, we were going to take leave, but it appear'd we must first view his Library, which was Customary with him, to any Persons of Account, He had really a very fine Collection of Books, both Ancient and Modern, he seem'd to Regrate that none of his Sons knew how to use them, and that he design'd them as a Legacy to the City when he Died:²

¹ The lady so favorably described by the journalist was no doubt Hannah, second daughter of James Logan, who in 1748 married John Smith, the ancestor of our excellent citizen John Jay Smith.

² The collection now forms a portion of the Loganian Library, and is connected with the Philadelphia Library Company.

After the Old Gentleman had been Complimented on his fine Taste we Departed. From this Mr. Strettell carried us to German Town about a mile further, where he had a little Country House to which he used to come and spend some part of the Summer Months, his Wife was then there: German Town about 6 miles from Philadelphia, is a Continued Row of Houses on each side of a Public Road, for more than a Mile and a half, the Inhabitants are Chiefly Dutch, and has a very Good Church with Organs in the Town.¹ We staid till near Sun-down at Mr. Strettell's Villa, where we were very kindly Receiv'd by Mrs. Strettell, she appear'd to be a very Agreeable Woman, and Considering she was in years was Admirably well Shap'd: Mr. Strettell had not been long in Philadelphia, he came over from London with a Cargoe of Goods about 9 years Since, and had very Good Success in Trade, he was one of the Friends, but seem'd not much Affected to their under hand way of Dealing and Cloak of Religion, he, I really do believe, appear'd what he really was, a very Honest Dealer, and Sincere in everything he Acted; he was a very Modest Man in Company, Spoke little, but what he said was always worth the Noticing, as he gave everything Consideration before he Deliver'd it; he was of a Crazy Constitution, and Consequently very Moderate in Drinking and kept Good horses, tho' I believe that was rather Natural, than forc'd for his Health; he had only one son who Liv'd with him, about 19, and was in Partnership with him in Trade, he appear'd to be a very Promising Sober and well Inclined young Man,² and much Attach'd to Business, even Uncommon for his years. We got to Town about Dark, and Spent the Evening at the Commissioner's Lodgings, where I Sup'd and about 10 at Night went home to my Lodging.

¹ Germantown was founded in 1683 by F. D. Pastorius. Philadelphia at that time consisted only of three or four little cottages.

Gabriel Thomas states that in 1696, all sorts of good paper and fine German linen were manufactured here.— *Watson's Annals*, vol. i.

² Robert Strettell had two sons; Amos, the one alluded to, was the eldest, the other, John, resided with his grandfather, John Owen, in London.

PHILADELPHIA, *Saturday, June 2d.*

This Morning I Rose about 6 O'Clock and made Journal Entries till Breakfast time. Then, I went with Bob Brooks to Mr. Kerr's Lodgings where we drunk Tea, then I return'd to Mr. Peters's and wrote till near 12, at which time Colonel Taylor and Mr. Lewis paid me a Visit, I Dress'd and with them went to meet the Commissioners at the Coffee house,¹ from which we were to go to the Tunn Tavern to Dine, having an Invitation the day before from the Governor who is a Member of the Clubb or certain Number of Gentlemen that Meet at this house every Saturday to Eat Beef-Stakes, and from that is Call'd the Beef-Stake Clubb; but when Dinner came there was more than twenty Dishes besides that of Stakes, sometime after Dinner, the young men and myself took a turn to the privateer that was Rigging at Mr. Andrew Hamilton's Wharf, and after that Mr. Littlepage and I went to Mr. Plumsted's,² where we staid till dark, the Governor, and the Commissioners having spent the Afternoon together, in the Evening went to the Clubb. I had an Appointment to meet Mr. Kerr, Capt. Crawford, and two or three more at a certain House, and the hour being come, I hastened to the Place, I found them all there, and in humour to be very Merry, Some of the Company Drunk Punch, others Wine, According as their Inclinations led them: We got in Discourse on several Subjects which would be Foreign to my Purpose to Relate: Only I must put down for a Memorandum to My Self; What past between two Gentlemen of the Company with whom I had no Acquaintance, their Conver-

¹ Previous to the opening of the London Coffee House at the S. W. corner of Front and Market Streets by Bradford in 1754, a public house of that name was kept by the Widow Roberts in Front Street below Black Horse Alley, and was probably that visited by the commissioners.

² Either Clement Plumsted or his son William; both were prominent citizens at the time, the former being a common councillor, and the latter an alderman. Clement Plumsted was a member of the Governor's Council and three times Mayor of the city. William was twice Mayor of the city, and died in 1765 during the Stamp Act excitement. According to Watson, he was buried without the pomp which was then customary at the funerals of persons of prominence.

sation turn'd mostly on Several Characters; the one found something that was Praise-worthy in every Body that was mentioned, he dropped all their Faults and Talked of nothing but their Good Qualities Sought out Good Motives for every Action that had the Appearance of bad turned Extravagance into Generosity, Avarice into Prudence, & so on through the whole Catalogue of Virtues and Vices: On the Contrary the other fell to Cutting up every Fresh Person that was brought on the Carpet, without any Mercy: He loaded them with Blemishes, was Silent on all their Perfections, Imputed Good Actions to bad Motives, Looked thro' the Magnifying Glass on all their Defects, and through the other end of the perspective on Everything that was Commendable in them. In a word they were as Opposite in their way of thinking, as Black is to White, or Light to Darkness. This Contrast in these two, and the eagerness with which they Espous'd their Favourite Topicks one of Praising, and the other of Blaming, put me on the Serious, to Consider the Motives from which they both Acted, I cou'd not help thinking well of him who Judg'd so Favourably. But I cou'd not think favourably of him who cou'd not think well of any Body, for my part, I shall always look on those People who are so Suspicious, and cannot have a Good opinion of any, as such, who Possess very little Goodness themselves, and Impute their Dexterity in observing the faults they Esclaim, more to the Badness of their Heads than the Goodness of their Heads. But I was somewhat surpris'd when after the company broke up, I Enquir'd of my Acquaintance the Character of the Disputants, on his telling these Gentlemen was quite the Reverse of what they appear'd to be, and what they Argued was merely for the Argument Sake, I seem'd satisfy'd, but I cou'd not help thinking, Contradiction had a finger in the Pye. To conclude we parted about 12 O'Clock at Night; two of the Company was so Civil that they wou'd see me to my Lodgings, where they wisht me Good Night, and I got into the Sheets as fast as Possible.

PHILADELPHIA, *Sunday, June 3rd.*

Rose at 7, took several turns in the Garden with Mr. Peters & Bob Brooks, afterwards I went to Mr. Stretells; found Colonel Lee not well, having Intermitting Fevers, for which he Resol'd to take the Bark; after Breakfast I return'd to my Room and Dress'd, and in Company with Mr. Secretary, Col. Beverley, and some more of our Gang, I went to Christ's Church, where I heard a very Good Discourse on the Words in the 19 Ch. of Matthew and 46 Verse. This Church is a very Stately Building, but is not yet Finished. The Paintings of the Altar Piece will, when done, be very Grand; two Rows of Corinthian Pillars, and Arches turn'd from the one to the other Supports the Roof and the Galleries, the Peughs and Boxes were not all done so that everything seem'd half finished. I was not a little Surpris'd to see such a Number of Fine Women in one Church, as I never had heard Philadelphia noted Extraordinary that way; but I must say, since I have been in America, I have not seen so fine a Collection at one time and Place. After this Congregation was Dismiss'd, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Lewis, &c., of the Levee went to the Commissioners' Lodgings, where we found Colonel Lee ready to go to Mr. Andrew Hamilton's¹ where we were Invited to Dine this Day; about a Quarter after 1 O'Clock we had Dinner, and I do assure you a very fine one, but as I am not able to draw up a Bill of Fare, I shall only say, that we had very near 18 Dish of Meat, besides a very nice Collation; after this was over, it was time for to think of going to Church for Afternoon, accordingly, most of our young Company with my Self, went in order to Visit the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Tennant,² a Disciple of the Great Whitefield, whose followers are

¹ The residence of Andrew Hamilton was the once celebrated Bush Hill, the site of which is within the present built-up portion of Philadelphia. In 1791, John Adams, while Vice-President of the United States, resided in the Hamilton Mansion, and the letters of Mrs. Adams give a description of it at that time. It was then two miles from the city. In 1793 Bush Hill was used as a Hospital for Yellow Fever patients.

² The Reverend Gilbert Tennant was the son of the Rev. Wm. Tennant, a cousin of James Logan, who conducted successfully for a long series of years a school which was popularly known as the "Log College."

Gilbert Tennant embraced the doctrines of Whitefield and was one of his

Call'd the New Lights; we found him Delivering his Doctrine with a very Good Grace, Split his Text as Judiciously, turn'd up the Whites of his Eyes as Theologically, Cuff'd his Cushion as Orthodoxly, and twist'd his Band as Primitively as his Master Whitefield¹ could have done, had he been there himself; We were not Converts enough to hear him to an end, but withdrew very Circumspectly, and bent our Course to the Quaker Meeting,² where we found one of the Traveling Friends, Labouring Under the Spirit very Powerfully, had he been a little more Calm, and not hurried himself so on, as if he had not half time to say what he had in his Mind, We as well as the Rest of his Brethern, would have received more Instruction, but one Sentence came so fast treading on the heels of Another, that I was in great pain of his Choaking: however, we had Patience to hear him out, and after a little Pause he gave us a Short Prayer, and then Struck hands with two Elderly Friends on his Right and Left, and we broke up; In the Evening I went & Spent an hour with Capt. Blair, after which I came to Mr. Strettell's where I Sup'd and about 9 O'Clock went to my Lodgings, where I had Spent sometime in Reading. I went to Bed 35 Minutes after 10.

PHILADELPHIA, *Monday*, June the 4th.

This Morning the Sun hardly saw me in Bed, I was up at 4 O'Clock, and went to Engage Riding Horses and a Waggon to Transport us to Lancaster, I found great Difficulty to persuade the People to promise their Horses. As we were not certain of the time we should be ready to go, at 9 I Return'd to Mr. Strettell's where I Breakfasted, and Inform'd the Com-

most zealous and arduous disciples; his efforts caused a schism in the First Presbyterian Church, and led to the building of the church at the corner of 3rd and Arch Streets.—*Watson's Annals*, vol. i. 288.

In 1774 Tennant preached in the building known as the "Old Academy," erected by the admirers of Whitefield.—See *Franklin's Autobiography*.

¹ Whitefield in the year 1739 preached on Society Hill to 15,000 persons. His influence was so great that public amusements, dancing, balls, and concerts were suspended.—*Ibid.*, vol. i. 173.

² Southwest corner Market and Second Streets.

missioners of my Success. This Forenoon I was Employ'd in writing, and Colonel Lee kept his Room all the Day, taking the Bark. After 12, I went home and Dress'd in Order to Join our Company who were to Dine at Mr. Jno. Sober's,¹ a very Considerable Merchant in the City, a few Minutes after 1, we had a very handsome Entertainment, Variety of Dishes, Serv'd up in the very best manner; after some Healths had gone round in Bumpers, I slipt away, and Return'd to Col. Lee; this Afternoon I wrote from the Mouth of Colonel James Patton, of Augusta County² (who arriv'd in Town the day before, and had been in Lancaster in his way hither), the Particulars of the Skirmish, that had happened between the Inhabitants of the said County, and some of the Shawana Indians in December, 1742:³ In the Forenoon Colo. Beverley had been with Colo. Patton to the Governor, that he might hear from Colonel Patton's Mouth a Relation of the Matter, and how that Affair Really was, whercin the Virginians had been Represented to his Honour and the People of this Province in a very wrong Light, and that Hostilities were first begun on their side, but the Governor on hearing Colonel Patton, he seem'd Satisfy'd that the Indians were the first Aggressors. I eat Supper at Mr. Strettell's, and about 10 at Night went to my Lodgings.

PHILADELPHIA, *Tuesday* the 5th.

Rose at 6 O'Clock, went and Bought a Hundred Lemons for Sea-store; eat Breakfast at Mr. Strettell's, and at 11 in the

¹ John Sober was an alderman and a member of Common Council, and one of the subscribers to the dancing assembly of 1748.

² Colonel James Patton was a native of Donegal, Ireland, a man of property and owner of a ship, who emigrated to Virginia about 1738. He obtained for himself and associates a grant of 120,000 acres of land in the Valley. He settled on the South Fork of the Shenandoah.—*Campbell's Va.*, 433.

³ In the month of December, 1743, Captain John McDowell, surveyor of the land in Bardin's Grant, falling into an ambush, was slain, together with eight comrades, in a skirmish with a party of Shawnee Indians. This occurred at the junction of the North River with the James.—*Campbell's Va.*, 432.

forenoon, with Colonel Beverley and the Gentlemen of the Levee, I went to the State House, where Doctor Spencer Entertain'd Us very Agreeably with several Philosophical Transactions, first he Prov'd and Illustrated by Experiments, Sir Isaac Newton's Theory of Light and Colours, also Several Curious Objects Shown by the Solar Microscope, together with the Circulation of the Blood, all which he perform'd very much to the Satisfaction of the Spectators; then we return'd to Mr. Strettell's, and from thence with Colonel Lee, to Mr. John Turner's, where in company with his Honour the Governor and several other Towns Gentlemen we Din'd. In the Afternoon Arrived an Express to the Secretary, with the following Letter from Conrad Weiser:—

To Richard Peters, Esq., in Philadelphia.

June the 2nd, 1744, in the Even'g.

Sir: This Afternoon about 5 of the Clock, Shickelamy Arriv'd Accompanied by his Grandson; he Informs me, that notice had been given to the several Towns of the Six Nations by the Council of Onondago; that their several Deputies should get ready to set out at such a day for Pennsylvania (which was the 18th day of May last). Accordingly the Oneidoes's Deputies set out, and after having finished their Canoes on a Branch of Susquehannah, they sett off and came to Otzininky, near a Branch of said River, that comes from Onondago; but they could hear nothing of the Onondagus, they supposed them to be at the head of said Branch Making their Canoes. These Oneidoes came along to Idyixogan¹ a great Branch of Susquehannah, that comes down from the Cayingos and Sonickers, they heard nothing of this last Mentioned Indian Deputies, (here the Tuscorara Deputies staid, who had set out with them, living near together) the Oneidoes arriv'd at Shickelamy's the 30th of last Month, only Six Men. Shickelamy Assures me, that the several Deputies had certainly set out at the said time: As for the Special Messengers, the Council at Onondago had promis'd to send Shickelamy an Account, for he believes the whole Company to be near, and is in haste to go home to-morrow; but I expect still such a Messenger; be it how it will, the Indians are a coming, and Shickelamy, will send a Letter from Shomockeor² after they Arrive there, if none are sent before by the Chiefs of the said Indians

¹ Pine Creek.

² Shamokin.

which I think can hardly be otherways. I must have all this to his Honour the Governor, what he may think proper to Inform the Governor of Maryland of, I am at a loss because no certain time can be mentioned of their arriving; untill the second Messenger Arrive, I cannot write anything to Governor Bladen.

I am a little better than I have been, the Fever abated very much last night; but if these Indians should be so near as Shickelamy Imagine, I can be of no Service to the Treaty, for I cant go from Home, for having had such a Fever, as I Inform'd you of a few days ago, this two weeks every Night, and a Continual Sweat upon one every day, and could not eat at all till this very day, when Victuals seem to stay with me, has brought me very low down. I am Resign'd to Divine Providence in all things, so in this; in the meantime, I am hopes to recover soon. Shickelamy is very glad that the Commissioners are arriv'd in Philadelphia: this is all present which I can Inform, am in hopes soon to be able, upon the arrival of the Second Messenger, to inform more: You will acquaint our Governor of this, who is more able to form a Judgment out of all this, what to write to Governor Bladen, than I; no body needs to Stirr, I shall write to Lancaster, to order Provision to be got ready, I have sent my Son to-day to Mr. Cookson, about Six hours before Shickelamy arriv'd, but must send him again so soon as he comes home. With my Kind Respects.

I am Sir Yours.

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S.—June the 3rd in the morning Shickellamy further informs; that the Interpreter of Albany had been among the five Nations, to Invite them to Albany to Treat with the Governor of New York.

I Continue under a great Sweat but for the violence of Fever I hope is over.

Be pleas'd to Dispatch my Son as soon as Possible.

In the Evening in Company with Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Littlepage I went to Mr. Levy's¹ a Jew, and very Considerable Merch't, he was a Widdower. And his Sister Miss Hettie Levy kept his House. We staid Tea, and was very agreeably Entertain'd by the Young Lady; She was of the middle Stature, and very well made her Complexion Black but very Comely,

¹ Probably Samson Levy, a subscriber to the dancing assembly of 1748.

she had two Charming Eyes, full of Fire and Rolling ; Eye-Brows Black and well turn'd, with a Beautiful head of Hair, Coal Black which she wore a Wigg, waving in wanting curling Ringlettts in her Neck ; She was a Lady of a great Deal of Wit, Join'd to a Good Understanding, full of Spirits, and of a Humour exceeding Jocose and Agreeable. We took our leave and came away well satisfy'd with the Ladies' Company ; at 8 O'Clock went to hear a Consert of Musick ; the Performers was some Town's Gentlemen, and did Us the Honour of an Invitation, we staid till past 11, and I left the Company to go Home to my Lodgings ; In my way, I was met by a Woman tollerably well dress'd, and seem'd a good likely Person to Appearance, but very Much in Liquor ; I shoud not have observ'd her ; but about twenty yards before I came up to her, she made a full stop, and the Moon Shining Bright I could well Observe her ; She on my coming up, look'd me right in the Face, which caused me to make a Stop ; She ask'd me where I was going, I answered Home ; on this I had Curiosity enough to turn her round to have a better view ; on which I made the Discovery of her being in a Condition, which of all others, least becomes the Sex.

It was after 12 before I went to bed and in my Sleep (I thought so much of this Drunken Woman) that I Dream'd of Her all the Night.

PHILADELPHIA, *Wednesday*, June the 6th.

This Morning I Rose by 6 O'clock, when I went to the Comm'rs' Lodgings, where I was taken up most of the Day in some Writtings concerning the Indian Treaty, at 1 O'clock the Comm'rs, &c. went to Dine with his Honour the Governor, from thence returned to their Lodgings : In the afternoon, as I was writting I heard two Ladies Discoursing in a Room off that wherein I was, on which I sent a Petition begging the Favour of a Song, which they had the Goodness to hear, and Consented to it, to my no small Satisfaction ; Sup'd with the Commissioners, and at 10 O'clock went home to my Room.

PHILADELPHIA, *Thursday*, June the 7th.

This being the day the Post to the Southward sett's of I got up pretty early and wrote Several Letters for Virginia and Annapolis; after Breakfast I went to the Commissioners where I Copied some letters, among which, the following for the Governor of Virginia.

To The Hon'ble William Gooch, Esq., Governor of Virginia.
May it Please your Honour.

We are yet uncertain when the Indians will be at Lancaster, the last account of them is in a Letter of the 2nd from Conrad Weiser, in which he writes Secretary Peters: that the several Deputies were to set out the 18th of May; that Six Men the Deputies of the Oneidoes were arriv'd the 30th of last Month, that the Tuscororoos were not far behind, but no account of the other four Nations. The Governor here Expects they will all be at the Place, the last of the Week, and we shall hence by Monday at furthest; we wish it may be so. We Inclose a Copy of the Speech which this Governor intends to make, he communicated it to us, as we have done what we have to say at the first Conference, which he approves of.

We forwarded your letter to the Governor of New York, last Post, No Answer is come yet, their Interpreter, has been with the Indians, to Invite them to a Treaty at Albany in this Month, and to receive a Present, these Courtships from the several Colonies, and the French Warr will make the Indians rise in their Demands: we intend to abate their Pride, by showing them that they have no Title; that by the last Treaty they solemnly Engage not to pass the River Cohonogorootan, and so what is given is matter of Favour rather a Present than a Payment.

These Assemblies have other Notions of the usefulness of these Indians, than the Virginia Assembly have, their Sense of that, is contained in that part of the Governor's Speech Addressed to the Commissioners; we cannot Compliment our own Country with their being in the Right.

Ample Provisions are made by this Governor for us all at the Place of Treaty, which we expect will be at an Equal Expense. Conrad Weiser has been fourteen days without eating as he writes, and is so weak that he will not (If he Recovers) be able to Attend, and as all our Speech Depends on him, and as we are made to believe, all our Success. The Governor here has sent him the Advice of a Physician from hence with Medicines, it is doubted if he will take them, having been

she had two Charming Eyes, full of Fire and Rolling; Eye-Brows Black and well turn'd, with a Beautiful head of Hair, Coal Black which she wore a Wigg, waving in wanting curling Ringlettts in her Neck; She was a Lady of a great Deal of Wit, Join'd to a Good Understanding, full of Spirits, and of a Humour exceeding Jocose and Agreeable. We took our leave and came away well satisfy'd with the Ladies' Company; at 8 O'Clock went to hear a Consert of Musick; the Performers was some Town's Gentlemen, and did Us the Honour of an Invitation, we staid till past 11, and I left the Company to go Home to my Lodgings; In my way, I was met by a Woman tollerably well dress'd, and seem'd a good likely Person to Appearance, but very Much in Liquor; I shoud not have observ'd her; but about twenty yards before I came up to her, she made a full stop, and the Moon Shining Bright I could well Observe her; She on my coming up, look'd me right in the Face, which caused me to make a Stop; She ask'd me where I was going, I answered Home; on this I had Curiosity enough to turn her round to have a better view; on which I made the Discovery of her being in a Condition, which of all others, least becomes the Sex.

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always against taking of Physic; he has been it seems brought up in a Sect Called Dumplers,¹ a peculiar sort of Enthusiasts; the Daughters of the Sect are kept together in what they call a Nunnery, under the Care of Men. When they arrive at Maturity they are at Liberty to Marry: Something has happened lately in that Chaste Society, that has Occasioned Conrad to Remove his Daughter, and perhaps it may have affected him so, as to bring on this long illness: We thought that it would not be uninteresting to you to leave the Road of Business, and to touch a little on Particulars, relating to this useful man. Colonel Patton has been as Zelelous in behalf His Country on the Frontiers, that he has taken a long Journey hither, and almost Convinced Governor Thomas, that the Indians were the Aggressors in the Skirmish on our Frontiers, he left this place yesterday, and stays at Lancaster until the Treaty begins, at least.

There is to be very soon Eight Privateers² belonging to this Town, some of force, and fine Vessels, and in the Reputation of these depends much of the Security at present from a French Invasion. The Indians in the French Intr. have attack'd the People on the borders of New England, next to the New York Government, this account we saw in a letter from a Person of Credit at Boston to Governor Thomas, Warr is not Proclaim'd here yet, the Governor waits for the King's Commands. Our last was the 28th last Month from this Place; We Intreat your Honour to believe Us,

With perfect Respect,

Your Most Obedient & Most Humble Servants,

THOMAS LEE,
W. BEVERLEY.

A little before 1 of the Clock in Company with the Commissioners and their Levee, I went to Mr. William Logan's Merchant,³ where with his Honour the Governor and Mr.

¹ In 1709, the Tunkards from Germany and Holland emigrated to Penn. and settled first at Germantown. They were well educated and fine Latinists—the young people of the neighborhood were sent to them to be perfected in this language. Alex. Mack was their principal leader. Their converts assumed new names, such as, Onesimus, Friedsam, &c.—*Watson*, i. pp. 23, 258. An account of the Dunkers or Seventh Day German Baptists, by Dr. William M. Fahnestock, will be found in the *History of the Religious Denominations of the United States*, by I. Daniel Rupp.

² *Vide* p. 18.

³ William Logan, eldest son of James Logan. He was educated in England. He followed commerce as a profession until the death of his father, when he moved to Stenton and devoted himself to agriculture. He was a

Secretary Peters, and some others, we Din'd; after Dinner and a Cheerfull Glass, the Commissioners Return'd to their Lodgings, and I went and paid a Visit to Capt. William Blair where I staid about two hours: In the Evening with Mr. Littlepage I went a second time to see the Agreeable Jewess; while we was there, came an Acquaintance of Miss Levey's to Return a Visit Miss Molly Stamper¹ Daughter of a very Considerable Merchant in the City: The Tea Table was set, and while we were Sipping the Warm Water we had some Agreeable Discourse, such as is Commonly brought up on such Occasions. After this was over Littlepage took leave, but I lik'd the Company of the two Fair Ones to Depart so soon, to be short I staid till after 9 at Night, In which time I got Entirely Acquainted with the Female Visitant, and waited on her Home, when she was so Condescending as to Promise me the Pleasure of her Company the Night following at the same Place, on seeing her to her Father's Door, I took leave and return'd to my Room very much Satisfied with this Interview of a Young Lady every way so Agreeable, and with a Design to Cultivate an Acquaintance which Promis'd so much Pleasure and Satisfaction.

member of the Provincial Council, and like his father a friend to the Indians. He received them cordially at his place and educated many at his own expense. He travelled much in this country, and his Journal from Philadelphia to Georgia is still preserved. He executed the conveyance of the Loganian Library to the city of Philadelphia.—*Watson's Annals of Phila.*, vol. i. p. 594.

¹ Mary Stamper was the eldest daughter of John and Hannah Stamper. She was baptized at Christ Church June 8, 1729, aged three weeks, and was therefore just fifteen when our diarist found her so admirable. Her father was a successful merchant in Philadelphia, and in 1759 was chosen Mayor. She married Sept. 19, 1745, William Bingham. Her second son, William Bingham, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania 1795-1801, married Miss Willing, whose great beauty combined with her husband's wealth and position made her the leader of Philadelphia society, and one of the most brilliant ornaments of the "Republican Court." It is perhaps remarkable that the younger Mrs. Bingham was a grandmother when but thirty-six years of age, her grandson, William Bingham Baring, afterwards 2d Baron Ashburton, was born in June, 1799, and she in August, 1764. The second husband of Mary Stamper was Michael Morgan O'Brien.

(To be continued.)

COLONEL THOMAS WHITE, OF MARYLAND.

BY WILLIAM WHITE WILTBANK.

Read by him at the meeting of the descendants of Colonel White at Sophia's Dairy, Maryland, June 7, 1877.

Thomas White was born in London, in 1704, and was the son of William White and Elizabeth Leigh, whose portraits are familiar to us in the originals of Sir Godfrey Kneller, now in the family. His father at one time possessed a considerable patrimony; but having, it would seem, parted with a large portion of it, died in 1708, at an early age, and left a widow and six children, the fifth of whom was our ancestor, then four years old.¹

We know but little of the life of this fatherless family, and there is now no possibility, in the lapse of time, of acquiring knowledge of the details of their domestic history, beyond which they had none; for, as to the girls, of whom there were three, they could not, and the two boys did not, find employment in the public service of Great Britain, and thus there was left of them no trace in the state offices. In 1720, at the age of sixteen, Thomas² sailed for Maryland, and there is reason to think that he was of the retinue of Charles Calvert, the cousin of Lord Baltimore, who certainly reached the new world in that year, with a large company of gentlemen, to succeed Mr. Hart as governor of the province. It is as little doubtful that a voyage like this was largely advertised in placards in the city, and through the shipping merchants and the agents of the Proprietary, to secure people for the colony; and was thus brought by friends, or directly, to the boy's mind; the change in the office of ruler being made the occa-

¹ In 1704 the English took Gibraltar, Queen Anne had just begun her reign, and Louis XIV. was still King of France.

² He had been put to a grammar school, eighteen miles from London, at St. Alban's

sion for alluring descriptions of Maryland, and of some show and ceremony in the arrangement of the expedition. The list of the party in Mr. Calvert's vessel has been lost on this side of the water, but may possibly yet be found in England, in the duplicate retained there of the document sent thither.

We are told, on the authority of Bishop White, that his father, when he sailed, had been apprenticed to Mr. Stokes, the Clerk of the county of Baltimore, and in England thought to be a member of the bar of the Province.¹ The fee of one hundred guineas given this gentleman, that he might bring the boy up to the profession of the law, was the only aid extended to a youth destined soon to learn that his leader could not, in person, secure to him the position which he sought, and had paid for. But, as the result of my investigations, I must, for the present, anticipate a probable question, and acquit Mr. Stokes in this relation of deceit in any form; and I rather infer that his office as clerk, then a most important office, and certainly having a close connection with the law establishment of the province, misled our ancestor's mother, who may have had, in the emergency, no male adviser prone to diligent investigation, and who, perhaps, assumed for herself, or was taught to assume, that, as a lawyer and a clerk of a court, in the early history of her country, were one and the same, so here must be a clerk of a county and a lawyer. However this may have been, the boy's (no doubt the widow's)² guineas were not thrown away; for we know that

¹ The connection of a student with his principal had been called an "apprenticeship" for a long time. Lord Campbell, while not using the word as contemporaneous, applies it to the first years in his inn of court of Henry De Staunton, the great chief justice of the fourteenth century.—*Lives of the Chief Justices*, i. 102.

² One hundred guineas a year was the usual fee then paid by law students in England to become pupils of a special pleader or an equity draughtsman. Lord Eldon, as Mr. John Scott, was not in a situation to observe this custom; but Mr. Duane, the distinguished conveyancer, agreed to let him have the run of his chambers for six months without a fee. Mr. Tidd took one hundred guineas from Mr. John Campbell for the first of the three years he studied with him; and in the second year not only declined to take the

some years after reaching here, having become the deputy of Mr. Stokes, and purchased books, he practised law, and soon laid up the money with which he bought his lands. This we have upon the authority of his son, of whom it may be said that he never reported a rumor—nor even a plausible inference—as the truth; and that, rather than rely upon that of which a doubt might be suggested, he would abandon the point which it otherwise sustained. Bishop White must have had it direct from his father, and probably also from his father's contemporaries, that he had conducted causes at the Maryland bar; and there can be no question that such was the fact, because the bishop conveyed the information to Bishop Hobart in 1819. If Mr. Stokes, therefore, was not able to educate his apprentice and representative in the science then in the highest repute, the scholar was taken in hand by some one else; for by the law of the province, which had been in force since 1694, gentlemen were subjected to examination before admission to the bar, and judges and lawyers were directed to wear gowns. Colonel Scharf, the present learned historian and antiquarian of Maryland, has just informed me that this enactment remained operative until some time after the Revolution; and we may at once congratulate ourselves, since it is clear they were thus early shown, that our ancestor, for his bravery in extreme youth, his patience, his fidelity, and the essential virtue of dependence upon one Supreme Power, of which in after life he showed the full fruits, came in good time to be rewarded in the acquisition of what then was an honor jealously guarded by the learned body, and acknowledged by all men.

In his province at that day the standard of personal merit to which gentlemen of the gown must conform was high, as it was in Pennsylvania; and I have taken much interest in the accounts which those who know of them have given me

second one hundred, but insisted on returning that which he had had. (*Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vii. 164, n.) In 1704, the year in which Col. White was born, Mr. Salkeld, a very eminent London attorney, took Philip Yorke, afterwards Lord Hardwicke, as an articled clerk, without a fee.

of the caustic criticisms of alarmed laymen, at the close of the last century, remonstrating against the too hasty increase of the members of the body the most learned which Maryland politically possessed. Her clergy and her legists were distinguished and revered.¹

Mr. White, then, wore the gown; but there is no need to enter upon a description of the legal establishment of which he was a member. The position in which he is best known in Maryland history was one of great importance in the county of Baltimore. That county, until 1773, comprised the present county of the same name, and the present county of Harford, where we stand to-day. He became deputy surveyor of this vast, wild region, and acted as the representative of the Lord Proprietary, the surveyor-general not coming between him and his principal; as fourteen years later, in Virginia, did George Washington for Lord Fairfax, laying off by metes and bounds the lands which were by him granted to the early settlers in return for certain rents, at rates established by a general law.

I have had access to the records of the land office at Annapolis, and have had the aid there of one of the gentlemen of the department; but, agreeably to our anticipation, I have not found any evidence of his appointment to this post, and our failure so to do has confirmed the theory of the officer who made the search with me, that, as had been in the half century before, no commissions were then granted in the chamber of the Surveyor-General, but that all appointments, being made either by the Lord Proprietary, or by the Governor for him, were still recorded in the minutes of the Council. These we could not reach.

It is, indeed, welcome to know that a young man, leaving his kinsfolk and his home, and visiting a region that was unpromising in many ways, where, too, the eligible candidates so outnumbered the few posts of importance as to make the authority of constable as desirable as in the days of Richard

¹ By his will, Colonel White left his law books to his son, "desiring that he will make a donation of the Law Books to one of my Grandsons, if educated in that Science."

II., came thus to attain to a position of weight and trust. A final confidence was reposed in him by the two adverse interests of the time ; for upon his certificate all the titles in Baltimore County, all the rents reserved on lands there, the homes of the people, and the revenues of the Proprietary, during his term of office depended. There is yet to be seen the transcription of many such valuable documents, signed by him, in the old records of the government ; and his formal declarations, lengthy and precise, are spread largely upon pages and pages of that manuscript State library.

A few notes made here of the history of the Land Department will aid us to form an estimate of the importance of Colonel White's employment.

A surveyor-general has been the only person who has held an office for life in the province. The instance is that of John Langford, Esq., who in 1641 was so appointed, and who had thus secured to him the income of the post, because (it is suggested) one qualified for such a care could not be induced to relinquish the emoluments falling to him in an old country, for the hazards of an infant colony, on common terms. In 1648 he died, and Robert Clarke, Esq., who was a deputy-surveyor before, was appointed in his place, and made a member of the council. The council constituted the nobles of a ruler who was, in the regard of the precise lawyers of the King's cabinet, a vice-regent. From this time deputy-surveyors were appointed for each county ; and generally, if not always, not by the surveyor-general, but by the Lord Proprietary, or his governor. The surveyor-general thereafter was an officer enjoying, as in some degree or other a relative of Lord Baltimore, a valuable sinecure, sitting at the council board, not for the wisdom of his speech as much as for the dignity of his calling, constituting one of a provincial court, and at liberty to do everything that others did but to make a survey. After Robert Clarke, the surveyor-general had not the reputation to be allowed to do that.

His deputies were independent of him ; were not even, in most instances, as has been said, appointed by him ; and stood towards the provincial authorities in the relation which had

been his when Maryland was small enough in population to enable the chief to act without representatives. Such a surveyor-general was Colonel Talbot in 1683; succeeded by Henry Darnall, Esq., in 1684, who, with eight other gentlemen, was made Commissioner, to rule the province during Lord Baltimore's absence in England. He was the son of Philip Darnall, and a kinsman of Lord Baltimore. In 1695 Robert Smith, Esq., who was Chief Justice of Maryland, was made surveyor-general. I believe it was about thirteen years later that surveyors of counties were required to take oaths; and the land office has its test-books, old volumes, with the form of the long and severe tests on the first page, and the signatures of the gentlemen following; just as all the county courts in Maryland, and the Court of Appeals have.

I at one time thought that Thomas White had made the survey of the town of Baltimore, which was laid out some ten years after he reached this country, and when, accordingly, his age was about twenty-six; but I find that his immediate predecessor in office, Philip Jones, did this. It cannot be unlikely that Thomas White aided him, for certainly four years later, and possibly sooner, he himself filled the place vacated by the death or removal of Jones, and no doubt he had had an extended experience before the responsibility was cast upon him.

The records at Annapolis show him to have certified surveys in 1734. By that date he had married, and was the father of two children.

John Hall, Esq., of Cranberry Hall, in Baltimore County, became his father-in-law; a personage of extensive possessions, and of high position in the province. Of his wealth there lies adequate proof in the title papers, and other records of the county; and of his position I shall refer to but two pieces of evidence, each, it may be said, not the less significant in its special relation, and to the lay mind, perhaps, the more entertaining and persuasive, because really valueless as legal proof. The first is the tradition only recently lost (if actually lost) in this vicinity, that he was above the process of the courts, and not amenable to the justices on sentence given, because, being

entitled, if in default, or under accusation, to be tried by his peers, there was no body of his peers nearer than England. This tradition was familiar only a few years ago to the common people here. The second, is the fact that, in the church records, the ancient books of the vestry of Saint George's at Spesutiæ—whose green enclosure now protects the remains of Colonel White—in the lists of births, of marriages, of deaths, wherever John Hall's name appears, or the name of any one closely allied to him, and the connection is noted, it is recorded in a hand bolder than that of the many names before and after. Thus there has been spared for more than a century and a half, a tribute of reverence for worldly position, in the private register of an establishment which regards all men alike, that cannot be doubted, that does not vary, and that, no matter what might be suggested of its inconsistency with the Church's teaching of the equality of suppliants in the house of God, was eminently proper. For these two particulars must be taken as of a high order of historic proof, and sufficient without the more that is beyond, to show that John Hall then was of the civil "powers that be," whom all are taught by the Church to honor. The respect thus mutely paid him calls to mind the many other forms in which in print and manuscript, the names of great persons are noted in a way to show also the esteem in which their owners are held. Whilst the old clerk of Saint George's was thus, like laborious monk at intricate initial, doing homage according to his faith, the commons of England were printing in Acts of Parliament their King's name in capitals.

In noticing John Hall, I may direct your attention for a moment to the circumstances of a gentleman of Maryland of his day. His house was of brick, with durable and thick walls substantially imbedded in an honest foundation, very spacious, and wainscotted throughout: furnished only usefully below, but with an attention to elegance and comfort in the bedchambers recorded by every historian of his people and his era. It was always the central object of a plantation settlement, where a court-baron, or a court-leet might be held, and was usually, like Sophia's Dairy, approached by water.

For one or two generations, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Maryland gentleman was a feudal lord without a title, of right the ruler of a manor if his lands exceeded one thousand acres, as they mostly did, and administering his affairs upon regal principles, with a Royal proprietary and a great empire to back him. His home was built for him by convicts, shipped hither upon commercial arrangement made through his correspondent in London, and invoiced as culprits, under sentence duly set out in the manifest, for offences as scrupulously indicated. These persons were received in the province as chattels, or animals, as they passed under the eye of the constable, or sheriff at the port of entry, who acted as customs officer. After 1728 it was the law, that gentlemen bringing them to the New World, "importing them," it was called, should enter them in the public registers as felons, and declare the crimes to which they owed their predicament. And in this there was regarded the minor consideration, that the inhabitants, in being thus advised, might be secure; without prejudice to the weightier reason, that the duty due to the government on the human freight might be recovered.

His state service consisted largely of silver. Besides pewter for common use, the first settlers had a great deal of sterling plate that was massive, bearing the arms of their forefathers, which, as gentlemen and lineal successors, they themselves were entitled to carry. His house servants were mulattoes; and of these in Mr. Hall's time there were probably three thousand in the province; but his field hands were negroes, who outnumbered the mulattoes then by about thirteen to one. He ate, in the earlier days, without a fork, which was not because he was a Marylander, but because he was a man in the wilds where forks were unknown: and one of his spirited descendants, but recently passed away, was upon the eve of adding, as he indited this, that he cut his meat with his rapier, or other weapon, so rarely had the matured great-great-grandson "met with a dinner knife" in his prolonged researches. It need not be said what he ate, save that it was the rich product of a warm country, varied with

copious supplies from peopled waters. His drink was, for many years, sack, of which we have been assured there is more frequent mention in the records of the settlement than in the pages of Shakspeare.

In hours of repose he used stools and forms, and some benches against the walls. His artificial light was yielded by candles made of a hard, brittle wax, of a curious green color, that was gotten from the berry of the myrtle growing at the mouth of rivers, and found free from grease, and very pleasant to the smell after a careful cooking. These tapers were sometimes extinguished, that the sweetly perfumed smoke might fill the room.¹

I turn from him as a local sovereign, to regard him for a few moments as a subject. His taxes, payable to the colonial powers, and his tithes, due to his ghostly adviser, were mainly rated and discharged in tobacco; if he owed any one money, the secret of relief lay at hand in the far-reaching leaves of that staple; were he fined for a bad road, or assessed for a contribution to the cost of a good one, or called upon for a subsidy by the Assembly, or in need of money itself, his men rolled the due tale of casks to the weighing-sheds, and then delivered them to the person who cancelled the obligation, or met the want for coin which had involved the transfer, and himself proceeded forthwith to use them as we do bank notes and drafts.

In 1640 they had, I think, no money here, as current tokens passing from pocket to pocket. The authorities, it is true,

¹ The annals of the province furnish us so many details of the personal appearance, the dress, of the men and women of that day, and are so accessible in the citations of the numerous modern works that have drawn from them, that I may gratify my wish to be brief in conscientiously omitting what would necessarily appear but a paraphrase. The red coat and ruffles, with the white scarf, of Colonel White, are familiar to us in the pictures we have of him; and we know that he wore short breeches and silk stockings; doubtless he carried a sword on occasions of ceremony, and perhaps, as a young man, he shared what was then called the folly of youth, in wearing diamonds and gold and silver buttons about him, and in having his long-cuffs kept in place by bits of lead, just as some years ago the ladies ballasted their skirts with shot and miniature shrapnel.

agree that in commercial transactions a little English or European coin was occasionally employed; and in trading with the Indians for beaver-skins and like articles, the peake and the roanoke obtained a free circulation; but in the main the colonists used tobacco instead of grain or money. The history of Maryland exhibits a nation from its earliest stage, when merely by barter its wants are supplied, and presents a problem of peculiar interest, in the contrast of the intellectual maturity of the highest civilization with the contemporaneous and adequate simplicity of primitive customs. Especially in manifesting the toleration of the broadest mental development, at a time when the laws of trade and the domestic code were those of a country in its infancy, is the story of this State significant. A good deal less than two hundred years ago the arts and sciences were so well known here, that Annapolis was called the modern Athens, but the question of money was not an important one in the province. In 1661 a mint was established, where shillings were coined, containing at least the worth of ninepence in sterling silver, to pass in return for tobacco, rated as worth twopence per pound; and thus the currency was fixed as it remained till the Revolution, six of these shillings, or their vegetable equivalent, being at first worth a dollar. By statute, in 1669 men had to take the vegetable as a legal tender if their debtor preferred to keep the sterling silver for himself; and this, too, notwithstanding a depreciation in the weed-money, which resulted from the too great plenty of the yield. Three years before the Assembly had actually passed a law prohibiting the planting of tobacco for a twelvemonth; a folly founded on some principles of political economy that the Lord Proprietary would not countenance; although one may be encouraged to suspect that, in maintaining the integrity of his principle, he did not urge the true doctrine at an inconvenient crisis; for his "disassent" was only signified in the November following that first day of February from which the statute was to take effect, and by that time the object had been accomplished. Both the principles which he justly decried, and the tobacco which his people sought to check, now flourish

about us. In Virginia the growth was stopped; and the number of idle negroes was, in conversation and political action, significantly pronounced a sore grievance. The royal governor was not here also taxed for a veto, perhaps, because no analogous law of suspension could be formulated. Just after our ancestor married, the malcontents in Maryland could not be restrained, and they wildly destroyed many fields, ravaging the crops till the militia came up and dispersed them.

The Maryland gentleman witnessed all sorts of English experiments, conceived somewhat for the establishment of the prosperity of his own country, but mainly for the establishment of securities against its prosperity in prejudice of the wealth of Great Britain. He was coaxed to grow grapes, and given vines; but he would not. He was not allowed to manufacture, because England made all the fabrics that could be paid for. The home government offered a premium to those who would increase the use of British iron, by importing it into the province, notwithstanding the boundless supply of iron already here. A contest, manifested and effective in the acts of the respective legislatures, the Parliament, and the Assembly, was waged for a long while, marked by selfish restrictions on one side, and by schemes of uncloaked retaliation on the other. The Assembly, to thwart the home government, alike in checking the inflow of the foreign, and to speed the shipment of the domestic metal, gave a bounty to the citizen who, after 1719, took up one hundred acres of land, and erected furnaces and forges for the working of the ready ore; and secured to him facilities for exportation on his part. Colonel White was one of the many men who erected iron-works on the Western shore, and took up a great extent of woodland there.¹

John Hall in all his time had the benefit of the postal system, secured by private enterprise till 1710, when the British Government, in aid of the sheriffs, established a general office. The Maryland gentleman helped to pay the premiums given

¹ His books mention The Bush River Iron Co., and Stafford Forge.

for dead bears and wolves, crows and squirrels; and for the capture by the rangers of the wild horses and cattle that made this tract unsafe. He cared for the preservation of the deer. He sustained an organized force, to fight the border men on land, and to clear the coasts of pirates. He was a judge of the moral life of his fellows, summoning them (and subject himself to summons) before the vestry, to answer the charges of swearing, of denial of the Trinity, of the oppression of maid-servants and debtors, and of other sins. His children while they trembled yearned to hear, and devoutly believed, ghost stories; and his fields were the scenes of wild midnight mysteries, that gave names to their open stage; and that lived, with the names, in the memories of elders not wanting in courage, if also strongly tinged with superstition. There is an entertaining instance of this in the traditions of a tract till recently in the family, of which one enclosure was called "Ha! Ha!" and another, "Ha! Ha! Indeed!" The restless spectre that ruled the former, in the deep night, announced his presence and his humor in a wild "Ha! Ha!" to whom the unknowable soul in the other field, whether in the sympathy of jollity, or in the malevolence of mockery and triumph, cannot be said, laughed back in startling notes, "Ha! Ha! *Indeed!*"¹ . . . He retained a warm love for the land of his fathers, giving home titles to his counties, his plantations, his towns, his streets. He died as gentlemen die, willing finger rings to many, and a legacy of tobacco to his divine; and left true gentlemen to follow him.

Thomas White married the daughter of such a gentleman;

¹ In Colonel White's will we find mention of "Line of AH HA INDEED (being the end of the East Northeast Line of AH HA, the cow pasture)." These tracts among others are also the subject thereof: Edinburgh, Abbott's Forest, Constantinople, Antrim, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Eaton's Addition, Eaton's *second edition*, Gay's Favour, Hathaway's Hazard, Chance, Rumney Royal, Hammond's Hope, Paradise, Leigh of Leighton, Royal Exchange, Simmond's Neglect; his tax lists show, besides, Neighbor's Affinity, Attaway's Trust, Constant Friendship, Harrison's Resolution, etc. etc. These tracts were all large, AH HA INDEED, for instance, contained 825 acres.

named Sophia; who lived until the eighteenth of June, 1742. He had by her three children, all of whom were daughters:—

SOPHIA, born May 8th, 1731.

ELIZABETH, born January 28th, 1733.

SARAH CHARLOTTE, born October 25th, 1736.

Her father died in about 1728, and under his will, which was not legally executed, but which was carefully obeyed by her kinsmen, she acquired the tract of land called Sophia's Dairy in the paper, and also two hundred acres, part of a tract called Hall's Plains. It is believed that the bride was carried by her husband from Cranberry Hall, which stood near the old graveyard whence Colonel White's remains have just been removed, to a house standing on the plantation where we now are, towards the south of this present house, facing Bush River. I am told that traces of the foundation of the old homestead yet remain.

Mr. White at this time had the title of Major, but how he received it I cannot say. No doubt it was his as the commander of a battalion of militia, raised for service in defensive movements against the Indians, and in the difficulties that had for some time troubled the authorities of his State and those of Pennsylvania, as to the border line, in which the lives of many men were lost, and probably inquiry would show that there was then a permanent organization of troops under the system created in 1715, or a year or so later, for the energetic enlistment of soldiers, to be paid while in active service. Of this body, the members of the Council were Colonels. Perhaps it was found well to make the representatives of the counties officers also, in rank only a grade below the principals at headquarters. Major White had a most powerful friend at the capital, in the person of the governor, Samuel Ogle, who was appointed in 1731, in the room of Benedict Leonard Calvert, the brother of the Lord Proprietary, who came to Maryland in 1727, and taking ill, was forced to embark for England, dying on the passage. Governor Ogle, as Bishop White has told us, was an intimate companion of Major White, and must have proved his estimation of him in many ways of which we know nothing,

for he had considerable power at the time, and was so well disposed towards our ancestor, that he conferred, with the office mentioned, other county offices and appointments upon him.

In 1732, just after Sophia Hall White was born, Lord Baltimore himself came to the province, in order to meet the sons of William Penn, and with them to reach an amicable adjustment of the oft-recurring troubles touching the limits of their possessions. In the conferences which then took place, the Archives of Pennsylvania show that Major White bore a part, certainly as a surveyor, and perhaps as a military man; but the disagreements of the proprietors were not ended, nor did they terminate till after some of the principal actors had got into Chancery, and Lord Hardwicke had been appealed to. In 1734, Lord Baltimore returned to England, and Mr. Ogle was again governor. It was in this year at the latest, that Mr. White was made deputy surveyor of the county, as I have already stated; and if his appointment may not be attributed to his Lordship's visit, and appreciation of Mr. White's services, it may certainly be ascribed to the elevation of Mr. Ogle, whose functions as governor had only been suspended whilst Lord Baltimore was here. This governor found in Mr. White a valued friend, made him an officer next in rank to the gentlemen of his Council, gave him charge of the proprietary's lands and interests in Baltimore County, and sought his advice in matters of state. After this time there were commissioned two colonels for Baltimore County, and Mr. White was promoted to be one of them.

Besides thus discharging public duties in behalf of his fellows, Mr. White increased his landed possessions, of which I have recently examined the incontestable proofs in the State Capitol at Annapolis. In 1777, his taxable real estate in Harford County alone, comprised seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-two and one-half acres.

Like all of his time, and of the hundred years just preceding, making an election between Holy Church and the Holy Anglo-Catholic Establishment, he was a vigilant servant of God, and in the parish of Spesutiæ for many years per-

formed with regularity his duties as a vestryman, whereto he was first qualified on the 29th of May, 1731, that term of service, by successive re-elections, continuing till the 3d of June, 1734. On Easter Monday of 1742 (April 19th), he was again qualified, taking, as the record shows, the oaths of allegiance, abhorrency, and abjuration—tests prescribed by the first legislature which assembled after the province was restored to the Baltimores, in 1716—and applied till the American Revolution. He acted with the vestry till 1745, some three years after the death of his wife, and when his last child was nearly nine years of age.

His daughter Sophia, upon whom it is thought he settled this property, married Aquila Hall, on February 14th, 1750; and it was her husband who erected this house in 1768, the year in which Governor Eden came over, by the hands, it is said, of five redemptionists, two of whom were masons, two carpenters, and one a laborer, who worked with imported bricks, and who, when the building was finished, received their freedom for their reward.¹ Sophia was the only one of

¹ The house is sixty-four feet front, by fifty-four feet in depth, regular in outline, two stories high, with an attic above. It is wholly without external ornament, and the expanse of brick is only relieved by small platforms with balustrades and seats, at the doors at either end of the hall, which goes through the middle of the building, and by some variety in the laying of the rows of bricks that form the tops of the windows, and the moderately projecting eaves. It is vast, but too bare and monotonous to be imposing, according to the prevailing fashion of its day, of which many specimens may still be seen in Annapolis. There is one there, in particular, at the corner of The Duke of Gloucester St. and Conduit St., which differs from this only slightly in dimensions. The timbers of the floors and stairways are remarkably fine; the foundations are enduring monuments of the honesty of the work of the poor culprits doomed to lay them; and the walls are so thick as to have resisted a stroke of lightning. They are, I think, nearly two feet in thickness. This structure faces southward, and commands a view of Bush River, at the distance of about half a mile, at a point where there is a wide expanse of water, crossed by the railway bridge of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Road. The land slopes down easily from the elevation of the homestead to the shore, and is under cultivation. Somewhere between the present site and the river, the first building of John Hall's time stood, and traces of the foundation remain. An old negro stated on the day of the

the daughters who married. The others died, the second early, the third late; Elizabeth, it is not known when, beyond the fact that she did not grow old; and Sarah Charlotte, on the 19th of November, 1776, long after her father had carried her to his new home in Philadelphia.

To Philadelphia, Colonel White removed about 1745, and on the seventh day of May, 1747, at Christ Church, he married Esther, the widow of the late John Newman, and daughter of Abraham Hewlings, of Burlington, in New Jersey; a lady of much force of character; coming of a family that, among Quakers, had constantly adhered to the Church of England; and so zealously, indeed, as, in the persons of some of its members, to have left testamentary direction that later generations be likewise bound to that faith. Bishop White was used to speak of her with reverence and affection. By this marriage Colonel White had two children; William, of whom I have just spoken, and Mary, who married Robert Morris.

His life in the city was an active one, notwithstanding a physical misfortune that hereafter shall be alluded to. His interests bound him still to his Maryland home, where he retained the bulk of his property, and personally supervised it twice in each year up to the time of his death. As he had there duly considered the general welfare in former years, aiding in political movements, and contributing to the establishment and maintenance of the church, he also in Philadelphia participated in the government of public institutions,

family meeting, that he had, some time back, ploughed up there a spoon, which proved to be of fine silver, having the initials "S. H."—Sophia Hall, no doubt. From what is technically the rear of the house, if premises so uniform and so admirably placed on an eminence commanding fine views on all sides can be said to have a back, the summer landscape inland is charming, comprising hilly but cultivated fields immediately under the eye, rolling away in rich green and brown waves, to the forest far beyond, none of them too rugged for the plough. The kitchen and servants' quarters are in an outbuilding, some forty feet by twenty in size. A substantial spring-house and barn are also at hand. The homestead proper, comprises, I believe, five hundred and sixty acres, although the whole tract is of nine hundred and eighty-eight acres.

notably in that of the Philadelphia College ;¹ and in his continued devotion to religion it seems just to discern the influence that later secured to the true doctrines the unfaltering allegiance, and the unbroken ministrations of his only son.

He died in Maryland, in this house, on the 29th of September, 1779, attended by his wife and son. Mrs. Morris was informed of the event in this letter from her brother.

MY DEAR SISTER :—

The intention of this letter is not so much to inform you yt your honoured Father has paid ye last debt of nature— for yt you would have concluded from my letter of this morning to Mr. Morris—but to assure you it was with as little suffering as so great a change admits of; he was ill but five days, and during ye greater part of yt time was able to enjoy his Book and ye conversation of his friends. For a long time he has expected without ye least uneasiness yt every attack would be his last, and as this did not arise from discontent at ye world or impatience under bodily infirmities we may flatter ourselves it was built on a foundation wh this world can neither give nor destroy. Our Mother is more shocked at ye Event than I had reason to expect, considering she must have looked for it so long & been assured of it for these 24 hours past; but I trust it will be ye happiness of you & me, as I am sure it will be our endeavour to make up for her loss.

With ye hope yt ye information here given will alleviate your distress, I am

Your ever affectionate Brother

W. WHITE.

HARFORD COUNTY, Sep. 29, 1779.

MRS. MORRIS.

Although active, zealous, and successful, the companion of the men of his time, for twenty-two years before his death, because of a fall from his carriage, Mr. White was a cripple; depending upon canes.² Out of his seventy-five years thus a

¹ He was Trustee of the Philadelphia College from Nov. 13, 1749, to the time of his death, in 1779. He was one of the Commissioners of the Peace in 1752.—*Colonial Records*, v. 572.

² "This," said Bishop White, in his account of his own life, "kept him out of all society, except such as could be had at his own hospitable table and fireside; and, except in afternoons, of some of the principal gentlemen of the city, of his own age, who, in those days, habitually assembled at the public coffee-house, for society merely."

large number were marked by his patient acceptance of an impediment to freedom, of the kind which no man can admit without grief, and which no fortune can remedy. His youth had passed in a victorious struggle with difficulties, as little desirable, but of another order, surmounted in the vigor and confidence of rectitude and health; his age encountered that which could not be overcome. In youth, therefore, he acquired experience, skill, the forethought and promptitude of the intrepid pioneer and the husbandman; while in life's decline it was as natural that he should supplement these with the silent but effective acknowledgment of a power not to be wrestled with, in his cheerful employment of returning seasons still beneficently vouchsafed him; perhaps vouchsafed him in a higher beneficence, in that they were seasons of calm not unalloyed. "My Father," said Bishop White, "left the world with the reputation of unsullied integrity through life."

The mere appreciation of the spectacle thus afforded us, in the recital of the undisputed results of a well-known career, will promote the purposes of eulogy, while protecting us from a benevolent suspicion of extravagance in the mind of the dispassionate observer. Colonel White's youth could scarcely be contemplated by any one without some enthusiasm of commendation. He is found cast upon his own resources ere his beard has grown; encountering the awful illness of homesickness in a wilderness, without mother or kinsfolk, either near or within reach of dying entreaty; pressed upon by unalterable circumstance, significant of the vast difference between felicity lost and despaired of, and toil and danger inevitable and of only profit to be hoped for. He was encompassed by elders, by the law of their nature heedless of the example they unwittingly set him; or perhaps observant and unmanly in the rough derision by which, in violation of his nicer sense, they sought craftily to beguile him to sully his purity. He was unaided in the urgent quickening of his moral instincts; and as he was thus without guide in his election between courses known to be dubious, and yet felt, one or other, to be necessary, so also he was unenlightened after a hazarded judg-

ment by the merited applause, or the priceless censure, of a loving arbiter. There is here indicated a struggle which has marked the similar situation of all men in their immaturity, and the memory of which is, in later years, associated by the successful with every image and tradition of the earlier time. In a superior degree of sensibility it would be likely that a contest of this sort might become dreadful and calamitous. Of Colonel White it may be remembered, with a feeling of congratulation, that the course which his gentle birth alone would have made the more hard for him, was happily less rugged and painful because of the concomitant kindness of those in power, to which his gentle birth recommended him. But this influence was not that which secured the reputation for integrity recorded by his son. The picture of his later life discloses so much of the strength that was always his, that we owe it to him to declare his ultimate bright fortune of a character possibly unattainable by men of ordinary power, no matter how kind and how opportune the favors of the great about them, and whilst it was the proof of his just use of his opportunities, it was not the less the reward of virtues entirely his own.¹

¹ Col. White's field books are now in the possession of Mr. Thomas White Hall, of Maryland : his account books, of Mr. Thomas Harrison Montgomery, of New York City. It seems hardly necessary, but it may be proper to add, that the leading authorities in Maryland history have been consulted in the preparation of this paper.

SAMUEL ADAMS.**CONTRIBUTED BY GEORGE A. SIMMONS.**

(Centennial Collection.)

SAMUEL ADAMS, son of Samuel Adams and Mary Fifield, was born in Purchase St., Boston, Sept. 27 (16 O. S.), 1722. His father was a man of good social and political standing, universally esteemed and respected; his mother, a woman of rare piety and dignity. From boyhood, Samuel Adams was surrounded by influences tending to develop those traits which so distinguished him in later life. A peculiar earnestness, steadfastness and persistency in what seemed to him right to do or say, were manifest even in early youth. His innate love of liberty was fostered by the discussions in which his father took so prominent a part. Fragments in school books, marked and annotated by the thoughtful lad, indicate the early bent and bias of his mind, truly prophetic of the man. Fitted for college at the Boston Latin School, young Adams entered Harvard University in 1736 at the age of 14, his father then being possessed of an ample fortune. The subject of Adams' thesis for his master's degree, "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved," was both audacious and characteristic.

Oct. 17, 1749, he married Elizabeth Checkley, daughter of Rev. Samuel Checkley: had two living children; Samuel, afterwards surgeon in the Continental army (died unmarried), and Hannah, who married Col. Thomas Wells, brother of Mr. Adams' second wife. A few of her descendants are living. Owing to his father's reverse of fortune, added to a disinclination for the quiet field which the ministry offered in that day, Adams early decided to enter the political arena, for which his mental and moral qualities so admirably fitted him. **Mr. Adams was one of the first in the country to recognize the**

power of the press, and, from an early period brought himself in contact with the world and disseminated his favorite principles through letters addressed "To the Printer," and published in one or another of the weekly papers. He is known to have used over twenty-five different signatures, such as *Candidus*, *Valerius Publicola*, *Vindex*, etc. These letters show the true character of the man, the true character of the Revolution of which he has with truth been called "The Father." *Liberty*, *Resistance to tyranny*, *Equal rights*, these are the key-notes, struck, echoed, re-echoed, till the strange had become the familiar; till the people, with whom Samuel Adams was ever at one, heart and mind, were thoroughly indoctrinated. Early singled out by the government as dangerous and obnoxious, bribes were vainly offered either to secure him for the government or to silence him. Hutchinson writes "such is the incorruptibility of the man, that no office, not all the wealth in the king's coffers can tempt him."

In 1765, he was elected member, in 1766 clerk of the Massachusetts General Court; how faithfully he performed those duties a glance at the records shows. His busy pen had ever but one aim in its endeavor to reform abuses, to defend a friend or to rouse the apathetic. He had so many ways of presenting truth, it seemed ever new and fresh. "The eyes of Argus to detect all things, the hands of Briareus and every one wielding a pen!" Compare the famous *Appcal to the World*, written in 1769 in defence of Hancock and others falsely accused by government, with the Declaration of Independence, and see the seed germ and its development.

The memorable interview in the Council Chamber, March 6, 1770, when Adams, as chairman of the committee from the people, demanded of Gov. Hutchinson that the troops be removed from Boston, is a matter of history, and so thoroughly dramatic as to suggest a national painting. The wavering, vacillating Governor, entrenching himself behind the false statement "that he had no authority to remove the troops" (having already agreed to send away *one* regiment), and Samuel Adams, towering in righteous indignation, "If you have power to remove *one*, you have power to remove *both*."

The people will be satisfied with nothing less. *Both regiments or none.*" It is that supreme moment chosen by the artist Copley for the portrait of Samuel Adams now in Faneuil Hall, a copy of which hangs in your own Independence Hall. The words, the act, the face, the figure, reveal the character of the man. Simple almost to puritanism in dress and bearing; dignified, indomitable, calm; yet behind all the fire glowing which was to lighten a whole world. What wonder that, before the *Iron Man of the People*, the Governor yielded, and *Sam. Adams' regiments* (as Lord North called them) marched out of Boston. The Copley portrait was painted for John Hancock at his request, soon after the reconciliation which united, more firmly than ever, the two friends separated for a season by the machinations of political foes. One of the most important steps initiated by Samuel Adams was the appointment at Faneuil Hall, Nov. 2, 1772, of *Committees of Correspondence*, to state to the world the Rights of Colonists, and this Province in particular, as Men, Christians, and Subjects, and to communicate the same with all infringements and violations. This carried into effect truly breathed life into the American Revolution. In the words of John Adams, "Boston town meetings and Harvard College set the universe in motion!" Soon after, followed the "*Boston Tea Party*," for which Adams gave the signal. Events succeeded each other so rapidly as only to bear enumerating. In 1775, Mr. Adams was one of the committee of five to confer with the other colonies in General Congress. This Congress met at Philadelphia; the proposal to open with prayer came from Samuel Adams, who suggested that all religious differences should be merged and prayers read by Mr. Duché, a prominent Episcopalian clergyman. The peculiar fitness of the Psalm for the day (the 35th) struck every one, while the unexpected extemporaneous prayer by Mr. Duché stirred, exalted, and united all hearts. The battle of Lexington soon followed, a day whose dawn, ushered in with cannonade and rattling musketry, was hailed by Mr. Adams in words that had prophetic ring—"What a glorious morning!" For him it was the dawning of the day of freedom. A price was set upon

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his head. "Pardon to all the rest, but for Sam. Adams and John Hancock a long rope and short shrift." In the Second Congress, Mr. Adams advocated *immediate* Declaration of Independence. On nomination of John and Samuel Adams, Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief.¹ The battle of Bunker Hill, the siege and evacuation of Boston went far to prepare the people for Mr. Adams' views on independent government. His friend, Richard Henry Lee, June 5, 1776, introduced in Congress the resolution that the *colonies are free and independent States*. Mr. Adams took prominent part in the discussion, and did much to win over members to the Independence party; a subtle powerful agent in the *Adams Conspiracy*, as Tories were wont to call the Revolution. The signing of the Declaration of independence, July 4, 1776, was the seal and ratification of the zealous, unwavering resolution of years. In 1779, with John Adams and James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams drafted the Constitution of Massachusetts. In 1787 he was one of the Convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States; an advocate of the "Conciliatory propositions," his influence went far to prevent its hasty rejection by Massachusetts, whose example was sure to be followed by many other States. In 1787 he was President of the Massachusetts Senate; from 1789 till 1793 he was Lieutenant-Governor, and from that time until 1797, Governor of the State, after which he retired from public life. He died in Boston, October 2, 1803, aged 81 years 10 days. Through petty political animosities his last years were embittered by neglect, but he had lived to see the practical working of his theory of government. That his country was free and independent, was reward enough for one whose Spartan simplicity of life and taste removed him alike from envying worldly success and fleeting honors, and the suffering which wounded pride and vanity would have caused to a man of less noble soul.

His remains, followed by military escort, were placed in

¹ This nomination was informal. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, moved the appointment of Washington at the time it was acted upon.—Ed.

the Checkley Tomb in the old Granary Burying Ground. Not even a stone marks his resting place. In 1856, the remains were identified, and means taken to render their removal possible, if at any future time the proposition to erect a monument over them should be carried into effect.

His noblest monument will be that which must exist forever in the hearts of his countrymen.

JONATHAN ELMER.

BY L. Q. C. ELMER.

(Centennial Collection.)

JONATHAN ELMER was born at Cedarville, Cumberland County, New Jersey, Nov. 29, 1745. His father, Daniel Elmer, was the eldest son of the Rev. Daniel Elmer, who graduated at Saybrook, in Yale College, in the year 1713, and was pastor of the old Cohansey Presbyterian Church of Cumberland County, from 1729 until his death in 1755. He was a descendant of Edward Elmer, who emigrated to Hartford, Connecticut, as one of the congregation of the Rev. Thomas Hooker in 1636. The family was settled in England as early as 1306, by the name of Aylmer, or in Latin Almer. John Aylmer was tutor of the celebrated Lady Jane Grey, and was made Bishop of London, by the name of John Elmer.

Jonathan Elmer was well educated, and studied medicine in Philadelphia, was one of the first class of ten who graduated as Bachelors of Medicine in 1768, receiving the degree of M.D. in 1781. He began early to write on medical subjects, and was said by Dr. Rush to have been excelled in medical erudition by no physician in the United States. He was through life a diligent student, and having a great fondness for legal and political subjects, became a well-informed lawyer, and later in life was equal to most ministers as a theologian. In 1786 he was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society, of which Dr. Franklin was then the President.

Soon after he graduated he married Miss Mary Seeley, daughter of Col. Ephraim Seeley, of Bridgeton, N. J., and settled in that place as a physician, his practice soon extending into the neighboring counties. But his health proving too feeble to enable him to endure the long horseback journeys then necessary, he soon addicted himself to a political and judicial life. In 1772 he was appointed, by Gov. Franklin, sheriff of the county, holding that office the legal term of three years, notwithstanding his well-known opposition to the tyrannical measures of the British government. This was conspicuously shown by his selection of a thoroughly Whig grand jury, in the spring of 1775, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to indict the persons who in the preceding winter had burned a cargo of tea stored at Greenwich. He was, from the first, one of the active, outspoken Whigs, and, although not a military man, as soon as his term of office as sheriff expired, was elected an officer of the militia, and aided in organizing that force. He was one of the members of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, which met in May, 1775, and again in August, and afterwards in June, 1776; was one of the committee of that body which reported the new constitution of the State, adopted July 2, thus anticipating the promulgation of the Independence, declared by the General Congress, at Philadelphia, on the fourth.

In November, 1776, he was chosen by the new legislature of New Jersey a member of the General Congress, and joined that body in December, at Baltimore, meeting with them when they removed to Philadelphia in the spring of 1777. He was placed on the medical committee, and visited the various army hospitals. He was also for some time a member of the Treasury Board. Continued to be a member of the Congress in 1778, 1781-2-3, and again in 1788. In 1784 he was a member of the Legislative Council of New Jersey.

He was elected by the joint meeting of the legislature of New Jersey a member of the U. S. Senate in 1789, and drew the short term of two years. When this term expired he failed to be re-elected, because, through absence, he had not voted in favor of establishing on the Delaware, at Trenton,

the ten miles square for the seat of the general government, and was not again a member of a legislative body. From 1776 to 1786 he was clerk of the court of Cumberland County, and was surrogate from 1784 to 1792. After this he was for many years presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas of that county. He was a warm supporter of the administrations of Washington and Adams. During the later years of his life he was an elder of the Presbyterian church, and a frequent and influential member of the judicatories of that denomination of Christians. He died at his residence in Bridgeton, in September, 1817, leaving one son, whose descendants still reside in that place.

ABRAHAM CLARK.**BY E. P. BUFFETT.**

(Centennial Collection.)

ABRAHAM CLARK, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, from New Jersey, was born on the 15th of February, 1726. The farm of his father, Thomas Clark, a prominent citizen, an alderman, and for several years a judge of the county court, was situated between the villages of Elizabeth and Rahway, about two and a half miles from the former place. The farm-house in which Abraham Clark lived, a humble one-story structure, is still standing. His great-grandfather, Richard Clark, came to New Jersey from the town of Southold, at the eastern extremity of Long Island, a district originally settled by Puritan stock from New England.

Although like his ancestors he was trained to the business of agriculture, his delicate health led him to devote most of his time to pursuits physically less laborious. He was engaged in surveying, the transfer of real estate, the examination of titles, and in the study of the law which he practised some-

what as an amateur. In 1767, he was elected clerk of the Colonial Assembly, and sheriff of the county of Essex. In 1774 he became a member of the Committee of Safety, and was afterward chosen their secretary. In 1775 he was a member of the Provincial Congress, and was elected by them on June 22, 1776, a delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. His colleagues from New Jersey were the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, Richard Stockton, John Hart, and Francis Hopkinson.

While a member of this body, on the 4th of July, 1776, while the debate on the draft of the Declaration of Independence was in progress, and perhaps while sitting in Independence Hall, in a letter to his friend and townsman, Col. Elias Dayton, he penned the following words, which may serve to illustrate the spirit of their author and of the times. "Our seeming bad success in Canada, I dare say, gives you great uneasiness; In Times of danger and under misfortunes true Courage and Magnanimity can only be ascertained; In the Course of Such a War we must expect some Losses. We are told a Panick seized the Army—If so it hath not reached the Senate—At the Time our Forces in Canada were retreating before a Victorious Army, while Genr'l. Howe with a Large Armament is Advancing towards N. York, Our Congress Resolved to Declare the United Colonies *Free and Independent States*. A Declaration for this purpose, I expect, will this day pass Congress, it is nearly gone through, after which it will be Proclaimed with all the State and Solemnity circumstances will admit; It is gone so far that we must now be a free independent State, or a Conquered Country. . . . I assure you Sir, Our Congress is an August Assembly—and can they support the Declaration now on the Anvil they will be the greatest Assembly on Earth. . . . We are now, Sir, embarked on a most Tempestuous Sea; Life very uncertain, seeming dangers scattered thick around us. Plots against the military and it is Whispered against the Senate; let us prepare for the Worst. We can Die here but once. May all our Business, all our purposes and pursuits tend to fit us for that important event."

On August 2, 1776, he affixed his signature to the engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence. With reference to this act he wrote four days afterward, again to Col. Dayton, as follows: "As to my title, I know not yet whether it will be honourable or dishonourable; the issue of the war must settle it. Perhaps our Congress will be exalted on a high gallows. We were truly brought to the case of the three lepers; If we continued in the state we were in, it was evident we must perish; if we declared Independence we might be saved—we could but perish. I assure you, Sir, I see, I feel, the danger we are in. I am far from exulting in our imaginary happiness; nothing short of the almighty power of God can save us. It is not in our numbers, our union, our valour, I dare trust. I think an interposing Providence hath been evident in all the events that necessarily led us to what we are—I mean independent States; but for what purpose, whether to make us a great empire or to make our ruin more complete, the issue can only determine."

The sentiments thus expressed are sufficient to convince most minds that their author was a true patriot, a sincere Christian, and a man of sterling common sense.

He served in Congress until April, 1778; was re-elected in 1780, and remained until 1788 with the exception of two years, 1783 and 1784. Under the new constitution he was chosen a member of the second and of the third Congress, but died before the completion of his last term. When not a member of Congress he served his State as a member of the Legislature, and as a commissioner to adjust the financial relations of the State to the general government. He was appointed a delegate to the first Constitutional Convention at Annapolis, in 1786, and was re-appointed in 1787, but his health did not allow him to attend during the latter year. Twice he was candidate for the governorship of New Jersey, but was not elected. On the 15th of September, 1794, he was suddenly prostrated by the extreme heat, and died within two hours.

He had many of the characteristics of the New England Puritan, to which stock it is not unlikely that his ancestors belonged. He was temperate, frugal, and moderate in his

desires and income. His decided conviction of duty led him often to take a stand with the minority, which he did not hesitate to do at the expense of his own popularity. His kindness to those in humble station earned him the creditable title, "The poor man's counsellor." Of his personal appearance, it is said that he was of "moderate height and slender frame." His shaggy projecting eyebrows gave to his countenance an expression of sternness. In private life he was "reserved and contemplative." *The New Jersey Journal* of Sept. 21, 1794, published one week after his death, states that "he was uniform and consistent, adorning that religion that he had early made a confession of, by acts of charity and benevolence." "He married about the year 1749, Sarah, daughter of Isaac Hatfield, who was born in 1728, and died in 1804. They had ten children."

If he may not be placed among the most prominent of that illustrious body who signed the Declaration of Independence, he at least did worthy service in the rank and file. Although he may not have been a leader among leaders, he was certainly a man of great influence in the community in which he dwelt.

He was for many years a member and trustee of the First Presbyterian Church of Rahway. In its graveyard his body now lies buried. On the slab which first marked his grave, is this inscription:—

" Firm and decided as a patriot,
Zealous and faithful as a friend of the public,
He loved his country,
And adhered to her cause
In the darkest hour of her struggle
Against oppression."

A more imposing monument was afterward erected by the citizens of Rahway, and was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on the 4th of July, 1848.

ISAAC NORRIS.

BY GEORGE W. NORRIS, M.D.

(Centennial Collection.)

Isaac Norris, the second, was born in Philadelphia, and brought up a merchant with his father; twice visited Europe for travel; was engaged in an extensive business on his return, from which he withdrew in 1743. He was endowed with good natural abilities, had received an excellent education, and might indeed be called learned; for, in addition to a knowledge of Hebrew, he wrote in Latin and French with ease, and his reading was extensive. He possessed a fine library containing many of the best editions of the classics, and was a liberal patron of literature.¹ His love of books was great, and nearly all which I have seen of them contain either notices of their authors or of their contents, neatly done in his handwriting. In his day they were expensive luxuries, and the care which he took of them will be seen in the following extract from a letter to his brother Charles, then in England: "When in London, I lent Mr. Osgood Gce a Latin book by Musaeus; ask it from him, and send it to me; tell him it is hard to take a book from an American, when he lives so near the fountain-head, and may get them every day, which is not our case; we may want and can't purchase books here at any price, except by accident." As mentioned, he retired from trade in 1743, and, as he expresses it, "lived

¹ John Adams, when in Philadelphia in 1774, visited Fair Hill, then occupied by Mr. Dickinson, which he describes as "a fine seat, with extensive gardens and a very grand library. The most of the books collected by Mr. Norris, the father of Mrs. Dickinson" (Works, vol. ii. p. 379). The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2838, for October 27, 1784, has the following: "His Excellency, the President of the State, has presented Dickinson College, Carlisle, with the principal part of the library of the late Isaac Norris, Esq., consisting of about 1500 volumes upon the most important subjects."

downright in the country way." In the following year he lost his wife, and was left with two daughters, one of five years and one of six months old. After her death his sister Elizabeth took charge of his establishment, and except when called away by public duties, he went but little to the city, giving most of his time to reading, the improvement of his estate, and the education of his children. Strangers visiting the city were often received by him at Fair Hill, which was ever open to his friends. At the little meeting-house adjoining his plantation on the north, and called after it, worship was held on First-day mornings; and Aunt Logan tells us that "all the decent strangers who frequented it on these occasions were sure of an invitation to dine with him, where, as in the time of his parent, a good table and the warmest welcome awaited them." In 1745 he went to Albany as one of the commissioners of the province, in order to meet the Indians at a treaty; and a journal kept by him is extant, which I induced my nephew, Joseph Parker Norris, in 1867 to print on his private press. It is beautifully executed in quarto form, of seventeen pages, and eighty copies of it were struck off. He and his companions traversed "the Jerseys" in chaises, and sailed up the Hudson in a sloop. It took nearly seven days to reach Albany, a journey now easily made in as many hours by rail. From 1749 to 1755 he served as one of the trustees of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, and resigned from that body on account of ill health and his residence in the country. It is to Isaac Norris, then Speaker of the Assembly, that we are indebted for the remarkable inscription placed on the old bell of the State House, now preserved in Independence Hall. In ordering it from England in 1751, he writes: "Let the bell be cast by the best workmen, and examined carefully before it is shipped, with the following words well shaped in large letters round it, viz., 'By order of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the State House in the City of Philadelphia, 1752,' and underneath: 'Proclaim Liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Levit. xxv. 10.'" The imported bell was cracked by a stroke from the clapper, and it was re-

cast here with the same inscription. This bell was rung immediately after the reading of the Declaration of Independence. In 1757 Franklin and himself were appointed by the Provincial Assembly to proceed to England as commissioners to solicit the removal of grievances occasioned by Proprietary instructions, etc., but he declined the appointment on account of ill health, and Franklin went alone. He first entered into public life after the death of his father in 1735, became one of the aldermen of Philadelphia, and for thirty years successively he represented the city or the county of Philadelphia in the General Assembly, acting as their speaker for more than fifteen years, "respected by all parties for his integrity, patriotism, abilities, and public spirit." With the history of the Province for these fifteen years his name is indissolubly connected, and his character will be best seen by an examination of the public documents and records of these times. By his constituents he was ever esteemed and confided in, as a disinterested, zealous, and able advocate; and in private life maintained the character of a kind relative, firm friend, and high-bred gentleman. In the Assembly he was the constant and firm opposer of Proprietary encroachments, but he looked for redress from existing grievances rather than for a radical change, and, being unwilling to affix his signature as speaker to the petition to the King, passed by the House for a change from the Proprietary to Royal Government, he resigned his seat. From authentic sources I take the following: In May, 1764, a petition to the King for a change from Proprietary to Royal Government passed the House, and was ordered to be transcribed and signed by the speaker. Against this petition John Dickinson made his famous speech, and after its passage offered a protest to be entered on their minutes, which was refused. Mr. Norris, who was exceedingly indisposed at this sitting, and who, from the nature of his office as speaker, could not join in the protest or take any part in the debate, finding matters pushed to this extremity, informed the House, "that for thirty years past he had had the honor of serving as a representative of the people of this Province, and for more than half that time

as speaker; that in these offices he had uniformly endeavored, to the best of his judgment, to promote the public good. That the subject of the present debate was a matter of the utmost importance to the Province. That as his sentiments on the occasion were very different from the majority, and his seat in the chair prevented him from entering into the debate, he therefore prayed the House that if, in consequence of their order, his duty should oblige him to sign the petition as speaker, he might be permitted to offer his sentiments on the subject before he signed, and that they might be entered upon the minutes." (Votes of 1764, p. 84.) This request was granted, and the House adjourned to the following morning. But the long sitting of the previous day and the excitement of the debate which had occurred proved too much for this "aged member and faithful servant of the House," and when they met, their clerk delivered the following letter from their speaker:—¹

"To Charles Moore, Esq., Clerk of the Assembly:

"Be pleased to inform the House that my attendance through this and the last week has proved too much for my constitution, and particularly the bad night I have had in consequence of it, have made it impossible for me to attend the House to-day, and when it may mend, if ever, is not in my power to inform them. I therefore thank the House for all the civilities I have received from them, and the representatives of the Province in former Assemblies, and request the House to choose another speaker in my stead.

Yr. friend,

ISAAC NORRIS.

FAIR HILL, May 20th, 1764."

The House ordered, "that Mr. Fox, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Rhoads, and Mr. Ross wait upon Isaac Norris, our late speaker, with

¹ In the Votes for 1764, p. 75, it is mentioned that during the greatest part of the previous winter session of this Assembly the health of the speaker was so enfeebled that the house, rather than part with his services, met in the back parlor of the house of his brother, on Chestnut Street, at that time his home.

the unanimous thanks of the House for the long and faithful services he has rendered this Province as Speaker of the Assembly, in which station he has given a constant and equal attention to the rights and services of the Crown, and the privileges of the people. And also with their sincere and ardent wishes for the recovery of his health and his return to public business; expressing at the same time the extreme concern of the House that at this important juncture they are deprived by his sickness of that assistance his great experience, judgment, and abilities might have afforded them."

Monday, May 28th, 1764, A. M.—"The gentlemen appointed to wait on the late speaker with the foregoing message, reported they had delivered the same according to order, and that he had been pleased to return the following answer, viz., 'I beg you, gentlemen, to return the House my sincere thanks for their favorable opinion of my public services and their kind wishes for the recovery of my health. As to the first, I can only say I have served the public with integrity and an honest heart; with regard to the latter, I can cheerfully submit, in my advanced years, to the course of Providence and the common laws of human nature, but I am sorry that my inability to attend the House should happen under the present critical circumstances of our public affairs.'"

Upon his resignation, Benjamin Franklin was chosen, but at the ensuing election, the opposition being successful, he was not returned to the Assembly. Isaac Norris's name had again been placed upon the ticket elected from the county contrary to his wishes, and, though he had retired from the speakership the previous session, he was re-elected to that position. After a few sittings, however, he resigned a second time on the 24th of October, 1764, and Joseph Fox was appointed in his stead. The opposition of himself and others, to the change from Proprietary to Royal Government, arose from an apprehension lest, if any change were made, the king might take away the charters which secured the rights and privileges that the inhabitants of the Province most valued, or clog them with such restrictions as would abridge the liberty which they then enjoyed. His motives were ever

pure and patriotic. A contemporary, speaking of him, says: "That in all his long public career he never asked a vote to get into the House, or solicited any member for posts of private advantage or employments."

In the *Independent Gazetteer* for November 17th, 1787, No. 612, I find the following anecdote of him which occurred in the time of "the would-be Provincial Dictator," Governor Morris: The late Mr. Isaac Norris, whose memory will be forever revered by every good citizen of Pennsylvania, had served his country for more than twenty years in the character of legislator. His age and increasing weakness of constitution at length obliged him to quit the arduous task of reconciling and directing the various interests and views of his fellow representatives to the good of his country. Not long before his resignation, Mr. N. thought proper to bear his testimony with more warmth than usual. On this occasion, having quitted the speaker's chair, with all the fire of juvenile patriotism and the dignity of venerable age, concluded an energetic speech with the following declaration: "No man shall ever stamp his foot on my grave and say, Curse him! here lies one who basely betrayed the liberties of his country."

He died at Fair Hill, after a long indisposition, on the 13th of July, 1766.

THE WHARTON FAMILY.

BY ANNE H. WHARTON.

(Continued from page 329.)

Issue all b. in Philada.

57. HANNAH, b. Sept. 3, 1753; m. James C. Fisher.
58. MARY, b. Jan. 22, 1755; m. Philada. May 17, 1780, Owen, son of Owen Jones, by his wife Susannah Evans, b. in Philada. March 15, 1744-5. By her he had one child; bu. in Friends Ground, Jan. 22, 1784. Mrs. Jones d. soon after, and he m. 2dly, Hannah Foulke, and d. s. p. His will was proved May 14, 1825.
59. RACHEL, b. Nov. 29, 1756; d. Nov. 8, 1759.
60. JOSEPH, bu. Aug. 1, 1766, aged 6 years.
61. JACOB, bu. Dec. 21, 1769, aged 9 years.
62. MARTHA, d. unm.; bu. April 7, 1788, aged 24 years.
63. FRANKLIN, bu. Aug. 1, 1766, aged 4 mo.
64. SUSANNAH, d. unm. June 5, 1786. The following obituary appeared in the "Pennsylvania Mercury," of June 9, 1786, which we give as a curious specimen of a certain style of composition:—

"On Monday last, the 5th of June, the amiable, the blooming Miss Susannah Wharton, in the bud of life, resigned her breath. Amongst the many sacrifices that are hourly made at the altar of the grim monster, few possessed more real accomplishments than this lovely victim. Born under the smiles of nature—educated in the paths of prudence and virtue—she rose like the sun—illuminating with her knowledge, and cherrishing with her philanthropy.

"To a mild, condescending disposition, she added those generous sentiments, which characterize the worthy part of her sex, and mark the Christian. In her pastime she was chearful, in her devotion she was serious. A perfect consistency was seen in her conduct.

"If the frailty of her companions was the topic of conversation, she spoke but to vindicate; when their virtues were admired she joined with a fervency that testified her liberality. In the common occurrences of life she was neither too much elevated, nor too much depressed; she turned with a smile from the casualities of human life to Nature's God, and into His hands she resigned herself with pleasure. No motives influenced her conduct, but the happiness of her fellow-creatures. The heart-rending sighs, the sorrowful looks of all who knew her, manifest their loss. The effusions of esteem in one of her acquaintance has given birth to this imperfect sketch of her character. It wants no aid of the pen to be beloved—she need only to have been known."

65. WILLIAM HUDSON, bu. Sept. 13, 1781, aged 10 years.

17. SAMUEL WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. May 3, 1732; m. Sarah, dau. of Stephen Lewis, by his wife, Rebecca

Hussey. Mr. Wharton was one of the signers of the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765, a member of the City Councils of Philada., of the Committee of Safety of the Revolution, and of the Colonial and State Legislatures. He was a prominent member of the Ohio Company, whose plan of forming a settlement on the Ohio River was projected by Sir William Johnson, Governor Franklin, and others. In 1767, Dr. Franklin, then in England, mentions his correspondence with Mr. Wharton on this subject. Lord Hillsborough, in his "Report of the Lord's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," in which he considered the "humble memorial of the Hon. Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton, Esquires, in behalf of themselves and their associates," strenuously opposed the passing of the bill confirming the grant of land (known as Walpole's Grant), in reply to which Dr. Franklin put forth his powers to such purpose that the petition was finally granted, June 1, 1772. In consequence, however, of revolutionary troubles the project was not realized.

Mr. Wharton was a partner in the house of Messrs. Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, one of the most respectable commercial associations in the Colonies. At one time, the Indians destroyed upwards of £40,000* worth of their goods; as indemnification for which depredation, the chiefs made over to the firm all the lands which, at present, compose the State of Indiana. "Mr. Wharton, being an accomplished gentleman and scholar, was deputed by his partners to pass over to England for the purpose of soliciting a confirmation of this grant, in which he so far succeeded that the day was appointed by the Minister for him to attend at Court, and kiss the King's hand on receiving the grant.† Unfortunately, however, in the interim, some of his correspondence with Franklin, in furtherance of the Revolution, was discovered, and instead of the consummation he expected, he was obliged to fly for his life, and was fortunate in reaching the shores of France in

* Penna. currency.

† The Penna. Gazette announced Mr. Wharton's appointment as Governor of the new province of Pittsylvania.

safety, where he was joined by his old friend Dr. Franklin.”* In 1780, Samuel Wharton returned to Philada., and on Feb. 9, 1781, he took the oath of allegiance to the State of Penna. He was a member of the Continental Congress during the years 1782 and 1783. In 1784, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the District of Southwark, he having, a short time before, retired to his country seat, in that suburb, where he anticipated ending his days in peace and quietness. His will was admitted to probate, March 26, 1800. His children were—

66. STEPHEN, d. Philada. March 24, 1755.
67. SAMUEL LEWIS, b. Philada. Feb. 14, 1759; m. Mrs. Rachel Musgrave.
68. HANNAH, d. Philada. April 6, 1764, aged 2 years.
69. REBECCA, m. June 7, 1798, Chamless Allen, and d. s. p. Soon after he m. 2dly, Rachel, widow of Samuel L. Wharton.
70. MARTHA, m. Samuel B. Shaw.
71. RICHARD, d. unm.

18. JOSEPH WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Philada., March 21, 1733-4; m. Philada., June 18, 1760, Sarah, dau. of Job and Sarah Tallman, b. Aug. 25, 1740, and d. before her husband. Before the Revolution, Mr. Wharton was an active and successful merchant; but losses during the war, and a series of reverses attending his mercantile ventures, after the establishment of peace, obliged him to retire from business.

The following is an obituary notice, which appeared in Poulson's "Advertiser," Dec. 30, 1816:—

Died, on the 25th instant, in the eighty-third year of his age, Joseph Wharton, Esq., long a respectable inhabitant of this city, and deeply and sincerely lamented by those who enjoyed the advantage of his friendship.

The protracted term of life, and the lingering illness through which this gentleman had passed, had neither impaired the original vigour of his mind, nor lessened the uncommon warmth of his affections. His understanding, naturally quick and powerful, was improved to an extent little common with the past generation. Few men, perhaps, possessed such an intimate acquaintance with the language and literature of Greece

* "Daily Advertiser."

and Rome, and still fewer have, like him, retained an undiminished attachment to them, at an advanced stage of existence, and while suffering under an accumulation of physical evils. In the early part of his life he had enjoyed the peculiar good fortune of an intercourse with many of the most celebrated literary men of Europe. In latter years disease and misfortune caused his retirement from the world, but lessened not his zeal for the welfare of society, his duties toward which he discharged with exemplary propriety. It only remains perhaps to add, that he was a sincere and devout believer in the great truths of our religion, and closed a well-spent life in the firm persuasion of a removal to a better state of being.

He had nine children, all b. in Philada.

72. JOSEPH TALLMAN, b. July 16, 1761; d. Dec. 17, 1762.

73. SARAH, b. Nov. 20, 1763; d. Aug. 27, 1764.

74. THOMAS PARR, b. Nov. 18, 1765. He d. unm., and in the "Daily Advertiser," Dec. 3, 1802, the event is thus noticed:—

"Died on Wednesday, the 1st instant, in the 37th year of his age, Thomas Parr Wharton. A vigorous and highly-cultivated understanding, united to a just and benevolent disposition, rendered the deceased peculiarly agreeable and dear to his friends and family. A series of misfortunes taught him the uncertainty of all human pursuits and attachments as the means of happiness, and a tedious and painful illness became, in the hands of a kind Providence, the means of conveying to him the knowledge of his Redeemer, in whose mercy alone he placed his hopes of acceptance beyond the grave; his last words were, 'I die in peace.'"

75. HANNAH, b. Nov. 4, 1767; m. William Chancellor.

76. NANCY, b. Aug. 2, 1770; m. James Cowles Fisher (his 1st wife was Hannah Wharton, No. 57) and d. s. p. Jan. 1852.

77. SARAH, b. April 23, 1772; m. Jonathan Robeson.

78. MARTHA, b. Feb. 18, 1774; d. unm. March, 1861.

79. RACHEL, b. Aug. 8, 1775; d. Jan. 29, 1784.

80. ELIZA, b. Sept. 18, 1781; d. unm. April 7, 1869.

23. CHARLES WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,⁵ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Philada. Jan. 11, 1743; m. 1st, March 12, 1772, at Christ Church, Jemima Edwards, who was bu. in Philada. Nov. 13, 1772, aged 21 years. He m. 2dly, at Friends Meeting (Oct. 22, 1778), Elizabeth Richardson, who d. May 23, 1782, aged 30 years. His third wife was Hannah, dau. of William Redwood, by his wife Hannah, dau. of Samuel Holmes. They were m. at Friends Meeting, Oct. 13, 1784. She was b. in Newport, R. I., Sept. 25, 1759; d. Philada. April 11, 1796.

Mr. Wharton was a most successful merchant, and extensively engaged in the importing business of the city. He took the oath of allegiance to the State of Penna. July 3, 1778; and d. in Philada. March 15, 1838. His children, all by his third wife and b. in Philada., were—

81. JOSEPH, b. Aug. 17, 1785; d. unm. June 27, 1803.
82. WILLIAM, d. infant, March 8, 1788.
83. SARAH REDWOOD, b. June 1, 1789; m. William Craft.
84. WILLIAM, b. June 27, 1790; m. Deborah Fisher.
85. CHARLES, b. Sept. 20, 1792; m. Anne M. Hollingsworth.
86. HANNAH REDWOOD, b. Nov. 15, 1794; m. Thomas G. Hollingsworth.

24. ISAAC WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Philada. Sept. 15, 1745; m. Friends Meeting, Philada. Nov. 14, 1786, Margaret, dau. of Francis Rawle, by his wife Rebecca Warner. He died, Philada. March 31, 1808. His children were—

87. FRANCIS RAWLE, b. Jan. 11, 1788; m. Juliana M. Gouverneur.
88. HANNAH MARGARET, b. July 17, 1789; d. unm. Philada. Oct. 14, 1875.
89. THOMAS ISAAC, b. May 17, 1791; m. Arabella Griffith.
90. JOSEPH, b. April 29, 1793; d. unm. 1822.
91. REBECCA SHOEMAKER, b. Sept. 1, 1795; m. Joseph R. Smith.

25. CARPENTER WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Philada. Aug. 30, 1747; m. Christ Church, April 13, 1771, Elizabeth Davis, who d. May, 1816. He d. April 6, 1780, leaving issue—

92. JOHN, m. Nancy Craig.
93. THOMAS CARPENTER, m. June 21, 1806, Ann, dau. of William Green, by his wife Mary, dau. of Ellis Lewis, and d. s. p. She d. 1857.

27. MARY WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. April 3, 1755; m. Friends Meeting, May 17, 1786, William Sykes, son of Samuel and Elizabeth Sykes.

94. JOSEPH, d. Philada. March 26, 1789.
95. ELIZABETH, d. Philada. Dec. 6, 1791.
96. WILLIAM, d. Philada. Sept. 1, 1791.
97. ROBERT WHARTON, b. July 26, 1796; m. 1st, Mrs. Frenaye, and 2dly, Lucy, dau. of Lemuel Lamb. He d. s. p.

(To be continued.)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 353.)

June 4, 1723.	Bettson,	William. A foreigner.
Mar. 10, 1740.	Betty,	John, son of Joseph.
April 5, 1712.	Bevan,	William, son of William and Mary.
July 21, 1733.	"	Sylvanus, son of Evan.
Nov. 28, 1745.	"	Sarah, dau. of David.
July 14, 1747.	"	John, son of ye widow.
Oct. 8, 1711.	Beven,	Joseph.
Nov. 4, 1714.	Bevin,	Mary.
Oct. 22, 1757.	Bickley,	William, son of Abraham.
Feb. 19, 1759.	"	Margaret.
July 25, 1746.	Biddarson,	Thomas, son of Robert.
Sept. 4, 1721.	Biddle,	Michael, son of Wm. and Ann.
Aug. 14, 1725.	"	William, son of Wm. and Ann.
Nov. 22, 1729.	"	Anne, wife of William.
Dec. 12, 1732.	"	Nicholas, son of William.
Sept. 26, 1755.	"	Michael.
Dec. 13, 1758.	Biddle,	William, son of James.
April 30, 1759.	"	Edward, son of James.
Dec. 9, 1759.	"	Clayton.
Dec. 8, 1726.	Bidle,	William.
May 26, 1748.	Bigarton,	John.
Feb. 5, 1748-9.	Biggar,	Mary, dau. of Richard.
July 18, 1758.	Biggars,	——— dau. of Richard.
Jan. 4, 1754.	Bigger,	James, son of Richard.
Aug. 1, 1742.	Biggerd,	Roger.
Nov. 21, 1726.	Biggins,	Sarah.
May 29, 1737.	Signal,	Samuel.
Dec. 30, 1735.	Bindar,	Robert. From Charles Mer-
Oct. 9, 1736.	Bindley,	James. [cer's.
Sept. 4, 1716.	Bing,	John.
Dec. 22, 1714.	Bingham,	James.
Nov. 21, 1728.	"	Susannah, dau. of James.
Aug. 5, 1730.	"	Thomas, son of James.
Nov. 9, 1737.	"	James.

Oct. 11, 1750.	Bingham,	Anne, <i>wid. of James in 1714.</i>
July 9, 1759.	"	Ann, <i>wid. of James in 1737.</i>
Nov. 9, 1746.	Birch,	Anna-Catherina, <i>dau. of John.</i>
Oct. 15, 1748.	"	John, <i>son of Adam.</i>
Oct. 30, 1748.	"	John.
Jan. 11, 1750-1.	"	Mararet, <i>wife of Adam.</i>
Oct. 10, 1721.	Bird,	Ann.
Jan. 10, 1726-7.	"	Mary. <i>Quakers' Ground.</i>
Oct. 19, 1740.	"	Jeremiah, <i>son of Jeremiah.</i>
July 28, 1742.	"	Jane, <i>dau. of Jeremiah.</i>
Oct. 2, 1743.	"	Jeremiah.
Sept. 21, 1744.	"	Mary. Widow.
Mar. 24, 1730-1.	Bishop,	Anne.
Jan. 12, 1739-40.	"	Mary, <i>dau. of Robert.</i>
Nov. 19, 1741.	"	John.
June 6, 1759.	"	James, <i>son of John.</i>
July 10, 1756.	Bittle,	——— <i>dau. of James.</i>
Oct. 5, 1742.	Black,	James.
Aug. 8, 1750.	"	Margaret, <i>dau. of James.</i>
Sept. 4, 1754.	"	Margaret, <i>dau. of Roger.</i>
May 9, 1756.	"	——— <i>dau. of James.</i>
May 11, 1756.	Blackborn,	John.
July 8, 1746.	Blackenburg,	Catherine.
May 27, 1751.	Blackly,	William.
Aug. 28, 1732.	Blackston,	Thomas.
Oct. 13, 1732.	"	Cornelius, <i>son of Thomas.</i>
Aug. 2, 1733.	"	James, <i>son of Thomas.</i>
Jan. 17, 1736-7.	Blade,	Robert. From Boyer's.
Mar. 7, 1747-8.	Blake,	Henry.
Dec. 16, 1751.	"	Anne, <i>dau. of Roger.</i>
Aug. 30, 1756.	"	——— <i>dau. of Roger.</i>
Nov. 10, 1756.	"	Rodger.
Aug. 8, 1758.	"	Charles.
Dec. 24, 1758.	"	William.
Sept. 5, 1759.	"	Sarah, <i>dau. of James.</i>
Sept. 27, 1729.	Blakey,	Mary, <i>dau. of Charles.</i>
Dec. 22, 1732.	"	Charles.
Nov. 23, 1751.	Blamey,	Samuel.
July 16, 1712.	Blaney,	Mary, <i>dau. of John.</i>
Mar. 7, 1747-8.	"	Samuel, <i>son of Samuel.</i>
June 20, 1710.	Blasdall,	Thomas.
Nov. 7, 1729.	Blood,	Holdercraft.
Oct. 30, 1751.	Blyden,	Christopher.
Feb. 24, 1726-7.	Boake,	Sarah.
Sept. 12, 1733.	Boar,	Hannah, <i>wife of Peter.</i>

Jan. 6, 1740-1.	Boardman,	John.
July 13, 1756.	Bodeman,	Thomas.
Dec. 6, 1745.	Bodine,	Peter.
Mar. 13, 1759.	Bolitho,	John.
Mar. 9, 1730-1.	Bollard,	Sarah, dau. of William.
June 20, 1739.	"	Mary, wife of William.
July 31, 1746.	"	Mary. Widow.
May 11, 1759.	Bolling,	Lucy.
May 21, 1726.	Bolton,	John, son of Robert and Ann.
Oct. 12, 1727.	"	Joseph, son of Mr. [Gent.]
April 28, 1729.	"	Hannah, dau. of Robert.
June 13, 1729.	"	Joseph, son of Robert.
June 25, 1742.	"	Robert.
May 7, 1747.	"	Anne.
Mar. 7, 1747-8.	"	Rebekah.
Aug. 19, 1744.	Bonam,	Jane, dau. of Ephraim.
Jan. 2, 1750-1.	"	Catherine, dau. of Samuel.
Feb. 29, 1752.	"	Jane, dau. of Ephraim.
June 16, 1756.	"	—— son of Ephraim.
Dec. 7, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Ephraim.
Oct. 16, 1757.	"	—— child of Ephraim.
Dec. 7, 1730.	Bond,	James.
Dec. 12, 1746.	"	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 9, 1747.	"	Robert, dau. of Dr. Thomas.
Sept. 31, 1749.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph.
Feb. 25, 1749-50.	"	Jane.
Dec. 7, 1755.	"	Venables, son of Thomas.
Aug. 15, 1746.	Bonham,	William, son of Ephraim.
Aug. 3, 1748.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Ephraim.
July 19, 1759.	"	Ephraim, son of Ephraim.
Aug. 28, 1759.	"	Susannah, dau. of Ephraim.
June 10, 1744.	Bood,	Margret, dau. of John. Sweeds' Church.
July 10, 1746.	"	John, son of John. Wiccaco.
July 21, 1746.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Nov. 2, 1748.	"	Lydia, dau. of the widow.
Oct. 23, 1759.	Boore,	Mary.
Jan. 17, 1738-9.	Booth,	Mary.
July 27, 1755.	Bore,	—— son of David.
Dec. 13, 1723.	Born,	Thomas.
April 7, 1729.	Borroughs,	William.
April 11, 1727.	Borrows,	John, son of Edward.
May 20, 1737.	Bose,	Anne, wife of Francis. (<i>Bowes.</i>)
Nov. 21, 1734.	Bostick,	Robert, son of Henry.
July 31, 1753.	Bottam,	Catherine, dau. of Thomas.

May 22, 1749.	Bottom,	John, son of Thomas.
Aug. 23, 1755.	"	(Catherine), wife of Thomas.
July 16, 1751.	Boucher,	Margret, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 18, 1751.	"	Thomas.
May 19, 1733.	Boud,	Samuel.
Aug. 9, 1733.	"	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 3, 1730-1.	Boude,	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 7, 1730-1.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
June 4, 1731.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Mar. 24, 1733-4.	"	Deborah, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 8, 1740.	"	Jane, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 25, 1738.	Boudenott,	Mary-Catherine, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 15, 1759.	Bound,	Sarah, wife of Cornelius.
June 5, 1730.	Bourne,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Feb. 16, 1726-7.	Bowell,	William.
Sept. 6, 1746.	Bowes,	Andrew, son of Francis.
Dec. 6, 1749.	"	Francis.
May 29, 1751.	"	John, son of Francis, deceased.
Feb. 15, 1736-7.	Bowler,	Susannah, wife of Daniel.
Jan. 2, 1732-3.	Bowling,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Sept. 12, 1738.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
June 12, 1748.	"	Thomas.
June 23, 1735.	Bowls,	Thomas. Pall.
Nov. 5, 1736.	Bowman,	Esther, wife of Thomas.
May 5, 1734.	Bowmer,	Thomas.
Nov. 24, 1721.	Bowyer,	Benjamin, son of John and Rebecca.
July 20, 1730.	"	Sarah.
Oct. 7, 1711.	Boyear,	Rebecca, wife of John.
Feb. 19, 1726-7.	Boyer,	Richard.
Jan. 10, 1732-3.	"	John.
Aug. 18, 1736.	"	James, son of James.
Oct. 26, 1738.	"	Thomas.
Jan. 26, 1740-1.	"	Susannah, dau. of James.
Mar. 20, 1740-1.	"	Dorothy, dau. of James.
June 28, 1736.	Boyes,	Robert, son of Joseph.
May 27, 1714.	Boyte,	Elizabeth, dau. of William and Lucy.
Oct. 12, 1730.	"	William.
Nov. 14, 1738.	"	John.
Sept. 15, 1741.	"	Hannah, dau. of John.
Dec. 30, 1744.	"	Sarah, dau. of Philip.
May 15, 1745.	"	Joseph, son of William.
July 23, 1745.	"	John, son of Philip.

Jan. 27, 1748.	Boyte,	Anne, dau. of Philip.
Oct. 11, 1748.	"	William.
June 4, 1753.	"	Philip.
Oct. 3, 1753.	"	John.
Feb. 23, 1750-1.	Brackbury,	Charles.
Oct. 21, 1727.	Brackenbury,	Charles, son of John.
Nov. 22, 1734.	Brackstone,	John, son of Thomas.
Dec. 22, 1739.	Bradford,	Dorcas, wife of Andrew.
Nov. 27, 1742.	"	Andrew.
Aug. 21, 1755.	"	Cornelia.
July 20, 1756.	"	Cornelius. [Laetitia.
Jan. 1, 1722-3.	Bradley,	—— son of Edward and
July 1, 1726.	"	Laetitia, wife of Edward.
Mar. 27, 1744.	"	Edward.
Oct. 10, 1712.	Bradshaw,	Mary, dau. of Henry.
July 23, 1730.	"	Margaret, dau. of John.
Oct. 15, 1730.	"	David.
April 9, 1731.	"	Seth, son of Thomas.
June 9, 1739.	"	Joseph, son of George.
Oct. 2, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of George.
Oct. 7, 1744.	"	Eloner, wife of John.
Sept. 12, 1749.	Brag,	John.
June 8, 1759.	Brannon,	James.
Aug. 22, 1757.	Branson,	—— son of Day.
Feb. 5, 1733.	Brawley,	Thomas.
May 2, 1736.	Braydon,	James, son of Hugh.
Dec. 12, 1728.	Brever,	Elias.
Dec. 28, 1758.	Brewster,	John.
Oct. 22, 1759.	"	Hans.
Sept. 2, 1748.	Brian,	John.
Sept. 13, 1728.	Brice,	Mr. William, of Barbadoes.
Jan. 23, 1737.	Brickhill,	Sarah, dau. of Richard.
Sept. 6, 1746.	Brickil,	Elizabeth, dau. of Richard.
Oct. 22, 1732.	Brickill,	Alice, dau. of Richard.
Sept. 6, 1741.	Bridges,	Edward.
Mar. 22, 1710.	Brig,	John.
Nov. 13, 1746.	Brigs,	John.
Aug. 12, 1741.	Bright,	Katherine, dau. of Anthony.
Aug. 5, 1742.	"	Anthony, son of Anthony.
July 14, 1749.	"	Anthony. [ceased.
June 29, 1751.	"	Thomas, son of Anthony, de-
Oct. 14, 1751.	"	Jane.

(To be continued.)

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER MEETINGS OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A quarterly meeting of the Society was held on the evening of November 12, 1877, Mr. Vice-President Keim in the chair.

The order of business was suspended, and Mr. Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware, read to the meeting an account of the Princeton Campaign of 1776-77, prepared from the papers of Capt. Thos. Rodney. The address was listened to with marked attention, and the thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to Mr. Rodney for his interesting discourse.

The accessions to the library since the last regular meeting were reported to have been :—

Books	299
Magazines	5
Maps	14
Manuscripts	19
Miscellaneous	144
Pamphlets	473
Total	954

A portrait of Governor Shulze was presented by the artist Mr. James R. Lambdin.

A portrait of Gov. Geary was presented by the artist Mr. E. D. Marchant.

A called meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Dec. 10, 1877, Mr. Vice-President Keim in the chair.

There was an unusually large attendance of members and others.

The presiding officer introduced Professor Oswald Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania, who read a masterly and scholarly paper on "The Travels of William Penn in Holland and Germany in 1677," a copy of which has been promised for publication in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE CHURCH IN BURLINGTON, N. J., *St. Anne's or St. Mary's?*—It may seem strange, at this late day, that an inquiry could be made as to the proper name of this venerable parish. But a perusal of Dr. Hills' "History of the Church in Burlington, Trenton, 1876," reveals some grounds for the question.

Lord Cornbury's Warrant, dated October 4, 1704, speaks of "the said Church called by the name of St. Anne's Church in Burlington," p. 130. The corner-stone was laid by Dr. Talbot on Lady Day, March 25, 1703 (being in that year the Thursday before Easter), and he writes, "we called this Church St. Mary's, it being upon her day," p. 36. This warrant, it appears, never was passed upon by the rector and vestry, and under the administration of Col. Richard Ingoldsby, the Lieutenant-Governor, a new warrant was made out, and the parish was incorporated January 25, 1709, by the name of "the Minister, Church Wardens, and Vestry of the Church of St. Mary, in Burlington," p. 133.

The first service was held in the new church, though it was in an incomplete state, Sunday, August 22, 1703, and the "Burlington Church Booke" records the "Collection at opening our Church St. Mary Anne," the word *Mary* being interlined subsequent to original entry, p. 215.

The *inside* of the vellum cover of the Parish Register gives the words, "The Register of the Church of St. Ann's at Burlington." The *outside* says, "Parish Register of St. Mary's Church, Burlington," p. 293.

The first communion was administered in the church by Dr. Talbot on the Whit-Sunday following, June 4, 1704, and the MS. Account Book, frequently quoted by Dr. Hills as of authority, records it was "Administered in St. Ann's Church att Burlington," p. 429.

The will of Thomas Leciter, dated July 8, 1709, proved November 14, following, leaves certain real estate on Stony Brook, Somerset County, "unto the Church of St. Anne in Burlington," pp. 97, 286.

The MS. Account Book gives "an Abstract of Proceedings of the Minister Ch. Wardens and Vestry of St. Anne's Church in Burlington the 19th day of November, A.D. 1745," p. 261.

In 1752, died Mr. Paul Watkinson, who had been clerk of the church from the year 1707, a service of forty-five years, leaving certain real estate upon which stands the present St. Mary's, with a life interest to his wife,—"to the use of the Church called St. Annes Church in Burlington," pp. 267, 507.

Again, there is the will of Joseph Hewlings, dated August 6, 1741 (v. Will Book No. 5, p. 26, at Trenton), in which a devise is made to "St. Ann's Church, Burlington." The Hewlings family had furnished several wardens to the church, and was indeed almost continuously represented in the vestry.

How came this name of St. Anne to be thus perpetuated in official records and personal devises throughout half a century after the corner-stone was laid in 1703, by Dr. Talbot? Lord Cornbury's Warrant describes the church as "*called* by the name of St. Anne's Church," and the later references above cited seem to give color to the belief that the popular name of the parish was established from the outset in honor of the Queen, whose

ascent to the throne had occurred but about a twelvemonth prior to the corner-stone laying. It was on April 17, 1702, that the several proprietors of East and West Jersey presented their "deed of surrender" to Her Majesty in Council, etc., p. 21; and on November 1, following (being All-Saints' Day and the 22d Sunday after Trinity), the first services were held, and sermons preached by Messrs. Keith and Talbot, in the Town House, in Burlington, to the infant congregation (p. 22). Of course, the Warrant of 1709 affords the legal title of St. Mary's; but the references now cited do not appear based upon the mere technicality of Lord Cornbury's Warrant of 1704, but upon the original and accepted name of the Sovereign Lady Anne—which was quite in accordance with the loyal customs of that day.

By what process, then, was this popular name superseded by another in legal formularies, which latter, however, had not the force for a long term of years to crush out its use? If we can now afford a conjecture as to the objects or motives leading to the substitution, we may probably find it in Dr. Talbot's sympathy for the House of Stuart, which was evinced by his non-juring Episcopal consecration in 1722, although he claimed in 1715 that he "was a Williamite from the beginning," p. 142. He had arrived in Burlington with the view, possibly, of passing the Easter festival with the energetic young flock, and availing himself of the festival of the Annunciation, he, on that Thursday in Holy Week, being March 25, after "sermon, went out with the rest of the people, and laid the corner-stone of Saint Mary's Church," p. 33; being doubtless unwilling to participate in the ceremonies of a corner-stone laying which would establish the name of even Queen Anne, who was then filling the throne of the rightful, but exiled Stuart.

This is not a conclusion, but merely a suggestion; and there may exist among many Burlington family memoranda some hints or references which may yet find the light and serve to help us to a proper conclusion on this interesting point.

T. H. M.

JAMES MADISON AND THE WAR OF 1812.—About forty years ago a gentleman well acquainted with the political history of this country during the preceding thirty years, informed me that, after Mr. Madison had sent a messenger to Congress, recommending a declaration of war against England, he sent another person after that messenger with orders to bring him back.

During the summer of 1842 I met the Rev. Dr. Milnor, of New York, upon a North River steamboat, and mentioned the above circumstance to him. He concurred in thinking the story very likely to be correct, and added that Mr. Madison had said to him, shortly before the beginning of the war, "Cannot something be done to prevent this dreadful war?"

Dr. Milnor, before he became a clergyman, was a member of the Philadelphia bar, and one of the representatives of our city in the United States House of Representatives.

D.

OCCUPATION OF NEW YORK CITY BY THE BRITISH IN 1776.—The following extract from the diary of the Moravian congregation, dated the latter part of October, was omitted in the articles published in the *Moravian* and reprinted in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*. It has been kindly furnished by the Rev. A. A. Reinke.

"Things indeed looked now very distressing. Many that had lost their Habitations, did not know where to live;—there was hardly any Market held;—the necessaries of life grew very dear & were not to be had; a general Suspicion of the Inhabitants was perceived & one was under apprehension that the cruel Scene of the Fire would be repeated. All houses were searched, whether combustibles might be concealed here & there.

When they were in our Street & neighborhood, Br. Shewkirk invited them to come in, but they wd not, saying, that they knew that he was no Congress Man, &c. Matters gradually grew better, and came a little into Order; strict watches were kept, first by the Soldiers, and then City-Watches of the Inhabitants were appointed in all the different Wards. All the communication with the Jerseys was stopt; so that one could get no Letters there at any rate. However after some weeks several of the Friends to government made their escape, and came to Town. Among them was Mr. Benjamin Booth from Second River, who called upon Br. Shewkirk, & brought him after a great while an acct. of his wife, that she & the rest of our People at Second River were well. Br. Shewkirk had about this time namely in Octr., a fit of Illness, which reduced him very low, & confined him to his Room above 3 weeks. However he was enabled to care for the public Preachings, & the weekly Meetings were put off but for a couple of times. On the 19th of Octr. he made shift to walk as far as the City Hall, & signed the Petition to the King's Commissioner, to restore this city & county to the King's Peace etc."

"MILE STONE, No. 2."—Your correspondent, W. J. B., describes the location of No. 1 correctly (see page 113). It may interest our citizens to know the second mile stone is carefully preserved also. It is built in the wall of Bradle's Chain Works and in the N. E. corner of Hughes & Patterson's mill on Richmond Street (formerly Point Road), nearly opposite Ash Street.

This marked two miles from the Old Court House, via Front Street, thence by Laurel Street over the "Old Stone Bridge" (near the gas works) along Frankford Road to Point no Point road.

Where is the third mile stone? Respectfully yours, H. B. B.

McCLENAGHAN.—From a correspondent in Portland, Me., we learn that the Rev. Wm. McClenaghan, whose election as assistant minister to Dr. Jenney, rector of Christ Church in this city, in 1759, caused so much trouble (see *Dorr's Christ Church*), was settled at Cape Elizabeth, Me., previous to his removal to Philadelphia.

CORRECTIONS.—In "The WHARTON Family," on page 328, it is stated that Sarah Crispen (52) m. W. Lewis; it should read LEVIS. On page 326 it is stated that Charles Wharton m. 2dly, Hannah Richardson; it should read Elizabeth.

In "Descendants of Dr. William SHIPPEN," on page 109, Henry Lightfoot Lec should read Francis Lightfoot Lee. On page 110, it should read that Edward SHIPPEN, M.D., graduated at Univ. of Penna., 1846, and not at Princeton, 1845, and that he took his degree of M.D. in 1857, and not in 1848.

On the last line of page 241, 1739 should read 1729. On page 242, thirty-fifth line from the top, William FELL should read William TILL.

Queries.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, a Scotchman, and first Governor of the Carolinas, was concerned in the Bacon Rebellion of 1676, and was executed by Sir Wm. Berkeley for his participation in the disorders. He is said to have been a son of William Drummond, of Hawthornden, the poet. Is there any authority for this statement, or if not, what was the lineage of the Governor?
R. P. ROBINS.

ROBERT MORRIS.—Will you kindly announce in your "Notes and Queries," that I have in course of preparation, soon to be published, "Memoirs of the Life of ROBERT MORRIS, with a History of the Finances of the American Revolution," and that I will be greatly obliged to persons having original papers relating to the subject, especially letters written by or to Morris prior to the year 1795, if they will furnish me with copies of the same, or communicate to me their existence?

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES HENRY HART.

OFFICERS OF THE RANDOLPH.—Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE furnish the names of any or of all the officers lost on the frigate Randolph, under Capt. Nicholas Biddle, off Charleston Harbor, March 7, 1778?
R.

DUNSTER.—In the volume entitled *Henry Dunster and his Descendants*, by Samuel Dunster, of Attleborough, Mass., a Charles Dunster is mentioned as being the first of the name, and on the authority of his great-grandson it is stated that he "was one of the twelve proprietors of all South Jersey, and owned a great deal of land in West Jersey." Can any additional data be contributed regarding him?
S. D.

PARRY.—Col. Caleb Parry, who was killed at the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, is said by Dr. Darlington, in his *Notæ Cestrienses*, to have been a native of Chester County, and, at the beginning of the Revolution, the proprietor and occupant of "The Leopard" tavern in Easttown. Davis (*Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 683) says he was of the Montgomery branch of the family, and that his mother was Hannah Dilworth. Others state that he was the son of David Parry and Mary Humphreys.

The following facts in the family history are offered with the hope that more definite information may be obtained respecting the ancestry of this patriot.

Rowland Parry, of Haverford, Chester (now Delaware) County, tanner, "having a resolution to go to sea and thence to the Island of Barbadoes," made his will Feb. 10, 1713-14 (proved Nov. 22, 1737), in which he mentions dau. Anne, wife of Hugh Pugh, son David Parry, dau. Emma Parry, and son John Parry.

James Parry, of Tredyffrin, yeoman, purchased 100 acres in that township from Thomas Hubbard, Jan. 20, 1713; by will, dated Dec. 28, 1725, proved Oct. 1, 1726, gave to his "eldest and beloved son," John Parry, all his real estate; to son, David Parry, £25, "as also one year's diet if he continues teaching school in the place where now he is, in this Township of Trydufferin;" also mentions wife, Ann, and daughters, Lettice, wife of Lewis William; Elizabeth, wife of James Davies; Margaret, Mary, and Hester Parry. He gave £1 to be paid "unto ye Trustees of the Buildings of ye Presbyterian meeting house in Treduffrin aforesaid within six months after my Decease towards paying the Charges and Debts of the sd Buildings." This church, known as the Great Valley Presbyterian Church, was doubtless built on the land of James Parry and the title thereof granted by his son John.

John Parry, of Haverford (son of Rowland), in addition to his homestead of 380 acres, purchased from William Allen, Esq. the Manor of Bilton, containing near 3000 acres; now the S. E. part of the township of Charleston. He was probably the Sheriff of that name who "executed that office with great Integrity and a becoming Resolution in difficult times" (*Col. Rec.*, iv. 309); was also for several years a member of Assembly and

one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. In his will, dated July 14 (proved Oct. 2), 1740, he mentions his wife Hannah, daus. Mary, wife of Jacob Hall, Susanna, Margaret, Hannah, Sarah and Martha Parry; to son Rowland, he devised the homestead; also mentions his brother, David Parry, and his two children, sister Ann Lewis's children, and sister Emma's children; appoints his kinsman, John Parry, one of his executors and gives him his watch.

John Parry, of Tredyffrin (son of James), was likewise a Justice of the Peace, but does not appear to have left any family. By his will, dated July 22 (proved Aug. 5), 1747, he devised the bulk of his land to his brother David; to his sisters Lettice, Elizabeth, Margaret, Mary and Esther, £5 each; to cousins (nieces) Margaret Davis and Margaret Williams, £10 each "as a mark of my regard to them for their extraordinary Good Behaviour while they lived with me;" to cousin Rowland Parry, my watch; to cousin Hannah Parry, of Haverford, my English house Bible, which I use in common; to cousin Tobytha Parry, an English Bible with Samuel Clark's annotations therein; to negro Harry, his freedom at 35, and two acres of ground next to Enoch Walker's line, with £3, &c.

David Parry, "of the Great Valley in the County of Chester, yeoman," did not long survive his brother, his will being dated Feb. 22, and proven March 23, 1747-8. To his son, Caleb, he devised one-half the land at 21 and the remainder at the death of his mother, Elizabeth; to dau. Tabitha, £50, and to son, Joshua, £70, at 21 years of age.

Feb. 9, 1761, Caleb Parry, of Tredyffrin, yeoman, and Elizabeth Parry (his mother), of same place, convey to Joshua Parry, blacksmith, 5 acres, 25 perches of land in Tredyffrin, part of the 100 acres purchased by James Parry in 1713.

Col. Caleb Parry, it is said, was baptized Feb. 9, 1734; married Dec. (license dated 15th) 1761, to Elizabeth Jacobs, born Dec. 5, 1732, dau. of John Jacobs, Jr., and Mary Hayes, by which marriage he became allied to a family of marked intellectual ability.

April 3, 1762, Caleb Parry purchased mills and land in E. Whiteland Township from James Martin, and with wife, Elizabeth, conveyed the same, March 27, 1769, to Michael Wayne, Thomas Hall and George Hoopes.

In 1766, Caleb Parry was one of the five (usually six) Assessors who laid the tax upon the whole county of Chester. His signature on the county records is in a good, large and bold hand. He does not appear as a taxable in Whiteland, or Easttown, for the years 1771 and 1774, and his residence subsequent to 1769 has not been noticed by the writer.

From his grandson, Rowland Parry, Actuary of the Provident Life and Trust Company, Philadelphia, the following facts were obtained relative to the children of Caleb and Elizabeth (Jacobs) Parry:—

Rowland, married to Esther Carter, died 1796.

John Jacobs, married to Margaret Palmer July 28, 1804; died April 29, 1835.

Esther, married in 1789 to Guillaum Aertsen.

Hannah, married to Thomas McEuen, died 1827.

Mary, married to James Musgrave.

Fuller information respecting these and their descendants would be desirable.

COPE.

"OLD TOWN."—What is the origin and force of the term "Old Town," formerly written in conjunction with the names of certain places in this State? For example, we find George Croghan dating letters from "Auckwick, Old Town." A number of places are named in the same way, such

as "Frankstown, Old Town," "Clearfield, Old Town," and "Kiscomenettas, Old Town."

AUGHWICK.—What is the origin and signification of the term "Aughwick," applied to a frontier post, 1750 to 1756, then baptized Ft. Shirley, and now Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County, Pa.? Secretary Peters (1750) calls it "Aucquick." Croghan, who spelled *phonetically*, says Aughick (*Pa. Arch.*, vol. ii. p. 211), and on p. 214 Peters calls it Auckquick. Is it English, Dutch, German, Irish, or Indian?

ST. VINCENT AND PUKE'S LAND ASSOCIATION.—In vol. ii. page 520, of the New Series of *Pa. Archives*, we find the roll of the above military company organized for defence against the Indians in 1756. Where was this company recruited, and what is the origin of the name?

ROBERT MORRIS.—I have read with much interest the Centennial sketch of Robert Morris, by Mrs. Armine Nixon Hart, published in your last number, p. 333. But my attention was especially drawn to the following statement which the writer makes on p. 341:—

"The government, that he had carried on his shoulders, through adversity to prosperity, allowed him to remain from the 16th of February, 1798, until the 26th of August, 1801, a period of *three years, six months, and ten days*, an inmate of a debtor's prison, without raising a hand to help him, thus adding another link to the chain which proves that 'Republics are ungrateful.' Mr. Morris survived his imprisonment not quite five years, dying on the 7th of May, 1806."

Will the writer of the sketch be so kind as to give her authority for this statement, which is so different from that made by other writers? I am sure that, to one who has read the history of those days which called forth the unexampled generosity of Robert Morris towards his adopted country, the fact, if it be a fact, that he died in the loathsome cell of a debtor's prison can reflect only upon the honor of the country. It cannot cast a single shadow on the undimmed splendor which surrounds the name of Robert Morris.

I believe that the impression is widespread that the great financier passed his last days as described by Elkanah Watson, in his *Men and Times of the Revolution*. On page 320 of that work, in speaking of Morris in connection with a letter written by him to the author, Watson says:—

"Such was the writer of the above letter when at the zenith of his glory, although staggering at that time under the weight of the responsibilities he had incurred for his country, and which a new-born nation could not avert. It is lamentable to add, that, thus prostrated through his ardent zeal and patriotic efforts, *he ended his valuable and useful life in the loathsome precincts of a debtor's prison.*" *Appleton's Encyclopedia*, *Lanman's Congressional Directory*, and various authorities to which reference has been made, accept Watson's statement as fact.

Moreover, there is now residing near here, at Fredericktown, Washington County, Pennsylvania, a Mr. Benjamin Morris, a gentleman of years and of intelligence, whose father was a cousin of Robert Morris. Since Mrs. Hart's sketch has appeared, he has been interrogated as to the latter days of Robert Morris. He states that Robert Morris "*died a prisoner for debt, on limited parole.*" It was customary in those days to release debtors, whose word could be trusted, on parole, to be absent at their homes for Sunday or a few days at a time; not to be absent beyond a specified day, nor to pass beyond a specified limit of territory; and it was while absent from his prison on such a parole that Robert Morris died.

If this statement is not correct, and Mrs. Hart can substantiate hers, readers of American history will thank her. It is one of the darkest blots upon the history of the United States that he to whom we owe as much as to Washington himself for our national life, was abandoned by the government at the hour of his greatest need, and left to the power of an unjust law; impoverished in circumstances, crushed in spirit, and wounded unto death by the fact that the country for which he had made such sacrifices was unwilling to aid him. I hope Mrs. Hart can substantiate her statement that he *did not* die a prisoner, *even in name*.

Brownsville, Pa.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

MOULDER'S BATTERY.—Who were the officers of Moulder's Battery, and where can any account of that organization be found? A. G.

DR. RICHARD HASKINS, M.D.—Can you furnish information regarding the ancestors of Dr. Richard Haskins, M.D., or his wife Esther (maiden name not known), living about 1710. Their daughter Anne married John, son of the well-known Samuel Carpenter.

Very truly yours,
WHARTON DICKINSON.

Replies.

PHILADELPHIA DOCTORS (page 116).—Allow me to say that Dr. Samuel Chew, who lived in Philadelphia in 1730; Dr. Samuel Chew, of West River, Maryland; and Samuel Chew, Chief Justice of the "three lower counties" (New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware), were the same person; that he was not originally from Philadelphia, but was born in 1693, of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Benson) Chew, on a small estate called Maidstone, near West River, Maryland, about twelve miles from Annapolis; and that, as there were five Samuels in the family at that time, he signed his name "Samuel Chew, of Maidstone," until he left that estate and came to Philadelphia.

He was a Quaker; his first wife was Mary Galloway; and they were the parents of Benjamin Chew, who was the last Chief Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania; and, later, President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. He was born at Maidstone in 1722.

Dr. Chew, having lost his wife May 26th, 1734, soon after moved from Philadelphia, and in September, 1736, married Mary Galloway (widow of Richard Galloway of Cumberstone, Esquire, and daughter of Aquila Paca). Governor Thomas appointed him Chief Justice in 1741; and it was in August of that year that he delivered, from the Bench at New Castle, the speech on "The Lawfulness of Self-Defence against an Armed Enemy," that caused him to be disowned by the Society of Friends.

This expulsion, although the inevitable result of his having held and promulgated a doctrine directly antagonistic to the chief principles of the Society, was felt by him as a sore wound.

A man, with the views expressed so forcibly in that speech, could not be a *good Quaker*; but, judging from his own letters, and those written during his life and after his death concerning him, he was a devoted husband, father, and friend, and as tender in his affections as he was firm in his convictions.

Dr. Samuel Chew died at Dover (in 1743), where, I am informed, his house, and trees planted by him in his terraced garden, still stand.

Cliveden, Germantown, Nov. 19th, 1877.

S. C.

PHILIP MOORE (vol. I., No. 3, p. 358).—Philip Moore was probably of one of the New Jersey families of Moore, and nearly related to those of Hunterdon County. A Philip Moore was in Captain Tucker's company, First Regiment, Hunterdon County, N. J. (See *Stryker's Jerseymen in the Revolutionary War*, p. 694.) On that and the preceding page numerous Moores' names occur, among which are the names of *Daniel* and *Joseph*. (See also pp. 252, 253, 401, 402, 439, 445, 455, 468, 469, 477, 844, 865.)

Dr. Samuel Moore, son of Col. David Moore and Lydia Richman, born in Deerfield, Cumberland County, N. J., February 8th, 1774; died in Philadelphia February 18th, 1861. Director of the U. S. Mint; was one of the most eminent of the name in New Jersey. For a full sketch of him, see the *Transactions of the Medical Society of New Jersey* for 1870, p. 183. These *Transactions* cannot be too highly recommended for their valuable biographical details, derived from original research. (See also Col. James Ross Snowden's *Washington and National Medals*, Phila., 1861.) A sketch of Dr. Jonathan Moore, brother to the foregoing, is to be found on p. 116 of the former work.

Alexander Moore, M.D., was a practising physician in Bordentown, N. J., in the last century; some notes on him will be found in the forthcoming biographical sketches of Burlington County Physicians, by Stephen Wickes, M.D.

In the graveyard at Cape May Court House, New Jersey, there is a tombstone to the memory of "Sarah Hand, widow of Jonathan Hand, deceased. Born at Trenton, N. J., July 22d, 1778. Died April 3d, 1871." This lady was the daughter of — Moore, of Trenton, and in her eleventh year, with several other "little misses," strewed flowers in the pathway of Gen. Washington at Trenton in 1789. She was, I believe, the last survivor of that ceremony. Her husband, Jonathan Hand, was born November 15th, A. D. 1780. Died April 2d, A. D. 1834. Jonathan Hand, a son of the above, who, I believe, is still living, has been for forty years an officer in the clerk's office, Cape May Court House.

For other sketches of the most eminent of the name in this State, see the *Biography of Eminent Jerseymen*, recently published by the Galaxy Company of New York. Moorestown, New Jersey, receives its name from an early settler of the name of Moore. In the Hon. John Clement's recent work on the old settlers of Newton Township, New Jersey, occur the following marriages of persons named Moore, viz.: "Benj. Moore, at Chester Meeting (Moorestown), married Mercey Newberry, 1737;" "Michael Mills to Sarah Moore, 1740;" "John Moore to Hannah Eyre, 1759;" "John Mason to Hannah Moore, 1759." Among marriages of Friends who were members of Evesham Meeting, Burlington County, N. J., in the same work: "Thomas Eyre to Catharine Moore, 1752." "Licenses of marriage." "John Collins, of Gloucester County, to Elizabeth Moore, daughter of Benjamin Moore, of Burlington County, 1737." For some reference to Aaron, Elizabeth, and Benjamin Moore, see *ibid.* pp. 81, 82, 303. In the deaths in the *Columbian Magazine* for Sept. 1786, I find: "In New Jersey Alexander Moore, Esq., æt. 82." No place mentioned.

In the Baptist churchyard at Jacobstown, Burlington County, N. J., is buried "Catherine, wife of Henry Moore, who departed this life January 7th, 1787, aged 57 years." James Moore, of Burlington, with Solomon Smith, were proprietors of a stage running from Burlington to Amboy in 1732-3. (See Barber & Howe's *Hist. Col. of New Jersey*, p. 42.) A Daniel Moore was living in Deerfield, New Jersey, in 1802.

Among the soldiers of the war of 1812 who attended the National Convention held in Philadelphia January 9, 1854, were Alexander Moore, from Camden County; Joseph Moore, from Salem County; and Joseph Moore, from Sussex County, New Jersey.

The Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield's *Hist. of Elizabeth and Union Counties, New Jersey*, New York, 1868, contains the names of several Moores.

The wills of New Jersey, with a very few exceptions, are to be found in the Secretary of State's office in Trenton; this refers to all the counties prior to 1800 or thereabouts. Those before 1715 have never been copied into books, but remain in the pigeon holes unindexed. After these dates 1789 and 1800, see the county offices in the county where the testator deceased.

As I think the probabilities are that Philip Moore, of Maryland, etc., was of the New Jersey Moores, Mr. W. Moore will find the foregoing items of considerable service when he consults the record at Trenton. My experience in genealogy enables me to say that, to complete a family history in either State, New Jersey or Pennsylvania, the records of both have to be examined, as the settlers of West Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania are in many instances of the same stock.

Some account of a Moore family, the descendants of Andrew Moore, who came from Ireland in 1723, and settled in Sadsbury, Pennsylvania, will be found in Harris's *Biographical History of Lancaster County, Pa.* Lancaster, 1872. Nicholas Moore, who died in 1689, and left descendants in Pennsylvania, is noticed in the *History of Byberry and Moreland*. He was a man of wealth and prominence. The Pennsylvania Archives, second series, vol. ii., containing Pennsylvania marriages, record the marriages with dates of fifty-nine persons of the name of Moore. (See pp. 208, 209, and 337.) It is greatly to be regretted that there is no volume of marriage licenses among the published records of New Jersey. This State is behind New York, as well as Pennsylvania, in this respect. Such publications are of untold value to the lawyer, biographer, and genealogist, as well as the general historian. I have been informed that sufficient material exists among the manuscript archives to supply this much needed want, which I trust the State officials will see the necessity of publishing.

In the New York *Genealogical and Biographical Record* for January, 1873, the writer published a short bibliography of four pages, entitled "Books and Manuscripts, Helps for Pennsylvania Genealogists." It omits a number of names, and is otherwise imperfect, but even in that form is the only thing of the kind published on the subject.

Camden, New Jersey.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

HAMPTON (p. 357).—In the year 1748 Simon Hampton, of Thornbury, Chester County, mortgaged his farm of 138 acres for the sum of £98, as appears from the Land Office mortgages, page 91 (volume not numbered), in the office of the Recorder of Deeds in Philadelphia. CORR.

TRIMBLE (p. 227).—Alexander Trimble and Eleanor Rogers were married at the Presbyterian Church, Abington (now Montgomery County), June 20, 1754. CHARLES R. HILDBURN.

FIRST AMERICAN FLAG (page 227).—Is not the flag alluded to by W. H. E. as being exhibited at Harrisburg, Pa., in February, 1825, at the reception of General Lafayette, and that spoken of by Dr. Elwin at the meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, November 13th, 1876 (see page 112), the one now owned by Miss Sarah Smith Stafford, of Trenton, N. J.? An account of the flag in the possession of Miss Stafford will be found in Com. Geo. Henry Preble's interesting address delivered before the New England Historic Genealogical Society July 9th, 1873, entitled "Three Historic Flags and Three September Victories." F. D. S.

BOOK NOTICES.

Historical Sketch of Plymouth, Luzerne Co., Pa. By HENDRICK B. WRIGHT, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 8vo. pp. 419. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

"With a design to write some of the historical events of Plymouth, to give sketches of some of the early settlers, and note down some of the old landmarks," the author has produced a volume that cannot but find a welcome place in all libraries, and be read with pleasure by every one interested in the history of this State. The name of Plymouth awakens in the mind of every one associations truly historical, and the legitimate claim which the Pennsylvania town has to it, adds to the interest it commands. Transported from the old world by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, and given to the spot on which they first found a home, it was carried into Litchfield County, Conn., by emigrants from the first settlement, and their children brought it to the shores of the Susquehanna; relics that came over in the Mayflower being still preserved with pious care in the valley of Wyoming. The settlers from Connecticut who came to Pennsylvania in 1769 did so under the grant given to the Susquehanna company in 1662; the troubles which ensued between them and the settlers under the charter of Penn; the story of the Wyoming massacre, and all the important events in the annals of Plymouth, from the time the spot on which it stands was visited by Count Zinzendorf and John Martin Mack, the Moravian missionaries, the first white men who journeyed from the English settlements to that vicinity, down to the present day, will be found in Mr. Wright's book, which is illustrated with twenty-five photographic views and portraits.

A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, Pa. By the REV. CONWAY P. WING, D.D. 8vo. pp. 263. Carlisle, 1877.

Under this modest title Dr. Wing has given to the public a book which might well be called a history of Presbyterianism in Carlisle; and, indeed, it would require but little additional to make it a history of the town itself. A pastorate of more than forty-three years, and a natural love of historical investigation, made Dr. Wing the proper person to write the history of the congregation over which he had charge until 1875. The task was undertaken on the recommendation of the General Assembly that histories of all the churches represented in that body should be prepared by their pastors during the year 1876. The First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle had its origin on the banks of the Conodoguinet, about two miles west of the present town of Carlisle. The early records of the congregation are obscure, but it was no doubt organized about 1738 by the Scotch-Irish settlers who gathered in that part of the Cumberland Valley. After an existence of twenty years the church was removed to Carlisle, and from that time forward its history is clearly defined. In Dr. Wing's book will be found incidents in the Indian troubles west of the Susquehanna during the French and Indian war, and many other interesting subjects not directly connected with the history of the church.

The Annals of the Buffalo Valley, Pennsylvania, 1755-1855. By JOHN BLAIR LINN. 8vo. pp. 620. Harrisburg, Pa.: Lane S. Hart.

This volume is a history of that portion of our State now embraced in Union and a part of Snyder Counties. The Buffalo Valley is comparatively

a small portion of the purchase made by the proprietary government from the Indians in 1768, and in it the officers of the Pennsylvania regiment which served under Bouquet were allowed to take up twenty-four thousand acres. We regret that our space will not allow us to attempt to do justice to this excellent book, full to overflowing with interesting historical data. The author of the volume is our present excellent Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth, to whose good judgment we are indebted for the valuable material published in the new series of the Pennsylvania Archives. No one can look over *Annals of the Buffalo Valley* without feeling that for once the right man is in the right place, and that it is the work of one whose useful labors have been a pastime to himself.

The information contained on the 620 pages of this book is arranged chronologically, a chapter being given to each year; the events thus recorded are illustrated with reminiscences, biographical sketches, and every kind of information interesting or valuable that could be discovered. The typography and paper of the volume in excellence equal its contents, and, to complete the whole, it closes with an index of twenty-four pages, the sight of which would make Dr. Allibone happy.

Sketches of the First Emigrant Settlers in Newtown Township, Old Gloucester Co., West New Jersey, &c. &c. By JOHN CLEMENT, of Hadonfield, N. J. 8vo. pp. 442. \$5. Sinnickson Chew, Camden, N. J.

The most valuable addition that has been made for many years to the historical literature of West Jersey is the volume lately given to the public by Judge Clement, a copy of which is now before us. On its carefully prepared pages we find biographical and genealogical sketches of the following families, as well as those of many others who have intermarried with them: Albertson, Bates, Borrough, Carpenter, Champion, Clement, Cole, Collins, Cooper, Eastlack, Ellis, Estangh, Gardiner, Gill, Goldsmith, Graysburg, Hillman, Hinchman, Howell, Kaighn, Kay, Lippincott, Matthews, Matlack, Mickle, Morgan, Newbie, Nicholson, Sharp, Shivers, Spicer, Stacy, Stokes, Thackara, Tomlinson, Turner, Wood, and Zane. There is a list of several hundred marriages from the records of the Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends, and also a copy of the licenses of marriage, from the office of the Secretary of State, of Burlington and Gloucester Counties. Another feature of the book is the care that has been taken to discover the locality in England from which the first settlers of old Gloucester County emigrated. If Judge Clement can establish the fact mentioned on page 355, that William Bradford in 1690 was following the calling of a printer in Burlington, New Jersey, it will be an interesting and hitherto unknown item in the annals of printing in America. The book is one which must command interest on the western as well as on the eastern side of the Delaware. The typography of the volume is of the highest character, and is a credit to its printer. The edition we understand is three hundred.

Now and Then, a Journal Devoted to the Topics of the Times. Muncy, Pa.

We have received from the editor and publisher of this little sheet, Mr. J. M. M. Gerner, seventeen numbers, the first of which was issued in June, 1868, the last September, 1877. It is an 8vo. of four pages, double column, and is issued "Every once in a while;" its columns are full of matter relating to the local history of Lycoming County which it is well to preserve. Mr. Gerner is interested in raising money for the erection of a monument to the memory of Hugh Brady, the Indian fighter, "the hero of the West Branch." Eight hundred dollars have been secured in subscriptions of one dollar each.

REPORT OF COUNCIL

TO

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

MAY 7, 1877.

THE Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania respectfully report, that, owing to the United States Centennial Exhibition occurring in the past year, the Hall of the Society was open every day, and that it was visited by a very large number of persons, 3160 of whom registered their names.

The increase in the Library and Collections for the year was—

Books	1044
Pamphlets	630
Maps	32
Manuscripts	48
Paintings	3
Engravings, etc.	203

Copies of the widely-known American songs, "Home, Sweet Home," and "The Star Spangled Banner," in autograph by their justly celebrated authors, were generously presented by Mr. Henry M. Keim and others, children of our late member, Gen. George M. Keim, of Reading.

There was received a view of Stenton, a beautifully executed oil painting of the fine old historic mansion, the seat of James Logan. This extensive building was erected in 1727, and undoubtedly is among those most worthy of preservation, for its fine appearance and its many historical associations, of all the structures that now exist in Pennsylvania. The painting was executed by a member of the Society, Mr. Isaac L. Williams, and presented by him.

A portrait in oil of Christina, Queen of the Swedes, the Goths, and the Vends, a copy by Miss Elise Arnberg, from the original by David Beek, pupil of Vandyke, in the National Museum at

(477)

Stockholm, 36 by 43, was presented by the Trustees of the Publication Fund. This acquisition to our gallery of historical paintings is most appropriate, for it was under the reign of this monarch, in 1638, that the first permanent settlement of Europeans was effected on the River Delaware. Our fellow member, Mr. Joseph J. Mickley, kindly lent his aid in having Miss Arnberg to paint the portrait.

The late James M. Campbell bequeathed to the Society a portrait of his grandfather, Robert Aitken of this city, who is supposed to be the first printer in America of a Bible in English, no copy of that proposed to be printed in Philadelphia by William Bradford, in 1688, having as yet been discovered to exist.

The following is a summary of the financial reports of the year 1876.

Treasurer's Report.

Income from members	\$3565 00	
“ “ interest	417 59	
“ “ miscellaneous	67 38	
		\$4049 97
Expenditure		4416 45
Deficiency, Dec. 30, 1876		\$366 48

Trustees of the Publication Fund.

Investments	\$22,250 00
Principal uninvested	2,052 25
Total	\$24,302 25

Receipts from interest and sales in 1876, \$2183 07.

Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, edited by the Rev. William C. Reichel, was issued during the year.

A late member of the Society, Miss Ann Willing Jackson, made a bequest to this Fund, of the sum of one hundred dollars. It has been paid by her executor, and added to the Fund.

Seventy-two new subscriptions, resulting in \$1800, were received in the year.

Trustees of the Binding Fund.

Investments	\$3300 00
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The number of volumes bound during the year was 171, and 46 maps were mounted.

Trustees of the Library Fund.

George Washington Smith's Donation . . .	\$1000
Jesse George's Bequest	4000
	<hr/>
Total investments	\$5000

The number of books purchased was 146. By the terms of the bequest of the late Jesse George, the interest thereof is to be used in the purchase of books of local history and genealogy.

Trustees of the Building Fund.

Investments and cash on deposit	\$13,852 52
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The Society's Funds by Bequest, etc.

Paul Beck's Bequest	\$100
Athenian Institute Donation	350
Peter S. Du Ponceau's Bequest	200
Thomas Sergeant's Bequest	100
George Chambers' Bequest	100
Jesse George's Bequest	1000
Mrs. Eliza Gilpin's Bequest	5000
Life-Membership Fund	1000
	<hr/>
Total of investments	\$7850

It has been the settled policy of the Society to hold bequests as sacred, and only to use the interest accruing thereon.

A subscription to meet the deficiency of income for the years 1875 and 1876, now amounts to \$1200. There is yet wanted for this purpose the sum of \$400, which the liberality of our members will soon supply.

The Papers read during the year were—

- May 1, 1876. Memorial of George Washington Smith, by the President, Mr. John William Wallace.
- Nov. 13, 1876. Memoir on Whalley, the Regicide, by Mr. R. Patterson Robins.
- Nov. 13, 1876. Memorial of the Rev. Wm. C. Reichel, by Mr. John W. Jordan.
- Nov. 13, 1876. Memorial of the Rev. Wm. M. Reynolds, D.D., by Mr. Townsend Ward.
- Jan. 8, 1877. Memorial of Joseph Carson, M.D., by Mr. Townsend Ward.

Jan. 8, 1877. An Historical Sketch of the ground on the banks of the Schuylkill on which the Naval Asylum stands, and of the Asylum itself, by Edward Shippen, M.D., U.S.N.

March 12, 1877. A Memoir on the Headquarters of Washington at Brandywine, by Mr. Charles H. A. Esling.

April 16, 1877. Addresses on the occasion of the presentation of the portrait of Queen Christina, by Messrs. Richard S. Smith and Provost Charles J. Stillé. Four Swedish ladies, of great merit as vocalists, generously assisted at the ceremony and delighted the audience with their exquisite music.

Librarians' Convention.

The Librarians of the United States held their second conference at the Hall of your Society, the first having occurred in New York some twenty years ago. The session began on the 4th of October, 1876, with three meetings on that, and also on the two following days. The interchange of views, and the papers read by gentlemen of great ability and practical experience, made the occasion one of most valuable interest, and so deeply were those present impressed with a sense of the importance of such labors, that they formed themselves into a permanent organization. The proceedings of the conference are published in full in the *American Library Journal*.

Endowment Fund.

With a view to secure a continuance of the active labors in which the Society has been engaged, and to effectually preserve the invaluable fruits thereof, several members of the Society have conceived it to be a proper object to commence an Endowment Fund, to be held in Trust, the interest only to be used. There are now four subscriptions, which amount to two thousand dollars. The gentlemen who subscribed believe, with the Council, that the importance of such a fund should be constantly had in view, and that every proper effort should be used to make it reach, at no distant day, the sum of fifty thousand dollars.

The Pennsylvania Magazine.

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